

Nil Darpan: A New Look at the Genesis of Bengali Nationalism

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Abstract

Nil Darpan (The Indigo Planting Mirror) was the first literary work in Bengali Literature, banned in 1861 with the fined and imprisonment of Reverend James Long. He was accused to responsible for translating the work as well as for publishing it. However, this was one of the most popular dramas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This was the pioneering work by Dinabandhu Mitra to reveal the cruelty and unkindness of indigo Planters towards the Bengal peasantries in the nineteenth century. The peasantries were the top socio-economic class of this delta. The despair of *rayot* led to the rebellion (Indigo Rebellion, 1859-61), which had occurred earlier before publishing this drama. It was the stunning utter of a Bengali intellectual's feelings about the miseries and injustices towards rayots. This unfastens a new era in the history of Bengali literature, where intellectuals find ways to put their arguments against the policy and rule of colonial Government. In this way, Bengali literature started to remonstrate against the capitalist-imperialist oppression and policy of the British Government. Therefore, Bengali nationalism found a way to express desires and aspirations through literature, where Dinabandhu Mitra and his *Nil Darpan* were pioneers. This paper attempts to find the nationalist views of society and Bengali intellectuals in the nineteenth century.

Keywords: Neel Darpan, Bengal, drama, nationalism, literature

Neel Darpan is an exceptional phenomenon in classical Bangla literature in terms of subject matter and stylistic excellence. It marks one of the most significant accomplishments of humanist philosophy in Bangla literature during the Bengal Renaissance.¹ It is the first Indian play based on the first-hand account of peasants' lives.² *Neel Darpan* had introduced a new style in Bangla's dramatic tradition. At a time when stories from the *Vedas* and *Puranas*, and history or romance from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* had been dominating stage plays in Bengal, Dinabandhu Mitra's *Neel Darpan* added a new dimension by focusing solely on the lives of tenant peasants in rural areas who constituted the most significant portion of Bengal's population. Thus it had

become an excellent narrative, reflecting the place of peasants in the Bengali intellectual tradition. Because when it comes to people from the lower strata of society, it is rare to find such an accurate and bold narrative based on factual information.³ The way this play gives literary articulation to the oppression, injustice, exploitation, and deprivation faced by the have-nots is incomparable.

The play became so popular that it caught the Government's attention and was later translated into English. However, due to its audacity to speak against the imperial Government, all copies of the English translation were later confiscated, and any staging of the play was also banned. Thus, *Neel Darpan* was the first Bangla classic to be banned. The play captured individual thoughts and social responses and the Bengali middle class's resistance to political intervention. Through all of this, the nationalistic spirit found a new expression. This essay is an investigation into that spirit. The flame of rebellion that swept through Bengal, centering around the indigo plantation, was intensified by *Neel Darpan*. *Neel Darpan* had an effect similar to Uncle Tom's Cabin's, which immensely influenced the movement against slavery in the US.⁴ No sooner had the play been published than it created a stir throughout Bengal, awakening Bengalis from all classes.⁵ This narrative of the economic and political conditions of then society started a new era in Bangla literature. Commenting on the way *Neel Darpan* shook the sensibility of the Bengali society, Shibnath Shastri said:

It was as if there was a sudden shower of meteor on the Bengali society; nothing could be known about its publisher and place of publication. Once published, there was no time for assessing whether it kept up the classical rules of drama or not; there was no time for investigating whether such events were true or not; *Neel Darpan* engulfed us; Torap snatched our love; our blood roiled around the suffering of Khetramoni; it seemed that if we got hold of Mr. Rogue just once, we would tear him apart with our teeth.⁶

