

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

Sayantani Maitra¹

¹Research Scholar (Ph. D)
History Department
Jadavpur University
Kolkata, West Bengal

Email: sayantani.maitra@gmail.com

Abstract: *The structural changes in administration, revenue and judiciary system caused by the British rule in India were part of their direct institutional apparatus. On the other hand, reforms introduced by them in matters related to other aspects of native life were tools of their indirect ideological apparatus. However these two seemingly different spheres quietly grew together into a giant like intermingled framework to make India the Empire's jewel in the crown. Two of the most significant weapons of the latter apparatus are modern anglicized education and modern western notion of History writing. These two aspects were inherently intertwined in nature. At one hand, the modern tradition of History writing was perceived as the most effective instrument for colonial hegemonizing process, while on the other end, the modern education system was considered as its most sophisticated propaganda machine. These two were further implicated together in vernacular school education system introduced by the British rulers in 1840s to justify the legitimacy of their rule at mass level. In this context Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar wrote his standard vernacular History text book, History of Bengal: The Second Part or Bangalar Itihas: Dwitiyo Bhag.*

Keywords: *British, Bengal, History, Intelligentsia, School Education, Text book, Vidyasagar.*

Date of Submission: 15-01-2022

Date of Acceptance: 20-01-2022

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

Introduction

The required parameters for modern History writing were not introduced by the colonizers in late eighteenth century Bengal as the period itself is seen as the foundational period for the newly established East India Company regime (henceforth EIC). Throughout eighteenth century many Persian chronicles and memoirs were written on Bengal Suba which had eventually gained recognition as circumstantial evidences for understanding the period. The authors of these texts were chiefly supporters and employees of the pre colonial provincial state of Bengal or the waning Mughal Empire. Therefore similar perspectives were reflected in these ostensible historical accounts. The next phase in the development of History writing in India was English History writings on India or Bengal by company employees and traders. They either wrote new accounts heavily based on available Persian sources or translated those sources directly. In this context establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 added a new milestone in the above-mentioned evolving path. The commencement of History writing in Bengali language became possible when three pundits of Calcutta's Fort William College; Ram Ram Basu, Rajiblochon Mukhopadhyay and Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar wrote books following authority's instruction to educate young EIC administrators in matter of Bengali language and culture. But none of the works adhered strictly to the rigid methods and features of modern western History writing. The core genesis of their works demonstrated features and methods of *Puranic Itihasa* tradition of writing¹. The modern western notion of History writing in India was introduced by James Mill in his book, *History of British India* (1817). Development of vernacular school education in Bengal stimulated the process in 1840s as the necessity of good vernacular textbooks became inevitable. In this circumstance Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar penned down his *History of Bengal: The Second Part* or *Bangalar Itihas: Dwitiyo Bhag* (1848). However though it was history of Bengal in Bengali language by a Bengali, it was primarily a work of translation from a popular English language text book. The book in its content and characteristic was devoid of almost all the features of nationalistic trend of History writing as methods and features of that particular trend were yet to set a deep root.² Based on some of the facets in above-mentioned History book translated and written by Vidyasagar, an attempt has been made in rest of my essay to showcase

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

few areas of Vidyasagar's thoughts and consciousness in particular while concurrently discussing shared contemporaneous beliefs of Bengali Intelligentsia regarding politics, economy, society and culture in the nineteenth century colonial Bengal. Besides addressing this constrictive plan another focus would be on some strands of colonizers' attempt to hegemonize Indian mind which in response fermented a set of colonized adjusted beliefs.

