DAWN OF RENASCENT INDIA
PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The second edition of this book contains additional information, collected from contemporary sources. Illustrations regarding some prominent personalities of the time have also been included.

I am under a deep debt of gratitude to Shri J. C. Bagal of Calcutta for making some valuable suggestions, which have been duly incorporated here. My thanks are due to Shri Somnath Roy, M. A., Lecturer in History, Magadh University, and to Shri Kamakhyä Charan Banerjee, M.A., for kindly correcting the typescripts and the proofs.

Magadh University, Gaya.

K. K. Datta

September, 1964.

PREFACE

The chapters of this book formed the subject-matter of the Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Memorial Lectures of the Nagpur University for the year 1949, which I delivered at the kind invitation of this University at Nagpur in February-March, 1950.

Besides the rapid growth of British political supremacy resulting in Pax Britannica, modern India has witnessed weighty changes in economy, society and culture of the teeming millions of this country. Today we are in a stirring epoch, marked not only by our political emancipation from alien control, but also by significant trends in revaluation of the values of life. A new independent India has emerged as a brilliant product of the tears and toils, trials and tribulations of millions of Indians under the spiritual leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest prophet of modern humanity. It amounts to a veritable revolution in our status as a nation and shows the culmination of a process in noon-day splendour, the dawn of which can be traced in the early years of the nineteenth century.
Modern Indian renaissance is essentially a change of spirit and a reorientation of outlook of the vast multitude of this continent through various forces in the new world of the nineteenth century. For a correct understanding of the position and role of India in modern times, it is indispensably necessary for us to have a comprehensive knowledge of the manifestation of this renaissance in the varied spheres of life, cultural, social and political. It is now high time for us to realise that the true history of a country is the history of its people, their ideals and achievements, social life, education, culture, and their problems of weal or woe. Historical study is neither the luxury of a scholar, nor his idle pursuit of dry political and military details in the tangled web of chronological puzzles. It can serve, indeed, as the safest guide for the statesmen, reformers and educationists of today and as a fruitful source of inspiration for onward progress in the future, if it does not merely confine itself to facts of political changes, military events, or accounts of rulers and courts often drawn in rosy colours by panegyrists, but extends its scope by comprehending within it a critical evaluation of the manifold phases of a man's life and activities in successive epochs. History should be a truthful record of the unfolding and march of human civilization age after age, and its object of study should be the human mind, human culture and human society.

I have tried, in my own humble way, to study in this volume the beginning of those changes in Indian society, education and thought, which ultimately transformed her in all respects. For its preparation, I have utilized different kinds of original sources, such as the contemporary journals and newspapers, historical and biographical works, descriptions of travellers and persons coming here in other capacities, accounts of the Christian missionaries, correspondence in English and French, records of the English East India Company and contemporary literature. Some relevant materials used by me previously in my other works, have been incorporated here, when found necessary. I shall consider
my labour amply rewarded if this humble work of mine can in any way increase the interest of scholars for further studies on the human and humane aspects of our country’s history. I crave the indulgence of my learned readers for slips that may have crept into it, and shall most gratefully accept their constructive suggestions for necessary corrections in subsequent editions of the book.

I must express my profound thankfulness to the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University for his kindness in inviting me to deliver these lectures, and affording all facilities for their publication. I am under a deep debt of gratitude to my friend and colleague, Prof. S. K. Ghose, M. A. (Oxon.), Head of the English Department, Patna College, Patna, for the trouble that he has taken in going through the typescript and proofs and making some valuable suggestions regarding language and expressions. My youthful colleague, Prof. Sachchidanand, has very kindly prepared the Index for which I thank him sincerely.

"K. K. Datta

Patna College.
Patna—5.
August, 1950."
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1.

BACKGROUND AND GENESIS

The nineteenth century was a marvellously creative age in human history. Marvin significantly describes it as 'the Century of Hope'. During this period the human mind in different parts of the world was stirred by a new political consciousness giving rise to weighty movements which have left legacies of inspiration for unnumbered generations. It was also marked by brilliant achievements in the domain of knowledge, varied currents of thought, some of these flowing through revolutionary channels, and remarkable triumphs of science and culture causing a gigantic transformation of economic conditions and social life, in short, in the relations between man and man.

In no period of history has India remained absolutely untouched by world forces. Her complete isolationism is a huge myth. Indeed, also during the period I have tried to study here, one can very well trace the birth of a new India and her growth throughout the 19th century when the West was marching ahead in new avenues of life. While the wheel of India's political destiny had already taken a new turn due to the rapid triumphs of British imperialism and the foundations of an edifice of Indo-British administrative system, laid as a sequel to it, were being strengthened, several factors caused here a splendid renaissance, characterised by an urge to rediscover the forgotten cultural treasures of India and reinterpret the true spirit of her ancient civilization. This renaissance was also marked by attempts to reorient her education through a blending of the old and the new and to renovate her society by the purging of those evils and anomalies which had crept into it and accumulated there under various adverse influences through succeeding ages, particularly in the 18th century.

The eighteenth century was undoubtedly a dark and tragic period in the history of India. Accelerated dismemberment and ultimate collapse of Mughal imperial authority meant
the disappearance of political unity that the Great Mughals had managed to maintain in some form or other for about two centuries. Their weak and effeminate successors, excessively addicted to the vices of the harem, naturally lacked strength of character, intelligence, manly spirit or courage, without any of which it is impossible for a ruler to pilot the ship of the State properly. The empire of the later Mughals, whose supreme head was a fool and a sluggard, could not, therefore, discharge its due task of looking after the interest of the country and it soon ceased to have any moral justification for continuance. One might express in the language used by Bishop Stubbs to justify the fall of the Lancastrians in later medieval England that the "dynasty that had failed to govern must cease to reign."

Confusion was made worse confounded by the ignoble and selfish tactics and dirty politics of the nobility of the country, which forgetful of the old traditions of their useful services to the State, had utterly degenerated by this time. They were largely responsible for the ruinous wars, treacherous conspiracies, inhuman assassinations and barbarities, which sucked the very life-blood of the country, causing its veritable prostration and thus creating opportunities for dreadful external invasions like that of Nadir Shah or those of Ahmad Shah Abdali or paving the way for alien political mastery, like that of the English, over it.

Referring to the court of Sirajuddaulah, Watts with his intimate experience of contemporary Bengal politics, writes that there "the only oracle that every one consulted was self-interest". The French adventurer, Jean Law, exclaimed in a tone of disappointment before the historian Ghulam Husain in April, 1759: "I have travelled everywhere from Bengal to Delhi, but nowhere have I found anything from any one except oppression of the poor and plundering of wayfarers. Whenever I wanted that one of these famous potentates, like Shuja, Imad and their peers, out of a regard for honour and desire for the regulation of the Government, should undertake to put in order the affairs of Bengal and suppress the English,
not one of them felt any inclination to the task. They did not once weigh in their minds the praiseworthiness or shame of their conduct. * * * * The Indian nobles are a set of disorderly inconsistent blockheads, who exist solely for ruining a world of people”

Shah Alam II observed in 1768: “Through the perfidiousness of the nobility and vassals of the illustrious Royal House, this anarchy has arisen, and every one proclaims himself a sovereign in his own place; and they are at variance with one another, the strong prevailing over the weak”.

In that age of ‘delusion and deceit,’ as Shah Alam II aptly said, lack of governance followed as a logical corollary to the weakness of the centre, the debased character of the aristocracy and the devastating effects of the dreadful political turmoils that were rampant throughout the land. The entire body-politic came to be honey-combed with abuses and its different branches became too seriously paralysed to be sufficiently useful to the people. Traditions of beneficent rule survived more or less with minor chiefs in distant corners, and the village communities also had not yet lost their old vitality as useful corporate units of rural administration.

“These village communities contain in miniature”, observed Elphinstone, “all the materials of a state within themselves and are almost sufficient to protect their members, if all the Government were withdrawn”. In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Metcalfe spoke of them as “little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations.”

There may be exaggeration about the extremely wretched character of Indian administration in the contemporary

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2 Ibid., Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, pp. 836, 1101.
European accounts such as those of Orme, Slaughter and of some others. One has to be critical in studying the following view expressed by Rev. Tennent in the early 19th century: "It may justly be questioned whether in any instance the annals of nations can present to our contemplation, a great community plunged into an abyss of anarchy, equally deep and gloomy as that by which India was overwhelmed after the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire". But there can be no doubt that in general it had become deplorably loose and the nobility in or around the courts had been thoroughly demoralised.

An important authority, like the contemporary Bihar historian Ghulam Husain, makes the following bitter but just comment in this respect: "Hence the guards being ill-paid abandoned their posts, and the garrisons being utterly neglect ed, invited the invaders, and the report of the Ministers' indifference and the weakness of the Government being rumoured everywhere, every one without fear of control thought only of the personal interests without minding any consequences. The roads and passes being neglected, every one passed and repassed unobserved; no intelligence was forwarded to Court (of Delhi) of what was happening; and neither the Emperor nor the nobles ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears." He pronounces a more severe indictment by saying: "It was in such an enfeebled state of the Empire, that there arose a new sort of men, who far from setting up the patterns of piety and virtue, or pretending to show the right way to others, squandered away the lives and properties of the poor with so much barefacedness that other men, on beholding their conduct, became bolder and bolder and practised the worst and ugliest actions, without fear or remorse; so far are they from thinking it a shame or an infamy to emulate and follow such examples. From these sprung an infinity of evil-doers who plague the Indian world, and grind

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4Tennent, Thoughts on the Effects of British Government on the State of Indostan (1807), pp. 78-79.
the face of the wretched inhabitants. It is in consequence of such wretched administrations that every part of Hind has gone to ruin, and all its discouraged inhabitants have broken their hearts. Life itself is become distasteful to most.

The bulk of the common people, engrossed in the ordinary pursuits of life, did not concern themselves about palace or court revolutions, nor did there grow any kind of organised public opinion against change of governments. Malcolm frankly stated: "The want of the union of the natives appears one of the strongest foundations of our power; it has certainly contributed beyond all others to its establishment”.

The English East India Company, whom Plassey, Bedara, Wandiwash, Buxar and Diwani had made virtual masters of considerable parts of India, had not yet been able to build an efficient government conducive to law and order. “The new government of the Company”, as Warren Hastings himself observed in 1772, “consisted of a confused heap of undigested materials as wild as the chaos itself”. While supporting Fox’s India Bill, Burke observed that the Company’s Government was “one of the most corrupt and obstrusive tyrannies, that probably ever existed in the world”. He further remarked in his speech on the impeachment of Warren Hastings, 1788: “My Lords, by means of this bad system of things it has so happened, and does happen, that the very laws we have made, the covenants the Company has got its servants to enter into, and the orders that have been given, have proved most noxious and mischievous to the country instead of beneficial”. An Indian writer justly observed in 1896 that the “Government of the East India Company had nearly until the close of the eighteenth century been a despotism with scarcely any mitigating features to compensate for the loss of the manifold advantages of a native rule”.

While the English East India Company in India was thus

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not so sufficiently organised as to be capable of sound, constructive and useful activities, it followed a policy of *laissez faire* in regard to Indian social and religious matters till 1813, though some Englishmen in their own individual views advocated reform of Indian society and introduction of English education into India.

Some of the traditionally good features of Indian social life, religion and culture had certainly survived till then by overcoming the shocks of repeated political upheavals and changes. We must not also uncritically accept the prejudiced views of some contemporary writers like Charles Grant⁸ or Martyn⁹ or what the missionaries write relating to Indian religion and morals of the time. In their intense zeal to prove the superiority of Christian morals and to further the cause of evangelization in this country, most of the Christian missionaries of the period went to the length of making monstrous statements. “All your Gods”, one of them proclaimed, “are nothing else but demons; you will go to hell to expiate in eternal flames the crime of your idolatry”¹⁰. Even the famous Scottish missionary, Duff, held in the thirties of the 19th century that the people of India has “sunk into the depths of demoralisation which has become endemic and universal, manifested in aggravated forms and perpetuated

⁸ Charles Grant’s Indian career started in 1768 and he spent his first few years as private agent to Richard Becher, then an influential servant of the Company in Bengal. He left Bengal with Richard Becher in January, 1771. He returned to Calcutta for the second time in June, 1774, and within a few months got an appointment as Secretary of the Board of Trade, which he held until 1780. He was Commercial Resident at Malda from 1780 to 1787. Cornwallis selected him to carry out the reform of the Company’s Commercial Department and before he left India in 1790 he “had become an influential figure.” Ultimately he became a Director of the Company. He wrote a prejudiced treatise on the Indians, entitled *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals and the means of Improving it*. It was written chiefly in the year 1792, and was presented to the Court of Directors in 1797. Ainslie Thomas Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, 1962.


from age to age, as if engraven with a pen of iron upon their character’’

What we can, however, say is that under some adverse influences dynamic potentiality of Indian civilization, which had in its early days absorbed within its fold foreigners of different nationalities and cultures, by that time almost disappeared making it possible for untruths, unreason, various superstitions, and malpractices to get the upperhand. It was a time when, as Rabindranath expressed a few years back, “our country having lost its link with the inmost truths of its being struggled under a crushing load of unreason, in abject slavery to circumstance. In social usage, in politics, in the realm of religion and art, we had entered the zone of uncreative habit, of decadent tradition, and ceased to exercise our humanity’’

The bulk of the literature that sprang up under local patronage here and there, with a few exceptions, as for example, the writings of Ramprasad Sen of Bengal, was of vitiated taste, though rich in vocabulary. Referring to Bengali literature of the time Dr. D. C. Sen, a competent authority on this subject, remarks that “the style and spirit both became depraved — the former by a vain-glorious pedantry which made descriptions grotesque by their overdrawn niceties, the serious passing into the burlesque and the latter by scurrilous obscenities’’. In fact, virtual collapse of governmental authority and consequent disappearance of administrative order and peace throughout the dark and dismal years of the 18th century had caused a grievous social anarchy gnawing at the very vitals of Indian civilization and culture. Progressive ideals receded into the background and no reformer or leader of thought appeared to inspire the common people with noble and sublime ideals for the elevation of their moral and intellectual standards.

Veritable insolvency in all respects enveloped the country’s national destiny. It was at such a critical moment of internal

11 Duff, India and Indian Missions, pp. 89-90.
12 Rammohan Roy Centenary Commemoration Volume, 1933.
exhaustion that India received political and economic assaults from the West. The triumphs of British imperialism on her soil imposed on her alien domination and the influence of the new-born western industrialism and capitalism subjected her to a pathetic economic decline complete recovery from which has yet remained an unrealised dream. Henry St. George Tucker, who after being connected with land settlements in northern India retired to England with considerable experience of Indian affairs and became a Director of the East India Company, observed in 1823: “What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piece-goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets, and of late, particularly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent, but chiefly from the effects of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics which hitherto constituted the staple of India have not only been displaced in this country but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country.” One feels inclined to quote here a significant passage of the English poet Cowper:

“Hast thou, though suckled at fair freedom’s breast,  
Exported slavery to the conquered East,  
Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread,  
And raised thyself, a greater in their stead?  
Gone thither, armed and hungry, returned full,  
Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,  
A despot big with power ordained by wealth,  
And that obtained by rapine and by stealth?  
With Asiatic vices stored thy mind,  
But left their virtues and thine own behind;  
And having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee,
BACKGROUND AND GENESIS

To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee? 14

But there is a silver lining to every cloud. Even in this period, when the atmosphere was surcharged with thickening mist, there appeared presages of coming revolutions in all phases of Indian life. Here was indeed the dawn of the New India, which, drawing its inspiration from the glorious traditions of her past as also from the currents of new thoughts which infiltrated into this land through various channels, came to be strikingly marked not only by a spirit of revolution against the antiquated survivals of medievalism and the shackles of foreign yoke but also by a wider vision of life, a broadening and rational cultural outlook, and a potentially creative zeal for wholesome activities calculated to effect redemption of the downtrodden and the despised from ignoble conditions.

The streaks of light which heralded this dawn owed their origin to several factors, exotic as well as indigenous. Increasing contact of India with the West, then full of vitality in thoughts and actions, had undoubtedly an invigorating influence on some Indian minds. The New Learning of the West, rich in inspiring political and scientific thoughts of master-minds like Bacon, Locke, Voltaire, Burke, Bentham, Mill and Newton, philanthropists like William Wilberforce and his friends, imported into this country through several agencies, saturated them with potent influences in favour of reform in government, society and other conditions of life. The mingling of civilizations indeed often proves to be a very fruitful source of knowledge for men and a means of progress in human society when some of its organs may be benumbed. But at the same time one has to note that reforms, to be successfully introduced and perfectly salutary in a country, must be backed by an urge from within and a new consciousness or renaissance, as we might well call it. By a happy

coincidence, this too had appeared in India at that time with irrepresible zeal destined to assail strongly and remove the growing inertia in society, thought and culture. Indeed, renaissant India has been the product of a splendid blending of the new and the old, of the progressive cultural treasures of the nineteenth century West and the revived classical lore of India as it had been in the days of her ancient greatness.
2. 

THE NEW EDUCATION

The Modern Indian Renaissance has been essentially a matter of the spirit producing in its effects revolutionary changes in the varied spheres of life. This new spirit has one of its brilliant manifestations in cultural aspect, there being the first significant phase of its reorientation at the parting of the ways during the closing years of the eighteenth century and for half a century preceding Sir Charles Wood's celebrated Despatch of 1854 and the establishment of Universities in India during the stormy days in the year 1857.

Lord Macaulay's Minute of February, 1835, is usually credited with something like a magical influence in converting India into the gospel of western education. No doubt, his vehement denunciation of Indian lore, marked by lack of a true appreciation of it, and his strong advocacy of the western system of education, closed the fierce controversy between the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists," which had been raging since the Government had sanctioned the expenditure of "an annual sum not less than one lakh of rupees" in 1813, in favour of the latter and greatly influenced the Government of Lord William Bentinck in passing the famous Resolution of the 7th March, 1835, which declared that "the great object of the British Government ought to be promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India," that "all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone", and that "for the future all funds set apart for education should be devoted to that purpose, and no portion of them be expended on the printing of Oriental works."

This Resolution, of course, gave a great impetus to the progress of English education in India. The Committee of Public Instruction, reorganised under the presidency of Lord Macaulay, took vigorous steps in this respect. Within two years after the passing of that Resolution twelve new schools were started in the Bengal Presidency with a library being attached to each. Between 1835 and 1838 the number
of seminaries under the control of the Committee in the Bengal Presidency increased to forty and the number of pupils from about three thousand and four hundred to six thousand. "The Tide", remarks Trevelyan, "had set in strongly in favour of English education, and when the Committee declared itself on the same side, the public support they received rather went beyond than fell short of what was required. More applications were received for the establishment of schools than could be complied with; there were more candidates for admission to many of those which were established than could be accommodated. On the opening of the Hoogly College, in August, 1836, students of English flocked to it in such numbers as to render the organization and classification of them a matter of difficulty. Twelve hundred names were entered on the books of this department of the college within three days, and at the end of the year there were upwards of one thousand in regular attendance. Notwithstanding the extraordinary concourse of English students at Hoogly, the demand was so little exhausted that when an auxiliary school was lately opened within two miles of the college the English department of it was instantly filled and numerous applicants were sent away unsatisfied. In the same way, when additional means of instruction were provided at Dacca, the number of pupils rose at once from 150 to upwards of 300, and more teachers were still called for. The same thing also took place at Agra."

The cause of English education was also furthered by Lord Hardinge's Educational Resolution of the 10th October, 1844, which declared that "in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and specially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment." This competitive examination for

2 Trevelyan, On the Education of the People of India, pp. 81-83.
public services was to be held under the superintendence of the Council of Education which had replaced the Committee of Public Instruction (1842-43).

In Bombay, Mountstuart Elphinstone sought to encourage vernacular education from 1823. "English was to be taught but only as a classical language; and provision was made for the translation of English books on moral and physical sciences". But, after Mr. Elphinstone's retirement in 1827 a sum of Rs. 1,20,000, subscribed to perpetuate his memory, was utilised for the opening of an institution called the Elphinstone College. In 1825 arrangements were made for the teaching of English in the Hindu College at Poona, which had been established in 1821. The Bombay Board of Education was created in 1840. Sir Erskine Perrie, who strongly advocated English education, was appointed its President in 1843, and during his term of presidency for nine years, 1843 to 1852, the number of English schools under the Board's Control "nearly doubled and nine private English schools were started in Bombay". Some of the important measures adopted by him for the spread of English education were the opening of the Grant Medical College in 1845, starting of Chairs for Botany and Chemistry at the Elphinstone College in the next year, and the amalgamation of the English School and the Sanskrit College at Poona. There were in Bombay Presidency in 1850 ten Government or aided English institutions with about 2,000 students.

The Board of Education in Bombay worked with "energy and foresight." When resigning office in May 1855, the Board were "able to show that during their 15 years' administration

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3 P. N. Bose, op. cit., III, p. 165.
5 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Thomas. The History and Prospects of British Education in India, p. 53.
the expenditure on education, together with the number of schools and scholars, had nearly trebled, while the quality of the instruction had greatly improved". There were some able officers on their educational staff, particularly Captain Candy, Principal of the Poona College and Superintendent of Vernacular Education in the Deccan and Konkan, and his assistant Pandit Bal Gangadhar Shastri. On the death of the latter in 1846, the Board recorded their appreciation of his services in the following terms: "Ball Shastree (Bal Shastri) united in an eminent degree the highest qualities which a paternal Government would look for on the part of one who devotes himself to the business of the instruction of the youth. His attainments in science, his conversance with European literature and his remarkable facility and elegance in English composition enabled him to take a high place among the best scholars of the day, but in addition to this acquired knowledge, his simple unostentatious deportment, and unwearied efforts on behalf of his countrymen insured him the respect and regard of all the Europeans to whom he was intimately known; while on the other hand the zeal and industry with which he devoted the far greater part of each 24 hours to the best interests of his countrymen, with no other regard to self than is involved in the love of praise from those whose praise is worth acquiring, secured for him an influence as extensive in range as it was beneficial in character".

In the Madras Presidency some missionary schools taught English; but there does not seem to have been for several years any systematic efforts for the spread of English education. Referring to the Bellary District, its Collector, A. D. Campbell, wrote to the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George on the 17th August, 1823, that out of 533 schools in that district, the English language was taught in one school only.

10 Quoted in Selections from Educational Records, Part II, by J. A. Richey, pp. 143-144.
An administrator like Sir Thomas Munro was fully alive to the question of education in Madras. Under the orders of his Government there, dated the 2nd July, 1822, the Board of Revenue conducted an enquiry into the state of education in that Presidency and in their reports, submitted on the 21st February, 1824, they noted that the number of schools of indigenous origin was calculated as 12,498 and of scholars reading therein 12,850,941. Out of this population there were only 188,000 or 1 in 67 receiving education, not certainly of high order though higher, according to Sir Thomas Munro, “than it was in most European countries at no very distant period”\(^{12}\). In March, 1826, Munro propounded a scheme for the improvement of education recommending therein the establishment of a school for educating teachers as proposed by the Committee of Madras School Book Society in October, 1824, of two “principal schools” in each Collectorate\(^{13}\), one for Hindus and the other for Muhammadans; and of 15 inferior schools being on the average one to each Tehasil. According to Munro’s recommendation, a Committee of Public Instruction was formed at Madras on the 1st June, 1826, its object being, as it was stated, “the general improvement of education”. This Committee came to be called the Board of Public Instruction since November, 1826. In 1829 a school was established at Bangalore for imparting instruction in English—and also south Indian languages, the Raja of Mysore promising to pay Rs. 350 per annum for its maintenance and the Madras Government contributing an equivalent sum\(^{14}\).

Munro’s scheme did not produce satisfactory results. After the Resolution of 7th March, 1835, the Supreme Government of Calcutta recommended to the Madras Government the withdrawal of aid from the Collectorate and Tehasildaree schools and the starting of an English College at Madras and of Provincial schools at some important places in the interior.

\(^{12}\) Minute, dated the 10th March, 1826, by Sir Thomas Munro.

\(^{13}\) There were then 20 Collectories in the Madras Presidency.

\(^{14}\) Fisher’s Memoir,
if money was available. So the Collectorate and the Tehasil-daree schools were abolished in 1836 and also the Board of Public Instruction was replaced by a new Committee called the Committee of Native Education. This Committee submitted a scheme for the immediate establishment of a Normal School and a College at Madras and also four English schools in different parts of the city. Nothing was then done by the Government to give effect to these proposals. Expressing regret "that, while so much has been done at the other Presidencies (about education) so little has been effected here (Madras)". Lord Elphinstone issued a Minute on the 12th December, 1839, suggesting therein the establishment of a central collegiate institution or University at Madras "for the higher branches of literature, philosophy and science" and a High School "for the cultivation of English literature and of the vernacular languages of India, and the elementary departments of philosophy and science". The High School was started in April, 1841, with 70 boys on the rolls; but the college was not organised until 1853. Lord Elphinstone further proposed on the 12th February, 1841, "the establishment of superior schools, where the English language would be proper medium of instruction, at some of the principle towns in the hope that these schools might eventually become colleges". For implementing this scheme a new controlling body, entitled the University Board, was created in place of the Committee of Native Education, with the Advocate General, Mr. George Norton, as its President. In 1845 this Board was superseded by a Council of Education, which was dissolved in 1847 at the instance of the Court of Directors, the University Board being again entrusted with its duties. The Council of Education was sought to be revived in 1848 by Sir Henry Pottinger, who became Governor of Madras from April, 1848, and also proposed some other measures for education. But these were opposed by two members of his


16 Quoted in Ibid., pp. 184-191,
Council (Messrs. Elliot and Thomas) and so the University Board was reorganised in April, 1852, by the addition of thirteen new members. The Board made "comprehensive proposals" for extension of education which, however, proved to be abortive. It was not till June, 1853, that the first Government school, outside Madras, was started at Cuddalore and a second school was opened at Rajamundry in July, 1855. "In view of the constant changes both in the policy of the local Government and in the personnel of the authority whose duties it was to carry out that policy it is not a matter for suprise that the educational activities of the Madras Government were not fruitful in results or that we find in 1852 but one single institution in the Presidency founded or under the immediate control of Government".

In 1854 about 1000 pupils received education in the Pachaiyappa's institution, which had been opened in 1842, and about 33,000 boys got English education in Missionary schools. The Court of Directors recorded in the Educational Despatch of 1854: "In Madras where little has yet been done by Government to promote the education of the masses of the people, we can only remark with satisfaction that the educational efforts of Christian Missionaries have been more successful among the Tamil population than in any other part of India."

