IN THIS BOOK JOHN McGUIRE has turned to quantitative techniques in order to analyse his broadly based data relating to Calcutta in the period between the great uprising of 1857 and the formation of the most powerful political interest group of the emerging national bourgeoisie, the Indian National Congress. He examines the ways in which the social, ideological and political relationships that defined the *bhadralok* of Calcutta, a Bengali social category, were moulded by formal and informal agencies of the state. The book is shaped by a Marxist notion of historical change and suggests that the *bhadralok* failed to develop into one of Marx's fundamental capitalist classes, although they did develop into two secondary classes: a rentier aristocracy and a middle class. Dr McGuire argues that the *bhadralok* cannot be seen as a fixed social group, but rather as the embodiment of changing sets of organic social relationships. In particular he is concerned with their ideological and political developments, and the relationship between colonial civil society and the colonial state. The nature of the cultural hegemony of the colonial ruling class is explored with particular reference to the education system, the press, voluntary associations and political pressure groups. Within the broad framework of the study he adopts, where possible, a quantitative approach to collecting and describing scattered data not normally available from official documents. Evidence for his findings is listed in the very extensive sets of data included in the appendices.

AFTER GRADUATING from the University of Western Australia, John McGuire took an M.A. at the University of Manitoba, Canada, and a Ph.D. at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He has held research fellowships at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, and at the Australian National University in Canberra. At present he is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Social Sciences, Western Australian Institute of Technology.

The Making of a Colonial Mind

A Quantitative Study of the Bhadralok in Calcutta, 1857-1885

Australian National University

Monographs on South Asia No.10

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PREFACE

Like many publications, this book first saw life as a doctoral thesis, though since that time it has undergone considerable change. Generally, it focusses upon the development of the *bhadralok* in Calcutta in the latter half of the nineteenth century. More specifically, it is concerned with the ways in which the ideological and political relationships that defined the *bhadralok* were moulded by formal and informal agencies of the state in both a broad and a particular sense. In this context, it is shaped by a Marxist notion of historical change and by an attempt to produce broadly based data through quantitative techniques.

During the course of this research, a number of problems arose, not the least of which was that of spelling Indian names. For convenience I have spelt place names, when mentioned, according to the *Imperial Gazetteer of 1907-1909*, and organisations as they were usually spelt during the period. In many cases I experienced some difficulty in establishing what this commonality was. Indeed, partly for this reason and partly because I have examined such a large number of individuals, I have standardised family names according to the most widely used spelling. As a result, in certain instances, like that of Surendra Nath Banerjea, I have taken the liberty of altering slightly the family name. Yet I have done so because of the complex problems of having to construct and having to process data sets of anything up to 470 names.

In carrying out this research, I have incurred a number of debts both to institutions and individuals. I am particularly grateful to the School of Oriental and African Studies for granting me postgraduate scholarships, to the Central Research Fund, University of London, for supporting research trips to Cambridge, Edinburgh, and India, to the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, and to the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, for awarding me research fellowships, and to the Western Australian Institute of Technology for a staff development grant.

In the early stages of my work I received very helpful advice from Ronald Inden regarding the nature of Bengali society. During my studies in London, I was supervised by Kenneth Ballhatchet who allowed me the freedom to pursue my own ideas, while at the same time providing me with the benefits of his extensive experience in the field. I have also gained immensely from my contact with Kirti Chauduri who influenced me both by his dedication to his research and by his pioneering work in applying quantitative techniques to the study of history. As well, I am indebted in a number of ways to Pramatha Chaudhuri.

When I was in India, I was aided by, among others, Rabindra Nath Ghose, Asit Sen, Ashin and Uma Das Gupta, S. Sammaddar, and Brother Andrew. More recently, I have enjoyed the multi-disciplinary environment of the Department of Social Sciences, Western Australian Institute of Technology, and the stimulating company of the South Asian History group at the Australian National University. In the latter context, I must acknowledge Anthony Low who provided me with the opportunity of spending a year in Canberra. At different points throughout this research I have received from Bernard Cohn encouragement and support from which I am particularly grateful. Thanks are also due to Soumyen Mukherjee and John Broomfield, both of whom provided valuable critiques of the manuscript for the book. As well, I am appreciative of the meticulous manner in which Margaret Carron has handled the technical problems relating to the publication of this monograph.