Inception of Modern Vernacular Medium in Bengal

Vidyasagar's work of translation which is based on John Clarke Marshman's book, *Outline of the History of Bengal, Compiled for the Use of Youths in India* (1840), covers from chapter eleven to nineteen of the Marshman's book. Vidyasagar's book covers all total seventy nine years of Bengal's History, starting from the year of Siraj ud Daulah's year of coronation (1756) to the end of Lord William Bentinck's rule as the governor general of India (1835). The first part of Marshman's book that deals with the period from the decline of the Hindu Kingdoms in Bengal to Alivardi Khan's reign was written by Vidyasagar's close acquaintance Ramgati Nayaratna on his request³. Frederick James Halliday after his appointment as the first Lieutenant Governor of Bengal started reforming the school education system in Bengal province. His keenness for introduction of vernacular school education following Vidyasagar's suggestion prompted the process of standard vernacular school text book production. Vidyasagar's work of translation came forth as one of the successful products of this holistic project. Though the book had been widely used in vernacular school curriculum in subsequent years, it was initially designed for Fort William's students. In 1850 the secretary of Fort William College G. T. Marshall translated Vidyasagar's book in English along with added critical commentaries⁴. However the circumstance of commencing this process can be traced back to Macaulay's anglicization of the education curriculum, medium and system. The law member of Governor General's council, T. B. Macaulay had supported every cause for propagation of English Education in India. As his suggestions were supported by the Governor General himself, his propositions resulted into a highly anglicized school education system in India. However British administrators understood the loopholes of this education system even prior to 1857 as evidenced in Wood's Dispatch of 1854. Sir Charles Wood had refuted many of Macaulay's claims,

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

endorsing greater vernacularization of school education curriculum. However, prior to Wood's proposals, Lt. General Halliday in Bengal was able to realize the significance of vernacular education system at the school level. Before his appointment as the Lt. Governor of Bengal, he was a member in the Education Council. He was conferred the task of preparation of a report concerning the present state of education in Bengal. In this report the earliest few glimpses of his grandiose plan for modern vernacular education reform could be found. He consulted Vidyasagar to a great extent beforehand with his proposals and asked him to comment on them. In many places of his report Vidyasagar's comments were directly added by him⁵. At that time British rule was not confined only within the presidency division of the Bengal province. In order to convert the colonized subjects into primary consumers of the colonizing thought process, it was felt necessary to reach to the subject population spread across the subcontinent through the medium of their province or region specific mother tongues. This elementary fact was internalized by Halliday as the context of his vernacular school education reform eventually implemented in Bengal.

Education was perceived by Vidyasagar as the principal tool for social mobility as was experienced by him. This prompted him to take up the mission of propagating vernacular school education at *Mufassils*. He thoroughly put emphasis on using *Matribhasha* as the medium in extending the reaches of modern education system. It was understood by him that only Mother tongue could fulfill the goals of modern education at all levels of the Bengal's Society. However his approbatory comments on introduction of modern subjects in school syllabus are criticized by some scholars. They have argued that though the indulgent medium was vernacular, the curriculum was not fit for the masses who used to live by following their ancestral occupational skills⁶. However in order to make his plan a success, Vidyasagar intertwined his educational reform with the reform of Bengali language and Bengali prose style. The Bengali language that was predominant at that time in Bengal was intemperately Sanskritized. This language along with its prose style was introduced by the Pundits of Fort William College during the first half of nineteenth century. This heavily Sanskritized Bengali prose style that had successfully paralyzed the evolution of Bengali language for almost half a decade, obtained its validated status through Halhed's Bengali grammar (1778). The works of Henry Pitts Foster and William Carey also labeled this Sanskritized Bengali language as authentic. They pronounced Bengali as the off

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

spring of Sanskrit, wanting to banish unauthorized encroachment of Arabic and Persian into it⁷. Vidyasagar wanted to modify this style as it could only and entirely be understood by the educated elite *Bhadraloks* of urban Bengal. However ultimately the modern Bengali language that had been reformed, reshaped and reformulated into its late nineteenth century form turned also into a vehicle of *Bhadralok* identity and cornerstone of their unity as a *Jati*. The text books published in Bengali language became weapons of their preferred educational ideology and culture⁸. This newly modulated language at the end could not refrain from taking in sophistication of Sanskrit besides borrowing secularity of English⁹.