It would be, however, unhistorical to ascribe to Lord Macaulay the sole credit for the introduction of western education and to attribute its spread only to Government measures or missionary efforts. There was at the same time a growing consciousness in this country regarding its utility. Already a section of enlightened Indians, while conscious of the value of their own classical knowledge and deeply proficient in it, had also come to realise the need of linking their countrymen with the progressive cultural forces of the outside world in a period of immense transition in history due to the

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17 Ibid., p. 177.
18 P. N. Bose, op. cit., III, p. 183.
19 Ibid.
20 B. N. Banerjee, Sambadpate Sekaler Katha, Part I, pp. 22-23,
to new influences generated and transmitted by great revolutions like the French Revolution of 1789 and the Industrial Revolution. They rightly felt that the attitude of isolationism in a changing world, with which compulsion of circumstances had brought India into intimate contact, would be prejudicial to her interests. The creation of a new outlook was needed to enable her to meet the challenge of the new age. Sir Hyde East, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, observed in his letter addressed on the 18th May, 1816, to J. Harrington, a brother judge then in England: “About the beginning of May (1816) a Brahmin of Calcutta whom I knew, and who is well known for his intelligence and active interference among the principal Native inhabitants and also intimate with many of our own gentlemen of distinction, called upon me and informed me, that many of the leading Hindus were desirous of forming an establishment for the education of their children in a liberal manner.” The immediate fruit of this spirit was the establishment on the 20th January, 1817, of the Hindu College of Calcutta, out of which flowed for some years currents of revolutionary thoughts. While the prime mover for the establishment of an institution like this was David Hare, whose philanthropy and selfless service to the cause of suffering humanity, irrespective of caste and creed, made an abiding impression on the minds of the Indians, Sir Hyde East, Raja Rammohan Roy, Raja Radha Kanta Deb and a few others were zealously associated with its origin and early progress. Some of the leading members of the Hindu community in Calcutta, to whom Rammohan “appeared as a heretic and more of a Mussalman than a Hindu,” did not like his association with this institution. Rammohan, prompted by sincere feelings for a cause so dear to him, decided not to be on the Committee of

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23 Letters to David Hare from some Students of the Hindu College, dated 17th February, 1831.
Management. This was indeed a laudable act of self-abnegation well worthy of emulation by all who would aim at the promotion of social welfare. Rammohan’s zeal for the spread of new education found concrete expression in other ways too. No one then had most probably a more genuine regard for India’s classical knowledge. But at the same time he realised that concentration of efforts on this aspect only would mean intellectual isolationism for his country at a time when dynamic forces were in other parts of the world revolutionising thoughts of mankind. It was this conviction that led him to address a letter to Lord Amherst on the 11th December, 1823, in which he strongly advocated the establishment of a seminary for the diffusion of the arts and sciences of Europe among his countrymen and opposed the Government plan for the establishment of a Sanskrit College in Calcutta which, in his opinion, would only impart such knowledge as is current in India. Though his representation bore no immediate fruit, his conviction remained unshaken and it was justified by what happened in the future. The Hunter Commission observed in 1882: “It took twelve years of controversy, the advocacy of Macaulay, and the decisive action of a new Governor-General before the Committee (of Public Instruction) would, as a body, acquiesce in the policy urged by him (Rammohan).”

Already Rammohan had started a school of his own at Suripara in Calcutta for free teaching of Hindu boys in English\(^{24}\). Afterwards he purchased a plot of land at Simla near Cornwallis Square in Calcutta and in 1822 opened a school there which, according to Miss Collet, was known as the “Anglo-Hindu School”\(^{25}\). This institution, financed by Rammohan with subscriptions from a few friends, afforded free tuition to the boys. From January, 1834, this school came to be known as the “Indian Academy.” Jainarayan Ghosal also started in 1818 a school at Benares for the teach-

\(^{24}\) *Rammohan, Centenary Volume*, Part II, Section 1, p. 44,
ing of English, Persian, Hindustani and Bengali. Schools teaching English were established in different parts of Calcutta and at several other places such as Hugli, Burdwan, Midnapur, Dacca, Barisal, Santipur, Murshidabad, Rangpur, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, and English Classes were attached to the Sanskrit College in Calcutta and the Agra College. On the 3rd May, 1843, the superintendence of public instruction in the North-Western Provinces was vested in the local Government and the final allotment of money was completed on the 20th March, 1844. The local Government was entrusted with an annual sum of about two lacs and with the control over three colleges at Agra, Delhi and Benares and nine schools located at some important stations. At these colleges and schools, "instruction was given in the English language and in the higher branches of education." The colleges continued, but by April 1849, only three schools were maintained by the Government.

It is significant to note that not only Raja Rammohan Roy but also some others started in those days institutions at different places for free primary education, one of the many useful objectives which India has tried to achieve with some success in the recent years. Sir Charles Trevelyan, then holding an important office in the Company's Civil service, wrote. "In 1831, the Committee (of Public Instruction) reported that a taste for English had been widely disseminated and independent schools, conducted by young men reared in the Vidyalaya (the Hindu College), are springing up in every direction. This spirit gathering strength from time to time, and from many favourable circumstances, had gained a great height in 1835; several rich Natives had established English schools at their own expense; associations had been formed for the same purpose at different places in the interior,

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similar to the one to which the Hindu College owed its origin." A contemporary Bengali journal, *Samachar Darpan*, noted in its issue of the 18th June, 1831, that Rasik Krishna Mallik, one of the most famous products of the Hindu College, established at Simla an institution named the Hindu Free School where eighty students then received education. On the authority of a statement regarding the efforts of the students of the Hindu College to educate others, published by Krishna Mohan Banerjea in his paper called *The Enquirer*, the *Samachar Darpan* observed on the 10th September, 1831:

"There were (previously) no other schools (in this country) except those established by some generous foreigners. But a great change has taken place in course of time. Now some gentlemen of this land regard their countrymen as their own brethren and are fully conscious of what they should do for their welfare. For the spread of education among the Hindus, *pathsalas* (primary schools) have been started by Hindus in different parts of Calcutta ... In this great city six morning *pathsalas* have been started at six different centres, which teach 317 boys"\(^{30}\). Shri Govind Chandra Basak started the Hindu Free School in 1834, the students of which, numbering 130 in six classes, were examined by David Hare to his satisfaction in March 1835\(^{31}\). A charity school, named Hindu Benevolent Institution, was started on the 15th March, 1831, by Sarada Prasad Basu, in his own house near Shyampukur in Calcutta\(^{32}\). In 1832 two rich Indians, called Kalinath Raychaudhuri and Baikuntha Raychaudhuri of Taki, situated at a distance of about forty miles from Calcutta, provided for the establishment of a local school to teach English, Arabic, Persian and Bengali to the boys and placed its entire management under the control of Rev. Duff. About 500 students attended this school daily and many more intending to read there could not be admitted for lack of

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accommodation, extension of which was, however, contemplated\textsuperscript{33}. In 1837 one such institution for free coaching, also known as Benevolent Institution, was started at a village named Amarpur near Hugli.

These free schools and many others which sprang up in the course of a few years owed their origin and growth\textsuperscript{34} to the intellectual zeal of some youths trained in the Hindu College and also to the generosity of many enlightened members of the public. These institutions did not serve, as is ordinarily supposed, merely to train persons for clerical or other jobs, but the students in some of them showed remarkable proficiency in the different subjects taught to them, even in the English language. A contemporary newspaper, while referring to the examinations of the boys of the school at Taki held on the 26th July, 1836, and the 19th June, 1837, made the following significant observations: (a) "It appears that the students have acquired considerable proficiency in the subjects which they have read, and many of them were able to translate passages (into English) with ease, so that they did not merely cram as parrots"\textsuperscript{35}, (b) "It would have been a matter of surprise if in any village school in England so many boys had been found well read in two foreign languages, mensuration, history, geography, algebra, arithmetic and the art of calligraphy. But it is much more wonderful that such has been the case here in Bengal, which now (because of its various vicissitudes) is like a forest"\textsuperscript{36}.

As regards knowledge of English, the students of the Hindu College made wonderfully brilliant progress. While appearing at an examination held in the Calcutta Government House in January, 1828, the students of the Hindu College not only acquitted themselves creditably in subjects like history, geography, etc., but also recited from English dramatic literature with sound pronunciation to the surprise of all

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid, II, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, pp. 213-14.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, p. 50.
present there, including Dr. and Mr. Baillie, Dr. Wilson and some other European ladies and gentlemen. Commenting on this a contemporary newspaper remarked: "Previously the Englishmen thought that the Bengalis only learnt a little English for clerkship; but now it was clear that they had begun to learn English like their own language". The number of pupils in the Hindu College increased from 70 in 1819 to more than 400 in 1830. Referring to this institution the Committee of Public Instruction wrote in 1831: "The consequence had surpassed our expectation. A command of the English language and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. A taste for English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools, conducted by young men reared in the Vidyalaya (the Hindu College), are springing up in every direction." A contemporary Indian newspaper recorded on the 7th March, 1829, as follows: "Highly striking arrangements have been made in this country, during the last five or six years, for imparting English education. So long we heard that the students learnt a bit of English language to get clerkships. But now we are greatly suprised that the boys here have been able to study very difficult books in English, to acquire knowledge of the most abstruse subjects and to master what it is very hard to learn.

Five talented young men of the Dutt family of Rambagan in Calcutta wrote English verses by 1848, which, in the opinion of a contemporary reviewer, were "distinguished by a grace and strength, which are rarely seen in that (versification) of our small English bards, and which would in some measure atone for the scarcity of new, striking, or profound thoughts". "We can vouch for the fact," observed the reviewer further, "that Bengal has many other indigenous bards

37 Ibid., III, p. 9.
38 P. N. Bose, op. cit., III, p. 169.
39 Quoted in Ibid.
41 Calcutta Review, 1849 (July-December), IX-XIX.
worthy to rank with those, whose works we have here celebrated." A "gifted daughter" of this "gifted family" was Toru Dutt, the famous Indian poetess, who was born in Calcutta in 1856 and died at the early age of twenty-one.

The object of some of the British officials behind the move for the spread of education in India may not have been purely humanitarian and they favoured it as a means for securing better classes of subordinate staff for administrative work. In a minute of 1828 Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, while expressing against the teaching of English "as an unnecessary burden, though translations of English works were requisite," made, however, the following observation: "One of the chief objects I expect from diffusing education among the natives of India, is our increased power of associating them in every part of our administration. This I deem essential on grounds of economy, of improvement and of security". The Court of Directors observed in one of their despatches to the Madras Council, dated the 29th September, 1830: "You are moreover acquainted with our anxious desire to have at our disposal a body of natives, qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of their country than has hitherto been the practice under our Indian Governments. The measures for native education, which have as yet been adopted or planned at your Presidency, have had no tendency to produce such persons". In one of their letters to Bengal in the same year they expressed that the diffusion of English education in India was of primary importance because it was "calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified, by their intelligence and morality, for high employment in the civil administration of India". We read in the Report of the Select Committee of 1832 as follows: "It is on all hands allowed that the general cultivation of the English language (in India) is most highly desirable both with a view to the introduction

42 Sharp, op. cit., 1, p. 144.
43 Ibid., pp. 51-52.
of the Natives into Places of Trust, and as a powerful means of operating favourably on their habits and character; . . . . It has been suggested that the most powerful stimulus would be to make a certain degree of proficiency a condition of qualification for civil employment.” Even Lord Auckland, who arranged for some sort of Governmental patronage to oriental learning, probably as a measure of conciliation, observed in his famous Minute, dated the 24th November 1839: “A familiarity with the general principles of legislation and government, and the power of offering information or opinion upon public affairs in English reports (which is the form in which the higher correspondence regarding the British administration in India, will, of course, always be conducted), must be qualifications so directly useful, as (not to speak of the recommendations of an improved moral character) to ensure to the possessors of them a preference for the most lucrative public employment, after they shall have acquired that knowledge of life and of business, and that good opinion among those who have had opportunities of witnessing their conduct, which mere book-learning never can bestow.” The Minute of Lord Hardinge, already referred to, recommended “every reasonable encouragement” to the “existing state of education” by “holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service. . . .”

There may have been also demand among some of the Indians for English education as a means for securing employments in the Company’s administration. Some in Bombay submitted a petition to the British Parliament on the 25th January, 1831, stating therein that it would be “highly politic to introduce the English language into India, and with that intention, for Parliament to enact that no native, after the period of twelve years, shall be admissible into any office in the judicial, territorial of financial department, unless his competency in reading, writing and speaking the
English language has been certified by a Committee appointed for his examination."

There is also no doubt that there was a conviction in the minds of some British contemporaries that the new learning would destroy Indian traditions in culture and society. Charles Grant, a British philanthropist, who after spending some years in India submitted a treatise (1792-97) on the improvement of the Indians to the Court of Directors, became himself a member of that body and was a leading member of the Clapham sect along with Wilberforce, Thornton, Zachary, Macaulay and some others, observed: "...it is perfectly in the power of this country by degrees to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards, through that medium to make them acquainted with our literary compositions upon a variety of subjects and let not the idea hastily excite derision, progressively with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error." Macaulay may have thought of "casting aside all that is oriental and Indian in tradition" or that if "our plans are followed there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal in 30 years." Referring to the spread of English ideas the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal observed in its Report of the month of December, 1831: "The moral effect has been equally remarkable and an impatience of the restrictions of Hinduism, and a disregard of its ceremonies are openly avowed by many young men of respectable birth and talents, and entertained by many more who outwardly conform to the practices of their countrymen. Another generation will probably witness a very material alteration in the notions and feelings of the educated classes of the Hindu community of Calcutta."

But in spite of such immediate disintegrating effects of the new learning, one has to admit that it unfolded before the Indian youths the vista of a new world and sowed in their minds the seeds of an intellectual revolution pregnant with weighty consequences.
II

The Hindu College,—A Centre of Intellectual Revolution.

The Hindu College in Calcutta was a nursery for the origin and dissemination of new ideas of change in education, culture, society and politics. An institution is very much moulded by the personality of its teachers, and some famous teachers of this institution, like Louis Vivian Derozio and David Lester Richardson, exercised a profound influence on their pupils. Derozio came to be associated with the Hindu College as a teacher when its location was transferred to a site on the north of the Goldighi early in May, 1826. A poet, philosopher and free-thinker, he, by his learned lessons, generous conversation and loving personal contact with his students as friends, stirred their religious and educational ideas to their very depths. Writing in the Calcutta Review of 1881, Mr. Thomas Edwards observes significantly: "The teaching of Derozio, the force of his individuality, his winning manners, his wide knowledge of books, his own youth, which placed him in close sympathy with his pupils, his open, generous, chivalrous nature, his humour and playfulness, his fearless love of truth, his hatred of all that was unmanly and mean, his ardent love of India, evinced in his conversations and recorded in his lines:

My country in thy day of glory past
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow.

His social intercourse with his pupils, produced an intellectual and moral revolution in Hindu society since unparalleled. The famous Scottish missionary, Duff, wrote in June, 1830, that is, within a month after his arrival in India: "We rejoiced when, in the metropolis of British India, we fairly came in contact with a rising body of natives who had learn-

45 Calcutta Review, 1881.
ed to think and discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom”⁴⁶, owing largely to the effects of Derozio’s teaching. The Samachar Darpan, a contemporary newspaper of the Christian missionaries of Serampore, while noticing the premature death of Derozio, observed: “While in the Hindu College he laboured to instil into the minds of the youths under his care the true principles of science, and to lead them to think for themselves. The result of his tuition has been that the students brought up under it are vastly superior in acquirements to the fellow-countrymen; that body of enlightened youths form a monument by which he will long be remembered in Calcutta”⁴⁷. The Calcutta Courier of the 5th June, 1833, recorded the following estimate by a contemporary of Derozio’s many-sided genius and influence as a teacher: “The master spirit of this young man, whose premature end will be deplored by every friend of humanity and of literature, called forth all the energies of the human breast. The charm of his eloquence nerved his young disciples to the most daring — yet the noblest acts, doing what is unparalleled in the annals of any college, or even in the history of mankind. He infused into the infants the sternness of manhood, and taught them to sacrifice home and every kindred tie at the alter of Truth . . . Love, gratitude, truth, honour appear to have been the prominent features of his short but brilliant career; and the spell that bound his pupils around him, served alike to animate them to almost super-human exertions. Those who benefited most by his instruction have brought themselves conspicuously forward; some editing respectable periodicals, others aiding by contributions; while a third class, moved by a congenial spirit, have spread themselves abroad and are benefiting their fellow-countrymen by the establishment of gratuitous seminaries, devoting thus not only their heads but their purse on the glorious cause of moral improvement.”

With his pupils, Derozio established the Academic Asso-

⁴⁶ Quoted in Ibid.
⁴⁷ Quoted in Ibid.
ciation, which met for some time, evening after evening, in a garden-house at Maniktola in Calcutta under his chairmanship and with Umacharan Bose as its Secretary, and was occasionally attended by David Hare. Several debating societies soon sprang up as offshoots of this parent Association. The members of this body had unrestricted and free discussions about literary and philosophical topics and this naturally created in their minds a spirit of challenge to what had been long conventional and static.

It is true that somewhat frenzied with the impulse of newness some of the pupils of Derozio attacked Hindu religion virulently, manifestly expressed hatred of Indian manners and customs and misinterpreted some of the noble fundamentals of Indian civilisation. It is recorded in the History of the Hindu College by Haramohan Chatterjee that "the principles and practices of the Hindu religion were openly ridiculed and condemned, and angry disputes were held on moral subjects; the sentiments of Hume had been widely diffused and warmly patronised... The most glowing harangues were made at debating clubs, then very numerous. The Hindu religion was denounced as vile and corrupt and unworthy of the regard of rational beings". In an issue of the *Athenium*, a monthly English paper started by the pupils of Derozio, one of them, named Madhab Chandra Mallik, even went so far as to remark: "If there is anything that we hate from the bottom of our heart it is Hinduism". A writer observed in the *Calcutta Review* of 1852: "It is not strange that youthful minds, from which had evaporated every particle of faith and reverence for all that they once held most sacred, and who looked upon their former condition with rage and contempt, should wander for a while without star or compass, and hold aloof from every thing that could not be made palpable to their senses, or proved by mathematical demonstration. It is not strange, that in the first rebound

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Ibid.

of indignation, the very names of 'priest' and religion should have been a bugbear, and their notions of the social relations uncertain and confused. Every thing became debatable, and was debated. The being of God, the parental relationship, the ties of consanguinity, were subjected to the crucible of these youthful and giddy brains; and too often little came forth, but pride and overweening conceit, and open contempt for parents and relatives, who believed in Sumeru and the seven oceans, who drank the washings of Brahmans' feet, and worshipped Kali and Durga."

The contemporary Indian society could not reconcile itself to all those strictures and abuses and held Derozio responsible for what its prominent members considered to be grossly anti-Indian and irreligious. He was removed from the Hindu College staff in April, 1831. No doubt Derozio's teachings and examples generated a new spark of fire which aimed at burning all that clogged, as his pupils believed, human progress. But he should not be accused of any mischievous design to propagate immoral ideas. He emphasised on love and rational thinking for realisation of truth, on a dynamic process of life furthered by the growth of knowledge. In his correspondence with Horace Hayman Wilson, President of the Managing Committee of the Hindu College, regarding his dismissal, Derozio observed on the 26th April, 1831: "If the religious opinions of the students have become unhinged in consequence of the course I have pursued, the fault is not mine. To produce convictions was not within my power; and if I am to be condemned for the atheism of some, let me receive credit for the theism of others. Believe me, my dear Sir, I am too thoroughly imbued with a deep sense of human ignorance and of the perpetual vicissitudes of opinion, to speak with confidence even of the most unimportant matters. Doubt and uncertainty besiege us too closely, to admit the boldness of dogmatism to enter an enquiring mind; and far be it from me to say "this is" "and this is not," when after the most extensive acquaintance with the researches of science and after the most daring flights of genius
we must confess with sorrow and disappointment, that humility becomes the highest wisdom, for the highest wisdom assures man of his ignorance. If the leading alumni of the Hindu College grew sceptical about some Hindu beliefs and practices, they also showed no cordial leanings towards Christianity, though one of them, Krishna Mohan Banerjea, became subsequently a zealous member of the Christian community. They refused to receive instructions from the missionaries whom they regarded either as “ignorant fanatics or designing imposters”, as Duff notes. The missionaries naturally deplored this attitude on their part. Duff observes: “About the time already referred to, the Government Anglo-Indian College of Calcutta had begun to put forth some of its ripest fruits. That institution . . . is the very beau ideal of a system of education without religion. It communicates largely European literature and science; but as far as its regulations extend, neither within nor without its walls will it tolerate the impartation of religious truth. Now the citadel of Hinduism, being, from the base to the highest pinnacle, a citadel of error, it can never resist a vigorous onset of true knowledge, however secular. Accordingly their ancestral faith was completely subverted in the minds of the more advanced alumni of the Government College, but nothing better was attempted or allowed to be submitted in its room. Many had become, or were really becoming sceptics; and others direct atheists.”

Eager for the propagation of the Christian faith, he left no stone unturned to fill up what he considered to be “a region of vacancy as regards religion”. But efforts for the conversion of those educated youths, who had declared themselves to be “free enquirers after truth”, were not crowned with much success, though some others were being gradually attracted towards Christianity. A writer in the Calculcutta Review of

50 Quoted in Calculcutta Review, 1881, p. 51.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid, p. 66.
1845, who was himself such a strong advocate of Christianity as to hold it "to be of the last moment that those who wish well to India should have a clear apprehension of the importance of Christian education as the grand instrument by which the good of the land is to be promoted", remarked: "The system of education without religion has now been long tested in its actual application to the Hindu mind. And what has been the result? The newspapers told as much a few months ago of what they chose to term the "Chuckerbutty faction" (so called after Tarachand Chakravarty) and now we read of the doings of the same body under the name of the 'Young Bengal'. These youths talk much of social blessings and political rights, but who does not know that their proceedings will all end in idle words?"

Because of the virulence of attacks directed by the recipients of new education against some of the prevailing Indian customs and practices, it has been said that the "new wine of western learning went into the heads of Indians"\(^5\), and made them restless. This was, however, a temporary phase, and whatever could be the evil effects of this iconoclastic attitude were ultimately counteracted to a large extent by the Indian reform movements of the second half of the 19th century. In fact, some of the projects and activities of a batch of young Indians, imbued with the ideas of a new education, were not only path-breaking but also of much constructive potentiality. Their indomitable thirst for knowledge, genuine aspiration for reforms and spirit of selfless service for the good of others opened the flood-gates of novel currents of thoughts which, when properly directed, revolutionised all phases of modern Indian life.

\(^{5}\) Lord Ronaldshay, *The Heart of Aryavarta*, p. 45.
LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ORGANISATIONS

AND NEW TRENDS IN LITERATURE

The zeal for acquisition and diffusion of more and more knowledge resulted in the springing up, during the period under review, of some literary as well as scientific societies and institutions. The School Book Society and the School Society, started in Calcutta on the 4th July, 1817\(^1\) and 1st September, 1818, respectively, catered for some years to certain educational requirements, particularly supply of textbooks, due very much to the exertions of David Hare and Raja Radhakanta Dev, a sincere patron of culture and education. The Calcutta School Society had in 1821 under its supervision 115 schools with 3823 pupils, and two years later the Government sanctioned it a monthly grant of Rs. 500.\(^2\) Some other ‘Europeo-Native’ institutions, which came into existence during this period were (a) the Dacca and Murshidabad School Societies, started in November, 1818, and June, 1819, respectively, (b) the Madras School Book Society, started in April, 1820, and the Bombay Native School and School Book Society, started in August, 1820 for promotion of education among the Indians with Government grant of Rs. 1,060 per mensem\(^3\). Reference has been already made by me to the Academic Association of Derozio and his pupils, the office of which was shifted, after the death of Derozio, to the School of David Hare who became its President. This Association was in a moribund condition by 1839 and nothing was heard of it since then. But the leaders of new Bengal had also started a Circulating Library and an Epistolarv Association, the former serving to supply books to its

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\(^1\) Formally opened on the 4th May, 1817, according to Prof. N. L. Basak who contributed an important article regarding it in *Bengal: Past and Present*, January-June, 1959, pp. 30-59.

\(^2\) P. N. Bose, *op. cit.*, III, p. 196.

members and through the latter its members exchanged their views and ideas on various topics by means of correspondence. In 1835 the efforts of some educated citizens of Calcutta (Indians as well as Englishmen) led to the establishment of the Calcutta Public Library, which subsequently developed into the Imperial Library and is now known as the National Library of India. On the 12th March, 1838, came into being what was called the Society for the Acquisition of General knowledge with Tarachand Chakravarty as its President. The manifesto, dated 20th February, 1838, embodying the proposal for this Society and signed by Tarini Charan Banerjee, Ram Gopal Ghose, Ramtanu Lahiri, Tarachand Chakravarty and Rajkrishna Dey, contained the following significant note:

With a view, therefore, to create in ourselves a determined and well-regulated love of study, which will lead us to dive deeper than the mere surface of learning, and enable us to acquire a respectable knowledge on matters of general and more especially of local interest, we have thought it expedient to invite you to meet, in order to consider the proposal of establishing an institution which, in our humble opinion, is eminently calculated, not only to effect this great end, but likely to promote mutual good feeling and union — an object of no less importance.

The Society encouraged discussion on varied topics, social, political, historical, literary and scientific, as would appear from the list of papers with their contributors noted below:

K. M. Banerjea — (1) Reform, Civil and Social, among Educated Natives.
(2) On the Nature and Importance of Historical Studies.

Hurro Chunder Ghose — Topographical and Statistical Sketch of Bankurah.

Mahesh Chunder Deb — A Sketch on the condition of Hindu Women.

Govind Chander Sen — Brief Outline of the History of Hindustan.

Govind Ch. Bysak — Descriptive Notices of Chittagong.

Peary Chand Mitra — State of Hindustan under the Hindus.

Govind Ch. Bysak — Descriptive Notices of Tipperah.

Prosonno Kumar Mitra — The Physiology of Dissection.

On this matter the Bengal Harkaru dated the 16th January, 1843, informs us as follows: “There is no restriction imposed as to the character or nature of the subject to be treated upon, but any member may select whatever subject he considers within the scope of his ability or which may be most consonant with his peculiar taste or department of study; nor is the liberty denied for the writer to dress his essay either in the English or in the Bengalee language as he may think best. In this way since the establishment of the Society a great variety of topics have been treated of at the meetings of the Society, and the most choice essays and papers have been collected together and printed as the ‘transactions’ of the Society.” We read in the Calcutta Review of 1851: “The Society numbered nearly two hundred members and many of the papers preserved among its printed records, are documents of considerable interest. History, poetry, language, the social condition of various classes of the people, topography, metaphysics, a few popular topics connected with anatomy and physiology and similar subjects appear to have occupied the attention of those seekers after truth.” The Society seems to have died of inanition in 1843.