My greatest debts, however, are to my late parents, Elizabeth and John, without whom I would not have started this research, and to my wife, Ann, without whom I would not have completed it. It is to the memory of my parents, and to Ann, Jenny and Sean, that this book is dedicated.

THE MAKING OF A COLONIAL MIND

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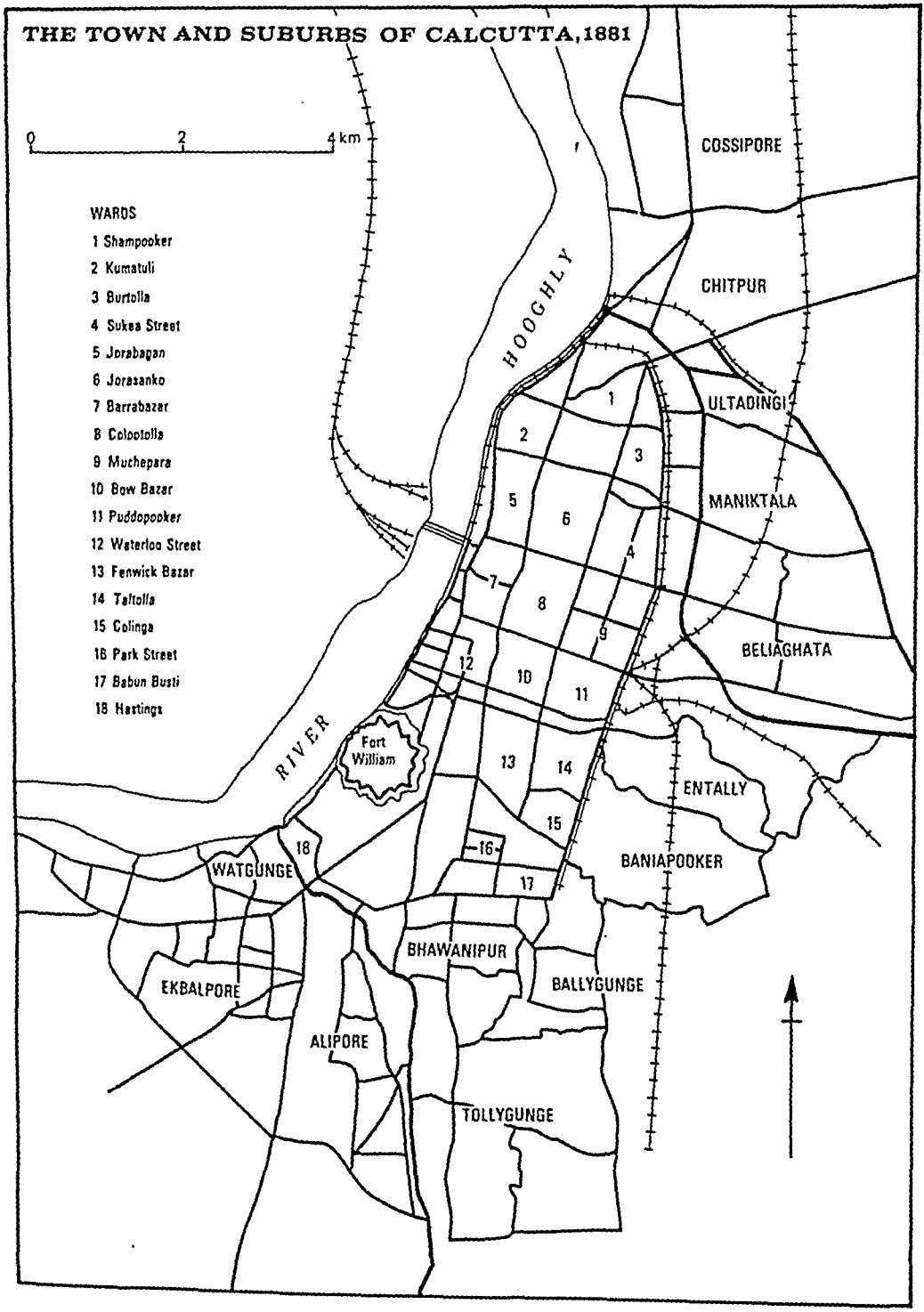
GLOSSARY