Dinabandhu Mitra was born in 1829 in Nadia. After graduating from Hare School and Hindu College in 1856 in Kolkata, he started working as a postmaster on a salary of 150 TK. To serve at various posts in the Postal Department, he had to stay in various districts, including Jessore, Dhaka, and Orissa. Thus, due to his work, he got the opportunity to take a close look at peasants' lives. He visited many indigo plantation areas and witnessed how the peasants had been suffering. It is assumed that the terrible descriptions of the severe oppression of peasants by the indigo planters that Harish Chandra Mukherjee was published in his newspaper *The Hindu Patriot* were based on the reports sent by Dinabandhu Mitra.⁷ He was posted in Dhaka in 1859 when the Indigo Revolt began in Nadia and Jessore. The play *Neel Darpan* (The indigo Planting Mirror) was first printed and staged in Dhaka in 1860. The book was reprinted in the first year of its publication; this gives the play popularity. In 1862, the play was staged in Kolkata, and also, undoubtedly, the commercial theater started through the staging of *Neel Darpan*.⁸ Beside suppressing his love and affection toward the tenants, Dinabandhu Mitra portrayed their endless misery and suffering in *Neel Darpan*. The way he described the indigo planters' and British colonial administration's oppression, persecution, domination, and exploitation, along with their racism, articulation the flames burning in his heart as a fellow Bengali. Describing his kind heart, his friend Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay said that,

Dinabandhu used to be deeply saddened by the sorrow of others; *Neel Darpan* is a result of that virtue. Because he felt with all his heart the sufferings of the peasants of Bengal, *Neel Darpan* was created and promoted. Dinabandhu was at the forefront of all the humans who empathized with the pain of others. The extraordinary quality of his mind was that he felt the same or more distressed than the person who was in trouble. ...Many people may have many qualities, but no one becomes so distressed by others' suffering, like Dinabandhu. That virtue resulted in the *Neel Darpan*.⁹

Dinabandhu Mitra, through his composition, wanted to raise awareness about the lifestyle of subalterns and their afflictions in the thoughts and consciousness of the Bengali middle class. He shook the urbane Bengali class absorbed in the "Babu Culture" of Kolkata. In this regard, Shashankshekhar Bagchi said,

Dinabandhu's feat was that those whose stories of sorrows and happiness were not allowed in urbane society and who did not have any right to enter the realms of stories and novels, were given a place in *Neel Darpan*, not as a favour but with heartfelt respect and affection; by genuinely capturing the feelings of fameless, nameless, ordinary people he painted the picture of their wounded hearts.¹⁰

A new era in Bengali literature began by creating literary works based on the realities of the country, which helped lay the foundation of a Bengali nationalist consciousness. Dinabandhu Mitra, born during the same transition period of the nineteenth century, adopted such a literary ideal to protect 'Bengaliness' whole heartedly. There is no way to deny that he made his pursuit of literature worthwhile by entirely following Bengali life, tradition, and culture. Sunil Kumar Dey has rightly commented on it:

...Though Dinabandhu belonged to the same time as Madhusudan and Bankimchandra, he was a Bengali of all times. It is true that his inspiration and principle to create something new came from English literature, but the source of his inner strength was the emergent Bengali nationalistic consciousness. As the spirit of Bengaliness among the Bengalis was vigorous and energetic, they gained a solid basis for self-confidence in literature in spite of going with the new flow.¹¹

Since Dinabandhu was a pure Bengali with all his heart, he understood the Bengali people in their entirety, warts and all; his connection with their life was heartfelt and humane. Although there was a colonial influence, Dinabandhu's mindset comprised the original Bengali culture and tradition. That is why his play's expression and language was such that it was his own and innately at one with the Bengali culture at the same time; as a result, the appeal of *Neel Darpan*, in which he 'uttered the words of universal life' in his unique way... felt by all ranging from the elite to the masses. Therefore, Torap, Raicharan, Reboti, Kshetromoni, Aduri, PodiMoyrani—all of them who are familiar faces of rural Bengal automatically appear in the play; it was not required of the playwright to borrow the characters from his imaginary or dream world. Bankim has aptly said,