Justifying Grounds for the Colonizers

Vidyasagar was the most successful entrepreneur in production of vernacular school text books in nineteenth century Bengal. Usually in pre independence era, veritable concern for vernacular school text books was wielded by certain notable persons or indigenous private organizations. Only exceptions in such matters were Calcutta School Book Society (a quasi governmental body) and Lord Curzon¹⁰. The history text book by Marshman that Vidyasagar translated almost at a literal level was full of racial audacity, prejudiced by missionaries. However Vidyasagar did not give ear to these allegations while taking up the project as he had no rivalry with the Missionaries¹¹. He was chiefly an educational and social reformer and thus was not occupied in religious arguments with them. Marshman was a devoted missionary who chose Bengal presidency as his abode of missionary work during the first half of nineteenth century. He wrote his book in a period which is renowned for its Anglicist liberal utilitarian ideological tendencies. Macaulay and his fellow liberal educators conceived strongly a presence of Christian ideology of Diffusive Benevolence in modern English education. This belief shortened the psychological distance between the colonizing Administrators and the evangelic Missionaries like Alexander Duff in India¹². Their assimilation at the level of colonial state's ideological apparatus ensured extension of anglicized evangelism across the empire. These two ideological entities also shared their vision and mission regarding the writing of subject History. Few common strands of their shared belief were; The Middle age in India primarily ruled by the Muslim rulers was a dark age. These Muslim rulers who were elementarily outsiders were absolute despots. They intentionally

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

plunged deeper into all sorts of corruption, violence, bloodshed and unscrupulous acts. The Hindu religion and society under them suffered from utmost torture, destruction, unfathomable exploitation and irreparable damage. As a result of all these mercilessness, most of the Islamic states in India started their journey in a marvelous way but ended up in utter chaos¹³. The British colonizers were chosen by god to uplift the Hindu subjects and their decadent tradition from this utter distress. Only they were capable of facilitating the enlightened ideas and acts which would take forward Indian civilization to the path of progress¹⁴. In their narrative Indian civilization chiefly stands for Hindu religion. Here one thing should be mentioned; though the Orientalists in India never took up the official task of demonstrating the Middle age in Indian history as the Dark Age, however they never remarked anything optimistic about the period also. They dived into ancient Hindu period for their quest of authentic texts as they believed quite emphatically that authenticity of these texts decreased notably with the coming of Muslim rule in the subcontinent. Therefore both Anglicists and Orientalists portrayed Islamic religion as a vicious serpent carrying all sorts of aspects of decadence for the Indian subcontinent and its History. Macaulay's endeavor for extension of English education in India had a popularly known and undeniable belief of creating brown sahibs. However besides this expansive notion there was another specific aim in introducing modern History in this new education curriculum. The colonizers wanted to induce the minds of the colonized subjects with their hegemonic ideas promoting the greatness of the masters. They made sure that consumption of their specified historical perspectives by the Indians would be able to justify in return their legitimacy as the ideal ruler in the eyes of colonized subjects¹⁵. Marshman's book exhibited all these features. Also, it was the first book on history of Bengal written by a British that used English sources extensively to cater this service of colonized episteme formation.

Catching a Glimpse inside Vidyasagar's Book

Vidyasagar's book following chronological trail of Marshman's book describes mainly administrative, revenue and judiciary reforms during EIC rule in Bengal province up to 1835. Besides describing in a praiseworthy manner most of the company's institutional developments and structural organizations, he had also highlighted on epoch making social and educational

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

reforms under EIC rule, for instance; Halhed's Bengali Grammar (1778), establishment of Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784), establishment of Sreerampore Mission (1799) and Missionary Press (1800), establishment of Fort William College (1800), prevention of Infanticide Immersion at Gangasagar (1803), abolition of Suttee rite (1829), foundation of Calcutta Medical College and Savings Bank (1835). A detail study of every aspect mentioned in his book would be an act of utter unwisdom as he had mostly translated at a mundane literal level.