acal	Hindu from whom a Brahman will not accept water
adalat	court
amin	administrative officer
anglo-Indian	in nineteenth century usage, a European who was resident in India
atithisala	guest-house
babu	a term which was used to address Hindus. In some cases as a title of respect and in other cases as a derogatory reference
bandhu	matrilineal kinsman
banian	broker
bari	permanent residence
basa	temporary urban residence
bhadralok	a respectable person
bhadramahila	a respectable woman
busti	slum
chhota-thakur	husband's younger brother
dada	elder brother
dadni	a loan
dal	social group into which Hindus divided
dalapati	Leader of a dal
dala-dali	faction fighting
desh	country
dhoba	washerman
didi	elder sister
dewani	civil
ghat (burning)	funeral ground
ghatak	Brahman who arranges marriages
ginni	woman in charge of Hindu household
gostipathi	caste-leader
gotra	lineage relationship by descent from a common male ancestor
gumashtra	agent
guru	a Brahman priest who provides advice on social and religious questions
jajman	the patron in the system of hereditary relationships
jajmani	a socio-economic relationship based on a tradition or a custom
jalcal	Hindu from whom a Brahman will accept water
jata karma	Hindu birth ceremony
jati	endogamous group, frequently referred to as a subcaste
jhi	female servant

karta	head of a Hindu family
kula	a kinship relationship
lakh	one hundred thousand
lathial	skilled fighter with wooden clubs
mufassal	rural area
napit	barber
paik	soldier
panchayat	village council
pandit	Brahman scholar
patsala	indigenous village school
parvana sradhha	ceremony in which offering for ancestors is made
pice	small Indian coin
pinda	funeral cake
pradhan	chief
pramanik	caste leader
prayaschitta	atonement ceremony
puja	religious festival
purohit	household priest
raja	a title given to Hindu chiefs
rajbari	palace
radhi	west
sabha	formal meeting of a social group
sadr	chief
sakulya	patrilineal kinsman
samaj	society
samajik	member of a society
samanodaka	patrilineal kinsman
sapinda	patrilineal kinsman
sardar	foreman
sradhha	funeral ceremony
taluqdar	hereditary agricultural landlord
tol	sanskrit school
vyavastha	judgement
zamindar	landholder

ABBREVIATIONS

BIA	British Indian Association
CGGI	*Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India.*
CLGB	*Proceedings of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.*
CMR	*Administration Report of the Calcutta Municipality.*
GRPI	*General Report of Public Instruction for the Lower Provinces of Bengal.*
IA	Indian Association
P	Papers
PP	Parliamentary Papers.


THE TOWN AND SUBURBS OF CALCUTTA, 1881
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4 km
WARDS
1 Shampooker
2 Kumatuli
3 Burtolla
4 Sukea Street
5 Jorabagan
6 Jorasanko
7 Barrabazar
8 Colootolla
9 Muchepara
10 Bow Bazar
11 Puddopooker
12 Waterloo Street
13 Fenwick Bazar
14 Taltolla
15 Colinga
16 Park Street
17 Babun Busti
18 Hastings
COSSIPORE
CHITPUR
HOOGHLY
ULTADINGI
MANIKTALA
BELIAGHATA
ENTALLY
BANIAPOOKER
RIVER
Fort William
WATGUNGE
BHAWANIPUR
BALLYGUNGE
EKBALPORE
ALIPORE
TOLLYGUNGE

INTRODUCTION

The British first came to India in the seventeenth century seeking avenues for trade: they departed in mid-twentieth century pursued by problems of the largest colonial state in the world. That the state they left behind was a product both of their rule and of the response of the indigenous society to such a rule is indisputable. What might have happened had they not penetrated the sub-continent is irrelevant. What did happen has intrigued a generation of historians and there are still stories left to intrigue those to come.