Dinabandhu's versatility on Bengali society is astonishing. There is not a second Bengali author who keeps abreast of all the updates on the daily lives of Bengalis across all classes... Many of them are patriotic and write for the country's good but do not know anything about the state of the country. Most of their country-related knowledge is limited to what Kolkata-dwellers belonging to their own class are doing. ...Their knowledge of the country is usually obtained through newspaper. ...Dinabandhu constructed his characters often like an educated sculptor or painter who works in front of their live models. The moment he saw a social monkey seated on a social tree, he drew it accurately, including its tail. In addition to his realism, he also had an extraordinary power to idealize. He took a live model first and then opening his own repository of memories placed someone else's virtue and vice on his/her person. He knew how to use something where it suited. ...If we think about the abundance and diversity of his creation, his experience seems to be very surprising.¹²

It cannot be denied that Dinabandhu Mitra's innate Bengaliness contributed to laying the foundation of Bengali nationalism in his *Neel Darpan*. The staging of *Neel Darpan* also contributed to strengthening the foundation of the Bengali nationalistic spirit. In 1872, the play Arhndendu Shekhar Mustafi established the National Theater in Kolkata and sold tickets for *Neel Darpan*. Before that, the plays staged in Kolkata were not open to the general public; only the wealthy and high-ranked officers were invited to them. From this angle, *Neel Darpan* is the first play revolving around common people and staged for the mass. That is why Girishchandra called Dinabandhu the creator of Bengali theater.¹³ He acted in *Neel Darpan* staged at Kolkata Town Hall in 1873. His play became so popular that he was banned from performing because *Neel Darpan* was anti-British and seditious.¹⁴

Furthermore, all of those who acted in the play had to live in constant fear of facing torture and humiliation by the police. If we analyze the staging of *Neel Darpan* and its effect, we will find evidence of Bengali nationalistic consciousness. While watching the play, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar got so agitated that he threw his shoes at Arhndendu Shekhar Mustafi, who played Mr. Rogue's role on stage. It was a sign of national protest against the brutality of British indigo planters.¹⁵ When the play was staged in Lucknow, an English man holding a sword ran up to the stage to attack an artist. Actress Binodini Dasi described the incident thus:

One night our *Neel Darpan* was being staged at Chhatramandi in the city of Lucknow; that day, almost all the *sahibs* staying in the city came to watch the play. There was a scene where Mr. Rogue was about to abuse Kshetromoni when Torap entered breaking the door and hit Mr. Rogue, then Nobinmadhob took Kshetromoni away. First of all, it was *Neel Darpan* being staged so well; second, Motilal Sur in the role of Torap and Avinash Kar in the role of Mr. Rogue were acting with great efficiency. So the *sahibs* became very angry watching the play. There was quite a ruckus and one of the *sahibs* got up on the stage and attempted to beat Torap.¹⁶

All these stage occurrences clearly show that *Neel Darpan*, all through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, created a profound impact on the Bengali middle

class and ordinary people, which is conspicuously an expression of Bengali nationalistic consciousness. The flame of rebellion, anguish, frustration and disgrace stoked up by the play burned stoked the entire Bengali society throughout the nineteenth century. This tragedy, solid as steel, showed them the way toward liberation.

Later on, when literature became one of the most powerful mediums in forming the idea of Indian nationalist consciousness, this play by Dinabandhu paved the way for producing anti-imperialist literature. Madhusudan's epic *Meghnad-Badh Kavya* (*The Slaying of Meghnada*) declared war against the arrogance of upper-caste Hindus. At the same time, his satire *Buro Shaliker Ghare Row* (*Young Hair on the Neck of an Old Myna*) portrayed the united resistance of Hindu-Muslim against the exploitation and injustice of landlords, which was also found in *Neel Darpan*. Kaliprasanna Singha, in his *Hutom Pyanchar Naksha* (*Sketches by a Watching Owl*), strongly ridicules the role the Bengali educated class played during the great rebellion in 1857, and about the Indigo Revolt, *Hutom*, indicating the unfair enforcement of the laws, says, "even the peons started going to small towns acting as Deputy Magistrate. It was a tumultuous situation. Sensing trouble, the mangrove tiger (Planters Association) changed its name (Landholders Association) and entered a basil garden. Harish passed away, and Long's tenure was extended. Wales got scolded, and Grant resigned. Still, the rumor didn't go away."¹⁷