Vidyasagar has doubtlessly presented a great deal of mastery in translation work. However any attempt of original research could not be seen anywhere in the book¹⁶. Here another criticism worth a mention that he had alleviated while translating Marshman's taste buds of a superior racial tongue in his own book. Asit Kumar Bandyopadhyay had particularly criticized Vidyasagar's blindfolded stand regarding Black Hole incident. Vidyasagar had translated literally Marshman's comments on the event and did not counter argue from a native perspective with relevant facts. He also did not disagree with the colonizers while portraying Siraj's character. He like any other British stationed in India for service or other purposes considered Siraj to be a corrupt and absolute scoundrel in nature. Siraj was described by Marshman as 'master of cruelty' while Vidyasagar depicted him as *nrishongsho rakkhos*¹⁷. However there are few places in Vidyasagar's book, mainly events associated with important historical juncture where he did differ from Marshman's book. According to Asok Sen these exclusive areas in his book emphasize on his patriotic side. For instance, in Marshman's book we find no mention of Vidyasagar's remarks on the battle of Plassey, "It would never be possible for Clive to win this victory unless Mir Jafar had turned into a traitor and betrayed the Nawab at the moment". Similarly while analyzing the causes of Mir Kasim's defeat Vidyasagar again added comment on his own, "The Treacherous conduct of Gurgin Khan was the sole cause for the repeated defeats of the Nawab's army in each and every battle with the British even though the former were really well trained." Marshman had remarked that Nanda Kumar, a renowned indigenous personality was undoubtedly the most infamous character among the natives. In his translation Vidyasagar remained in accord to this point but he had also added while describing the dubious death penalty of Nanda Kumar, "... Hastings and Impey were far more notorious than him". Nanda Kumar was recognized by Vidyasagar as a man of opulence and political importance to such an extent that the company officials before establishment of their stronghold

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

in Bengal had summoned at Nanda Kumar's place several times in matter of urgency¹⁸. All of these comments made by Vidyasagar indicate towards two different estimates of same events made by two different authors. In nineteenth century Bengal the line between loyalty and opposition was vague¹⁹. Vidyasagar had never opposed the British rule openly. However he maintained his self dignity throughout his life and was conscious regarding the respectful position of his fellow Bengalis.

Vidyasagar in his translation used the word *Deshiyo* or indigenous more frequently than the word India or *Bharat*. This certainly indicates that the concept of a unified nation namely India was yet not there in his consciousness. He also did not use the word Bengali or *Bangalee* quite often in his work. Instead we can find use of words like indigenous Hindu or *Edeshiyo Hindu* and indigenous Muslim or *Edeshiyo Musolman*. The concept of national identity or *Jati Porichoy* neither at all India level nor at provincial level was there in the first half of the nineteenth century when Vidyasagar wrote his history text book. This entire concept started extending its branches after 1857. Therefore Vidyasagar was essentially following pre modern terms for different identities prevalent in Bengal at that time.

In his entire account few of the general estimates that he maintained regarding the indigenous Hindu community are; intelligent, organized in administration, good account keeper in matters of revenue etc²⁰. In this matter however he simply held on Marshman's usual portrayal of people of the two dynamically different communities. After introduction of a particular set of structural parameters by James Mill's book in the tradition of Indian History writing the medieval concept of a synthesizing and assimilating relationship between Hindu and Muslim kingdoms had cautiously been brushed aside²¹. The events concerning radical resistance and process of drastic otherization occurred as the central locus of History writing. Vidyasagar also at some places of his book had made few such assertive statements. These statements could be summarized together as following; the people of Hindu community endured many disasters due to unscrupulous nature of the rulers of corrupt regime of the Bengal Nawabs²². Therefore undeniably Vidyasagar at some places of his work did portray Hindu and Muslim as two different entities juxtaposing some common binary opposition. However one should also keep in mind that all these statements written by him were according to literal meaning of Marshman's

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

book. He might have written those lines unconsciously as his sole agenda was to provide a good vernacular school text book translated from a popular English text book.