What this study aims to do is document one such story by examining the development of social, ideological and political relationships of the *bhadralok* in Calcutta between 1857 and 1885. Clearly, as the works of Anil Seal, J.H. Broomfield and Sumit Sarkar attest, the role of the *bhadralok* in both Indian and Bengal history has not been inconsequential.[1] Certainly studies by P. Sinha, C. Furedy, R. Ray and particularly S.N. Mukherjee indicate that there can be little doubt about the significance of this group within Calcutta itself.[2] Apart from Mukherjee, however, none of these historians has concentrated solely upon the story of the *bhadralok* and even Mukherjee has been largely concerned with the period prior to the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Periodisation is, of course, a difficult and somewhat artificial construct. Yet 1857 does provide a meaningful starting point for this study, in that it was the year of the great uprising; a momentous historical event which caused the British to rethink their policy in India. As a result, there occurred very significant political and economic changes in the sub-continent of which Calcutta was a focal point. In particular, in the wake of this event, Calcutta was recognised as the administrative capital of the British Indian colonial state. It was also the year in which the University of Calcutta was established; an institution which, more than any other, helped to shape the ideology of the *bhadralok* along the lines of the colonial ruling class.[3]

If 1857 provides a useful starting point, various dates could have been employed to terminate the work. Of these 1885 seemed the most suitable; for, while it was not a watershed in the sense that 1857 was, it was a year in which a number of significant decisions were made. For example, it was at this time it was decided to change the long-standing municipal boundaries of Calcutta by amalgamating the city with the greater part of the surrounding suburbs.[4] As well, this was the year in which the Tenancy Act was passed; an act that, temporarily at least, brought to a close a series of important land laws which highlighted emerging class conflict between the landlords and the peasants.[5] More generally, it was the year during which the Indian National Congress was founded; an organisation which proved to be the first and the most powerful political interest group of the emerging national bourgeoisie. Indeed, although the *bhadralok* did not strongly [illegible] initial meeting, they subsequently came to [illegible] in Indian politics.[6]

On the assumption that the family represented a more suitable unit of analysis than the individuals, the list of Hindus was divided up accordingly. In this context, the family had to be interpreted in the broadest sense, for whereas some joint families were seen to split in the third generation, others continued to function through five generations. Consequently, unless there was evidence that such a split had occurred, the lineage was taken as the basis for analysis.

Each family was then taken as a unit of analysis and scrutinised according to a common set of variables that provided a specific list of questions with which to approach the data. There were various problems, of course. For example, whereas as some questions could be answered fairly objectively, others depended very much on the quality of the sources. Where biographical detail was available, for instance, the district of origin could be coded without too much difficulty. In so far as the meanings of occupations changed over time, however, they could only be compared very generally.

In spite of these limitations, the systematic application of these questions fulfilled the very useful function of ordering the information so that answers could be based on frequency distribution and cross-tabulations of available data. Moreover, even where information was scarce, it gave an overview of case studies rather than one or two examples. And finally, it provided a basis for a more general analysis of changing relationships within the *bhadralok* society.

While Appendix A represents a general starting point for an analysis of the *bhadralok*, Appendices B to N represent a more detailed study of the structural basis of ideological and political developments among the *bhadralok*. In this respect, a list of educational organisations, of newpapers and periodicals, and of voluntary associations was drawn up from a wide range of sources, and data were collected and analysed according to key characteristics. In each case, the governing criterion for selecting an organisation was whether it was controlled either partly or totally by the *bhadralok*. In association with each of those lists, a separate list was drawn up of those *bhadralok* who controlled either individually or as a member of a committee the organisations outlined. Again, as with the organisations, data relating to those individuals were collected and analysed according to significant variables. In both cases, by plotting key variables over time, it was possible to graph changes in relationships during the period under discussion.

In the same way, the *bhadralok* who assumed positions of control in political pressure groups were listed and examined collectively in order that specific changes in the structure of these organisations could be ascertained. As well, the relationship between this organisational behaviour and the state was determined by examining available annual proceedings, using the technique of content analysis, among others. It was thus possible to demonstrate how these organisations linked the civil society to the machinery of the state. It was also possible to show how, as a result of inner contradictions within colonial society, these bodies began to challenge the power and authority of the state.