Driven by humanitarian ideology and liberal social thoughts, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay described the miseries of the peasant communities with such emotion and feeling that was not be found in the writings of his contemporary or subsequent Bengali authors. Inspired by the ethos of modern western philosophy, an inquisitive Bankimchandra crystallized his thoughts about Egalitarianism as well as establishing the rights of Bengali peasants in the essays entitled *Bangadesher Krishak* (Peasants of Bengal) and *Shamya* (Equality), courageously criticizing the zamindars' oppression of peasants and thus expressing his sense of Indian nationalism by urging the British Government to build up a more efficient administration.¹⁸ The novel *Udashin Pathiker Maner Katha* (*The Mind of an Indifferent Wayfarer*), written by Mir Musharraf Hossain, portrayed secluded Bengali villages people were exploited and tortured by indigo planters. He was a witness to the indigo planters' oppression, which was depicted in the novel. He had first-hand knowledge about indigo planters, and his wish was to write the history of the Indigo Revolt, which he could not accomplish due to his old age.¹⁹ He composed *Zamidar Darpan* (*The Mirror of Zamindars*) as a documentary on the zamindars' horrible treatment of the peasants. Many examples can show that many writers expressed a strong sense of Indian nationalism through their writings. It cannot be denied that the emergence of *Neel Darpan* had inspired subsequent writers to stand firmly against an imperialist power.

Neel Darpan is the first and only creation in Bengali literature whose flame spread to the court. Heated arguments about the play's subject matter during court proceedings stirred up the whole Bengal about indigo planters' inhuman treatment of peasants. Reverend James Long played a role in taking the play to court. A few weeks after the book was published in Dhaka in 1860, Long asked WS Seton-Karr, Secretary to the Bengal Presidency, to read the book. Karr learned to read Bengali, and after reading, he ordered the book to be translated into English. Long was informed that many high officials of the British Government, including the second Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (John Peter

Grant), expressed their interest in reading the book. Therefore, he entrusted the translation to Michael Madhusudan Dutta. The Grant allowed Seton-Carr to print a few copies at his own expense and distribute them to various individuals. Carr printed 500 copies of the book at the Government's expense and sent about 200 copies to distinguished persons, and some were sent to England. Among those who received the book were Gladstone, Richard Cobden, and John Bright.²⁰

Getting steamed up about the play's content, the white communities in India strongly protested and filed a defamation case against James Long.²¹ The plaintiffs in the case were Walter Brett, editor and owner of the paper *Englishman*, and W. F. Ferguson, Secretary of Landlords' and Commercial Association. Trial proceedings were held on 18, 20, and 24 July in 1861 at the Calcutta Supreme Court. During the proceedings, people from all walks of life in Kolkata, including Government employees, British business people, indigo planters, clergy members, and many esteemed Bengalis, were present at the court. A bench was formed with twenty-four special juries, and seventeen of them were called in for the trial; Manikji Rustamji was the only Indian among them. The prime allegation against Long was "propagation of a slander of a most dangerous kind."

Moreover, it was also alleged against Long that "he has attacked the Europeans, catching them unawares, with a knife which he sharpened sitting in the dark." According to them, "the book has given the British a status lower even than the animals and made their homeland disgraceful in the eyes of people."²² Despite facing all those allegations and such humiliation, Long did not reveal the author and translator of *Neel Darpan* or the *indigo Planting Mirror*. Long's lawyer argued strongly in his favor; pointing to the judge's biased attitude toward Long, he termed the proceedings "not very fair and open." He also criticized the limitations and antiquities of British laws. He said that if *Neel Darpan* was a cause for defamation, then all the world's best literature should be taken as causes for libel. For example, Moliere's books were toxic for doctors and clergies; Dickens's *Oliver Twist* was written against the work-houses, and *Nicholas Nicolby* was against Yorkshire's schools and slavery. But none of these books received a defamation suit.²³ After hearing the arguments presented by both parties, Justice Sir M. L. Wells sentenced Long, who was found guilty by the jury's verdict, with a fine of TK 1,000 and one-month imprisonment, thus ending the *Neel Darpan* case.