In the consciousness of nineteenth century Bengali intelligentsia, one of the most popular ideas was; after a long drawn regime of all sorts of aggression, violence and corruption by the Muslim rulers we are now considerably safe under the British rule. The British Empire after its succession as the new ruler of their land has ensured enlightenment and progress for their colonized subjects with many structural and institutional changes and ideological developments. In the milieu of ideological development particularly comes the colonizers' effort for introduction of western knowledge and education that in a process has regenerated primarily the glorious past of its Hindu subjects. This is how their political slavery was justified by the Hindu Bengali intelligentsia. They felt saturated with a self constructed belief of cultural and social freedom. These sorts of ideas satiated their heart ultimately with an illusion of freedom²³. This illusion proved sometimes troublesome though as it had created utmost inner conflict and self contradiction, resulting in a culture of adjusted belief system ultimately²⁴. Vidyasagar also could not establish himself as an exception in this regard. the sword of his thoughts and consciousness that is his pen also demonstrates that. Three examples should be mentioned here in this regard; (1) According to Vidyasagar, Marathas and Pindaris, both of these indigenous communities are marauders in nature. Their ultimate suppression and defeat at the hand of the British could establish true peace in this country²⁵, (2) British colonizers' intention to rule is genuine. The introduction of modern technology, modern educational and social reforms are all part of that process, (3) He truly praised few British administrators like Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Bentinck as under their administrative rule he claimed that the indigenous people had led a life of true peace, happiness and prosperity. Under their supervision EIC achieved unprecedented profits in terms of finance, structural developments, socio-economic reforms and territorial expansion. He had criticized those administrators vehemently who were corrupt, self serving and infamous for notoriety thus proved unworthy to rule. Anuradha Roy has earmarked six important myths that were formulated and assimilated as part of the process of adjusted beliefs mentioned earlier. Two of the myths are worth mentioning here; (1) The British rule is a blessing bestowed on the Indians by divine forces. British regime has done admirable things for this country like extension of railway services, construction of roads and suppression

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

of all sorts of marauders communities. This could become possible as they have established an incorrupt, decent and principled government in this country, (2) the actual vices that have infected British rule in India are in forms of some unworthy unscrupulous administrators. The genuine intentions of the British rule should not be questioned because of their irresponsibility. Under the mighty and worthy administrators appointed by the colonizing force indigenous people would live a prosperous life²⁶. Vidyasagar at some places of his work also followed this constructed framework of certain beliefs.

His comments on the administrative, revenue and Judicial reforms and associated structural developments reflect many the perspectives of nineteenth century Bengali intelligentsia. First one that should be mentioned here is his exalted comments on the Permanent settlement introduced by British rulers in India²⁷. He on his own wrote incessantly in his newspaper *Sambad Prabhakar* on issues associated with this revenue reform from 1831 to 1859. He never forgot to mention the sad plight of the *ryots* in his articles. However he never uttered a single word against the *Zamindars*, the most sordid product of Permanent Settlement who were actually responsible for the woeful predicament of the *ryots*. Rather, he supported them in few of his articles. Other Illustrated personalities in nineteenth century Bengal; Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Gupta, Akshoy Kumar Dutta, Harish Chandra Mukherjee, Nobin Krishto Bose, Sisir Kumar Ghose, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Sanjib Chandra Chatterjee, R. C. Dutt, Bhudev Mukherjee had also reported the terrible condition of the *ryots* but never expressed appalling concern against the *Zamindars* or the prevalent socio economic structure patronized and controlled by the *Zamindars*. In many occasions there are evidences of their imbued support for the Revenue reforms introduced by the British administration as most of them were fortunate products of that system²⁸. Vidyasagar had also praised the gradual development of hierarchical institutions and western judiciary structures in India like many others from his fellow Bengali intelligentsia community. The entire process of gradual incorporation of native laws of both the communities for years, resulting in final introduction of a unified law system by an appointed commission supervised by T. B. Macaulay was highly extolled by him²⁹.

Conclusion

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

Vidyasagar's desire for an extended vernacular school education and publication of vernacular text books in accordance with that made him the first person who had broadened the scope for educational activities in the province beyond the socio cultural boundaries of alleged Bengal Renaissance³⁰. This causes the very reason of our inability to situate him either in the Orientalist group or in the Anglicist group. He was chiefly a Sanskrit Scholar who dreamed to modernize the School curriculum by confirming every western norm in education system while using *Matribhasha* as its sole medium. This made him a far more effective modernizer than most anglicized intelligentsia in Bengal³¹.

Vidyasagar's History of Bengal constitutes a collage of many prevalent aspects of the first half of nineteenth century Bengal in one single frame; Starting from the understanding of the position of colonizers in their mission of manufacturing hegemony inculcated episteme of the subjects; the responses of the intelligentsia to the process, some of which were also fermented by Vidyasagar in his views as reflected on few specific subject matters dealt in his book. This book emphatically does not unveil the true internal intricacy of this exceptional Bengali mind. However in the process of translation his affirmation and rejection of statements made by Marshman related to specific events of historical importance has elucidated his opinions regarding the British rule and their certain ways.