As a logical extension to the above, the position of the *bhadralok* within the formal state agencies was also examined. Specifically those individuals who sat on legislative bodies (British Indian, provincial, municipal) were listed and examined according to questions based on their social relationships. The behaviour of these individuals within the various legislative bodies was also noted by examining the proceedings and other documents which referred to these bodies. More generally, the position of the *bhadralok* within these organisations and within the key executive and judicial agencies (Covenanted Civil Service, Bengal High Court) were related to the policy of the ruling class.

Social, ideological and political relationships, of course, do not operate in isolation, but are linked in a network by the individuals who generate them. Indeed, it is these links which when taken together indicate the nature of the structure of cultural hegemony within a society. In this study, an attempt has been made to analyse this structure, and changes within it, by taking those individuals who hold more than one organisational position of control at one time as the links in the network.[23]

Such links have been by means of a simplified version of cluster analysis; a technique which describes the extent to which one data set is related to another. First, they have been examined for clusters of interorganisational links and ranked along a major-minor continuum. Secondly, individuals who represented these links have been classified as either interorganisational aristocratic leaders or interorganisational middle-class leaders, and the networks have been examined to see whether one or the other type predominated. By performing this exercise at the beginning and the end of the period, it has been possible to demonstrate quantitatively how this structure changed over time. Through these and more impressionistic ways moreover, it has also been possible to underline the major qualitative changes which occurred during this period, especially in so far as they provided the basis of the making of a colonial mind in Calcutta.

CHAPTER ONE

CALCUTTA AND THE BHADRALOK

As the holder of the dubious title of the 'second city' of the British Empire, Calcutta has had more than its share of observers. Indeed, it has been the subject of a number of historical studies. Yet the developments that have taken place within it have continued to puzzle historians. Certainly, as it is in many ways the classical colonial city, the changes that have occurred there are not as easily documented as those that have occurred in the less complex cities of the world.

Initially, Calcutta was established because it presented a suitable location for trade and defence.[1] In particular, it provided the East India Company with a centre in Bengal for collecting and producing raw silk and textiles for export to Britain. Indeed, it quickly became the focal point for the circulation in Eastern India of British merchant capital, the needs of which also provided the push factor behind the establishment and development of a colonial state centred in Calcutta; for, although territorial conquest was secondary to the mercantile interests of the East India Company, the former proved to be a necessary corollary of the latter. Clearly, as P.J. Marshall has argued, once the Company 'had acquired an interest in the revenue of an Indian province they were invariably drawn deeper and deeper into the minutiae of Indian government'.[2]

Yet the eventual material gains were to prove far in excess of anything that could have been conceived of at that time. Indeed, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, India had become an important factor in development of industrial capitalism in Britain. By this time, in fact, Britain's industrial economy had grown to rely for its expansion on international trade, partly because it had to import a large percentage of the raw material required for industry and partly because the consumer capacity of its population was not large enough to maintain an industrial apparatus of the size actually developed. By this time, as well, Britain was no longer capable of feeding its population from its own agricultural produce.[3]

In this way then, Britain represented a developed economy which provided manufactures, supplies, and services (capital, shipping, banking and insurance) in return for foreign primary products (raw materials, food). However, it did not do so in a vacuum. On the contrary, it faced growing competition from other nations which were beginning to develop industrial economies, and, as a result, while its trade and investments with these areas remained large they no longer expanded there. Britain, therefore, turned increasingly towards other areas to fill this gap. Among others, it turned towards India which, because of the political hegemony it enjoyed there, could be more easily adapted to its needs.[4]

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Clearly, as British capital saw India as a potentially unlimited market which could be developed to aid its expansion, it set about establishing the infrastructure necessary for such a development. Among other things, it created managing agency houses in order to provide an organisational network for the expansion of small-scale commodity production in Eastern India. These agency houses provided an institutional framework through which capital could be invested in the companies that made up the local joint stock market. They also supplied the means by which surplus value could be exported out of India partly through raw materials and foodstuffs, partly through the remittance of retained profits by foreign entrepreneurs and savings by civil servants, and partly by the payments of interest on foreign borrowings.[5]

The colonial state also played a key role in this development. In the first place, it took an active part in the creation of the infrastructure necessary for such an expansion by building roads, canals and railways and by establishing state banks. Secondly, where required, it passed legislation which would facilitate this change, as in the case of the abolition of transit and town duties or of the implementation of coolie labour acts. And finally, it met specific needs of British capital in the international economy by exporting opium to China, and Indian labour to British plantation colonies.[6]