The disputation about this case and its impact on the Kolkata society led to an awakening of Bengali nationalism. Immediately after the verdict was delivered, Kali Prasanna Ghosh, present at the court, paid the 1,000 TK fine; furthermore, he bore all the expenses for the second edition of *Neel Darpan* and arranged for its free distribution.²⁴ In this regard, Dr. Alexander Duff said, "Even if the fine was five or ten times higher, the Bengali gentlemen present at the court were ready to pay it then and there." Zamindar Pratap Singh bore all the expenses for Long's lawyer.²⁵ The reaction of urbane Bengalis and that of the liberally oriented educated society of Kolkata against the verdict was, in fact, an outpouring of nationalist consciousness. They strongly protested the unfair judgment in their newspapers, and James Long became a symbol of protest against imperialist behavior and attitude. In *The Hindu Patriot*, Harish Chandra Mukherjee criticized Judge Wales's behavior in acerbic language and identified the juries as puppets of the indigo planters. Newspapers such as Kishori Chand Mitra's *Indian Field*,

Manmohan Ghosh's *Indian Mirror*, and *Indian Reformer* strongly condemned this farce in the name of justice. Although these newspapers had so long been active in the interest of the Bengali zamindars and the bourgeoisie, James Long's farce trial came as a massive blow to the Bengalis. So perhaps they were protesting because they were acting out of fear that their own identities might be questioned. It can be assumed that this very spirit of protest had gradually led to the awakening of nationalism.

The day Long was released from jail, common people from different areas of Bengal and the educated middle class announced arranging a protest rally in Kolkata, but the plan was canceled as per Long's request. Long became the symbol of protest and was greeted warmly as the true friend of Bengal by everyone when he returned from Britain after five years. *Neel Darpan* took him to such heights that he became utterly perplexed in surprise. In his own words,

I have been surprised to see wherever I go among the natives the *Neel Darpan* case has given me an open door, [wrote Long] At Suri [in West Bengal] Natives came distances of twenty miles to meet me and at Berhampur we had all the Natives of influence in the district, the Judge and Magistrate closing their cutcherries at an earlier hour in order to give them an opportunity to attend.²⁶

This description by Long speaks of the sensibility shown by the common people. He became a close companion of the Bengali peasants.²⁷ Probably they found their language of revolt in Long's imprisonment. They saw this unjust action as an assault on their self-identity. According to Geoffrey A. Oddie, "Finally, in the course of Long's trial, Bengali racial sensitivities thoroughly arose, their pride was hurt, and national feelings offended."²⁸ Therefore, this delight they expressed after seeing their hero up close could probably be the manifestation of their self-esteem. So, the trial of Long or the trial of the *Neel Darpan* case can be marked as one of the brightest chapters in the rise of the nationalistic sensibility of Bengal.

In Bengal, there were massive protests against the trial in England, and the verdict was questioned there, too. Newspapers like the *Daily News*, the *Spectator*, the *Saturday Review*, the *London Review*, and the *Home News* criticized the farcical trial. They commented that the injustice and inconsiderate decision at such acritical time would leave a mark in the history of Britain's oppressive rule in India.²⁹ Commenting on this injustice, Sir Henry Bartle Frere said, "Pretty well corrected by their un-English hatred of free discussion, and vindictive alliance with the Press to punish a man for libel not half as bad as the Press publishes daily on Government, and to punish him by a form of trial which does not admit of his pleading the truth or meeting the charge fairly."³⁰ Indian Secretary Sir Charles Wood also commented on the injustice, saying "beginning with the mode of procedure chosen (by indictment instead of by Criminal information, or civil action) and ending with Peecok's cutting short Mr. Long's address is a discreditable exhibition enough."³¹ This anxiety and alertness was nothing but part of Britain's imperialist nature. In court, Long warned the British Government in his last speech, saying the uprising is over, but who knows what will happen in the future? I cannot just close my eyes to something that seems terrifying to many people from a distance. That can happen somewhere nearby, that can also occur in distant places; the influence of Russia is also upcoming toward India. This effect was felt in Kabul twenty years ago