The establishment of the Tattwabodhini Sabha in 1839 was a significant event in the history of Indian religion and culture during this period, marked by the penetration of new forces into India from outside and also an urge for cultural
renaissance within the country. This institution owed its origin to Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, one of the noblest personalities in the history of reascent India. A writer in the Calculata Review of 1845, though highly critical about the aims and activities of the Tattwabodhini Sabha, thus remarked about him: “If amiability of manners and illustrious filiation from one, whom crowned heads have delighted to honour in the most civilized quarter of the globe, be advantageous of no ordinary magnitude, the Tattwabodhini Sabha has every reason to count itself happy in securing such a patron and friend. In him they possess a bulwark of which they have every human right to boast. The loneliness of youth, when associated with illustrious parentage and rare excellences of character, is no despicable weapon.” Started as the Tattwaranjini Sabha on the 6th October, 1839, in his premises at Jorasanko, it came to be called the Tattwabodhini Sabha, from the second session, at the suggestion of Shri Ramchandra Vidyabagis, one of the prominent members of the Brahma Samaj. At a time when some of the youths of Bengal, influenced by new education, had been developing a dislike for Indian religion, society and customs, the Tattwabodhini Sabha aimed at the revival and dissemination of true knowledge relating to the fundamental truths of India’s old religion and culture against the prejudiced attacks on these of the Christian Missionaries, spread of education chiefly through the medium of Bengali, study of India’s ancient lore, and social reform. It has been rightly pointed out that this Sabha showed the path for research about India’s ancient culture through the medium of Bengali language and enriched Bengali language.


Maharshi Debendranath Tagore
and literature to a considerable degree. Thus it made a highly significant contribution towards cultural renaissance and antiquarian research in modern Bengal.

The *Tattwabodhini Sabha* was started by Debendranath with only ten members from among his relations. But because of its salutary works in promoting cultural revival and self-consciousness among the educated people of Bengal, it became popular and in the four years from 1840 the number of its members stood as 105, 115, 83 and 138 respectively⁸. In 1846 the number rose to 638⁹ and later on to 800. Of those who openly associated themselves with this organisation, the names of Pandit Ramchandra Vidyabagis, Shyamacharan Sarkar, Dr. Durgacharan Bandopadhayay (father of Sir Surendranath Banerjea), Akshay Kumar Datta, Peary Chand Mitra, Rajnarain Basu, Ramaprasad Roy, Ramgopal Ghosh, Amritlal Mitra, Sambhunath Pandit, Anandakrishna Basu, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar and Rajendra Lal Mitra deserve special mention¹⁰. Debendranath was initiated into the faith of the Brahmo Samaj on the 21st December, 1843¹¹ and at his initiative the *Tattwabodhini Sabha* was entrusted with the task of looking after the Brahmo Samaj¹². Gradually it mingled with the Brahmo Samaj and ceased to have its independent existence.

For fulfilment of the aims and objects of the *Tattwabodhini Sabha*, Debendranath adopted three means, viz (1) establishment of *Tattwabodhini Pathsala* (school), (2) publication of *Tattwabodhini Patrika* and (3) writing and publication of religious books. The *Tattwabodhini Pathsala* was started on the 13th June, 1840, in a rented house of Dakshinaranjan Mukhopadhyaya in the Simla area of Calcutta, where the office of *Tattwabodhini Sabha* was also located. Akshay Kumar Datta was a teacher of this institution from the date

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of its birth till it continued to function in Calcutta. Due to financial stringency the site of this school was shifted from Calcutta to the village Bansberia in the Hugli district on the 30th April, 1843. As it did not become possible for Akshay Kumar Datta to go out of Calcutta, Shyamacharan Tattwabagis became Head teacher of this school, which imparted to its students sound education in various subjects. The Council of Education observed in its report of the year 1845-46: "There is an English school at Bansberia, an ancient Seat of Hindoo learning, supported by Baboos Debendranath Tagore and Ramaprasad Roy the sons of distinguished fathers.

It is established for the diffusion of Vedanta principles but is conducted by an ex-student of this college who is himself not of that persuasion".

After having functioned creditably for three years more the School ceased to exist about 1848, as its founder and greatest patron, Debendranath Tagore, was involved in financial troubles on the failure of the Union Bank and the Carr-Tagore and Company.

The Tattwabodhini Patrika, the first issue of which appeared on the 16th August, 1843, was the chief organ of the Tattwabodhini Sabha. Its main object was circulation of relevant information regarding ancient Indian culture and its propagation among the members of the Sabha, who lived at different places. Akshay Kumar Datta was its Editor from the time of its origin till 1855 and under his distinguished guidance it attained a high standard. It also published articles about the various social and cultural problems of those days and served to enlighten many people on them. A contemporary writer observed in the Calcutta Review of 1849 that the members of the Tattwabodhini Sabha "have done much to foster a taste for Oriental languages. Their Tattwabodhini Patrika is equal, in the literary value of its

13 Ibid., p. 450.
14 After him Nabinchandra Bandopadhyay began to edit it. Satyendranath Tagore became its Editor in March 1859.
matter, to any English monthly publication in India, giving a series of excellent articles on Archaeology, the Vedas, and Puranas, which exhibit great research and talent." Referring to good quality of its contents Rev. Long observed: "To those who wish to know what the expressiveness of the Bengali language means we would recommend the perusal of the Tattwabodhini Patrika, a monthly publication in Bengali, which yields to scarcely any English publication in India, for the ability and originality of its articles." R. C. Dutt paid an eloquent testimony to it in the following words: "It is scarcely possible in the present day, when journals have multiplied all over the country, to adequately describe how eagerly the moral instructions and earnest teachings of Akshay Kumar conveyed in that famous paper, were perused by a large circle of thinking enlightened readers. People all over Bengal awaited every issue of that paper with eagerness, and the silent and sickly but indefatigable worker at his desk swayed for a number of years the thoughts and opinions of the thinking portion of the people of Bengal. Scientific articles, moral instructions, accounts of different nations, and tribes, stories of the animate and inanimate creation, all that could enlighten the expanding intellect of Bengal and dispel darkness and prejudices, found a convenient vehicle in the Tattwabodhini Patrika . . . . It created a thirst for knowledge and moral elevation, it awakened in rising generation a moral enthusiasm and religious fervour" . . .

Articles to be published in the Tattwabodhini Patrika were selected by a committee (Paper Committee) of five experts. Highly educated persons like Pandit Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Rajendra Lal Mitra, Rajnarain Basu, Shyamacharan Mukhopadhyay, Prasanna Kumar Sarbhadhikari, Anandakrishna Basu, Shridhar Nayaratna, Anandachandra Vedanta-bagis, and Radha Prasad Roy were at one time or the other

17 R. C. Dutt, The Literature of Bengal (1895), pp. 163-164.
members of this Committee. No article could be published
in the *Patrika* unless majority of the members approved of it.

In 1850 some students of the Elphinstone Institution of
Bombay, with the assistance of one or two of their Professors,
established a Society called the Students’ Literary and Scientific Society\(^{18}\) “for the diffusion of knowledge among their
countrymen”. Due to their “persevering labour” the Society
made rapid progress. In 1852 it possessed a fund of
Rs. 20,309, and in 1851 it spent Rs. 8,631, of which Rs. 1,759
was for the payment of school-masters and their assistants,
Rs. 1,656 for school-books, Rs. 2,000 for “philosophical
apparatus”, and Rs. 1,020 for a collection of fossils, minerals
and earths. Its Managing Committee (in 1852) contained nine
names of whom two were Europeans, four Parsis and three
Hindus. The Society, the great majority of the members of
which were Indians, employed the English language “almost
exclusively” and all its proceedings were recorded in that
language. But it had also under its control “an excellent
system of affiliated associations,” whose operations were
“confined exclusively to the Vernaculars.”

The means upon which the members of the Society de-
pe nded for the diffusion of information among their country-
men were female schools, essays, lectures, and publications
in the Vernaculars. The list of English essays read under
the auspices of the Society during the year 1852 were:

Besides two papers by the Secretary on the History of
the Elphinstone Institution, seventeen essays were read
and discussed during the Term. Of these, seven treated of
educational and social subjects, three were historical, three
scientific, and four literary and miscellaneous. Among
those which excited the greatest interest, we may specify
the following: ‘A short history of the newspapers in
Bombay, English and Native, together with remarks on the
spirit in which the latter are conducted,’ by Dosabhai
Framji (Editor of the *Jam-i-Jamshid*); ‘On the state of edu-
cation among the Parsis of Bombay, before and since the

\(^{18}\) *Calcutta Review*, 1852 (July-December), vii.
establishment of the Elphinstone Institution,' by Bamanji Pestanji (Gujarati Vice-President for 1852); 'On the present state of the Banians, with suggestions for improving their moral and social condition,' by Mohanlal Ranchoddas (now President of the B. H. Sabha); and the first of a series of papers 'On the metallurgy of India,' by Ardeshir Framji, of whose lectures on Chemistry in the Gujarati Dnyanprasarak Society, favourable notice has more than once been taken by the English Press."

In Vernaculars essays were read on the following subjects:

"In Marathi—1, Applied Chemistry; 2, Physical Geography; 3, Physical History of Man, Part I; 4, Chronology; 5, History of India; 6, Superstitions; 7, Private duties of life; 8, Preservation of health; 9, Statistics. In Gujarati—1, Zoology; 2, Meteorology; 3, Grammar; 4, Logic; 5, Political Economy; 6, Government; 7, History of India."

The members of the largest of the affiliated Societies, called the Dnyanprasarak Mandal, delivered ten lectures during the year 1852 on the topics noted below:


On the 11th December, 1851, was established the Bethune Society in Calcutta in memory of Drinkwater Bethune, late President of the Council of Education, who had died on the
12th August, 1851. It sought to promote taste for literary and scientific studies and free intellectual intercourse among the educated inhabitants of Bengal.

The Agricultural and Horticultural Society was founded on the 14th September, 1820, by the famous Baptist Missionary Dr. Carey. This Society published Transactions and Journals containing "a mass of varied information, on subjects connected with the agriculture, horticulture and floriculture of the country." Several branch societies sprang up. By 1854 however some collapsed and most of the rest showed lack of activity with the exception of the Bhagalpur Branch Society. The Societies of Bombay and Madras were working satisfactorily for some time; the Punjab Society, started shortly before, was progressing well. On the 3rd July, 1847, an "initiatory school", enjoying Government patronage, began to function under Dr. McClellaud's guidance in the Calcutta Botanical Gardens "for teaching the sons of malis, giving them a general education for six hours, while they work in the garden five hours daily..." An engineering school was started at Bombay in 1824 in which instruction was imparted through vernacular translations of English works. At Calcutta a mechanical institution was founded in 1839 for mechanical training of the people on current scientific methods. In 1837 a school of industry was opened at Jubbulpore for the "benefit of the Thugs and their children." In 1850 Dr. Hunter, a surgeon in the East India Company's service at Madras, started, at his own expense, a school of fine arts; and in the next year he established a school of industry for "improving the manufacture of various

20 For its detailed history, vide Calcutta Review, 1854.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Calcutta Review, 1854, p. 350
articles of domestic and daily use." Both these schools, amalgamated as "School of Industrial Arts," came under Government management in 1855. The Thomason College of Civil Engineering was started at Rurki in 1849 and its success encouraged the Court of Directors to recommend establishment of similar institutions elsewhere. Referring to this institution a contemporary writer observed: "The Rurki College is an institution, of which Switzerland herself, with all her agricultural Colleges might be proud."

This period was also marked by some significant steps for medical education and treatment in this country. In 1822 the Company's Government in Calcutta sanctioned the establishment there of a vernacular Medical School (Native Medical Institution) under Dr. Jameson, where the students (originally 20 in number) were required to possess some knowledge of Hindustani. They received monthly stipends of Rs. 8/- each during their course of three years' study and were later on posted to civil or military employ on salaries of Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 a month with pensions. In 1826 the number of students rose to 50 and the amount of stipends to Rs. 10/- each. Instruction through Hindustani was imparted on Anatomy, Materia Medica, and clinical subjects. Another professor, Dr. Breton, published some works on medical subjects. The Calcutta Medical and Physical Society was instituted in March, 1823, with Dr. James Hare as its first President and Dr. Adam as Secretary. The objects of this Society, as noted in the resolutions passed at its establishment, were: "the advancement of professional knowledge, for the mutual benefit of the members, more particularly with reference to the Indian diseases and treatment, and the promoting,

26 Ibid., Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 345.
29 Fisher's Memoir.
by every means in their power, the study of such branches
of Natural History as are connected with the practice of medi-
cine, or lead to Medical Research." It was finally dissolved
in 1842 when its Library and Museum were made over to the
Calcutta Medical College. Its publications, that is, "The
Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta,
ranked," according to a contemporary, "with the best of their
kind published in England, and acquired, for many of the
contributors, an European reputation"32. In 1828 Dr. Tytler
was appointed Anatomical Lecturer in the Calcutta Sanskrit
College with a Pandit Assistant. Gradually on grounds of
economy and administrative convenience, the Government
patronised the training of a class of medical practitioners
through their vernacular languages. In 1839 one hundred
scholarships were granted for a class of such pupils to be
taught through Urdu and they "supplied in a satisfactory
manner native doctors to the army."33 In 1842-43 Dr. Mouat,
one of the famous Secretaries of the Council of Education,
circulated a Minute suggesting therein the training, on a less
expensive scheme, of a class of Sub-Assistant Surgeons
through the Bengalee language. Babu Ram Comul Sen, a
scholar and a patron of learning, offered in 1844 rupees one
thousand as a prize for the best translation into Bengalee of
a treatise on Anatomy, Materia Medica and the treatment of
the chief diseases in India.34 Lord Dalhousie's government
sanctioned fifty government scholarships of the monthly value
of Rs. 5/- each in the Medical College in Calcutta for in-
struction of a class of pupils through the Bengalee language,
"many of whom might be attached to the different thanas"35.

Much more important than all this was the establishment
of the Medical College in Calcutta in June, 1835, with Dr.
Bramley as its first Principal till his death in 1837 and Dr.

34 Ibid., p. 329.
35 Ibid.
Madhusudan Gupta
H. H. Goodeve and W. B. O'Shaughnessy as Professors. This College functioned under the immediate control and superintendence of the Council of Education at the head of which were Hon'ble Messrs. Cameron and Millet, members of the Supreme Council of India. As we know from the Annual Report\textsuperscript{36} of the Medical College, drawn up by its Secretary, Dr. Mouat, its instructional staff then included, besides some eminent Europeans such as Dr. Wallich (Professor of Botany), Dr. Jackson (Professor of Medicine and Clinical Medicine), Dr. Mouat (Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence), a few Indians namely Pandit Madhusudan Gupta (Native Demonstrator of Anatomy and Superintendent and Teacher of Anatomy and Surgery in the Military class), Shivchandra Karmakar (Teacher of Medicine and Materia Medica in the Military class), Prasanna Kumar Mitra (Resident Surgeon in the Female and Lying-in-Hospital and also in charge of Outdoor Dispensary) and Dayalchand Basak (Midwifery scholarship-holder in the Female and Lying-in Hospital).

There were then 91 students in the primary class of whom 57 were Hindus of different castes including 19 Brahmmins, only 3 Muhammadans and the rest Christians (East Indians, Ceylonese, etc.). In the military class, consisting almost exclusively of the sons of Native Officers and soldiers in the Bengal Army, the numerical strength was 90. Of these 75 were Muhammadans and 15 Hindus. Among the former, 61 were natives of North-Western Provinces and 14 of Bengal, and of the Hindus 10 were natives of Upper Provinces and 5 of Bengal. The sum spent annually for salary of the Principal and the other members on the staff amounted to Rs. 34,200/-, the cost of establishment to Rs. 21,045 and for contingent expenses as well as the cost of maintaining a museum and laboratory "a variable sum of 5 to 6 thousand rupees was granted." The Ceylon Government paid for the students sent by them for education in this institution.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Calcutta Review}, 1845 (January-June), pp. XXXIII-XLVI.
It is of interest to note that in March, 1844, four Indian students were sent to England for medical training under the guidance of Dr. Goodeve, who was the first person in British India to introduce human dissection and also the first to found a Female Hospital. These students were Bholanath Bose, a pupil of Lord Auckland's school at Barrackpore, Gopal Chandra Seal, Dwarkanath Bose, an Indian Christian, and Suryakumar Chakravarty, a Brahmin native of Dacca. Expenses for two students were met out of the generous grant of Dwarkanath Tagore. Dr. Goodeve paid for one student and raised an additional sum of 7000 rupees for the fourth student, Rs. 4000 of it being presented by His Highness the Nawab Nazim of Bengal. Dwarkanath Tagore further encouraged medical education by paying Rs. 2,000 a year for three years for prizes to be presented to successful students of the Medical College. About the year 1840 Babu Ram Gopal Ghose presented to the College an instrument costing Rs. 500. In 1848 Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy made a generous endowment to help the students of the Bombay Medical College. The Museum of the Medical College in Calcutta was by that time in "a highly satisfactory and creditable state, containing an aggregate of 875 preparations of which number 56 were added since January, 1844." Its library gradually came to have a valuable collection containing a total number of 3612 books and pamphlets. By 1854 some qualified medical men, resident in Calcutta, started the publication of the "Indian Annals of Medical Science, or Half-Yearly Journal of Practical Medicine and Surgery". They had as their motto the following observation of Lord Bacon, "I hold every man a debtor to his profession, from which as men of course do seek to receive counte-

37 Cost for each student's journey and education was calculated at 7000 rupees.
39 Ibid.
40 Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 338,
nance and profit, so ought they of duty to endeavour themselves, by way of amends to be a help and ornament there unto . . ." In the list of its contributors we get the name of one Dr. Chakravarty.

Bombay and Madras also had Medical Societies, which issued occasionally volumes of Transactions. In Bombay a scheme was formulated in 1825 for an institution, similar to that in Calcutta, for instruction of the Indians. On the basis of reports, gathered from certain sources, Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, drew up a plan for the establishment of a Medical Institution at Bombay, which was approved of by the Government of Lord Auckland just before the death of Sir Robert Grant on 9th July, 1838. With the sanction of the Court of Directors, the institution, designated as the Grant Medical College, was formally opened in October, 1845. The Government of Madras sanctioned the establishment of a Medical School there in July, 1835, and it was raised to the status of a College in 1851.

Scientific studies in various branches, mathematics, trigonometry, geology, geography, ethnology, and botany were being vigorously pursued by European gentlemen employed in different offices, and by some members of the Asiatic Society in Bengal and in Bombay and of other associations. Their contributions, full of highly useful information, are embodied in the Asiatic Researches and in the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. To select some examples I may mention here, A Comparative Essay on the Ancient Geography of India written by Col. Wilford about 1811, a detailed report, dated 1851, on the Copper Ores of the Deoghar Mines in Bihar by H. Piddington, Curator, Museum,

41 Calcutta Review, 1854.
42 Fisher's Memoir.
43 Selections from Educational Records, Part II, pp. 335-36.
44 Ibid., pp. 329-30.
45 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1851.
Economic Geology, a paper on the Mineral Resources of Southern India by Lt. Newbold, dated 1843, a Report on the Iron of Kathewar by Capt. Legrand Jacob (1845), a Statistical and a Geological Memoir of the Country from Punah to Kittor, south of the Krishna River, by James Bird, a long and instructive article on Geology of India, A Sketch of the Bihar Mica Mines, and Notes upon a Tour through the Rajmahal Hills by Captain Walter S. Sherwill (1851), and Dalton’s Ethnology of Bengal.

As in other branches of knowledge, we notice here too the association of some educated Indian contemporaries. Raja Radhakanta Dev had to his credit some writings on agriculture, horticulture and medicine. The name of Radhanath Sikdar, one of the best students of the Hindu College, can be recalled with pride for his achievements in the branch of mathematical studies. In 1830 he read Newton’s Principia with Dr. Tytler. Soon he got an employment in the department of the Trigonometrical Survey of India, where in the course of a few years he gave brilliant proofs of his sound mathematical knowledge and his capacity for high class original studies. George Everest, an eminent scientist of those days, who came to be associated with trigonometrical surveys in India in 1818, became Superintendent of the Great Trigonometrical Survey Department in 1823 and its Surveyor General in 1830 to hold the last post till 1843, has left the following testimony regarding the scholarship and ability of his Indian collaborator: “Of the qualifications of Radhanath I cannot speak too highly; in his mathematical attainments there are few in India whether European or native that can at all compete with him. and it is my persuasion that even

Ibid.
J.R.A.S., 1843.
J.R.A.S., 1835.
Calcutta Review, 1848.
For an account of it, vide Calcutta Review (July-December), 1851, pp. 514-40.
in Europe those attainments would rank very high... In the Report about the Great Trigonometrical Survey Work, sent by this Department to the British Parliament on the 15th April, 1851, it was stated: "Among them (the Indian employees) may be mentioned, as most conspicuous for ability, Babu Radhanath Sikdar... whose mathematical attainments are of the highest order." The Friend of India, dated the 11th November, 1852, writes as follows: "Mr. V. L. Rees, the Superintendent of Government Observatory in Calcutta has retired on a superannuation pension and we are glad to perceive... that the office has been bestowed on Babu Radhanath Sikdar. This native gentleman, lately Head Computer in the same establishment, has long been known the first among the few natives, whose scientific acquirements emulate those of Europeans."
The scientific portion of the Manual of Surveying, published in 1851, was written by Radhanath. Its Preface states: "in Parts III and V, the compilers have been very largely assisted by Babu Radhanath Sikdar, the distinguished head of the computing Department of The Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, a gentleman whose intimate acquaintance with the vigorous forms and mode of procedure adopted on the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, and great acquirements and knowledge of scientific subjects generally, render his aid peculiarly valuable. The Chapters 16 and 17 up to 21, inclusive, and 26 of Part III and the whole of Part V, are entirely his own, and it would be difficult for the compilers to express with sufficient force, the obligations they thus feel under him, not only for the portion of the work which they desire thus particularly to acknowledge but for the advice so generally afforded on all subjects connected with his own department." In 1864 Sikdar was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society of Natural History of Bavaria. The Poona Observer thus

51 J. C. Bagal, Unabinsha Satabdîr Bangla, pp. 195-196.
noticed this event: "This is a great distinction, for the Philosophical Societies of Germany, where learning flourishes more than in any other country in Europe, have the reputation of being very particular in their choice of members and never confer their honours but upon solid and substantial grounds. We imagine there are not very many Englishmen who would obtain the title which has been conferred upon Baboo Radhanath Sikdar."

NEW TRENDS IN LITERATURE

Literature is often a mirror of the age in which it flourishes. Through it is reflected very often unconsciously, but truly, the hopes, aspirations and ideals of the period, its problems of common weal or woe, and a picture of its environments, which though not usually recorded in documents or chronicles are, however, of supreme importance for proper understanding of an epoch in a nation's history. The literature of a people is indeed "a monumental embodiment of the evolution of its thoughts, of the development of its moral and intellectual life, and of the emotions that have thrilled its leading and representative minds." Growing contacts with the world outside, a genuine urge for the revival of the culture of the past, the pressing demands for social reform, and the revolutionary changes in political as well as economic conditions of the country, naturally caused the unfolding of Indian genius in manifold petals. When the world around changes, thoughts are bound to be provoked and to find expression in various channels. This is clearly noticeable in the history of India during the whole of the 19th century, the process of renovation in literature too having its origin in the period under review. The literary forms, ideas and models of the contemporary west entered into India through the new education, and exercised a stimulating influence on the different branches of her literature. "The Hindu intellect", remarks a reflective writer like Mr. R. C. Dutt, "came in contact with all that is noblest and
healthy in European history, and profited by it. The Hindu mind was to some extent trained under the influence of European thoughts and benefited by it." In the words of Rabindranath, "the power to assimilate cultural influences from outside" proved "the creative vitality of Bengali literature. Originality in literature lies in its capacity to absorb the universe in all literatures and arts and give it a unique expression characteristic of its particular genius and traditions."

So far as Bengali literature is concerned, the credit for the beginning of its reorientation must go to Rammohan, who, in the words of his English biographer, "presents a most instructive and inspiring study for the new India of which he is the type and pioneer." He was not only the herald of a new age for his advanced socio-political ideas but was also the originator of the "Literature of the people" and "practically the father of the modern Bengali literary prose" as the prose literature that had existed before was not of much importance. He wrote a number of books in Bengali of much educative value on various subjects. It has been justly observed that he "has the unique honour of being the first literary writer of Bengali prose, being the first to use Bengali prose as the vehicle of expression of higher thought and philosophy. Considering the state of contemporary Bengali prose, it was a very great achievement, and it showed the immense possibilities in store for the Bengali language and the literature of the future." Rammohan also composed theistic hymns in Bengali. "The reader will scarcely suspect," writes Mr. R. C. Dutt, "the enthusiastic reformer to be the author of some of the finest and noblest songs which the Bengali language has known. But the reformer had a heartful of tenderness, piety, and genuine feeling, and his songs excite the noblest emotions of the human soul." During the

53 R. C. Dutt, Literature of Bengal, 1895. p. 136.
56 Rammohan Roy Centenary, Volume, p. 333.
57 R. C. Dutt, Literature of Bengal, pp. 149-150.
thirties of the 19th century, Iswarachandra Gupta (1809-58) enriched Bengali poetry with his “witty and interminable verse, displaying a copious power of the language unsuspected before.” He was followed in the course of a few years by two highly gifted writers, Akshay Kumar Datta (1820-86) and Pandit Iswarachandra Vidyasagar (1820-91), both of whom contributed to giving a new tone to Bengali literature through their dignified literary compositions on social and educational matters. The publication of the famous Tattwabodhini Patrika, which Akshay Kumar edited for the first twelve years of its circulation from 1843, was indeed a significant landmark in the history of Bengali language and literature during the 19th century. Its scientific, biographical, and cultural articles, full of highly educative materials, and written in simple and easily intelligible style, marked however by elevation of thought, dignity and spiritual earnestness, infused a new creative spirit into the prose literature of Bengal. Pandit Iswarachandra Vidyasagar made highly valuable contributions to the cause of literature through his numerous writings. Inspired by lofty thoughts for wholesome social and educational reforms, he sought to translate these into practice by conveying their real significance to the people through a language which appealed to them. Regarding both these writers, Mr. R. C. Dutt observes: “The style is the man, and Akshay Kumar’s style reflects the true patriot and the earnest, enthusiastic reformer. Vidyasagar’s style appears to us to be more finished and refined, Akshay Kumar’s is more forcible and earnest. In Vidyasagar’s style we admire the placid stillness and soft beauty of a quiet lake, reflecting on its bosom the gorgeous tints of the sky and the surrounding objects. In Akshay Kumar’s style we admire the vehemence and force of the mountain torrent, in its wild and rugged beauty. Vidyasagar is the more accomplished master of style, Akshay Kumar is the more forcible teacher”.