References

- 1) Chatterjee, Partha, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Post Colonial Histories*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993, p.77.
- 2) Chatterjee, Partha, *The Nation*, 93-94.
- 3) Bandyopadhyay, Asit Kumar, *Bangla Sahitye Bidyasagar*, Calcutta: Mandol Book House, 1377 (BS), p.34.
- 4) Bandyopadhyay, Asit Kumar, *Bangla Sahitye*, p. 33.
- 5) Bandyopadhyay, Brajendra Nath, *Bidyasagar- Prasanga*, Calcutta: Gurudas Chattopadhyay and Sons, 1338 (BS), pp.30-32.

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

- 6) Acharya, Poromesh, 'Development of Modern Language Text Books and the Social Context in 19th Century Bengal', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Volume 21, Issue 17, 1986, p.747.
- 7) Acharya, Poromesh, 'Development of Modern', p. 750.
- 8) Acharya, Poromesh, 'Development of Modern', p. 745.
- 9) Acharya, Poromesh, 'Development of Modern', p.749.
- 10) Acharya, Poromesh, 'Development of Modern', p.747.
- 11) Bandyopadhyay, *Bangla Sahitye Bidyasagar*, p.32.
- 12) Viswanathan, Gauri, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*, London: Faber & Faber, 1990, pp.47, 82.
- 13) Metcalf, Thomas R., *Ideologies of the Raj, The New Cambridge History of India: III. 4*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, reprint, 2007, p.89.
- 14) Roy, Anuradha, *Nationalism as Poetic Discourse in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, Kolkata: Papyrus, 2003, pp.77-78; Roy, Anuradha, 'Bangali Buddhijibir Chokhe British Shashon' in Swapan Basu and Indrajit Chowdhury (eds.), *Unish Shotoker Bangali Jibon O Sanskriti*, Kolkata: Pustak Biponi, 2003, p.259.
- 15) Deshpande, Anirudh, 'Colonial Modernity and Historical Imagination in India', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Volume 72, Issue 2, 2011, p.1321.
- 16) Sarkar, Biharilal, *Bidyasagar*, Calcutta: Shashtra Prakash Karjyalaya, 1329 (BS), p.199.
- 17) Bandyopadhyay, *Bangla Sahitye Bidyasagar*, pp.36-38.
- 18) Sen, Asok, *Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and his Elusive Milestones*, Calcutta: Riddhi-India, 1977, p.137.
- 19) Sen, Asok, *Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar*, XIII.
- 20) Vidyasagar, Ishwar Chandra, *Bangalar Itihas: Dwitiyo Bhag, Siraj ud Daulahr singhason ahoron obodhi Lord William Benticker odhikar porjyonto*, Calcutta: Sanskrit Press Depository, 1848, reprint, 1902, pp.38, 77.
- 21) Tripathi, Amalesh, *Italir Renaissance O Bangalir Sanskriti*, Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, 1994, reprint, 2015, p.34.
- 22) Vidyasagar, *Bangalar Itihas: Dwitiyo Bhag*, pp.24, 36.

Vidyasagar's *Bangalar Itihas*: a Reflection on his Thoughts and Times

-
- 23) Chandra, Bipan, 'Literature and Colonial Connection' in Sudhir Chandra (ed.), *Social Transformation and Creative Imagination*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1984, p.183.
- 24) Roy, *Nationalism as Poetic Discourse in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, p.71.
- 25) Vidyasagar, *Bangalar Itihas: Dwitiyo Bhag*, p.136.
- 26) Roy, *Nationalism as Poetic Discourse in Nineteenth Century Bengal*, pp.74-77.
- 27) Vidyasagar, *Bangalar Itihas: Dwitiyo Bhag*, pp.124-125.
- 28) De, Amalendu 'Bengali Intelligentsia's Attitude to the Permanent Settlement', *Social Scientist*, Volume 5, Issue 8, March, 1977, pp.23-24.
- 29) Vidyasagar, *Bangalar Itihas: Dwitiyo Bhag*, pp.115, 124, 140.
- 30) Tripathi, Amalesh, *Vidyasagar, The Traditional Moderniser*, Bombay: Orient Longman, 1974, p.71.
- 31) Tripathi, Amalesh, *Vidyasagar, The Traditional*, p. 5.