during the great *Sepoy* Mutiny in the Indian subcontinent.³² They were informed of the reaction of post-trial Kolkata or Bengal, and they probably thought this could lead to a nationalistic movement that could turn into a threat to their empire. Therefore, they displayed a feigned sympathy toward the Indians to establish a more effective rule of law.

Overall, a clear picture of the nature of Bengali nationalism can be found in the unification of the characters in *Neel Darpan*. The zamindars of their higher class tenure-holders (Golok Chandra Bose) and the educated middle class in Kolkata (Navinmadob and Bindumadhob) are unified with their subordinated, oppressed peasants (Shadhucharan) and the common class (Torap). In this union, the playwright beautifully portrays the harmony between Hindus and Muslims, stemming from a unifying sensibility. He did not introduce Torap as a *Jobon* (Non-Hindu); instead, he is portrayed as a common peasant, and here lies Dinabandhu Mitra's greatness. Bengali nationalism is expressed in the harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims in this play. Torap is a Muslim peasant. We do not see him toiling in the fields, carrying a plough on his shoulder, yet Dinabandhu Mitra pictured him ingeniously through the robust manners of Bengali peasants. The indigo planters wanted to use Torap to testify falsely against Golokchoron, but Torap refused manipulation. His innate religious sense is the main reason here, which did not come from any religious book. Torap's gratefulness taught him this sense of religion. That is why Torap says, "I can't be disloyal to the master (Borobabu)!: I've been living on his land, ploughing it with his cattle. I can't falsely testify against him. I can never do that. Jaankabul."³³ Dinabandhu Mitra could perceive the fundamental principle of the British Empire, which lies in the "divide and rule" policy. Therefore, he did not let Torap be divided from the unification of Bengalis irrespective of their religions. If the Bengalis stayed true to this principle of unification, religion might not be used in the politics of division in the Indian subcontinent. Mitra showed in *Neel Darpan* how an imperialist Government sought to pit the Hindus against the Muslims. He could have easily replaced Torap with a Hindu peasant, but his prudence helped portray a Muslim subject in that character. He probably realized that the British Government would soon strengthen its rule in Bengal and the Indian subcontinent using division as their policy. He would have anticipated this fact a century before the partition of Bengal that this subtle division in Bengali nationalism could become more prominent. That is why he worked out a secular sensibility, one of the uniquely brilliant constructions of *Neel Darpan*.

In light of the above discussion, it is clear that *Neel Darpan* is a unique tale of Bengali nationalism. It contains the personal way of life and characteristic features of its author. The effect of the play on the Bengali middle class and common people was immense. The play stems from the very root of Bengali self-identity and led many intellectuals whose contributions, later, helped create the spirit of Indian nationalism. Usually, the learned contributions of the writers show the way to construct nationalistic thoughts and feelings. In that sense, Dinabandhu Mitra is one of the leaders in awakening Bengali nationalistic sensibility. However, his contemporary society probably could not grasp the secular sensibility the play implied. Therefore, the British Government succeeded in using the "divide and rule" principle as the principal tool of oppression. The consequence of which is the partition of Bengal and, later, India.