53 Ibid., p. 169.
The growing sense regarding the need for social reform found expression also in the dramatic literature of the time. *Kulina-Kula Sarvasva* by Rammnarain Tarkalankar, published in 1854 as probably the first original dramatic composition in Bengali—dealing with social matters, "held up the customs of Kulinism and polygamy to deserved ridicule and contempt". Some such dramas exposing social evils or advocating social reforms were produced in the course of a few years. The *Vernacular Literature Society*, established in 1851, under Government encouragement, with H. Pratt and M. Townsend as its two Secretaries, gave some impetus to the development of Bengali prose by helping translation into Bengali of a number of good English works and their publication on moderate terms. *The Vividartha-Sangraha Patrika*, the publication of which started from 1851 under the editorship of an erudite scholar like Rajendra Lal Mitra, proved to be a very useful organ for diffusion of knowledge and for satisfaction of literary tastes.

We owe a debt also to the Christian missionaries, particularly those like Carey, Marshman and Ward, for the fruitful influence indirectly exercised by them on the growth of Bengali prose literature. In their desire to mix with the masses, evidently for furtherance of their faith, they helped the writing and printing in their own presses of a large number of books in Bengali language. The Fort William College in Calcutta, which was established on the 4th May, 1800, with the object of training the English civilians in the language and literature of the place where they were to work and was not finally abolished till 1854, also gave an impetus to Bengali literature in various ways, especially by supplying it with grammar and dictionary. Rev. Carey was appointed teacher of the Bengali and Sanskrit languages at this College in April, 1801, and became the Professor of those languages on the 1st January, 1807. Owing to his efforts, and those of

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52 Ibid.
61 S. K. Dey, *Bengali Literature in the 19th century*, Chapters III-VI.
some others who were employed in the Bengali Department of this institution for the first eighteen years of its existence, a number of "elementary works of general utility," besides some dissertations and a dictionary and a grammar of the Bengali language, were published during that period.

As regards Hindi literature, we find that, for about two hundred years, from the latter half of the 17th to the first half of the 19th Century, it abounds mainly with poetical works. Prose works are conspicuously absent during this period, the first attempt to evolve a prose style and production of literary works in Hindi prose having started in the first half of the 19th century. Braj Bhasa was the dominant language of the poetry of the 17th and 18th centuries and ornate poetry was then prevalent. Under the patronage of the chiefs of Bundelkhand, Jaipur and some other places, a large number of poets flourished during 1750-1860, the most outstanding among them being Padmarak (1753-1833), whose works entitled Jagat Vinod, written under the patronage of Jagat Singh of Jaipur, and Ganga Lahari, a devotional poem of great merit, rank very high from the point of view of literary style and diction. Prominent among some other poets, who flourished during this period were Din Dayal Giri (1750), a Vaishnava poet of high calibre, and Giridhar Das (1833-1860), father of Bhartendu Harischandra, the great literary genius of the latter half of the 19th century.

A new wave of reorientation of Hindi language and literature began to flow during the first half of the 19th century, with the establishment of the Fort William College. In 1803, two leading writers Lallu Lal, and Sadal Mishra, were invited by Dr. John Gilchrist to the Fort William College. Lallu Lal wrote his famous Prem Sagar and Sadal Mishra brought out Nasiketopakhyan. At the same time Insha Allah Khan produced a Hindi book entitled Rani Ketki ki Kahani. These publications form a landmark in the development of prose

63 Ibid., Priyaranjan Sen, Western Influence in Bengali Literature, pp. 36-43.
style in Hindi literature. The Hindi prose style thus evolved at the Fort William College was very helpful in the propagation of new ideas, and new sources of information and knowledge were made available to the Hindi-reading people. Christian missionaries also utilised this language in the propagation of their religious beliefs among the Indians. The first portion of Carey's Hindi New Testament was published in 1809 and the Hindi translation of the whole Bible was completed in A.D. 1818. Printing of Hindi books first began at the College Press at Fort William and it multiplied after the opening of the lithographic press at Delhi in 1837. Further, Raja Rammohan Roy brought out in 1829 a periodical in Hindi entitled Bang Doot to propagate his views. Earlier in 1815, he had published the Hindi translation of the commentary of Vedant Sutras. In 1826, the first Hindu newspaper was started at Calcutta by Shri Jugalkishore Shukul and it was named Udant Martanda. In 1845 Raja Shiva Prasad Sitar-e-Hind brought out another newspaper from Benares called Benares Akhbar and in 1852, Munshi Sadasukh Lal, who had earlier written an important work called Sukhsagar, brought out a newspaper from Agra called Buddhi-Prakash. In 1861, Raja Lakshman Singh, another great champion of Hindi and the protagonist of the Puritan school of Hindi language, started his newspaper Praja Hitaishi at Agra and produced the famous translation of Kalidas's Abhigyan Shakuntalam in 1862. In 1863 another newspaper called Loka Mitra was started at Agra by the Christian missionaries.

By this time Swami Dayanand had appeared in the public life of the country and from 1863 onwards he did much to propagate his ideas through the medium of Hindi. At such a time appeared Bhartendu Harischandra, the father of modern Hindi literature. He symbolized the nascent awakening of the nation in his dramas, his poems and his articles and at once became the mouthpiece of the Hindi-reading people. He was born in 1850 and died in 1885.

In Urdu literature too we notice signs of a new life during the period. Dr. John Gilchrist, aided by some of his European as well as Indian colleagues at the Fort William College, immensely helped the growth of Urdu prose, the writing of Hindustani grammars, lexicons and translation of important works in other languages into Urdu. Further, both Mirza Rajab Ali Beg Sarur of Lucknow and his contemporary Ghalib of Delhi, endowed with literary genius of a high order, enriched Urdu literature profusely by their original and inspiring contributions in prose and poetry.
Sir William Jones
4.

DISCOVERY OF THE PAST

One of the springs of inspiration oozed out of the fountain source of India’s old culture. A correct and rational study of India’s past is undoubtedly the surest beacon light for her onward march beyond the Himalayan barriers which invariably confront her in periods of transition, when multifarious plans of reconstruction are contemplated or attempted to overcome them. A nation which casts itself adrift—from the traditions of the past loses steadiness of purpose and wearied by excitement ultimately falls into a whirlpool of tragedy, from which redemption becomes impossible even if angels beat their wings. Justice M. G. Ranade, one of the prophets of Modern Indian Renaissance, very significantly observed: “The true reformer has not to write on a clean slate. His work is more often to complete the half-written sentence.” It is indeed significant that at a time marked by the onrush of exotic influences, there were certain forces at work to reveal to the world the vast stock of Indian cultural heritage and to effect ultimately a fruitful blending of the old and the new, the East and the West, though some like Kipling might still exclaim in vain, “The East is East, the West is West, and never the twin shall meet.”

Among all the institutions that then grew up, the Asiatic Society in Calcutta has to its credit the most important contributions to the cause of Indian cultural renaissance. Its foundation in January, 1784, was indeed a landmark in the history of Indian culture, as it has been since then a valuable repository of knowledge in regard to the languages, literatures, manners, history, chronology, geography, zoology, geology and botany of India and Asia in general. It owed its origin to Sir William Jones, a profoundly learned scholar and linguist, who came to Calcutta in September-October, 1783, as a puisne-judge of the Supreme Court, having already distinguished himself for his vast erudition and genuine regard for classical lore of his country. To him this country was, as
he himself said, "a noble amphitheatre which has ever been
estimated the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful
and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the
productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders
and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and govern-
ment, in the laws, manners, customs and languages, as well as
in the features and complexions of men".

The object of the Asiatic Society was "enquiry into the
history and antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia".
In his preliminary discourse to this Society, Sir William Jones
observed: "... You will investigate whatever is rare in the
stupendous fabric of nature: will correct the geography of
Asia by new observations and discoveries; will trace the
annals and even traditions of these nations, who from time
to time have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light
their various forms of government, with their institutions,
civil and religious; you will examine their improvements and
methods in arithmetic and geometry, in trigonometry, mensu-
ration, mechanics, optics, astronomy and general physics;
their systems of morality, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; the
skill in chirurgery and medicine and their advancement, what-
ever it may be, in anatomy and chemistry. To this you will
add researches into their agriculture, manufacture and trade;
and whilst you enquire with pleasure into their music, archi-
tecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferior
arts by which comforts, and even elegances of social life, are
supplied or improved." Warren Hastings was requested to
accept the office of the President of the Asiatic Society, who,
however, declined it, whereupon Sir William Jones was elected
its President on the 5th February, 1784, and held this office
till his death on the 27th April, 1794. The next President
was the Governor-General, John Shore. Henry Thomas Cole-
brooke remained as its President for ten years, April 1806, to
February, 1815. The Society's collections came to be gra-
dually enriched by books in European languages, books and

manuscripts in other languages like Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, a number of Chinese and Tibetan xylographs, coins and inscriptions and some paintings. The first five volumes of the Society's earliest publications, known as the *Asiatic Researches*, containing learned and original articles on literary and scientific subjects, came out in 1788, 1790, 1793, 1795 and 1797 respectively. In 1837 Mr. James Prinsep prepared an analytical index of the first eighteen volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*; but, owing to various causes, the work was stopped in 1839. The Society had, however, begun already to bring out a journal. In 1829 Captain J. D. Herbert, Deputy Surveyor-General, commenced the publication of a monthly periodical, entitled *Gleanings in Science*, which was chiefly intended to print extracts and abstracts from European scientific publications, but soon he had to incorporate in it some original publications too. Mr. James Prinsep succeeded Captain Herbert as the editor of this work and on his proposal its name was changed to that of *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in March, 1832, which has since then been justly regarded as one of the most learned journals. The publication of *Bibliotheca Indica* commenced from 1848. In 1849 one writer thus estimated the work of the Asiatic Society of Bengal till then: "To the fostering care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the world owes a large debt of knowledge, on various subjects, that otherwise might have still remained in obscurity, or have been lost to the world altogether. It afforded, and continues to afford, a stimulus to exertion, in order to rescue from oblivion, much that is worthy of the attention of rational beings, that has been preserved by means of the art of printing, to excite a spirit of philosophical enquiry in others".

Conservation of manuscripts and curiosities of various kinds has been one of the most valuable works of the Society. As the latter grew in number, need was felt by some for a museum. In 1808 the Asiatic Society occupied the buildings erected at the corner of Park Street on land granted by the Government. On the 2nd February, 1814, Dr. Nathaniel
Wallich, a Danish Botanist who had been taken prisoner on the British capture of Serampore but was released in recognition of his scientific knowledge, wrote a letter to the Society strongly advocating the formation of a museum. After careful consideration of this letter, the Society resolved to establish a museum “for the reception of all articles that may tend to illustrate oriental manners and history, or to elucidate the peculiarities of art or nature in the East”. It was to be divided into two sections,—one archaeological, the other geological and zoological. The former was placed in charge of the librarian of the Society and the latter under Dr. Wallich as its Superintendent. The museum as a whole flourished under the enthusiastic guidance of Dr. Wallich and it received, within a few years, interesting and valuable objects from Colonel Stuart, Dr. Tytler, General Mackenzie, Mr. B. H. Hodgson, Captain Dillon, Babu Ram Comul Sen and some others. A catalogue of such collections was prepared in 1847 and published in 1849. But the Society had to pass through some critical years owing to the financial crisis in Calcutta in the period following 1832, and its prominent members including Sir Edward Ryan, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and President of the Society from 1832 to 1840, appealed to the Government for funds and for the formation of a museum in Calcutta as a public institution. But it was not until May, 1862, that the Government announced that, in their opinion, “the time had arrived when the foundation of a public museum in Calcutta which had been generally accepted as a duty of the Government, may be taken into consideration with regard to its practical realisation”. The Government desire received legislative sanction by the Indian Museum Act of 1866 according to which the valuable collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal were formally transferred to a Board of Trustees with Sir Barnes Peacock, then Chief Justice of Bengal, as its President.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was also an important institution contributing to cultural progress in different ways. It was started, with the designation of the
Bombay Literary Society, on the 26th November, 1804, under the guidance of Sir James Mackintosh, one of the most "philosophic of lawyers and one of the most eloquent of thinkers that England had known", who came to Bombay as the Chief Judge in 1803. Originally this Society had as its members high-placed Europeans who gathered together for social intercourse as well as for "the feast of reason and the flow of soul". As for the intellectual side the members of the Society had in view the study of, and investigation into, the varied branches of knowledge, physical or moral, concerning Nature of Man, that is, those which the Asiatic Society of Bengal wanted to pursue and promote. Sir James Mackintosh was elected President; Charles Forbes became the Treasurer and William Erskine, a lawyer interested in Oriental studies, was made the Secretary. Sir James Mackintosh being a man of high intellectual ideas was a great source of inspiration to his contemporaries associated with the newly started Society, and though in 1811 he returned to England he sowed seeds of which a good harvest was reaped by others. The first important work of the Society, soon after its establishment, was the foundation of a library. It came to have a museum in 1815 for storage of Indian antiquities and specimens of natural history, and in that very year an astronomical observatory was started in Bombay. On the 27th June, 1815, English translation by Dr. John Taylor from the original Sanskrit of the Lilawati, a treatise on Hindu arithmetic and geometry, was read in the Society. The Lilawati being a work which was "frequently called for by men of science in Europe, and it being desirable, for the sake of accuracy, that it should be printed under the eye of the learned translator, it was resolved that the work should be immediately printed at the expense of the Society, under Dr. Taylor's superintendence"

and it appeared soon from the Bombay press. The papers then read under the auspices of this Society were published in 1819 under the title of Transactions. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland came into existence in 1825 and after some overtures from London the Bombay Literary Society was transformed early in 1829 into the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society with "complete autonomy in its local administration and funds."

The Society continued to flourish under the guidance of a batch of distinguished European scholars, some of them being also able administrators. But the foremost name in the history of this institution in those days was that of Dr. John Wilson, who after having won distinction as a scholar of Sanskrit and of Zend and for his interest in the study of old religions, became its President in 1835, on the retirement of Vans Kennedy. On the 10th July, 1839, Dr. Wilson thus expounded the objects of the Society's investigations: "What are the physical aspects and produce of the country? What are the monuments and record of its history? What is the intellectual, moral and economic condition of its tribes? What are its languages in respect of origin, structure and style? What are its religions in principle and practice? What are its civil and criminal jurisprudence?" About this time some Indians came to be enlisted as its members, the first one from 1840 being a Parsi, Mr. Maneckjee Coorsetjee. Its earliest Hindu members were the famous indologists and antiquarians, Professor Bal Shastri Jambhekar and Dr. Bhau Daji, amongst whose brilliant successors in this respect can be mentioned the names of Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Mr. Justice Telang, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Rajendralal Mitra.

"Satyajit Das, Selections from the Indian Journals, Vol. I, Calcutta Journal, pp. 223-226. The example of the Bombay Literary Society was followed in Madras by the formation of the Madras Society, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Benjamin Babington of the Company's Civil Service there."
The pioneer workers in revealing India's past were a batch of European scholars and officers, and there was also behind it a combination of literary impulse and motives of administrative convenience. The establishment of the Calcutta Madras (1781), the Benares Sanskrit College (1792) and the Fort William College (1800) in Calcutta was for the latter, so that for efficiency of administration in a foreign land the officers might equip themselves with sufficient knowledge about the manners, customs and traditions of her people. While introducing judicial reforms, Warren Hastings did not consider it advisable to replace Indian laws by the English ones and so he commissioned 10 learned Pandits to prepare a Digest of Hindu Laws from original Sanskrit sources. The Sanskrit original was first rendered into Persian, from which Halhead prepared an English version under the title of Code of Gentooos, which was published in London in 1776. Even H. H. Wilson after his residence in India for more than two decades and with profound admiration for Sanskrit lore considered its knowledge essential for the education of the civil servants of the East India Company. He writes in the preface to the grammar published in 1840: "The history of mankind can be but imperfectly appreciated without some acquaintance with the literature of the Hindus. It is, however, to the educated youth whose manhood is to be spent in India, and who is there destined to discharge high duties, and to sustain heavy responsibilities, who is to execute the offices of civilized Government over millions of Hindu subjects and to make that Government a blessing, not a curse to India; a glory, not a shame to Britain,—it is to him that the study of Sanskrit commends itself by consideration of peculiar importance.... The popular prejudices of the Hindus, their daily observations, their occupations, their amusements, their domestic and social relations, their local legends, their local relations, their mythological fables, their metaphysical abstractions, their religious worship, all spring from and are perpetuated by the Sanskrit language. To know a people, these things must be known; without such knowledge revenue may be raised,
justice may be administered, the outward shows and forms of an orderly Government may be maintained; but no influence with the people will be enjoyed, no claim to their confidence or attachment will be established, no affection will either be felt or inspired and neither the disposition nor the ability to work any great or permanent improvement in the feelings, opinions or practices of the country will be attained." It was with this conviction that Wilson introduced the study of Sanskrit as part of education in the English East India College at Haileybury; and under his inspiration Mr. Francis Johnson, a Professor at that college, edited in quick succession, with copious glossary, the first part of the *Hitopadesa* and *Selections from the Mahabharata*.

Much more fruitful and significant than this was, however, the genuine devotion of a band of scholars to the attainment of knowledge preserved in the classical culture of India, which Europeans here found before them in profuseness. It was significantly noted by an Englishman in 1845: "What Rousseau and his co-adjutors achieved, by the emanations of original genius, for the literary republics of the West, the European adventurers on the plains of India found already achieved for them by the poets and sages of that gorgeous land. When the portals, which for unknown centuries, had guarded the entrance to these flowery realms, were thrown wide open, it seemed like the revealing of new gardens of delight, the discovery of new and more glorious worlds. It seemed as if the fountains of the great deep of an unfathomable antiquity had been broken up, disclosing pearls of inestimable price."  

Charles Wilkins, a senior merchant in the service of the East India Company, having translated a copy of the *Bhagawad Gita*, submitted it to Warren Hastings, at his request. The latter, in recommending its publication to the Court of Directors in 1784, observed: "With the deductions,

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5 *Calcutta Review*, 1845 (January-June), pp. 269-70.
DISCOVERY OF THE PAST

or rather qualifications, which I have thus promised, I hesitate not to pronounce the Gita, a performance of great originality; of a sublimity of conception, reasoning and diction almost unequalled\(^7\). It was published in London in 1785. Wilkins also published a translation of the Hitopadesa in 1787 and a Sanskrit grammar in 1808.

Mention is made of one Mr. Marshall as having studied the Sanskrit language and commenced a translation of the Bhagawat Purana shortly before Sir William Jones appeared in this field with tremendous zeal and interest for Sanskritic studies. The latter devoted himself to it with indefatigable industry and with the assistance of some Indian Pandits, one of whom named Ram Lochan (a Vaidya, who died at Nadia in 1815) received from him in return a monthly fee of Rs. 500\(^8\) and another named Jagannath Tarkapanchanan got Rs. 300 a month\(^9\). To him, as he himself said afterwards, Sanskrit language was of “wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either”\(^10\). “Some languages are so admirable in their structure”, observed a writer in the Calcutta Review of 1850, “that they offer the finest field of exercise for the human intellect. Sanskrit is certainly one of these. Its lexicology undoubtedly tends to elevate and enlarge the Hindi dialects...”.

Sir William Jones was the first to translate the immortal Sanskrit drama, Abhijnana Sakuntala, by our greatest poet of ancient India, Kalidas, the most appealing song-book, Gitagovinda of Jaydeva, Manusamhita or the Law Book of Manu (1794) and the Hitopadesa of Vishnusarma. The lyrical Sanskrit poem Ritusanñhara, was edited by him in Calcutta in 1792. Possessed of varied literary tastes, he studied different branches of knowledge and wrote on manifold subjects relating to arts and sciences, literature and comparative philology. After his

\(^7\) Ibid, p. 234.
\(^8\) Calcutta Review, 1846 (July-December), p. 209.
\(^10\) Ibid, p. 264.
death in 1794, his work was ably continued by scholars like Henry Thomas Colebrooke and Horace Hayman Wilson. The former came to India as a writer in the service of the East India Company in 1782 and for some time held the office of a Judge in the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Having within a few years acquired proficiency in mathematics, astronomy and Sanskrit language and literature, he made numerous contributions to the "researches" of the Asiatic Society, produced a treatise on the duties of a 'Faithful Hindu Wife' in connexion with the Sati controversy, which was followed in 1798 by his "A Digest of Hindu Law". His translation of two treatises of the Hindu Law of Inheritance, etc., appeared in Calcutta in 1810 and a treatise on 'Obligations and Contract' came out in London in 1818. In 1805, he published in Calcutta his work on Sanskrit grammar and a learned account of the Vedas and in 1808 a critical edition of the Amar Kosha, a Sanskrit lexicon printed at Serampore. He also gave an account of the drama Malatimadhava in the Asiatick Researches and edited the epic Kiratarjuniya. Besides these he contributed numerous papers relating to India in the Asiatick Researches, in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, in the Quarterly Journal of Science, and in the Transactions of the Geological Society.\(^{11}\) Horace Hayman Wilson came to India in the Medical Service of the East India Company in 1808 A.D., and while serving in several other capacities he pursued Sanskrit studies with great zeal and industry. His elegant translation of Meghaduta was published in 1813, his Sanskrit Dictionary in 1819 and his History of Kashmir and Theatre of the Hindus in 1834. He had the eighteen Puranas translated into English with the help of some Pandits and some other scholars educated in the Calcutta Hindu College.\(^{12}\) The chair of the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford was created in 1832 and he accepted

\(^{11}\) For details about his career and works, vide J. R. A. S. London, 1849, pp. 1-16.

\(^{12}\) Ibid, pp. 62-70, 280-313.
it in the summer of the following year. Copious analyses of
the different portions of the Puranas were supplied by Vans
Kennedy in his Researches into Ancient and Hindu
Mythology.

Some other Englishmen belonging to the various branches
of the English Company’s service who studied Sanskrit and
made valuable contributions on certain aspects of old Indian
civilization during the period under review, were James Prin-
sep (1799-1840), Samuel Davis, Colonel Francis Wilford,
Reuben Burrow (for researches in mathematics and astro-
omy), John Bentley (for researches on astronomy), Rev.
W. H. Mill (held the post of the Principal of Bishops’ College,
Sibpore), Brian Houghton Hodgson (came to India in 1819
and was for some time Resident at Nepal), and Dr. W. Yates,
whose work on Nalodaya appeared in Calcutta in 1844. W. C.
Taylor of Bombay, who translated Prabodha Chandrodaya,
reviewing in 1834 ‘the present state and future prospects of
Oriental Literature,’ observed: “The study of the Sanskrit
language which commenced almost within our memory, al-
ready holds the foremost rank among the objects that best
merit the attention of the philosopher, the historian and the
admirer of intellectual beauty; its claims rest not on its novelty
but rather on the multitude and importance of the considera-
tions it forces on our attention.”

Interest in Indian classical studies also spread to Germany,
France and Russia. The German poet Friedrich Schlegel, one
of the leaders of the Romantic School, who made himself
acquainted with Sanskrit language, published in 1808 his
work On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians, and a
school of Indian philology came to be established in Germany.
In fact, both Professor Lee at Cambridge and Dr. Wilson at
Oxford complained that, in spite of the creation of the Boden
Professorship at Oxford, not much attention was till then paid
at either of these places to Sanskrit, a language “capable of
giving a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the ab-

stractions of metaphysics". The best philological works published in England were generally translations from the German. Augustus Wilhelm Von Schlegel, brother of Frederick Schlegel, and the famous translator of Shakespeare's plays, occupied the first chair of Indology established in Germany at the University of Bonn since 1818. He brought out Text editions of the Bhagavad Gita and the Ramayana.14 Franz Bopp, a contemporary of A.W.V. Schlegel, studied Sanskrit in Paris and London, and published in 1816, his work on the Conjugational System of the Sanskrit Language, in comparison with that of the Greek, Latin, Persian, and German languages. Professor Bopp's Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German and Slavonic languages, translated from the German by Lieut. Eastwick and conducted through the press by Professor Wilson to be published in 1845, was a profoundly valuable contribution in this respect. In the opinion of a contemporary reviewer, it was "fully entitled to the epithet of magnus opus of philology, and to claim as high a rank in the Science of Grammar, as Newton's Principia does in Mathematics, as Bacon's Novum Organum in Mental Science or Blumenbach in Physiology."15 Thus flourished the new science of comparative philology. Bopp also published critical editions of the story of Nala and Damayanti and certain other portions of the Mahabharata. Ruckert's translation of the Nala and Damayanti came out in 1828 and of the Savitri in 1839. His book on The Brahman's Wisdom (1836-39) was also published at that time. A Sanskrit Chair was founded at Liepsic in 1841, and Herman Brockhaus was the first occupant of it.

The publication of the first eighth part of the Rigveda by F. Rosen in 1838 inaugurated "philological investigations" of Vedic Literature. But more valuable contributions towards the development of Vedic scholarship in Europe were made

by the famous French Orientalist, Eugene Burnouf, some of whose pupils acquired well merited distinction for their scholarship regarding Indian Literature. One of them was the German scholar, Rudolf Roth, whose monumental work *On the Literature and History of the Veda* (1846) greatly inspired the study of Vedic philology in Germany, and another of greater renown was F. Maxmuller. There was a wide recognition of the importance of Sanskrit language for such studies. Mr. Pickring, the President of the American Oriental Society, observed (about 1848-49) with reference to Sanskrit; "No man can claim to be a philologist, without some acquaintance with that most extraordinary, and most perfect, of the known languages"."

Since the early years of the nineteenth century German poets and philosophers began to take keen interest in India. The English translation of Kalidas’ immortal work, *Sakuntala*, which was rendered into German by George Forster, “created quite a stir among German men of letters”. Goethe, the greatest admirer of this work, said of it that “it embodies at the same time the blossoms of spring and the fruits of all, that it charms and feeds simultaneously, that it comprises in itself Heaven and Earth”. Goethe is indebted to this work for the prologue of ‘Faust’, where, like the Indian plays, the director of the drama is found conversing with the actors. Frederick Ruckert, a contemporary German poet, was greatly influenced by Indian literature. A Professor of Oriental languages, with knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, he translated several Indian works from the *Atharva-veda* to the *Gitagovinda*. Many poems of Ruckert deal with Indian themes. Especially, his work, entitled *The Brahmans’ Wisdom*, shows considerable influence of Indian Thought. It is significant to note that even the Prussian Minister of Education, Wilhelm Von Humboldt, learnt Sanskrit. He wrote a brilliant paper on the *Bhagawad Gita*, which he read in the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin in 1825.

Christian Lassen collected and summarised, in the four volumes of his valuable work on *Indian Archaeology, 1843-1862*; full knowledge on ancient India gathered during the first half of the nineteenth century. A Norwegian by birth he was a pupil of A. W. Schlegel and was his successor in the Chair of Indology at Bonn. Lassen's work on *Antiquities of India* was a highly valuable publication.

Indian thought influenced German philosophy. Of the famous philosophers of Germany, Immanuel Kant, who was also a Professor of Geography, was the first to mention, in the course of his *Lectures on Physical Geography* at the University of Konigsberg for forty years from 1756 to 1796, not only the mountains and rivers, the plants and animals of India but also its customs, manners and religions. Hindu tolerance impressed him. So he observed, "It is one of the principles of the Hindus that they believe that also the religions of other nations are good. For this reason they never compel others to embrace Hinduism." About Hindu ethics his view was that they "contained nothing noxious to man". "Kant was very much interested in the Hindu doctrine of transmigration which corresponded in some respects to his own teaching about the destiny of the soul after death."

In the early days of the nineteenth century some German philosophers were very much attracted by Indian metaphysics. Hegel (1770-1831) has referred to India in his *Philosophy of History* and some other works, but "he was too much taken up with his own ideas to do full justice to Indian thought". Schelling and Schopenhauer (1788-1860), however, expressed much admiration for Indian wisdom. Schopenhauer was so profoundly influenced by Indian thought that he admitted his indebtedness to Indian wisdom, to Plato and Kant for the best of his ideas. He regarded the *Upanishads* 'as the solace of his life and death' and kept in his room a big statue of the Buddha, whom he called "the greatest philosopher the world

18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
had ever seen before Plato and Kant". Schopenhauer's account of Buddhism highly impressed Richards Wagner. The latter wrote, "Buddha's teaching is such a grand view of life, that every other one must seem rather small when compared with it. The philosopher with his deepest thoughts, the scientist with his largest results, the man with the most open heart for every thing that breathes and suffers, find their unlimited abode in this wonderful and incomparable conception of the world. How does our European world of today appear in comparison to it? Either as a wilderness or just as the beginning of a culture which already flourished in India in ancient times. I can keep off the vicissitudes of present-day life only by drinking at the holy fountain of the Ganga."

It is interesting to note that study of Indian culture had engaged considerable attention of French savants from the years following the establishment of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. A modern French scholar, Prof. Louis Renou, observed some years back how it was "in Paris, long before London or Berlin, that Indianism was born in the Occident. . . . The first teaching of Sanskrit to be instituted in Europe was in the College of France. A Royal decree in 1816 created Professorship of History of Sanskrit which was conferred on Louis de Chezy."

Some contemporary letters in French contain interesting details about the cultural contact between India and France even in a period of intense international conflagration. In some of the issues of the Asiatick Researches, we notice the names of three Frenchmen, M. Volney, M. Carpentier de Cossigny, and M. Le Gentil, appearing as Honorary Members of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. In the French letters

21 Ibid.
23 The Indian Archives, October, 1947, p. 333. [Photo-negatives of these letters belonging to the Asiatic Society Calcutta, were obtained by the National Archives (in 1947) through the courtesy of Mile Suzanne Karpelés Secretary, L. Ecole 'Francaise' Extreme—Orient, Hanoi.]
referred to above, there is one from M. Volney, Member of the National Institute of France, to Sri J. Anstruther Bart, the President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, dated the 3rd July, 1802, wherein the former expressed his sense of thankfulness for being included as an Honorary Member of that Society. It is significant to note here how this scholar genuinely felt that the interest of human culture transcended national prejudices or rivalries and that the fruits of human industry are best preserved in literary societies even when destructive wars ravage the surface of the earth. He also sent for the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, as a mark of respect for it, a copy of the voyage of M. Dexion in Egypt in two volumes.

There are two letters from M. Cossigny, Member of the Academical Society of Sciences at Paris, to the Secretary, Asiatic Society of Calcutta, dated the 21st October, 1802, and 20th January, 1803, containing his feelings of gratitude and regard for being nominated as an Honorary Member of that Society. The first letter refers to the death of Colonel Kid, a famous botanist of Calcutta. M. Cossigny also sent to the Asiatic Society, as a token of regard for it, a copy of his latest work in three volumes.

We have in this collection copies of correspondence (dated September, 1805) between Dr. W. Hunter, Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and Jean Jacques Pichon, a Frenchman settled as a builder in Calcutta, regarding the plan for the buildings of this Society which being originally drawn up by Captain Lock, of the Bengal Engineers, was modified by Pichon. The members of the ‘Committee of Building’, Sir John Royds, H. T. Colebrooke, R. Home and John Garstin, expressed in December, 1807, their approval of Pichon’s plan and estimate for the Gate-Wall and offices to the Society’s House.

The most interesting letter is an autograph (1837-1838) of the famous French savant and indologist Eugene Burnouf, who succeeded Louis de Chezy as Professor of Sanskrit in the College de France in 1832. It is highly significant to read this scholar’s observation that the vast monuments of Indian
genius had their own interest for humanity in spite of the rising tide of industrialism. He confidently believed that the study of the monumental treatises of ancient Indian culture, like the Vedas, the Epics, the Puranas, etc. will be pursued in Europe with increasing interest, and he recommended that these should be printed or lithographed in large numbers. He referred to the sale of the publications of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in France and noted that the people there may not purchase the handbooks of the Bible in different languages but that copies of ancient Indian classics, like the Vedas, the Mahabharata and the Puranas, will have considerable sale among them. This letter also refers to exchange of learned publications between cultural organizations in France and India. Burnouf’s translation of the Bhagwat Purana was published in Paris in 1840.\textsuperscript{24}

Some dictionaries and grammatical compositions of this period in Sanskrit were those of Dr. Ballantyne, of Dr. Yates (1845) and of Professor Williams (1846). \textit{A Dictionary, English and Sanskrit}, by Monier Williams came out in 1851. Such works relating to some other languages were also produced. Mention may be made here of a \textit{Dictionary, English and Hindustani}, by Dr. Haris (printed at Madras in 1790), of a \textit{Dictionary, Hindustani and English}, by Dr. William Hunter (Calcutta, 1808), \textit{Hindi Dictionary} by Dr. Adams, Professor Johnson’s edition of Richardson’s Persian and Arabic Dictionary (1829), J. T. Thomson’s \textit{Hindi-English Dictionary} (Delhi and Calcutta 1846), a \textit{Dictionary, Hindustani and English}, by Duncan Forbes, Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in King’s College, London, a \textit{Dictionary, English and Sindhi}, by Capt. G. Stack (Bombay, 1849) and a \textit{Grammar of the Sindhi Language} by the same author (Bombay 1849), and also a few in the Punjabi, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil languages due to Christian missionary efforts\textsuperscript{25}.

\textsuperscript{24} Calcutta Review, 1850 (July-December).
\textsuperscript{25} Calcutta Review, 1851, (July-December), p. 266.
Burnouf's and Lassen's combined publication of the *Essay on Pali* in 1826, and the former's *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism* coming out in 1844, opened a new branch of study before European scholars regarding Pali language and Buddhistic literature.

As Director of the Royal Asiatic Society, Professor H. H. Wilson thus reviewed, in January, 1852, the progress of the Europeans regarding the study of Indian literature: "In this country the publication of the text of the Rig Veda, the first and most important of the four Vedas or Scriptural authorities of the Hindus, constitutes an epoch in the history not only of the Hindu religion but in that of the religious systems of the whole ancient world. The first volume is printed, the second is advanced; it will be completed in two, or at most three, more volumes. The second Veda also, the Yajur Veda, is in progress. The Rig Veda is printed entirely at the cost of the Company, and they contribute liberally to that of the Yajur. They have, it is true, been obliged to avail themselves of the service of German scholars as editors, the Rig Veda being printed at Oxford under the editing of Dr. Maximillian Muller, and the Yajur under that of Dr. Albrecht Weber at Berlin . . . of the third or Sama Veda, a portion, constituting its text was printed by the Oriental Text Society some seven years' since, from a manuscript furnished by Rev. Mr. Stevenson; and a translation by the same was published by the Translation Fund Committee. But a more carefully prepared edition with a German translation, and a copious glossary, has been more recently published at Gottingen by Professor Benfey. The fourth Veda, the Atharva, has not yet found an editor. Supplementary works, illustrative of the text of the Vedas, have been published on the Continent, particularly the Nirukta, an original glossary and comment, by Professor Roth, of Tubingen, who is the author of several learned dissertations on the literature and history of the Vedas, published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and other literary periodicals . . . Prof. Neave of Louvain has speculated upon the early periods of Hindu society in a strain
which, although perhaps not always incontrovertible, is recommendable, by its general correctness and its animated eloquence to the perusal of those who do not make the subject a study but who would willingly receive some information respecting it... The first part of the Rig Veda, the portion of the text in print, has been translated and published by myself. M. Langlois, of Paris, has published a French translation of the whole"26. The Atharva Veda was edited by Rudolf Roth in 1856. In addition to these the text and translation of the drama Vikramorvasi had been printed—the text edited by Prof. Williams and the translation by Mr. Cowell.

At Paris a version of the Ramayana, edited by Prof. Gorresio and published at the expense of the King of Sardinia had been completed in five volumes along with two Italian translations by the editor. The text of the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jamini, edited by Goldstucker, was being printed in Berlin. He was also engaged to publish a translation of the Mahābhārata and a new edition of Prof. H. H. Wilson's dictionary along with himself27. At Breslau, Prof. Stenzler had reprinted a text of the Laws of Yajnavalkya and at Leipsic Professor Benfey had prepared a new Sanskrit grammar28. "An interesting series of works" had been printed at Athens in which the "two most perfect forms of speech" were "brought into friendly contact, Sanskrit and Greek. . . ."29. A Greek gentleman, named Demetrius Galanus, who lived at Benares for several years and died there, utilised his leisure hours there to study Sanskrit and to translate some Sanskrit works into classical Greek. "On his death his papers were sent to Athens, where the translations of the Balabharata, Itihasa Samuchchaya, the Bhagavad Gita, and the Satakas of Bhartrihari had been printed under the care of M. Typaldos, the Superinten-

27 Dr. Goldstucker himself incidentally referred to his works in a letter written by him to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, dated 18th January, 1851.
28 J.R.A.S., 1852.
29 Ibid.
dent of the Public Library. Russia had also begun to afford encouragement to Sanskrit studies. Its Emperor offered to print one portion of the Vedas at his own cost and sent a present of books to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, along with a gold medal, in recognition of the work of that Society.

The Dutch took interest in Indian life and habits since the seventeenth century. But it was in the nineteenth century that there was a scientific interest in Indian culture in the Netherlands. Hamakar promoted the study of comparative linguistics and Sanskrit in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century, and he was the first University Professor to teach Sanskrit at the Leyden University. After his death Sanskrit was taught by Rutgers, Professor of Hebrew. But it was one of his pupils, Hendrik Kern, who gave the real stimulus to higher Sanskrit studies in that country. Coming to Leyden in 1851, Kern devoted himself with great zeal to the study of Germanic, Slavic and Indo-Iranian languages, though his primary interest was in Sanskrit. After having obtained the Ph.D. Degree of the Leyden University in 1855, Kern proceeded to Berlin where he came into contact with the famous German Sanskritist Weber. At his advice, Kern copied manuscripts of the famous astronomical text, Brihatamsamhita of Barahamihira, an edition of which was published by him in the Bibliotheca Indica and a translation in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

In 1858 Kern returned to Holland and taught Greek at a college, but at the same time pursued his Sanskrit studies, one of the results of which was translation of the Sakuntala. This work evoked much interest in Holland and some University teachers there pleaded for starting a Chair for Sanskrit at the University of Leyden. As this proposal bore no fruit, Kern went to London, where he got an invitation for the post of Professor at the Queens’ College, Benares. He accepted this invitation and stayed at Benares for two years. At the invi-

30 Ibid.
32 Indo-Asian Culture, April, 1957.
tation of the University of Leyden, he became its Professor of Sanskrit in 1865. For about forty years till his retirement in 1903 at the age of seventy, Kern inspired batches of students and himself made highly valuable contributions 33.

Information about India reached the Rumanian Principalities at the beginning of the nineteenth century, probably through Transylvanian Press. Notes about India's history, geography, culture and art were published from 1837 onwards in the weekly 'FoaiD Dumitricii, from 1838 onwards in 'Curierul de ambe sexe' and 'Alauta Romineasca, from 1839 in 'Curierul Rominesc' and in a few other periodicals during the following years 34. Knowledge about India was widened in Rumania through the studies of Heliade Radulescu and Gheorghe Arachi, who were prominent writers between 1828 and 1877 35.

Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, who succeeded Mr. J. Muir as Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College in 1846, had to his credit critical studies on Sanskrit grammar and some other works. Commenting on these Dr. Wilson wrote: "The main object of Dr. Ballantyne's labours is, however, to familiarise the rising generation of the Brahmans especially, with the philosophical doctrines of Europe in concurrence or contrast with their own metaphysics and logic, and with this view he had published lectures on the Nyaya, Vedanta, and Sankhya systems, comparing their doctrines with those of Aristotle, Wheatley, Berkeley, and Mill, and the Sutras, or dogmatic principles of the six philosophical systems of India, both texts and translations; the object being two-fold,—to make, on the one hand, those Brahmans who study Sanskrit solely or principally, aware that the subjects to which they attach most value are as well or better understood in Europe, and, on the other, to render those who are studying English conversant also with their own philosophical systems: the two classes will then be able to discuss and compare their respec-

33 Ibid.
34 Indo-Asian Culture, January. 1959.
35 Ibid.
tive notions, to the improvement of both, instead of being, as they are at present, mutually unintelligible. It is only by being doubly armed that the native English scholar can hope to exercise any influence whatever upon his countrymen, or extend beyond his own person the benefits of enlightened cultivation. To expect to accomplish the diffusion of knowledge in India through English alone, were as reasonable as to expect that a cripple, deprived of the use of both his legs, should hobble along upon a single crutch”

In the Punjab nothing much of importance had been done in this respect, the only important contributions there of that time being an English-Punjabi Dictionary by Captain Starkey, a Grammar of the Punjabi Language by Sir Henry Elliot (1851), and the translation of the Vichitra-Natak, “one of the scriptural books of the Sikhs”, by Captain George Siddons. In the south a new edition of Major Molesworth’s Marathi Dictionary was in progress, as also a Dictionary of Telugu by Charles Brown. In Muslim literature an important contribution was made by Dr. Sprenger on the life of Muhammad. “The slackness of European exertion is in some degree compensated,” wrote Dr. Wilson, “by the activity of native scholars, who are beginning to make abundant use of the agency of the press . . .”

Closely connected with the study of India’s literatures and languages was the untiring investigations by individuals in varied walks of life into precious memorials of her antiquity in inscriptions, coins and other archaeological relics, which being patiently discovered and deciphered have revealed vast raw materials immensely useful for the scientific reconstruction of our country’s history. In an early volume of the Asiatick Researches, Mr. H. T. Colebrooke significantly observed: “In the scarcity of authentic materials for the ancient, and even for the modern, history of the Hindu race, importance is justly attached to all genuine monuments and especially inscriptions on stone and metal, which are occa-

H. T. Colebrooke
James Prinsep
sionally discovered through various accidents. If these be carefully preserved and diligently examined, and the facts ascertained from them be judiciously employed towards elucidating the scattered information, which can be yet collected from the remains of Indian Literature, a satisfactory progress may be finally made in investigating the history of the Hindus”.

While the beginnings of such discoveries can be traced from the year 1785 and can be attributed to many Europeans serving in different capacities, the period from 1834 to 1838 was very fruitful in this respect and the names of Major General Alexander Cunningham, Prof. H. H. Wilson, Mr. James Prinsep, Dr. W. H. Mill, James Fergusson, Colonel W. H. Sykes, Major Kittoe, Major Jacob, Dr. Nicholson, Mr. Stevenson, and Mr. Edwards Thomas deserve special mention for unearthing archaeological relics and historical materials of inestimable importance for a correct knowledge of our country’s past.

It is indeed gratifying for us to recall how in this supremely important task of rediscovering and reinterpreting India’s past, there were substantial contributions of some enlightened Indians of those days. The name of Raja Rammohan Roy stands pre-eminent in this sphere as in many others. With profound learning, cosmopolitan culture marked by acquaintance with so many classical languages as Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Latin, Greek and Hebrew and a high philosophical acumen, Rammohan was deeply versed in the philosophy of the Upanishads and the Brahmasutras and other branches of ancient Indian religious literature. He wrote “masterly treatises” on a variety of subjects. He sought to effect a reconciliation between reason and scripture and developed a universal attitude. He was, in the words of one of our greatest modern philosophers, the late Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, “the Humanist, pure and simple, watching from his conning-tower the procession of universal Humanity in Universal History

38 Asiatick Researches, Vol. IX, p. 898,
He was the peer of the Voltaires and the Volneys, the Diderots and the Herdens across the seas; and he had seen and travelled beyond them only a modern Ulysses, voyaging in the land of the setting sun, and descending—not once, not twice, but many times into the dark under-world to bring messages from the old prophets in the Night of Ages."

A contemporary of Raja Rammohan, Raja Radhakanta Dev, a leading and respectable citizen of Calcutta in those days, was not only a great patron of learning in various ways but was himself an erudite scholar deeply interested in Indian culture. His compilation of a voluminous Sanskrit lexicon, Savdakalpadruma, which elicited well merited appreciation from some contemporary scholars and learned academies in different countries of the world, is a brilliant testimony to this. In reply to an address of congratulation on this work from many of his famous Indian contemporaries presented to him on the 25th November, 1859, he observed: "It is highly delightful to see a taste for the study of Sanskrit reviving in Bengal, the importance of which to our countrymen cannot be estimated too highly; I may only add how, of late years, the cultivation of this ancient and venerable language in Europe has excited general interest; it seems as a key to the critical study of the largest family of languages; it has formed a new era in philosophy; it has opened the dark vistas of antiquity, and contributed to the establishment of great ethnological facts". Raja Radhakanta Dev was one of the Directors of the Hindu College, Secretary of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, a member of the School Book Society, Indian Secretary of the Calcutta School Society, Vice-President of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, and a corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. By supplying some valuable cultural information to the Royal Asiatic Society he got a commendatory testimonial from there

40 J. R. A. S., 1835 and 1852.
41 J. C. Bagal, Unabinsa Satabdir Bangla, pp. 82.83.
in May, 1828\(^4\). He helped the study of Sanskrit in foreign countries too. Thus he sent a donation of Rs. 400 to Dr. Scotts of Germany for his library of Sanskrit books\(^5\).

We know of some other Indians of the time much interested in such cultural activities. In 1829 Shri Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Shri Dwarkanath Tagore, Shri (Ramcomal) Ramkamal Sen, Shri Shib Chandra Das and Shri Haramony Datta were enlisted as members of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. By 1851 we notice the names of some other Indians as such, e.g., Babu Hari Mohan Sen and Babu Jadavkrishna Sinha. Shri Tarachand Chakravarty, one of the prominent publicmen of the time educated at the Hindu College, possessed good knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali. He was associated with Dr. Wilson in the work of translating the *Puranas*\(^6\). As a teacher in one of the schools in Calcutta under the School Society, he compiled a *Bengali-English dictionary*, which he dedicated in November, 1827, to Rev. William Adam\(^7\). Within a few years he edited with critical notes the *Manusamhitā* after comparing its original Sanskrit text with its English translation by Sir William Jones. Rajendra Lal Mitra, the pioneer Indian antiquarian, was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1846 and held this appointment for ten years. He had acquired considerable proficiency in Sanskrit and allied languages and began his researches on Indian antiquities which he pursued fruitfully for many years more with great zeal and devotion to replenish the stock of relevant knowledge. He wrote about 50 learned treatises divided into 128 volumes, the most important of these being the *Antiquities of Orissa, Bodh Gaya*, and the *Indo-Aryans*. Rev. K. M. Banerjea, though converted into Christianity, studied and wrote on ancient Indian literature. Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar’s scholarly activities and varied contributions have been remembered with grati-

\(^{4}\) *Ibid*, p. 47.
\(^{5}\) *Ibid*, p. 80.
\(^{6}\) *Ibid*, p. 143.
\(^{7}\) *Ibid*, p. 144.
tude by all succeeding generations for their profound importance. He helped the cause of Sanskrit and Vernacular education in various ways and for some time rendered his service to the publication of the _Bibliotheca Indica_*. A writer in the Calcutta Review of 1854 significantly observed: “Though the college (Calcutta Sanskrit College) was established in Lord Amherst’s days, yet to Ishwara Chandra, the present able Principal, animated by the spirit of a Bacon and a Boff, are we indebted for making the institution, besides the mental training given in it by Sanskrit, philological one, a Royal Academy for Bengali, a fount for purity of style, a training school for able philological teachers... What Whateley has done for popularising logic, or Socrates philosophy, Ishwar Chandra has done for facilitating the study of Sanskrit Grammar, rendering a study hitherto so abstruse as easy as Greek.”

In quite a young age another Indian antiquarian Visvanath Narain Mandlik, while working as Personal Assistant to H. B. E. Fere, then Commissioner of the Bombay Province, wrote his maiden paper, entitled _Omurkot and its Soda Princes_, which was read at a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 8th March, 1855*. Mr. Manishankar Jatashankar and Dr. Bhau Daji of Bombay had also developed tastes for archaeological studies. During the decade following 1861 the latter inspired Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, an eminent Indian scholar, and Pandurang Gopal Padhye, to Indological studies*. A band of profoundly learned scholars following them, namely Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Mr. R. C. Dutt, Mr. Manomohan Chakravarty, Justice M. G. Ranade, Justice K. T. Telang, and Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri continued to keep the lamp of knowledge burning with brightness through their highly valuable researches into the various branches of India’s life

*Centenary Review of the Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 62.
*Calcutta Review, 1893, p. 69.
in the past. Professor Max Muller made an estimate of the progress of learning in India, particularly in Indology, in the following eloquent terms: "The intellectual life of India at the present moment is full of interesting problems. It is too much the fashion to look only at its darker sides, and to forget that such intellectual regeneration, as we are witnessing in India, are impossible without convulsions and failures. A new race of men is growing up in India who have stepped, as it were, over a thousand years, and have entered at once on the intellectual horizon of Europe. They carry of prizes at English schools, take their degrees in English Universities and are in every respect our equals. . . . With regard to what is of the greatest interest to us, their scholarship, it is true that the old school of Sanskrit scholars is dying out and much will die with it which we shall never recover; but a new and most promising school of Sanskrit students, educated by European professors, is springing up, and they will, nay, to judge from recent controversies, they have already become more formidable rivals to our own scholars. The essays of Dr. Bhau Daji, whom, I regret to say, we have lately lost by death, on disputed points in Indian archaeology and literature, are most valuable. The indefatigable Rajendra Lal Mitra is rendering most excellent service in the publications of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, and he discusses the theories of European orientalists with all the ease and grace of an English Reviewer. The Rajah of Besmah, Girija Prasad Sinha, has just finished his magnificent edition of the White Yajurveda. The Sanskrit books published at Calcutta by Taranath and others form a complete library, and Taranath’s new dictionary of the Sanskrit language will prove most useful and valuable. The editions of Sanskrit Texts published at Bombay by Professor Bhandarkar, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, and others, need not fear comparison with the best works of European scholars"[^1].

[^1]: *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1879, XLI-XLII,*
5.

A NEW ERA OF SOCIAL PROBLEM

I

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

When human minds are stirred by new ideas, society cannot remain static. So, as a logical sequel to the various stimulating forces, we have already tried to survey, there dawned during the first half of the 19th century a new era of social reform in India. The essence of social renovation is uplift of women, which has been indeed one of the most valuable contributions of modern Indian renaissance, and has been furthered by significant changes in the outlook and education of women themselves.

Cultured womanhood in India is not a gift of modern civilization. We have a brilliant tradition of female education in the old annals of our country. The writer of the article on Native Female Education in the Calcutta Review of 1855 justly believed that the "practices of close seclusion, and of non-education, are an innovation upon the proper Hindu system". The Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission admitted in September, 1929, that there is nothing "inherent either in the Hindu or in the Muslim religion which militates against the education of women. In fact there were in India even in early days many examples of women possessing wide knowledge, particularly of sacred and classical literature". Notwithstanding the long march of time and successive changes in politics and society, this tradition survived till late in the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. The women in India were not then universally steeped in the darkness of ignorance; in the distant corners of the cities and the villages there flourished female poets and writers, who can be regarded as worthy predecessors of their more educated sisters of the later generations.

1 Calcutta Review, 1855, July-December, p. 64.
Study of religious literature was considered to be a pious recreation by the ladies in respectable families. Further, many women amongst the followers of Vaishnavism in Bengal were well conversant with literary works relating to their cult; some of them had knowledge of Sanskrit too and were able to work as public preachers. For the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century we may mention the names of three lady-scholars, viz. Hati Vidyalankar, a Bengali widow who settled at Benares, Shyam Mohini Devi of Katalipara, district Faridpur, and Dravamayi of Khamakul Krishnagar, district Hugli. They were so well conversant with Sanskrit that they were competent to enter into debates with famous men-scholars of the time on complicated topics of the Hindu Shastras. Hati Vidyalankar "began to instruct others, and obtained a number of pupils, so that, she was universally known by the name of Hati Vidyalankar or ornamented with learning".