Notes and References

¹There is a debate on the Bengal Renaissance, particularly, which time should be counted as the starting point of this rebirth of Bengal. For instance, Susobhan Sarkar (1979), *On Bengal Renaissance*, and Narahari Kabiraj (1984), *Unish Satake Banglar Jagoran Tarkao Bitarka*, believe that Bengal renaissance started with the settlement of Raja Rammohun Roy in Kolkata in 1815. However, Jadunath Sarkar (2003), *The History of Bengal*, argues that Bengal Renaissance instigated after the Battle of Plessey.

²Ashutosh Bhattacharya (Edited), *DinobandhuMitrer Neel Darpan*, Kolkata: Matigandha, 2016, p.1

³Ranajit Guha, 'Nil Darpan: the Image of a Peasant Revolt in a Liberal Mirror', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 2 (1), October 1974, pp. 1-46.

⁴ Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, 'Rai Dinabandhu Mitra BahadurerJibani O Granthabali Shamalochana', *Bankim Rachanabali*, Vol. II, Kolkata: Shaitya Shangshad, 1361 Bengali Year, pp.834-35.

⁵ Pramad Ranjan Sengupta, *Nilbidraha O Bangali Samaj*, Kolkata: Radical Book Club, 1960, p. 123

⁶ Shivanath Shastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri O TatkalinBangasamj*, Kolkata: S. K. Lahiri Co., 1909, pp. 250-251.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 280

⁸ Pramod Ranjan Sengupta, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁹ Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 825-26.

¹⁰ Shashank Kumar Bagchi, (ed.), 'Bhumika', *Nil Darpan*, Kolkata: Publisher?, 1960, p. 17.

¹¹ Sushil Kumar De, *Dinabandhu Mitra*, Kolkata: Jatiya Shahitya Parishad, 1358, Bengali year, pp. 2-3.

¹²Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 831.

¹³Girish Chandra Ghosh, *Girish Rachanabali*, Vol. III, Kolkata: Shaitya Shangshad, 1946, p. 812.

¹⁴Utpal Dutt, *Girish Chandra Ghosh*, Kolkata: Sahitya Akademi, 1992, p. 27.

¹⁵ Pramad Ranjan Sengupta, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

¹⁶ Srimati Binodini Dasi, *Binodinir Katha Baa Mar Katha*, Vol. II, Kolkata: Bengal Radical Library, 1319 Bengali year, p. 29.

¹⁷ Kaliprasanna Singha, *Hutom Pyanchar Naksha*, Kolkata: Mahatma Kaiprasanna Singha Kartrik Prakashita, 1862, p.17.

¹⁸ For details, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*

¹⁹Jaladhar Sen, *Kangal Harinath*, Vol. I, Kolkata: Bengal Radical Library 1320 Bengali year, p.38

²⁰ C. E. Buckland, *Bengal Under the Lieutenant-Governors*, Calcutta: S. K. Lahiri Co., 1901, pp. 196-208.

²¹ ‘... a foul and malicious libel on Indigo Planting, tending to excite sedition and breaches of the peace’ *Englishman*, 28,???, 31 May 1861.

²²Pramad Ranjan Sengupta, *op. cit.*, p. 134

²³Jogesh Chandra Bagal (ed.), *Peasant Revolution in Bengal*, Calcutta: Bharati, 1953, p.144.

²⁴ M. Gosh, *Memories of Kali Prossunno Singh*, Calcutta: The Fine Art Printing Syndicate, 1920, p. 68.

²⁵ George Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, Vol. I, New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1879, p. 377.

²⁶ Quoted in G. A. Oddie, *Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms 1850-1900*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1979, p.188.

²⁷ ‘One of the best friends of the Bengal peasantry’, *Indian Reformer*, 10 August, 1861.

²⁸ Geoffrey A. Oddie, *Missionaries, Rebellion and Proto-Nationalism: James Long of Bengal*, London and New York: Routledge 1999, p. 141

²⁹ Pramad Ranjan Sengupta, *op. cit.*, p. 136

³⁰ Quoted in G. A. Oddie, *op.cit.*, p. 182

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 165

³² George Smith, *Op.cit*, pp. 84-85

³³Ashutosh Bhattacharya (Ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 86.