Secular considerations, chiefly for management of estates, prompted some members of rather aristocratic families to educate their daughters. Rani Bhavani of Natore and Sri Devi Ahalya Bai of Indore are striking instances of this practice, which was prevalent also in such families as those of Raja Radhakanta Dev of Calcutta and some others. William Adam notes in a report referring to Bengal that the Zamindars "in general instruct their daughters in the elements of knowledge . . . They hope to marry their daughters into families of wealth and property, and they perceive that, without a knowledge of writing and accounts, their daughters will, in the event of widowhood, be incompetent to the management of their deceased husband's estates . . .". A Bengali newspaper of 1822 states as follows: "At the present time there are many educated ladies in different places; in

2 Reports of W. Adam, edited by A. Basu, p. 189.
3 J. C. Bagal, Women's Education in Eastern India, p. 2; Sitanath Tattwabhusan, Social Reform in Bengal, p. 38.
this famous city of Calcutta, there are many fortunate men having educated wives . . . Even to-day many educated ladies are to be found in Karnat, Maharashtra, Dravida, Tailanga and other places; some women transact affairs of their estates, and at Benares there are many of them who can talk in Sanskrit . . . It is clearly observed that among the girls who are reading in the Path sala (school) established through the efforts of (a few) English ladies, some have learnt reading and writing in one year, some again in one and a half years and they can easily read the books written in a language of which they had never any knowledge before. It appears from this that the women can be very learned if they devote themselves to reading and writing. So they should be given education during their early days just as they are taught to discharge their household duties . . .”5. We read in an account of 1849: “There are not a few Hindu ladies, among the upper classes in this city (Calcutta), that can read and that do read. In such cases, when they are children they attend the instructions of a Guru-mahasai, either in their own house, or at the house of some near neighbour . . . By the time this is finished, they are married . . . They are now removed from school, and for want of practice, soon forget to write. But they do not lose their knowledge of reading. Some of the matrons in the family,—it may be an aunt—continue the study of the Bengali with the little girl, and she soon learns to read fluently. The books, with which the young women’s minds are chiefly engaged, are the following: Ramayan. Mahabharat, Annada Mangal Chundi, and a few other works, especially such as treat of the incarnation of Krishna, and the attributes of Shakti or Durga. The vernacular newspapers, especially the Bhaskur and Probakhur, are in great demand with them. In one of the divisions of this city, called Bartollah, there are a great many printing presses, employed in printing books, of which many are bought by respectable Hindu ladies. The other day we learned with great pleasure

and surprise that a young married lady, being obliged to visit her mother, who was very ill, and who lived at the distance of six days' journey from Calcutta, took with her in her palkee (palanquin) a number of books for her travelling companions, to relieve the ennui of her journey. . . . It is a fact, which may surprise our European readers, that reading is a resource, which many a Hindu lady makes use of, to beguile the hours of the day. . . . Indeed, the importance of Female Education has already been felt and appreciated by some of the more enlightened and liberal members of the Hindu Community. We are aware that Rajah Radha Kant Deb published, more than twenty years ago, a treatise on the subject, in which he warmly enforced the education of his countrywomen by reasons, to which circumstances have recently given fresh interest. Many of the Hindu youths, also educated in English institutions, have, with praiseworthy zeal, taught their wives to read and write the English language. The work is progressing. . . . We knew of one young man, an alumnus of the Hindu College, who had instructed his wife as far as the Poetical reader No. 5, and, who had also taught her to write". Shri Gouri Shankar Tarkabagis, editor of the Sambad Bhaskar (started in March, 1839), wrote in his paper on the 31st May, 1849: "Consequent upon the establishment of institutions for the education of girls in Calcutta, there had been considerable agitation in the city but we have been repeatedly asserting and we shall still re-iterate that the education of girls and women is nothing new inasmuch as women in India had all along been engaged in learning right from the reigns of the Sooryya-banshi monks till the subjugation of India by the Muham-madans. We have published sufficient evidence for the above contention. Even after the end of the rule of the Muham-madans and during British rule Indian ladies have been engaged in learning, as a proof of which we may mention the names of the Maharani of Burdwan, Vishnu Kumari, Varendra Bhoomindra Bhamini Maharani Bhabani Devi. Deeds of

*Calcutta Review, 1849 (January-June), XXVIII-XXIX.*
gifts of land signed by them are still available at some places. Since then there has been proper arrangement for the education of the ladies of the palace of Burdwan as also of Natore. The first queen of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, the late queen Kamal Kumari, was well-educated and she had taken over the reins of administration during the lifetime of her husband, Maharaja Tejas Chandra Bahadur. Both the wives of the late Maharaja Pratap Chandra Bahadur, who are still alive, are well-educated and the ladies of the family of late Maharajadhiraj Krishna Chandra Ray Bahadur had also received education.

The daughters of all the eminent persons of Calcutta are educated and education of the ladies had become quite a common feature in the family of late Sukhamoy Roy Bahadur, and especially the daughter of late Shiva Chandra Roy Bahadur, grand-daughter of late Sukhamoy Roy Bahadur, late Harasundari Dasi, had attained such proficiency in Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindi that even learned persons dared not enter into discussions with her.

While passing this resolution all of us were plunged into grief remembering the eldest daughter of Shreejakta Babu Prasanna Kumar Tagore and we thought all the while that had she been present on such an occasion we could have convinced the public by presenting before them her beautiful handwriting (the letters whereof were like pearls linked together) and her compositions on various subjects. Since it is not profitable to dilate on sad incidents of the past we may, for the present, bring this resolution to a close by giving a short account of the educational attainments of the daughter of Shree Ashutosh Dev. Ashutosh Babu’s daughter is well versed herself in Bengali (language of Gauda), Urdu and Vrajabhasa and even pandits do highly appreciate her capacity of writing in Devanagri script.

This lady’s achievements in the field of art have been so laudable that even the best artists of England will, undoubtedly, express their satisfaction if they are presented with the specimens of her productions. We have collected some of the
specimens of art of the daughter of Ashutosh Babu and we hope to exhibit them at our next meeting, before the Head-teachers of the girls’ Schools of our country”.

The East India Company’s Government remained absolutely indifferent to female education in India during the early period of empire-building. But the Christian missionaries had included it in the programme of their work in this country since the early years of the 19th century, and made earnest efforts to bring girls under their own system of instruction. Mr. May, a Dissenting missionary, who may be regarded as the pioneer of “lower female education” in India, started a girls’ school at Chinsurah. But as he died shortly in 1818 his efforts did not produce much success, and this institution was discontransenced by the Company’s Government. For the propagation of the Gospel the Serampore Mission of Carey, Marshman and Ward thought of educating Indian girls and established several schools for this purpose from 1823 in and around Serampore with the assistance of some of the local Indian gentry. The Serampore Mission started girls schools at different places in Bengal and also at stations like Benares, Allahabad and Akyab (district of Arracan). W. Adam wrote in his First Report (1835): “there are now two in operation, one called the Central School, containing 138 girls, and a second called the Christian Village School containing 14”.

Female education received impetus from other agencies. In the month of April, 1819, some Baptist missionaries in Calcutta, intending to commence “an organised scheme of female education” issued an appeal for help. This elicited a favourable response from several English ladies, who founded in the same year the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society, under the presidency of Rev. W. H. Pearce, for the education of Indian girls. The Society had thirty-two students at the end

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7 B. N. Banerjee, Sambad Patre Sekaler Katha, Part I, pp. 411-413.
9 Ibid.
10 Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 35; J. C. Bagal, Women’s Education in Eastern India, Chapter II.
of the first year of its existence\textsuperscript{11}. At the Annual Meeting of the School Society, held on the 2nd May, 1821, Reverend Keith "made some remarks on the importance of female education, when the Chief Justice stated that he had the gratification to know that some natives were to be found of the highest respectability, who were giving their attention to the subject; and in some instances privately endeavouring in their circles to give effect to these designs for the instruction of their females"\textsuperscript{11}. In a public examination arranged by the School Society in 1822, about forty poor Bengali girls belonging to the Female Juvenile Society were examined\textsuperscript{12}. Raja Radhakanta Dev writes in his Report of this examination that "several native girls educated by the Female Society were also examined, whose proficiency in reading and spelling gave great pleasure"\textsuperscript{13}. At the end of six years of its existence, the Calcutta Juvenile Society (by this time rechristened the Baptist Female Society) maintained one hundred and fifty female pupils in six or seven schools in Calcutta and its vicinity\textsuperscript{15}. Raja Radhakanta Dev handed over to this Society the publication of a Bengali book, on the subject of female education, entitled \textit{Stri Sikshavidhayaka}\textsuperscript{16}, written by Pandit Gourmohan Vidyalankar of Calcutta School Society in April 1822\textsuperscript{17}. The writer pointed out that female education had the sanction of the Shastras.

The name of Miss Mary Ann Cooke (from 1824 Mrs. Wilson, wife of Rev. Isaac Wilson, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, residing at Mirzapur, Calcutta) deserves special mention in the history of female education during the period under review. In 1821 the British and Foreign School

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12} Pearychand Mitra, \textit{A Biographical Sketch of David Hare}, pp. 52-53.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} Quoted in \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{15} Monier Williams, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 322.
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Selections from Educational Records}, Part II, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{17} B. N. Banerjee, \textit{op. cit.}, Part I, pp. 408-10. There was a second edition of it in August, 1822. Its third edition came out in 1824.
Society of London, in consultation with the Calcutta School Society's agent, Mr. Harrington, and with Mr. Ward of the Serampore Mission, both then being in England, decided to depute Miss Cooke for this work. Starting from England in May, 1821, she reached India in November of the same year. The funds of the Calcutta School Society being inadequate to finance her work, she commenced it under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. By 1822 eight "little schools for girls were formed" under her supervision. Their number rose to 24 in 1824 and of scholars to 400. These schools enjoyed the patronage of the Marchioness of Hastings.

In the month of June, 1824, the Corresponding Committee of the Christian Missionary Society, under the auspices of which Miss Cooke had so long been working, transferred the management of their female schools to a Society formed in March of that year under the designation of the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education, with the Right Hon'ble Lady Amherst as its patroness. David Hare became a subscriber to it and "encouraged native female education by his presence at the periodical examinations which were held." Under the guidance of Miss Cooke, then Mrs. Wilson, this Society soon came to manage 30 girls schools with about 600 students in Calcutta and its neighbourhood.

At the suggestion of Archdeacon Corrie, it was then decided to concentrate efforts and activities, and a Central School was established accordingly in the eastern corner of the Cornwallis Square, Calcutta. The Right Hon'ble Lady Amherst laid the foundation stone of this on the 18th of May, 1826, and Raja Baidyanath Roy of Calcutta gave two

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19 Ibid, p. 79.
20 Ibid, p. 81.
21 Ibid, p. 86.
22 Pearychand Mitra, A Biographical Sketch of David Hare, p. 56.
24 Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 36.
liberal donations, amounting to 20,000 rupees\(^{25}\). On the 1st of April, 1828, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson took charge of the Central School with fifty-eight girls. The first examination of the Central School was held on the 17th December, 1828. We find in the report of Miss Ward (December, 1829), who had been placed in charge of the Central School during Mrs. Wilson’s temporary absence in the Upper Provinces, that in 1828 the daily attendance of the girls was “from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, divided into twenty classes.” The Central School in Calcutta flourished gradually, and Mr. W. Adam noted in 1835: “An allowance is made of a pice a head to women under the name ofhurstrees, for collecting the children daily and bringing them to school, as no respectable Hindu will allow his daughters to go into the street except under proper protection. The School numbers 320 day-scholars, besides 70 Christian girls who live on the premises. The latter are orphans, and most of them have been collected from the districts south of Calcutta that have recently suffered from inundation and famine. Together with these, 40 poor women have been admitted by Mrs. Wilson to a temporary asylum, who are all learning to read and receive daily Christian instruction, and are at the same time employed in various ways to earn in whole or in part their own living. In connection with the Ladies’ Society, there is also a girls’ school on the premises belonging to the Church Missionary Society in Calcutta. The number of pupils fluctuates between 50 and 70. Spelling, reading, writing, needlework and religion are the subjects in which instruction is given. Many of the scholars have become teachers. Native ladies of the most respectable castes in society have both sent their daughters, and in some instances have themselves expressed anxiety to obtain instruction . . . There are three schools connected with the London Missionary Society in Calcutta. In a school situated in the Thunthuniya Road there are 45 scholars, in the Creek Row School about 25; and in

the Mende Bagan School 28. In these schools the girls are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, besides plain needlework and marking . . . ."26 The Samachar Chandrika of the 28th July, 1827, noted that the Bengalees had begun to send their daughters to schools for education up to an advanced age and that in Burdwan particularly girls aged 14 or 15 years came to schools27.

There were three agencies then used by the Christian missionaries for female education, viz., (1) girls’ day schools, (2) orphans’ boarding establishments, (3) domestic teaching arranged in the families of the middle and higher classes. They tried hard for extension of domestic education through governesses in the families of the Indians. Mrs. Wilson and Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, baptised into Christianity on the 17th October, 1832, when questioned about this scheme of domestic instruction gave favourable replies28.

Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea was of opinion that “many would instruct the female sex if their reputation and perhaps caste were not at stake”29. He was a staunch advocate of the cause of female education. In 1840 he wrote an essay on Indian Female Education in competition for a prize of Rs. 200 offered by Captain Jameson of Baroda for the “best English essay by a native of India on the subject of Native Female Education”29. In the second chapter of this essay he discussed what should be the duties of women in different spheres of life. He expected that “Hindu females ought to be what the first mother of the human species undoubtedly was, and what Providence intended all her daughters to be—helpmates to their husbands, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. They are not to remain unconcerned in the affairs of the

26 First Report, pp. 48-49.
27 B. N. Banerjee, Sambad Patre Sekaler Katha, Part I, p. 18. In 1857 the Central Female School was amalgamated with a normal school which had been started in Calcutta in February, 1852.
28 Calcutta Review, 1850.
29 Ibid.
30 Englishman, June 8, 1840.
family nor only to bear the drudgery of the household, as if the recesses of the Hindu’s dwelling were a mere menagerie; but on the contrary to advise and counsel their consorts to the utmost of their power . . . There is a charm in the rational sympathy of an intelligent wife which operates almost with talismanic power upon the mind which is agitated and disturbed by temporal crosses and disappointments.” He pointed out that the minds of the women “should in the first place be cultivated”, and in the third chapter suggested what he considered to be the suitable means for their education. He recommended “private tuition” instead of a “system of public schools”, as he felt that “if instruction could be offered under the auspices of a well-organised European Native Society without demanding a sudden and violent revolution, as it were, in the domestic economics of the Hindus, the cause of female improvement would gradually prosper, in Calcutta at least.” Referring to the fact that Babu Prasanna Kumar Tagore of the distinguished Tagore family had engaged a European tutoress for the education of her daughter, he noted that the employment of European female teachers and the “establishment of infant schools in different parts of the country for the instruction of both male and female children, would also greatly help the cause of female Education.” In a public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta held in the Calcutta Town Hall on 24th December, 1847, he expressed “a strong opinion that respectable Hindu girls should be allowed to attend classes in Christian Schools.” In 1851 he joined the Bethune Society, being thus one of its original members along with Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Babu Ram Gopal Ghose, Shri Debendra Nath Tagore and some others.

As regards the efforts of the Christian Missionaries for female education in other parts of India, it may be noted that in Madras they opened a school for this purpose on the 17th October, 1821\(^a\). On the 10th of March, 1826, Sir Thomas

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\(^a\) Extract from “Memoir of the First Centenary of the Earlier Protestant Mission at Madras” by Rev. W. Taylor,” quoted in Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 49,
Munro remarked that the ‘number of schools and of what are called colleges, in the territories under the Presidency amount to 12,498, and the population to 12,850,941, so that there is one school to every 1,000 of the population, but as usually a few females are taught in schools, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population.” But the number of Christian schools for girls gradually increased. In 1845 the first girls’ school under partial native management was opened. It was reported before the Education Commission of 1882 by the Madras Provincial Committee that the following were the earliest schools for the education of girls in Madras: The Church Mission Boarding Schools in Tinnevelly from 1837; the Free Church Day School, Madras, from 1841; the Free Church and Boarding School from 1842; the S.P.G. Boarding Schools in Tinnevelly from 1842; the Free Church Day Schools at Chingleput and Conjeeveram from 1845; the Native Female Education Society Central School, Black Town, Madras, from 1845; the Wesleyan Mission Boarding School, Royapettah, Madras, from 1849.

In Bombay, the missionaries of the American Mission Society were the pioneers of female education. That Society opened there a girls’ school in 1824 and “two years later they reported an increase of nine girls’ schools with an aggregate attendance of 340 pupils.” In 1829 the “number of pupils rose to 400 of whom 122 were able to read, write and cipher and to do plain needle-work”. Two girls’ schools were opened by the same Mission in 1831 at Ahmadnagar which was followed by the starting of a boarding school for girls in that city. Dr. and Mrs. Wilson established six girls’ schools in Bombay during the year 1829-30 and the number of pupils

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32 As gathered from information furnished by Collectors Vide a table given in Fisher’s Memoir on Education of Indians in Bengal; Past and Present, 1919.


35 Ibid.
in them were about 200\textsuperscript{36}. The Church Missionary Society started girls’ schools for the first time in 1826 and “in the course of the next ten years the Society opened separate elementary schools for boys and girls at Thana, Bassein and Nasik”\textsuperscript{37}.

At the close of 1850, the missionary “efforts in Female Education in India embraced three hundred and fifty-four day-schools with eleven thousand five hundred girls; and ninety-one boarding schools with two thousand four hundred and fifty girls, taught almost exclusively in the vernacular languages”\textsuperscript{38}. Then the Missionary Girls’ Schools were thus\textsuperscript{39} distributed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day Schools</th>
<th>Boarding Schools</th>
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<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>Girls</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
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<td>N. W. Provinces</td>
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<td>Madras Presidency</td>
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<td>Bombay Presidency</td>
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<td>Ceylon</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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(or 11,550) (or 2,450)

But, with all their efforts, the Christian missionaries could not attract to their institutions girl students from the upper stratum of the Indian society, the bulk of those drawn therein being from the lower ranks. Rev. K. M. Banerjea observed in 1840: “The lower classes, (that is, those who are not much under the bonds which society imposes, and whose poverty and degradation render them invulnerable so far as literacy is concerned), are in the habit even now of sending girls to schools upon the prosecution of sufficient motives, such as a few pice or other Bakhshish being occasionally given to the children”\textsuperscript{40}. Sometimes they received ornaments. A

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{38} Calcutta Review, 1851, p. 242.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, p. 249.

\textsuperscript{40} K. M. Banerjea, Native Female Education, pp. 102-103.
Brahmin of Chinsura wrote to the Editor of the *Samachar Darpan* on the 3rd March, 1838, that though a few European ladies and gentlemen had been making efforts for the education of the women by establishing schools, only some girls belonging to low classes attended their schools under the temptation of getting cloths and other presents and the missionaries were unsuccessful in other quarters. Mr. Adam saw 175 girls in 4 female schools in the Burdwan district in 1838; of these one was Muhammadan, 36 were either daughters of Christian parents or orphans supported by the missionaries, and 138 Hindus; but of the Hindu girls 58 were Bagdis, 18 Muchis, 17 Domes, 12 Haries, 6 Vaishnavas, 6 Tantis, 2 Chandals, 1 Kurmi and 1 Bate. In a girls’ school visited by him in the city of Murshidabad all the students were Hindus, 17 of them being Bagdis, 6 Malas, 3 Kaivartas and 2 Vaishnavas. An account of 1851 recorded as follows: “Female Education has occupied much of the attention and anxieties of missionaries; but such hindrances lie in its way, as to have greatly crippled the efforts, which they were desirous of making. Boarding Schools for orphans and the daughters of native Christians have been most successful; many of the most intelligent and best behaved of the native Christian women have received their education… But female day-schools have in most parts of India, met with little encouragement… In Bengal there are very few of these schools now; though at one time they were most numerous, especially in Calcutta. In Madras, however, and in Bombay, they flourish much better.”

The chief reason for this was that the instruction which the Christian missionaries provided for was mostly of religious character, which did not appeal to Indian sentiments. In the words of Rev. K. M. Banerjea, “In those schools little had been done in an educational though much attempted in the

42 *Third Report*, p. 305.
44 *Calcutta Review*, 1851, pp. 248-49.
catechising way". Adam too noticed this defect. Referring to the Christian Boarding Houses for girls' education, he observed: "These institutions are exclusively under Christian management and the instruction is chiefly religious but not to the exclusion of general knowledge and the arts of domestic industry. It must be evident that they give the teachers and superintendents an absolute control over the minds of the pupils, and this is the object of their establishment. They also tend to break the ties between parents and children in those cases in which the former are alive, especially if they are not Christians." As for the day schools he wrote as follows: "The children are the offspring of the poorest classes of native society. They are paid for attendance, and elderly females are employed to conduct them to and from school. . . . It is opposed to native prejudices, as it requires that the scholars should have to leave home to attend school and it involves unproductive expenditure, as the matrons are paid only to secure attendance at school, not attention to study; and yet the reports of such institutions are filled with expressions of regret on account of irregular attendance, slow progress, withdrawals from school after marriage, etc."  

An enlightened public opinion in favour of girls' education was gradually gathering momentum, though there was a sort of opposition to it from the side of some orthodox members of the Hindu community. The local journals of that time tell us that some virulently opposed it, while others warmly advocated its expansion. The editor of the Samachar Darpan published a note in his journal on 25th June, 1831, attacking female education and its advocates; but the editor of the Bangaduta gave a very strong reply to that note on 20th August, 1831, by emphasising the need of female education in our country and citing instances of educated ladies among

45 Native Female Education, p. 105.  
46 Third Report, p. 453.  
47 J. C. Bagal, Women's Education in Eastern India, Chapter VI.  
the Marathas⁴⁹. The editor of another local paper named Gyananeshwara published a note on 29th April, 1834, encouraging the determination of some respectable Indians, like Babu Moti Lal Seal and Babu Haladhar Mallik, to convene a meeting with the object of devising plans for the improvement of female education and for introducing other social reforms⁵⁰. It is interesting to note that a particular Brahmin of Chinsura wrote to the editor of the Samachar Darpan on 28th February, 1838, expressing a clear support for the spread of female education with the argument that all-round improvement of the country would never be possible unless the girls were educated. He further urged the respectable gentlemen of Calcutta, Baranagar, Chinsura, Santipur and some other important places to make organised efforts for opening a girls' school in each village so that the girls might keep pace with the growth of education and new ideas among the youths of the country⁵¹. By the year 1835 some women of Santipur had begun to express discontent with their lot and demanded arrangements for their education and other reforms. Some women of Chinsura also wrote to the editor of the Samachar Darpan on the 15th of March, 1835, strongly supporting the efforts of their sisters of Santipur⁵². It is noted in the Bengal Spectator of December 1, 1842, that a Hindu gentleman had then offered through the Council of Education “a gold and a silver medal to the students attached to 1st class of the Hindu College for the best and the second best essays on Native Female Education.”

Thus there was a growing recognition of the need of female education in Bengal before the establishment of the first separate school for the instruction of the girls of high class Hindus under the name of the Hindu Valika Vidyalaya (Female School), on the 7th May, 1849, through the efforts

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⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 98.
⁵² Ibid, pp. 257-258.
of Hon’ble John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune, Legal Member of the Governor General’s Council and President of the Council of Education, and of Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, one of the great educationists and social reformers of modern India. The Hon’ble J.E.D. Bethune thus stated his viewpoint to Lord Dalhousie through his letter to him, dated the 29th of March, 1849: “The failure of every attempt to induce respectable Natives to send their daughters to a Missionary School and the conviction which I have that the system of the Government schools is best calculated for producing a rapid and salutary effect in the country induced me to establish my school on the same principle of excluding from it all religious teaching, though I was well aware of the additional difficulty which this restriction would cause to me for procuring efficient female teachers.”

The Hindu Valika Vidyalaya was started with twenty one girl pupils, and “it was vehemently opposed by many of the most influential natives of Calcutta, chiefly however,” as Mr. Bethune believed, “on the ground of mortified vanity because they had not been consulted in the matter.” But he received considerable encouragement and help from some other educated citizens. Babu Ram Gopal Ghose, the well-known merchant of Calcutta and the first Indian public man to deliver orations in English of literary merit, was his “principal adviser in the first instance” and procured him his “first pupils.” Babu Dakshina Ranjan Mukherjee, a Zamindar who did not previously know Mr. Bethune, offered the free gift of a site for the school, or five bighas of land valued at 10,000 rupees in the native quarter of the town as soon as his desire was published. Pandit Madan Mohan Tarkalankar of the Calcutta Sanskrit College not only sent his two daughters, named Bhuvanmala and Kundamala, to

53 Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 52.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid., p. 53.
58 Ibid.
Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar
John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune
Mr. Bethune’s school, but “continued to attend it daily, to give gratuitous instruction to the children in Bengali and . . . . employed his leisure time in the compilation of a series of elementary Bengali books for their use”59. He wrote an excellent article on the necessity of female education in the second (September, 1850) issue of the monthly magazine, entitled Sarbasubhakari, which first appeared in August, 1850 as an organ of the progressive Hindu leaders of the time. He brought out three primers in Bengali, two in 1849 and one in 1850, specially meant for girls. The Hon’ble Justice Sambhunath Pandit (the first Indian Judge of the High Court of Judicature in Calcutta) also helped Mr. Bethune’s enterprises considerably60. Fifteen days after the establishment of the Hindu Valika Vidyalaya, Raja Radhakanta Deb started a girls’ school in his own house at Sobha Bazar in Calcutta61. Raja Radhakanta Deb ably helped the cause of female education. Mr. Bethune once wrote to him: “I am anxious to give you the credit which justly belongs to you of having been the first native of India, who in modern times has pointed out the folly and wickedness of allowing women to grow up in utter ignorance and that this matter is neither enjoined nor countenanced by anything in the Hindu Sastras”.

A girls’ school had already been started at Barasat (about 20 miles from Calcutta) by some respectable gentlemen like Peary Chand Sarkar, Headmaster of the local Government School, Nabin Chandra Mitra, an assistant in the Calcutta Excise Commissioner’s office and another a graduate of the Medical College62. That School was then (1849) “attended by more than 20 girls, chiefly of Brahminical caste, two of them being already married”63. In August 1849 Babu Jaykrishna Mukherjee and Babu Rajkrishna Mukherjee, Zamin-

59 Ibid.
60 Sitanath, op. cit., p. 44; Chandicharan, Life of Vidyasagar (in Bengali), p. 195.
61 J. C. Bagal, Unabinsa Satabdir Bangala, p. 77.
62 Calcutta Review, 1885, July-December, p. 77.
63 Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 54.
dars in the Hugli District, sent before the Council of Education a communication relating to the establishment of a female school at Uttarpura near Howrah. They noted therein: "Many respectable people of this neighbourhood concur with us in thinking that if an experimental school for the education of female children should be established here under the patronage of Government, it may, if successful, eventually lead to the establishment of others all over the country. We, therefore, beg to propose to place in the hands of Government landed property yielding a clear monthly income of 60 rupees, provided the Government will pay a like sum for the furtherance of the object—the cost of the building will be about 2,000 rupees which shall be equally borne by the Government and ourselves." The Council of Education regretted "that the existing state of the education funds would not permit them to entertain the proposal submitted", and that "they preferred awaiting the result of that (Mr. Bethune's) experiment, to taking any steps in the matter of female education themselves at that time." Babu Jaykrishna Mukherjee, however, "proposed to open the school at once without any further application to Government." Girls' schools had been started also near Jessore, at Neubbhia and at Sooksagar, and Mr. Bethune, on visiting the Government Vernacular School at Chota Jagooleah in the Barasat district, found that the Indian managers of that school had "given, among other prizes, a silver Medal for the best Bengali Essay on the benefits to be expected from Female education."

Thus, in spite of hostile opinions against female education in certain quarters, faith in its importance for general improvement of society was gradually increasing throughout the country. In an address on 'Native Female Education',

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64 Ibid., pp. 47-49.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., p. 49.
67 Ibid.
68 Ibid., p. 54.
delivered at a meeting of respectable Indians (several of whom belonged to the orthodox class), held at Maniktola Street, Calcutta, on 25th July, 1855\textsuperscript{69}, Babu Hurchunder Dutt strongly advocated it. He made a very stirring appeal in the following terms: (a) "The education of our Females is a duty which we owe to ourselves, and the more speedily it is fulfilled the better," (b) "Immediately to set about the work of Female Education is a duty we owe to our country," (c) "Immediately to set about the work of Female education is a duty we owe to God." He concluded his speech with the following striking passage: "And now, when the highest personages in the realm have condescended to take an active interest in the cause of Native Female Education, when the cry of our women has not only reached their ears, but has crossed intervening oceans and reached the ears of our gracious Sovereign—let us cordially co-operate—let us encourage the poor to send their daughters to school, and let those that have the means educate their wives and daughters at home. Let us also encourage the plan of training up Female Teachers who shall knock at every door with food for the soul. Then, in the process of time, would be realised the most glorious of results." There were several others sincerely desiring this reform. Mr. Kristodas Pal expressed on 1st June, 1856: "A new race has risen on the land which had ere long no name or local habitation. The worthies of their newly sprung up class are a glory to the nation . . . they have discovered that women like them are made of flesh and blood, are governed by similar motives, influenced by similar affections, watched over by the same Providence, have equal rights, are entitled to similar treatment. Accordingly they find it no breach of morality or religion to dispel from their minds the gloom of ignorance, and open to them the Pardisial region of Literature and Science\textsuperscript{70}.

\textsuperscript{69} East India Pamphlets (National Library, Calcutta).

\textsuperscript{70} Kristodas Pal, Young Bengal Vindicated, a discourse read at the Hare Anniversary Meeting held on 1st June, 1856.
In Bombay too Indian society had begun to show interest in extending education to girls. In 1851, a sum of rupees 20,000 was endowed by Maganbhai Karamchand of Ahmedabad for the establishment of two girls' schools in that city. In the same year one gentleman of Poona, named Joti Govindrao Phule, started a private school at Poona for girls' education. Professor Patton of the Elphinstone College promoted the formation of a *Students' Literary and Scientific Society*, which supported some vernacular free schools for girls in the city of Bombay". In 1851 the members of this Society had under their superintendence three Parsi female schools, which, in 1851, taught 196 pupils". This number rose to 371 in 1852. Reading, writing, study of geography and arithmetic, embroidery and needle-work were chiefly encouraged, and, in all, the progress of the little girls was "decidedly satisfactory". "We are glad to learn", observed the *Times of India*, dated 11th December, 1858, "that a great success has attended the appeal made to the wealthy Hindus of this place—to contribute a fund for the permanent support of the Girls' Schools. One of the wealthiest of the Hindu merchants has formally announced his desire to bestow a grant of Rs. 1000/- per annum to be applied for the present to the support of two of the schools, which he has specified; a third school to be included, in the event of Government giving a grant-in-aid. Another Hindu gentleman, Dr. Bhao Djee has offered to contribute Rs. 40 a month for the support of one school, until some rich native comes forward to endow it permanently. Mr. Juggonath Sunkersett has expressed his readiness to contribute a handsome allowance for the maintenance of the school of the Society in his own compound, where it has been rented free since its foundation 9 years ago. We further understand from a respectable authority that a Parsee gentleman has also signified his intention of heading the general subscription list with a sum of Rs. 500. Under

"Calcutta Review, 1852 (July-December), X."
such a promising state of matters, we hope that, in a few months, the Hindu schools will be placed upon a permanent footing as well as the Parsee schools.”

The attitude of the Company’s Government towards female education in India was one of apathy for many years. Even the school established by Mr. Bethune was maintained for some time by him, and after his death in 1851, Lord Dalhousie, who was in favour of extending a frank and cordial Government support to female education in India, paid for its maintenance for nearly five years Rs. 8,000 a year out of his personal purse73. Sir Charles Wood’s Despatch of 1854 observed: “The importance of female education in India cannot be over-rated, and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grant-in-aid may be given and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in the direction.” Soon Rs. 5,000 were assigned by the Government as grant for girls’ schools in Bengal and about 40 such schools were started by the Inspector of Schools in the districts of Burdwan, Hugli and the 24-Parganas74. But after the movement of 1857-59, the grant was withdrawn75. Within a few years, however, there was a change in the attitude of the Government in this respect.

74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
II

ABOLITION OF SATI

CAUTIOUS steps were taken by the Company’s Government in the abolition of the custom of Sati and it was possible largely due to a growing sentiment against it in the country. Though in 1772 the Company decided to ‘stand forth as the Diwan’ as far as administration was concerned, it continued to follow a policy of non-interference with the matters relating to the social life of the Indians, and their Government in Bengal promised to “preserve the laws of the Shastra and the Quran, and to protect the natives of India in the free exercise of their religion.” Colebrooke's *Digest of Hindu Law* contained the following expression: “No other effectual duty is known for virtuous women at any time after the deaths of their lords except casting themselves into the same fire. If a woman in her successive transmigration declines doing so, she should not be exempted from shrinking again to life in the body of some animal.”

But the Supreme Court in Calcutta tried to prevent the rite within the limits of their immediate jurisdiction76, as was also done by the Danes at Serampore, the Dutch at Chinsura, and the French at Chandernagore77. The English Government at Madras tolerated the practice: but between the years 1770 and 1780, at any rate, it was not allowed in the scattered territories then under the control of the Government of Bombay78.

Some officers of the Company’s Government were gradually pressing their authorities to take effective steps against such a practice in spite of the continuance of the policy of non-interference in relation to Indian social matters. But the latter still shrank from issuing definite official orders forbidding it fully. On the 28th January, 1789, Mr. M. H. Brooke, Collector of Shahabad, wrote to Lord Cornwallis: “Cases some-

times occur in which a Collector, having no specific orders for the guidance of his conduct, is necessitated to act from his own sense of what is right. This assertion has this day been verified in an application from the relations and friends of a Hindu woman for my sanction for the horrid ceremony of burning her with her deceased husband. Being impressed with the belief that this savage custom has been prohibited in and about Calcutta, and considering the same reasons for its discontinuance would probably be valid throughout the whole extent of the Company's authority, I positively refused my assent. The rites and superstitions of the Hindu religion should be allowed with the most qualified tolerance, but a practice at which human nature shudders I cannot permit without particular instructions. I beg, therefore, My Lord, to be informed whether my conduct in this instance meets with your approbation." But he was instructed only to use dissuasion and not coercive measures or official powers to prevent Sati sacrifices. John Shore's Government also followed the policy of Lord Cornwallis in this matter. On the 17th of May, 1797, James Battray, Magistrate of Midnapur, wrote to the Government in Calcutta that he had been able to prohibit the Sati of a widow, aged only nine, but even then he apprehended that she would soon sacrifice herself. The Government asked him "to do his best to dissuade her." On the 4th of January, 1805, J. R. Elphinstone, Magistrate of the Bihar District, informed the Government that he had prevented the Sati of a girl of bania caste at the request of her friends. Having no definite orders for the prevention of this practice, he solicited further instructions of the Government. Lord Wellesley caused his views to be forwarded to the Nizamat Adalat, which was responsible for the detection and prevention of crimes within the Presidency, and requested that body, on the 5th of February, 1805, to ascertain if the

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80 Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, p. 133.
Sati practice could be abolished. The Judges of the Nizamat Adalat consulted the pandits and forwarded their views to the Governor-General. In the opinion of the pandits girls belonging to the four higher castes might burn themselves except under certain circumstances, such as when they were in a state of pregnancy, or menstruation, when they were under the age of puberty and when they had infant children whom there was no one else to support. In forwarding these opinions, the Judges "advised that while the custom could not be abolished generally without greatly offending 'religious prejudices', it might be abolished immediately in some districts, where it had almost fallen into disuse, and checked or prevented in others on lines indicated by the replies of the pundits." They recommended "a policy of mingled, abolition and compromise"\(^{51}\). Lord Wellesley did not introduce any decisive measure against the practice before he left his office on the 31st July, 1805.

On the 3rd of August, 1812, Wauchope, Magistrate of Bundelkhand, solicited instructions of the Nizamat Adalat about the policy to be pursued in Sati cases\(^{52}\). The Nizamat Adalat forwarded his letter to the Governor-General, who replied in the month of December that Sati sacrifice having behind it the sanction of Hindu doctrines "must be allowed in those cases in which it was countenanced by religion, and prevented wherever it was not." The original suggestion of the Nizamat Adalat that the sacrifice might be checked immediately in certain districts was not considered by the Governor-General. Certain rules framed in 1813 authorised the Magistrates and some other officers to prevent the use of force or drugging in Sati cases and the sacrifices of women in pregnancy or of girls under puberty, and the police were required to take notice of every case as early as possible. Some supplementary instructions were published in 1815.


directing the Magistrates to submit annual reports and returns of Satis within their respective jurisdictions. Some other rules were circulated in 1817 prohibiting the burning of widows who had infants at the breast or children under four or seven years of age, there being no responsible persons to take care of them. Relatives of a Sati were to inform the police of her resolution to burn herself, failing which they were to be fined or imprisoned.

The rules of 1812, 1815, 1817 being mere "circular orders" without any legal sanction behind them were not very effective in checking the Sati cases. The police tried to enforce the regulations, but not always successfully. In the year 1819 a young wife of a Brahmin of Calcutta could offer herself as a Sati on the funeral pyre of her husband on the third day after his death because she had to wait for two days, it being in the meanwhile ascertained whether she was under 16 or was pregnant. In 1821 five widows were sought to be saved from death by the police and four were persuaded to draw back at the last moment, whereof only one "was not affected by the instrumentality or assistance of the police". In the year 1823 a beautiful woman of Santipur in the Nadia district, aged 18 years, arrived on the bank of the Ganges with a determination to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. On hearing this the thanadar of Santipur, along with some others, tried to persuade her to desist from the act by various arguments and temptations. But she did not forsake her resolution and burnt herself with all formalities. In 1827 none but only one girl of sixteen years could be rescued from Sati sacrifice through police intervention.

Some executive officers and judges of the Company tried during this period to prevent Satis or expressed their opinions against it. In 1806 Charles Harding, of the Bengal Civil

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84 Cambridge Hist. of India, Vol. VI, p. 137.
86 Cambridge Hist. of India, Vol. VI, p. 137.
Service, tactfully prevented the widow of a Brahmin from burning herself. On the 14th of September, 1813, Mr. Lushington, a Madras Magistrate, wrote to his Government that the prohibition of Sati would give a "universal satisfaction" except to a few Brahmins who "received a nefarious reward for presiding at this infernal rite." Mr. Walter Ewer, Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, expressed his views against the practice through a letter, dated the 18th of November, 1818, to the Judicial Secretary to the Government. In the first place, he argued that the Sati sacrifices were seldom voluntary a widow being "distracted with grief at the event (of her husband's death), without one friend to advise or protect her," was "little prepared to oppose the surrounding crowd of hungry Brahmins and interested relatives either by argument or force." Secondly, he held that such sacrifices were very often meant for temporal happiness of the surviving relatives of the dead than for the spiritual bliss of the dead or his wife. The relatives of the dead thus became free from maintaining a widow and in enjoying her property. He was opposed to standing orders of the Government relating to Satis and, referring to these, remarked: "It appears to me that if the practice is allowed to exist at all, the less notice we take of it the better, because the apparent object of the interference of the police is to compel the people to observe the rules of their own Shastras (which of themselves they will not obey) by ascertaining particular circumstances of the condition of the widow." He was of opinion that the practice might be abolished without exciting any general opposition or dissatisfaction. While writing to the Magistrate of Patna on the 7th December, 1818, for some necessary information about Sati, he pointed out to him that in procuring this he "will be extremely careful to afford no ground for the

88 Cambridge Hist. of India, Vol. VI, p. 139.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid., p. 138.
natives to suspect that any interference with their customs and prejudices is in contemplation."

The views of Mr. Ewer were supported by Mr. Courtney Smith, Second Judge of the Nizamat Adalat, who noted in 1821 his disapprobation of the circular orders of the Government relating to Sati sacrifice. While forwarding to the Government the returns of 1819-20 Mr. Smith pointed out that "toleration of Sati was a reproach to British rule, and that its abolition would be attended by no danger. He demanded its "entire and immediate abolition." The Chief Judge, Mr. Leycester, advised its suppression "by proclamation" in those divisions where it was not so frequent, viz, Dacca, Murshidabad, and Bareilly in Allahabad, Bundelkhand and Calpe. The other judges declared that the abolition of Sati was likely to disturb public peace, but one of them named Mr. Dorlin suggested that the rite could be abolished in one district, for example, the Hugli district, "by way of experiment and example." Lord Hastings stated in reply on 17th July, 1821, that he could not approve of any of those plans and expressed the hope that the more educated Indians would "gradually become disposed to abandon the practice."

Lord Amherst, who joined the office of the Governor-General on the 1st August, 1823, also paid attention to this matter. But he, like the Marquis of Hastings, apprehended that the abolition of the rite would disturb the allegiance of the Bengal native army. This is clear from what he wrote to the Court of Directors on the 3rd of December, 1824; "nothing but the apprehension of evils infinitely greater than those arising from the existence of the practice should induce us to tolerate it for a single day." The majority in the Nizamat Adalat

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91 Ibid., p. 139.
92 Ibid.
94 Ibid. p. 114.
95 Quoted in Collet, op. cit., p. 117; Auber, Rise and Progress of the British power in India, Vol. II, p. 610; Boulger, Lord William Bentinck, pp. 84-85.
declared on the 23rd of July, 1824, that, rather than adding new regulations, it would be better to pass an enactment prohibiting Satis in future throughout the country. This Adalat considered the matter again in November 1826. Two judges, Mr. Courtney Smith and Mr. Alexander Ross, urged immediate and absolute prohibition of the rite. Their minutes were put before the Governor-General’s Council on 13th January, 1827. Its Vice-President, Mr. Bayley, could not advocate such a peremptory policy but recommended that the rite should be abolished at places like Delhi, Saugor, and Kumaon, which being lately brought under the sway of the Company had not come under the influence of the earlier regulations. On the 18th of February, 1827, Mr. Harrington, with his experience of local affairs for a quarter of a century, opined that the rite could be abolished only by an improvement of the people effected through the diffusion of knowledge.

On the 1st of March, 1827, Mr. Combermere strongly pleaded for the adoption of Mr. Bayley’s proposals. Lord Amherst, however, did not approve of this step. The judges repeated their views at the end of 1827, but Lord Amherst remarked on the 4th of January, 1828: “I cannot believe that the burning or burying alive of widows will long survive the advancement which every year brings with it of useful and rational learning except on the occurrence of some very general sickness, the progress of general instruction and the unostentatious exertion of our local officers will produce the happy effect of gradual diminution and in no very distant period the final extinction of the barbarous rite of Suttee.” In view of difference of opinion which prevailed among the

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56 Collet, op. cit., p. 112.
57 Ibid, p. 137.
58 Ibid.
59 J. C. Marshman, History of India, Part II, p. 397.
60 Collet, op. cit., p. 143.
public functionaries, as to the "safety and expediency of any interference on the part of Government for the suppression of Suttee"\textsuperscript{101}, the Court of Directors left the matter of the discretion of the Bengal Government.

On taking charge of the district of Jubbulpore in March, 1828, Sir W. H. Sleeman "issued a proclamation prohibiting any one from aiding or assisting in Suttee and distinctly stating that to bring one ounce of wood for the purpose would be considered as so doing\textsuperscript{102}. But even then he could not refuse his assent to the burning of the widow of one Umed Singh Upadhyaya on 29th November, 1829, because it was strongly demanded by the Brahmans of that district and the lady showed a firm determination to die on her husband's pyre. Thus some of the predecessors of Lord William Bentinck were sensible of the inhumanity of the Sati rite; but they could not effect its total abolition for fear of offending orthodox Indian opinions and disturbing the Indian army\textsuperscript{103}.

A section of Indian public opinion under the leadership of Raja Rammohan Roy had also been demanding its abolition. Rammohan Roy, "devoted all the energies of his noble soul" to save women "from a cruel death"\textsuperscript{104}. "Never since the days of Chaitanya", remarks Mr. R. C. Dutt, "Bengal witnessed such an intense agitation as during the first quarter of this 19th century. Never has one man attempted and achieved more for his countrymen than Rammohan Roy"\textsuperscript{105}. It was during Rammohan's stay at Rangpur that the burning alive of one of the widowed wives of his brother Jagamohan, who died in March or April, 1812, gave a rude shock to his feelings and since then he took a secret vow to work wholeheartedly for the abolition of this custom\textsuperscript{106}.

\textsuperscript{101} Letter from Court, dated 25th July, 1827, quoted in Auber, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol II, p. 611.
\textsuperscript{102} Rambles and Recollections, etc., Vol. I, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{103} Bougler, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{105} R. C. Dutt, \textit{Literature of Bengal}, p. 148.
After the circular orders, already referred to, had been issued, the orthodox society in Calcutta sent a petition to Government soliciting their repeal. Rammohan and his friends then submitted a counter-petition in August, 1818, stating therein: “Your petitioners are fully aware, from their own knowledge or from the authority of credible eye-witnesses, that cases have frequently occurred where women have been induced by the persuasions of their next heirs, interested in their destruction, to burn themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands; that others who have been induced by fear to retract a resolution rashly expressed in the first moments of grief, of burning with their deceased husbands, have been forced upon the pile, and there bound down with ropes and pressed with green bamboos until consumed with the flames; that some, after flying from the flame, have been carried back by their relations and burnt to death. All these instances, your petitioners humbly submit are murders according to every Shastraa as well as to the common sense of all nations”\(^{107}\). In conclusion the petitioners expressed that they looked “with the most lively hope to such further measures relative to the custom of burning widows as may justly be expected from the known wisdom, decision, and humanity which have ever distinguished your Lordship’s administration”\(^{108}\).

Rammohan did much more to remove this practice. He went to the Calcutta burning ghats to prevent the Sati sacrifices by earnest persuasion\(^{109}\). On the 30th of November, 1818, he issued an English translation of his first work on the subject of Sati, entitled *A Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the practice of Burning Widows Alive*\(^{110}\). Its brief preface states that this brochure was literal translation of one originally written in Bengali, which “has been for several weeks past in extensive circulation in those

parts of the country where the practice of widows burning themselves on the pile of their husbands is more prevalent." His second tract\textsuperscript{111} known as \textit{A Second Conference between An Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of Burning Widows Alive} was dedicated to the Marchioness of Hastings on 26th February, 1820. Rammohan concluded it with a highly passionate appeal on behalf of women in general and Indian women in particular.

Rammohan used his journal \textit{Sambad Kaumudi}, which began to appear since December, 1821\textsuperscript{112}, as a regular weapon for this agitation against Sati practice. In 1822 he published his \textit{"Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance"} wherein he noted: "It is not from religious prejudices and early impressions only, that Hindoo widows burn themselves on the piles of their deceased husbands but also from their witnessing the distress in which the widows of the same rank in life are involved, and the insults and slights to which they are daily subjected, that they become in a great measure regardless of their existence after the death of their husbands: and this indifference, accompanied with the hope of a future regard held out to them, leads them to the horrible act of suicide"\textsuperscript{113}.

It seems that Lord Hastings' Government recognized the importance of Rammohan's campaign. It was noted in that Governor-General's despatch of 15th August, 1822, written a few months before his departure from India: "His Lordship in Council does not despair of the best effects resulting from the free discussion of the matter by the people themselves, independently of European influence and interposition; and it only remains for him to watch carefully the indications of a change of sentiment among the people, . . . and to encourage to the utmost every favourable disposition"\textsuperscript{114}. The potency of

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\item \textsuperscript{111} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 139-80.
\item \textsuperscript{112} B. N. Banerjee, \textit{Desiya Samaik Patrer Itihas}, Part I, pp. 15-16,
\item \textsuperscript{113} \textit{The English Works}, etc., Vol. II, p. 200.
\item \textsuperscript{114} Collet, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 116,
\end{itemize}
Rammohan’s anti-Sati agitation is further attested to by an evidence of Bishop Heber. In the course of his conversation with Dr. Marshman on the 15th of January, 1824, the latter is said to have remarked that “the Brahmins have no longer the power and popularity which they had when he first remembers India, and among the laity many powerful and wealthy persons agree and publicly express their agreement with Rammohan Roy in reproving the custom, which is well-known to be not commanded by any of the Hindu sacred books, though some of them speak of it as a meritorious sacrifice”\(^{115}\). Nothing daunted, Rammohan continued his anti-Sati agitation in the teeth of a vigorous opposition from the orthodox party with its leader Raja Radhakanta Dev\(^{116}\). Mr. R. C. Dutt has noted that “for a time Rammohan’s life was in danger”\(^{117}\). But Rammohan, inspired with the fiery zeal of a hero dedicating himself to a righteous cause, could not rest satisfied till his cause had triumphed.

By the year 1828 the Company’s Government also came to hold definite opinions for the abolition of the Sati rite. Lord William Bentinck, a ‘reformer by temperament’\(^{118}\), succeeded Lord Amherst in July, 1828. He resolved to deal with the question without delay, and “come to as early a determination as mature consideration would allow”. He took the preliminary step of ascertaining the views of the army, the judiciary and the executive officers of the Government, and addressed a confidential letter to forty-nine officers in the military department, “as being from their judgment and experience the best enabled to appreciate the effect of the proposed measure upon the native army.” Of these officers, 24 supported total and immediate suppression of the rite, 8 were in favour of indirect abolition through the Magistrates


\(^{116}\) For details about the orthodox and the reform parties, vide Sivanath Sastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Bangasamaj*, Chapter V.

\(^{117}\) *Literature of Bengal*, p. 143.

and other public officers, 2 advocated abolition, but were opposed to absolute and direct prohibition by the Government; only 5 were opposed to interference of any kind with the practice\textsuperscript{119}. But the Governor-General gathered the information that the prohibition of the practice would not affect the army in the least\textsuperscript{120}. The two Superintendents of Police for the Lower Provinces, Mr. Walter Ewer and Mr. Barwell, expressed their opinions that this might be effected without the least danger. All the five judges of the \textit{Nizamat Adalat} advocated the abolition of the rite\textsuperscript{121}, and they submitted returns of Satis in 1827-28 showing a decline in numbers\textsuperscript{122}. “If this diminution,” wrote Lord William Bentinck, “could be ascribed to any change of opinion upon the question, or the progress of civilization, or education, the fact would be most satisfactory, and to disturb this sure though slow process of self-correction would be most impolitic and unwise. But I think it may be safely affirmed that though in Calcutta truth may be said to have made a considerable advance amongst higher orders, yet in respect to the population at large no change whatever has taken place, and from these causes at least no hope of abandonment of the rite can be rationally entertained”\textsuperscript{123}. As a matter of fact, the \textit{Samachar Chandrika}, a leading journal of the time advocating orthodox views, expressed through articles published on 8th August and 3rd December, 1829, that Sati was an old and honoured rite and that as such the Government of Lord William Bentinck should not abolish it\textsuperscript{124}.

Lord William Bentinck considered it advisable to consult Raja Rammohan Roy, the great Indian champion of the anti-Sati movement. Rammohan tried to dissuade Lord William Bentinck from prompt suppression of the rite by any Gov-

\textsuperscript{119} Boulger, \textit{Lord William Bentinck}, p. 87; Collet, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 144.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Cambridge History of India}, Vol. VI, p. 141.
\textsuperscript{123} Quoted in \textit{Ibid}.
ernment measure which might create a formidable popular opposition. His opinion was that the “practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police”\textsuperscript{135}.

It is rather surprising that Rammohan could give such advice. But this was due to his belief in the efficacy of constitutional advance by steady and persuasive means in preference to any sudden innovation effected by legislation. With sober judgment and profound experience of humanity, Rammohan, in the opinion of Collet, had a “constitutional aversion to coercion”\textsuperscript{136}. Horace Hayman Wilson also spoke against any public legislative enactment for the suppression of the rite\textsuperscript{137}.

But Lord William Bentinck laid before his Council a long Minute on the 8th of November, 1829, wherein he remarked as follows, with regard to Dr. Wilson’s and Raja Rammohan Roy’s opinions: “I must acknowledge that a similar opinion as to the probable excitation of a deep distrust of our future intentions was mentioned to me in conversation by that enlightened native, Rammohan Roy, a warm advocate for the abolition of Sati and of all other superstitions and corruptions engrafted on the Hindu religion, which he considers originally to have been a pure deism. It was his opinion that any public enactment would give rise to general apprehension”\textsuperscript{138}. He observed “that of the 463 Satis occurring in the whole of the Presidency of Fort William, 423 took place in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, or what is termed the Lower Provinces, and of these 287 in the Calcutta Division alone.” The people of these districts, he pointed out, had been reduced to such a habitual submission of centuries, that “insurrection or hostile opposition to the will of the ruling power may be affirmed to be an impossible danger . . . Were the scene of this sad destruction of human life laid in the upper instead of the lower Provinces, in the midst of a bold and manly

\textsuperscript{135} Lord William Bentinck’s Minute of 8th November, 1829.
\textsuperscript{136} Collet, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 147.
\textsuperscript{137} Lord William Bentinck’s Minute of 8th November, 1829.
\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Ibid.}
people, I might speak with less confidence on the question of safety." Judging from the reports of the civilians and the missionaries and the opinions of the judges of the Nizamat Adalat, he ventured "to think it completely proved that from the native population nothing of extensive combination, or even of partial opposition, may be expected from the abolition." About the army he had satisfied himself by receiving reports from the prominent military officers that none of it would be incensed. He then expressed the hope before his Council that "they will partake in the perfect confidence which it has given me of the expediency and safety of the abolition". Charles Metcalfe, the most prominent member in the Governor-General's Council, apprehended that the measure "might possibly be used by the disaffected and the designing to inflame the passions of the multitude and produce a religious excitement." But he noted his concurrence. The Council as a whole stated: "We are decidedly in favour of an open, avowed and general prohibition, resting altogether upon the goodness of the act and our power to enforce it.

On the 4th of December, 1829, Sati was declared by Regulation XVII "illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts". Persons helping a voluntary sacrifice were to be held guilty of culpable homicide; but sentences of death could be inflicted, at the discretion of the Court, on those who were convicted of using violence or compulsion, or impeding the free will of the victim, by administering drugs or by other means. The Regulation stated: "The practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos, is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos as an imperative duty; on the contrary, a life of purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated, and by a vast majority of the people throughout India the practice is

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129 Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, p. 142.
130 Judicial Despatch from Bengal, 4th December, 1829, laid before Parliament on 4th June, 1830, quoted in Auber, Rise and Progress of British Power in India, Vol. II, p. 611.
not kept nor observed; in some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent it is notorious that in many instances acts of atrocity have been perpetrated which have been shocking to the Hindoos themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked. The Regulation applied in the first place directly to the Presidency of Bengal. A similar enactment was passed in Madras on 2nd February, 1830. In Bombay, the Government of Sir John Malcolm repealed that clause which declared "assistance at the rites of self-immolation not to be murder."

The promulgation of the Regulation did not produce universal opposition or cause a wide-spread resentment in the army or in the country. In Bengal, according to Marshman, 25 attempts at Sati were made after the passing of the Regulation, but they were prevented by the simple interposition of the police. One such case, in which in January, 1831, the wife of an old Brahmin named Trilochana Tarkalankara of Hugli district was about to die on the funeral pyre of her husband, was prevented by the police.

But a vigorous opposition against the anti-Sati Regulation was organised in Calcutta by some orthodox members of the Indian society, who were influential persons and then prominent magnates of Bengal, such as Raja Radhakanta Dev, Maharaja Kalikrishna Bahadur, Babus Gopimohan Dev, Nilmony De, Gokulnath Mallik, Ramgopal Mallik; and Bhabani Charan Mitra. The India Gazette of 30th November, (1830) announced that a petition against the abolition of Sati had been already in preparation, but it expressed the hope that the Sambad Kaumudi and the Bangadut, organs of the liberal section of the Indian society, would try to remove popular opponents.

131 Collet, op. cit., p. 149 is of opinion that "the researches and the agitation carried on" by Raja Rammohan Roy made it possible to include those expressions in the preamble to the Regulation.

132 Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, p. 142.

133 History of India, Part II, p. 339.

134 Quoted from Sambad Kaumudi in B. N. Banerjee, op. cit., Part II, pp. 546-547. The Sambad Kaumudi expressed gratification at this.
misconceptions about the measures of the Government. This
Gazette and the Asiatic Journal of June 1830 wrongly stated
that the petition against the Regulation found little support
and that signatures to it were extorted by threats and taunts135.
In fact, on the 14th January, 1830136, a petition of "a numerous
and respectable body of petitioners", as Lord William Ben-
tinck described them, consisting of 800 inhabitants of Cal-
cutta137, was presented to the Governor-General praying for
annulling the Regulation. The petitioner denounced the
opinion of Rammohun that the practice of Sati was not en-
joined by the laws of Hindu religion as a "doctrine derived
from a number of Hindoos who have apostatized from the
religion of their forefathers, who have defiled themselves by
eating and drinking forbidden things in the society of Euro-
peans and are endeavouring to deceive your Lordship in
Council." They submitted that "in a question so delicate as
the interpretation of our sacred books and the authority of
our religious usages, none but pundits and Brahmns, and
teachers of holy lives and known learning and authority
ought to be consulted" and not "men who have neither any
faith nor care for the memory of their ancestors." They re-
quested his Lordship in Council to assume "the difficult and
delicate task of regulating the conscience of a whole people
. . . on the authority of its own sacred writers" by consulting
recognized orthodox experts. To help him in this matter they
"appended a paper of citations from legal authorities" signed
by 120 pandits138. Another petition of a similar nature, signed
by 346 "respectable persons" of Belgharia, Ariadaha (near
Calcutta) and some other neighbouring places, was sub-
mitted at the same time.

136 Ibid.
137 Sivanath Shastri, History of the Brahmo Samaj, Vol. I, p. 54; Collet,
op. cit., p. 150.
138 Collet, op. cit., p. 151; Sivanath Shastri, History of the Brahmo
According to the desire of the Governor-General, Raja Radhakanta Dev, Maharaja Kalikrishna Bahadur, Babus Nimaichand Siromani, Haranath Tarkabhusan, Bhavity-Charan Badopadhyaya, Gopimohan Dev, Nilmoni De, Gokulnath Mallik, Bhavanicharan Mitra and Ramgopal Mallik appeared before him on the 14th of January, 1830, to get his reply to their petitions against the anti-Sati Regulation. He received them respectfully and after much discussion about Sati handed over to them a paper containing his reply to their petitions. The reply was to the effect that the authorities which they had cited "only confirmed the supposition that widows are not by the religious writing of the Hindoos commanded to destroy themselves... No attack on Hindu religion was committed or intended. If they disputed his interpretation of Hindu or British laws, they might appeal to the King in Council." On the 16th of January, a congratulatory petition signed by 300 Indian inhabitants of Calcutta and another signed by 800 Christians, thanking the Governor-General for his kind measure, were forwarded to him by Raja Rammohan Roy and a few other respectable inhabitants of Calcutta.

The address of the native inhabitants, of which Rammohan was the "reputed and probable author", referred the "introduction of Suttee to jealousy and selfishness, acting under the cloak of religion, but in defiance of the most sacred authorities." It rejoiced at the prospect of "the most ancient and purest system of the Hindu religion being no longer set at naught by the Hindus themselves" and expressed the "deepest gratitude" to the Governor-General. A meeting was held in the Government House in Calcutta to discuss

130 Ibid.
131 Ibid.
134 Collet, op. cit., p. 151.
135 Ibid., p. 152.
the Sati question where Pandit Gourishankar Tarkabagish (popularly known as Gurgure Bhattacharya) spoke on behalf of Raja Rammohan Roy against the Sati practice before 500 to 600 persons who advocated it.

The orthodox party also tried to organise itself strongly in order to counteract the influence of Rammohan’s movement and to get the anti-Sati Regulation repealed. On the 17th of January, 1830, the prominent Bengali and Hindusthani members of this party convened a meeting in the premises of the Sanskrit College to decide their policy against the regulation. Babu Bhavanicharan Bandopadhyaya asked the members to consider the remark of the Governor-General in reply to their petition relating to Sati, and with the permission of all Raja Radhakanta Dev read out its purport. All agreed to make an appeal to the King-in-Council against the anti-Sati Regulation and they formed themselves into a permanent organisation known as the Dharma Sabha. Many rich and influential men of Calcutta became its members. They realized on the spot subscriptions amounting to Rs. 11,260 and decided to erect a building for their meetings. The object of this association, as its organisers declared, was to enable “the excellent and the noble to unite and continually devise means for protecting our religion and our excellent customs and usages.”

The anti-efforts of the orthodox party could not suppress Rammohan’s zeal. He soon issued in the same year a brochure entitled Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows considered as a Religious Rite. In it he analysed the Smriti texts from Manu to Raghunandand and tried to show that the practice of Sati had not been advocated by all. He held that Sati was “both suicide and female murder” and remarked in conclusion: “We should not omit

the present opportunity of offering up thanks to Heaven, whose protecting arms have rescued our weaker sex from cruel murder, under the cloak of religion, and our character as a people, from the contempt and pity with which it has been regarded on account of this custom by all the civilised nations on the surface of the globe." When the orthodox Hindu leaders of Calcutta sent their appeal to the King-in-Council against Lord William Bentinck's Regulation abolishing the practice of Sati, Rammohan drafted and carried with him a counter-petition\textsuperscript{147} and presented it to the House of Commons\textsuperscript{148}. The Raja was present when the appeal against the abolition of Sati was rejected by the Privy Council and the decision announced on the 11th July, 1832. To express joy at this decision of the Privy Council, a meeting of some members of the reform party and of some Europeans was held on the 10th November, 1832, in the public hall of the Brahma Samaj at Jorasanko\textsuperscript{149}. Srijut Dwarakanath Tagore presided over this meeting and it was decided to forward letters conveying congratulations and thanks to the King and the Privy Council and to the Court of Directors through Raja Rammohan Roy. It was also resolved to convey thanks to Raja Rammohan Roy for his efforts towards the abolition of Sati.

In spite of the anti-Sati measure of 1829 and the growing strength of the Reform Movement, stray cases of attempted or accomplished Sati were reported occasionally during the last century from some Indian States and also from certain parts of British India\textsuperscript{150}. In June, 1839, after the death of Ranjit Singh four ladies were burnt with him\textsuperscript{151}. In November 1840, after the death of Kharak Singh, one lady died as Sati; two wives of Nao Nehal Singh, grandson of Ranjit Singh,

\textsuperscript{147} The English Works, etc. Vol. II, pp. 333-34.
\textsuperscript{149} B. N. Banerjee, op. cit., Part II, pp. 547-48.
\textsuperscript{150} Chaitley, Administrative Problems of British India, p. 145. Marshman, History of India, Part II, p. 651.
\textsuperscript{151} Robinson, Daughters of India, p. 113; Calcutta Review, No. II; Lepel Griffin, Ranjit Singh, pp. 66-67.
became Sati; 310 women (10 wives and 300 unmarried ladies of Zenana) died at the obsequies of Raja Suchet Singh; four wives of Jawahir Singh were burnt on the funeral pyre of their husband on 4th September, 1845, and after the death of Sardar Shyam Singh at the battle of Sobraon, his wife burnt herself voluntarily. In the month of August, 1839, the Sati sacrifice of the widow of Chytun Singh Thakur of Khursawan in Singhbhum was prevented through the efforts of Lt. S. R. Tickell, Assistant Political Agent, Singhbhum, and J. R. Ouseley, Governor-General’s Agent, Chota Nagpur. But Thakoor Chytun Singh’s young daughter, married to Chote Rai, younger brother of the Mayurbhanj Raja, had burnt herself as a Sati at Baree Podda (Baripada) with her dead husband, a day or two before Chytun Singh died, and a day or two later Koour Chukerdur Singh’s sister married to the Keonjore Raja was also burnt with the dead Raja. Lord Ellenborough was not very serious about the prohibition of this rite. A “dreadful instance of Suttee” is said to have taken place at Jodhpur when Raja Man Singh died on 4th September, 1843, and his queens were burnt with him. His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad “who had proclaimed that the performance of Sati within his dominions would be accounted a crime” could not succeed in “entirely suppressing the custom among his people.” The Bombay Standard of 20th March, 1858, stated that just before that date the Indian authorities had permitted the burning of a widow in the city of Aurangabad where His Highness the Nizam’s soldiers were located and within two miles of which British contingent troops were stationed. The Bombay Standard of 5th August, 1859, also noted “a recent Suttee at Koonjhoor near Haßsi”; but those who had taken part

152 Ibid.
154 Ibid.
155 The Bengal Spectator, 10th October, 1843, p. 294.
in it were heavily punished and the thanadar and the whole police of that area were dismissed.

The practice disappeared gradually with the spread of knowledge, influence of the modern Indian reformation and the earnest efforts of some British officers like Lord Hardinge, Lord Dalhousie, Major General Ludlow, Political Agent at Jaipur and others. The leading nobles in the different States declared their opinions for the abolition of the practice and “small tributary provinces issued enactments against it”157. In November, 1853, the Governor-General in Council ordered that “no further delay should occur in admitting the young Rajah (of Ahmadnagar) to his dignities, under the distinct understanding however that he is to be responsible for the prevention of Suttee by whosoever’s act or instigation it may be committed158. In October, 1839, the Raja of Satara was considered by the Governor-in-Council, Bombay, to be “entitled to great praise, for the laudable measures adopted by him for the abolition of the rite of Suttee, etc., in his territory”159. The State of Jaipur declared it penal in August, 1846 and Lord Hardinge caused it to be notified in the Government Gazette160. Before Christmas of that year the Governor-General could announce the prohibition of Sati by eleven out of the eighteen Rajput States and by five out of the “remaining sixteen free States of India”161. Lord Dalhousie carried forward the work of his predecessors. He not only repeated their “remonstrances in general terms and in particular to the rulers of Alwar, Bikanir, and Udaipur, but also gave signal proof of his determination to punish as well as

157 Ibid.
158 Letter from Secretary to the Government of India to E. H. Townsend, Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political Department, 30th November, 1853, No. II.
159 Letter from L. R. Reid, Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, to the Secretary with the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India, Simla, dated Bombay Castle, 4th October, 1839.
161 Ibid.
to condemn”. In the State of Dungarpur in Rajputana, a Thakur’s son who had taken part in a case of Sati was imprisoned along with two Brahmins “who had abetted the crime, the Thakur himself being heavily fined for connivance of the Act”.

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163 Ibid.
WIDOW REMARRIAGE MOVEMENT

The Widow Remarriage Movement, with which the names of some of the great social reformers of modern India, like Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and Pandit Vishnu Shastri, are associated, did not appear all of a sudden in the middle of the 19th century. There had been already presages of it in certain parts of the country. Even during the dark days of the mid-eighteenth century, an attempt was made by Raja Rajballabh of Dacca to introduce widow remarriage in Bengali society. In the year 1756, Raja Rajballabh being desirous of remarrying his widowed daughter referred the matter to the learned pandits of Dravida, Tailanga, Benares, Mithila and several other places, who unanimously expressed the following opinion:

Gate mrite pravajite kliveca patite patau
Pancasvapatsu narinam patiranyo bidhiyate.

(Women are at liberty to marry again if their husbands be not heard of, die, retire from the world, prove to be eunuchs or become outcastes)\(^{164}\).

The efforts of Raja Rajballabh were not crowned with success owing to the opposition of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia and his pandits\(^ {165}\). But remarriage of widows was in vogue, or was introduced, in other parts of India.

Raja Rammohan Roy pointed out in his tract, entitled *The Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females according to the Hindu Law of Inheritance*, published in 1822, how the Indian widows then lived in a state of “abject misery”\(^{166}\). Most probably the subject of the mar-

\(^{164}\) *The Bengal Spectator*, May 1842, p. 51; *Calcutta Review*, 1856.

\(^{165}\) *Kshirisavamsavalycharita*, p. 145.

riage of Hindu widows engaged the attention of Raja Rammohan Roy, though there is no definite evidence about any effort on his part to influence public opinion in its favour\textsuperscript{167}. An early issue of the \textit{Sambad Kaumudi} contained a proposal to raise a Fund for helpless Hindu widows. After Rammohan’s departure for England there was a strong rumour that on his return he would try to introduce remarriage of widows\textsuperscript{168}. The writer of the article on \textit{Widow Remarriage}, published in the \textit{Calcutta Review} of 1855, observed: “We do not know exactly how this impression got abroad, but it was so firm especially in the female mind that the old widows often jocularly talked of their remarriage on the return of Rammohan Roy.”

Under the influence of the spirit of reform which then prevailed, the widow remarriage movement gathered new strength and got supporters in Western India and Bengal, where a consciousness for the uplift of the country had dawned earlier than in any other part. In the \textit{Samachar Darpan} of 14th March, 1835, we find an appeal from some unmarried girls of Kulin Brahmin families to the Editor of that paper to publish a few lines regarding their unhappy lot. Suffering from the evils of Kulinism they complained against these and pointed out that in Bengal the widows of the Brahmin and Kayastha families were not permitted to remarry after the death of their husbands though the Shastras had sanctioned it. They hoped that their appeal would evoke sympathy of the English Government leading to a favourable enactment\textsuperscript{169}. In support of them a few women of Chinsura wrote to the Editor of the \textit{Samachar Darpan} (15th March, 1835) to publish some of their demands, the last of which ran as follows: “Why cannot a wife marry again after the death of her husband when a husband can marry after the death of his wife? Cannot a woman have desire for marriage like a man? Oh dear fathers and brothers! consider these

\textsuperscript{167} \textit{Calcutta Review}, 1855.
\textsuperscript{168} Collet, \textit{op. cit.}, lvii.
carefully in your mind and you will realise how you find us in grief and also insulted like slaves. The Gyananveswana Patrika of 27th April, 1837, circulated with pleasure to its readers and to the public that a few rich and intelligent gentlemen of Calcutta, like Babu Motilal Seal, Babu Haldhar Mallik and others had intended to summon an assembly with the object of encouraging female education and removing the superstitions regarding widow remarriage. A reader of the Gyananveswana Patrika wrote to its Editor on the 21st of October, 1837: "I was glad to read in your paper, that a few rich men had resolved to call a meeting for remarriage of Hindu widows. Both men and women have been endowed by God with equal capacity for enjoying life; but a man can marry as many times as he likes, while a woman being deprived of her first husband at her young age cannot marry for the second time. Those who are friends of women are trying to remove perpetual widowhood of women. But I do not know anything about their present activities for this cause. I think they have forgotten the fact that they had once paid so much attention towards helping the widows and their early efforts ended in smoke at the very outset. I myself forgot it but came to be reminded of it by reading in the Gyananveswana of 15th Bhadra, 1244 B.S., that the Commissioner of Bombay enquired of the officers there if they had any objection to the remarriage of Hindu widows. Now I appeal to the great men, who had previously made up their mind to remove the pangs of widowhood, to shake off their lethargy and endeavour once again to bring to perfection this commendable affair. Mr. Editor, it appears, from the proofs which you have so wisely and considerably advanced that you are quite mindful of it. I appeal to you because the Editors of the Harkaru, the Courrier, the Englishman, the Reformer and

170 Ibid., pp. 257-58.
171 Babu Motilal Seal was known as a prominent member of the Orthodox party (Sivanath Shastri, Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Banga Samaj, p. 67). Still we find him here as an advocate of female education and widow remarriage.
172 B. N. Banerjee, Sambad Patre Sekaler Katha, Part II, pp. 98-99,
the *Darpan* are also willing to remove this distress of the Hindu widows. I, therefore, entreat you all to draw the attention of the public to this matter by discussing it in your respective papers so that it might attract the attention of the Government too, and make the Hindus as well realize the injustice of forbidding the remarriage of widows. I know that the Editor of the *Chandrika* will raise his voice against it by adducing proofs from the Shastras; but his objections should not stand in the face of our sense of justice . . . Therefore, Mr. Editor, make some agitation in favour of this matter; and I shall come forward to protest against the objections that may be raised by the Editor of the *Chandrika*.

Thus, during the thirties of the 19th century, some members of the Hindu community had been seriously considering the question of introducing widow remarriage. A contemporary Christian writer, Priscilla Chapman, quoted in the book, entitled *Hindu Female Education*, the following valuable extract from the *Friend of India*: "The marriage of Hindoo widows has lately engaged much of the attention of the Hindu community and the repeated discussions of it in the native papers, appear to indicate the approach of some favourable change. The Bombay Government are also said to have turned their mind to it, and to have enquired of those learned in Hindoo laws, whether there was any peremptory prohibition of the marriage of widows to be found in the Shastras."

We notice a continuity in the agitation in favour of widow remarriage. A correspondent wrote in the *Bengal Spectator* of April, 1842: "The remarriage of Hindu widows, is one of the subjects which has frequently engaged the attention of the public, and we believe it has been satisfactorily established that the existing restrictions against it are unfair, in as much as they deny to women a liberty which is enjoyed by men, and that they are productive of a great deal of vice and misery. During the period the discussion of this question has been resumed, not a single member of the native com-

munity has come forward to vindicate our social system with reference to this point. We imagine, therefore, that the prejudices of our countrymen against the introduction of the change proposed with a view to promote the happiness of our females, have received a shock, and it is to be hoped that the time is not very distant when they will have been worn away. But, in the meanwhile it should be our duty to draw their attention to this important subject as often as we can, and to continue to impress on their minds the importance of removing the restrictions which have been imposed upon the marriage of widows.” The Editor of the paper wrote in an issue of May next: “We know not of a more judicious course than that of educating our females and inspiring the rising Hindu mind with a due sense of duty, and moral courage. It is also our conviction that if a few native gentlemen set the example practically, the practice will in some measure be divested of the odium with which it is now viewed and consonant as it is with dictates of nature and reason, it cannot but continue gaining popularity as the cause of general enlightenment is promoted.”

An Indian gentleman wrote to the Editor of the Bengal Spectator on 15th January, 1843: “To procure the abolition of this law, to legalize the marriage of widows and to make the laws recognize the issue of such marriage as legitimate heirs to their ancestors, will be an act of glorious chivalry, and the sign of the first step of advancing civilisation in this land . . . Thousands and thousands of the fairer portion of our posterity shall bless the act with heartfelt thankfulness, and the Hindu community will be relieved from a source of care, contention and crime. In my estimation the objection which is raised against soliciting Government interference in the abolition of this infernal law, on the ground that the question is connected with the civil and religious rights of the people is trivial. The authority of the Shastras is not forthcoming; even if it does ever find light, the courts will

175 Ibid., pp. 31-32.
176 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
receive it as a dead law. What can we do then without the aid of our rulers? Our conquerors have taken the entire responsibility of our well-being in their own hands, and have left no powers to us to better ourselves. Why then should we be backward to call on them to promote our welfare? We possess no written nor verbal pledge from the rulers declaring their resolution of non-interference in matters of religious or civil rights of the people, nor have our ancient rights been so well regarded as to imply an understood pledge of this nature. We have ourselves set aside many old rules which it is impossible now to obey. It is but the course of nature that an increasing knowledge and advancement of civilisation alter the habits, manners and faith. the laws of one generation are superseded by those of their succeeding. In my humble opinion, I think we should apply, supplicate and pray till we force the Government to grant us this boon.”

Ten years before Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar ably championed the cause of widow remarriage in Bengal, Babu Nilkamal Bandopadhyaya of Bowbazar, Calcutta, and a few other gentlemen of Calcutta had tried for its introduction but could not succeed\(^{177}\). In 1845, the Bengal British Indian Society\(^{173}\) corresponded with the Dharma Sabha and the Tattwabodhini Sabha on the subject of the marriage of Hindu widows. The latter association gave no reply and nothing useful came out of the correspondence with the former for some time\(^{178}\). Maharaja Shrischandra of Nadia also made earnest efforts to ameliorate the condition of the widows and to get the sanction of the pandits for their remarriage; but his efforts could bear no fruit owing to extreme hastiness of some members of the new party of reform and a vigorous opposition of the orthodox party\(^{180}\).


\(^{178}\) It was established on the 20th April, 1843.

\(^{179}\) *Calcutta Review*, 1855.

About this time Shyama Charan Das of Pataldanga in Calcutta, mortified at the sight of his tender-aged widowed daughter, circulated among the prominent Pandits of the province the question, "whether the widowed daughter of a Sudra who had not known her husband and who was unable to practice the higher virtue of con cremation with her husband's corpse, or endurance of the hardships of a life of widowhood, could be remarried agreeably to the Shastras". The Pandits, after discussing this point in a meeting held in the house of Raja Radhakanta Deb, "gave a certificate of permission". "It applied to the case of Sudra girls only, and even as such it was disowned and practically laid aside by the promulgators".

Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, the great Sanskrit scholar, social reformer and philanthropist of modern Bengal, soon devoted himself with indomitable courage and zeal to further the cause of widow remarriage in the teeth of violent opposition of the orthodox party under the leadership of Raja Radhakanta Deb. He tried to prove through his writings and speeches that remarriage of widows was sanctioned by the Shastras, and soon gained a large number of followers including some prominent and enlightened public men. Referring to the favourable attitude of the Maharaja of Burdwan (Mahatab Chand) for it, Pandit Ishwarchandra wrote to Hon'ble J. P. Grant, Member of the Governor General's Council: "You will no doubt be glad to hear that His Highness the Maharaja of Burdwan has promised his assistance to the furtherance of the sacred cause of the marriage of Hindu widows. . . . It is really a matter for congratulation, that the first man of Bengal is going to take up the cause. . . . He entertains such enlightened views that we have every reason to hope for substantial assistance from him".

On the 28th January, 1854, Vidyasagar brought out a booklet, entitled *A proposal as to whether widow remarriage*

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181 Sitanath Tattvabhusan. *Social Reform in Bengal*, pp. 73-74.
should be introduced or not. In this he ably pointed out that widow remarriage was sanctioned by the Shastras. Many booklets opposing the views of Vidyasagar were written by the orthodox Pandits and some others. At this he published his second booklet about widow remarriage in October, 1855, boldly refuting their opinions and reiterating his own views in favour of it. Getting these two booklets translated into English with the help of Anandamohan Bose and some other English-knowing friends, Vidyasagar published these under the title of *Marriage of Hindu Widows* in 1856*".*

Besides educating public opinion for this reform through these publications, Vidyasagar endeavoured to remove the legal bar to the legitimacy of the issue of the remarried widows and accordingly presented a petition bearing 984 signatures to the Government of India. Petitions from some notable individuals of Bengal, viz. the Maharaja Mahatab Chand of Burdwan, Maharaja Shris Chandra of Nadia and the Zamindars of Dacca, Uttapara and Mymensingh, also followed. Among others who signed the petition of Vidyasagar the names of Taranath Tarkabachaspati, Akshay Kumar Datta, Iswarchandra Gupta, Debendra Nath Tagore, Rajnarain Basu, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Jaykrishna Mukherjee, Peary Charan Sarkar and Kali Krishna Mitra deserve special mention. These laudable efforts bore fruit in the passing of Act XV, dated 26th July, 1856, which legalised widow remarriage and declared legitimacy of the issues of the remarried widows. Its provisions were: “No marriage contracted between Hindus shall be invalid and the issue of no such marriage shall be illegitimate by the reason of the woman having been previously married or betrothed to another person, who was dead at the time of such marriage, any custom and any interpretation of Hindoo law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Whatever words spoken, ceremonies performed or engagements made on the marriage of a Hindoo female, who has

*"* It was translated into Marathi by Vishnu Shastri in 1865.
not been previously married, are sufficient to constitute a valid marriage, shall have the same effect, if spoken, performed or made on the marriage of a Hindu widow, and no marriage shall be declared invalid on the ground that such words, ceremonies or engagements are inapplicable to the case of a widow”.

Such a revolutionary social reform naturally evoked much criticism in different quarters. Ridiculing it satirical dramas were written and songs composed, which the common men like weavers, ploughmen and bullock cart-drivers used to sing. But within a few months of the passing of the Act widow remarriages began to be celebrated, the first (7th December, 1856) being that between Pandit Srischandra Vidyaratna, a son of the famous Pandit Ramdhan Turkebagis, with a widowed daughter, Kalimati aged ten years, of Brahmananda Mukhopadhyaya, connected with the guru family of Maharaja Srischandra of Nadia. Next day a widowed daughter, aged twelve years, of Iswarchandra Mitra, an inhabitant of Calcutta, was married to Madhusudan Ghosh of Panihati.

It is interesting to note that at this time there was almost a crusade against polygamy in Bengal. Shyamacharan Sarkar then published some anti-polygamy tracts in the Hindu Patriot press. A number of petitions signed by more than fifty thousand men and women of different places in Bengal, including Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, the Maharajas of Burdwan, Nadia and Dinajpur and Rani Sarnomayee of Kassimbazar, were presented to the Governor-General’s Legislative Council (June and July, 1856) “earnestly praying for the immediate interference of the Legislature for the suppression of polygamy which was practised on a very large scale and in a manner most offensive to morality and decency”. In July, 1856, Rama Prasad Roy, second son of Raja Rammohan Roy, reprinted the tract, entitled Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, written by his father in 1822, so that those who had then come forward to invoke the assistance of the legislature
might get a sort of satisfaction after reading therein that the great reformer had been moved by sentiments similar to those which actuated them for the removal of this notorious social evil.

In Peninsular India, a pamphlet on widow remarriage was written by a Telugu Brahmin, a resident of Ratnagiri, in 1837. It was published in Bombay, and many favourable and adverse comments appeared in the *Mumbai Darpan*, a contemporary weekly. Another book on widow remarriage appeared about the same time and the Rev. Baba Padmanji also wrote two works on the same subject, the *Kutumba Suddhavam* and the *Yamuna-parvama*. But the marriages that were celebrated “after this wordy warfare and before the movement was taken up by Vishnu Shastri were few and far between.” About the year 1853 Raghunath Janardan, a Gaud Brahmin by caste and a clerk in the municipal office at Ahmedabad, married a widow named Chimabai. As his first wife was then living, this remarriage was not “hailed by the reformers with anything like enthusiasm.” Another remarriage took place thirteen years after this, the bride being a Gujarati lady named Diwali Bai. Like Iswarchandra in Bengal, Vishnu Shastri acting through the agency of the *Widow Marriage Association*, which was started at Bombay in the year 1866, and with the co-operation of several educated Indians, advanced the cause of this movement.

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