Underlying all these changes were more general technological changes such as the construction of the Suez Canal, the establishment of telegraphic links between Britain and India as well as within India, and the mechanisation of shipping.[7] Indeed, not only were India's internal markets integrated and linked more firmly to a capitalist economy, but they were also absorbed more fully into the international capitalist economy, albeit under British control.[8] In fact, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, the capitalist mode of production which prevailed in Britain had begun to penetrate eastern India. More specifically, in so far as this penetration was based on the expansion of small-scale commodity production, capital subsumed labour without effecting great changes to the form of social relationships which existed. As a result there was the appearance, at least, of a complex set of on-going feudal relationships.

As a focal point for this development, Calcutta experienced a number of structural changes. Its surrounding regions, for example, underwent certain industrial development, especially as the result of the growth of jute mills. As well, its port was subjected to major alterations from 1868 onwards when loading was mechanised and tramways were extended onto jetties. In the city, itself, roads and streets were widened and constructed, rail and tramway links were developed, and the building industry thrived as the result of investment in jute and cotton warehouses and multi-storied properties.[9]

Along with these changes there followed inevitable population changes. Owing to the lack of reliable data, however, the nature and extent of the alterations in population are difficult to assess. Certainly the population of Calcutta was very much a matter of conjecture by the middle of the nineteenth century; so much so that of the two censuses taken in 1850, one [illegible] a total of 361,369 and the other 413,182.[10] If the [illegible]t, then

That these conditions were widespread in evidenced by the fact that over half the population lived in *bustis*. Moreover, it would seem that as the period wore on this situation became more acute. For example, between 1878 and 1881, the number of *bustis* in Calcutta increased from 132 to 486.[28] In part, this was the result of the building construction in the north-western zone of Calcutta where large *bustis* were demolished to make way for warehouses. But it was also the result of the high cost of housing and the even more prohibitive cost of rents.

Yet these sub-human living conditions were not solely the result of changing property values; they were also the product of a selective distribution of municipal resources. For example, by the end of the period, less than 10 per cent of the *bustis* had access to any municipal facility, even though in the twenty-five preceding years 120 lakhs of rupees had been outlayed in installing drainage, water, and sewerage works in the city. As well, the *bustis* benefitted little from other municipal reforms such as the hygienic slaughterhouse and market which had been opened, or the railway which had been constructed and connected to waste lands for the disposal of refuse.[29]

As a result of this process, of course, only certain classes and areas in Calcutta benefitted from the municipal works. For instance, whereas the death rate of Europeans was 12.5 per 1000, the general rate was 29.3 per 1000. Similarly, whereas the death rate in Park Street, a select ward in the city, was only 14 per 1000, in Hastings, a poor ward in south-west Calcutta where coolies and other low wage earners eked out a living, it was 51.2 per 1000.[30]

What this pattern reflected was the specific nature of capitalist development in Calcutta, for, in so far as British capital only required small scale industrial development in Calcutta, there was no large scale change in the local means of production. Indeed, as has been noted, most individuals were engaged in service activities. The bulk of the remainder were either artisans, prostitutes, beggars or unemployed. There were few industrial workers.[31] In fact, even in the neighbouring suburbs where large-scale industries related to jute and to railways were emerging, the overall percentage of industrial workers was low.[32] In this context, moreover, as Marx has pointed out, wage earners tended to operate under old systems of localised behaviour.[33]

Certainly this seemed to be the case in Calcutta, for, in spite of the large numbers, the social relationships of most inhabitants tended to be determined by the villages they had come from rather than the city itself. This transitory attachment to Calcutta was enhanced by the uncertain and short-term nature of work there.[34] Again, it was reinforced by the fact that men tended to leave their families in the villages and operate in Calcutta by themselves; a pattern which is underlined by the high percentage of males compared to females and the large number of prostitutes in the city.[35] Moreover, even the embryonic industrial labour force was closely linked to rural India as a result of the methods of recruitment employed by *sardars* to bring labour to the mills and the workshops.[36]

Superimposed upon these localised forms of behaviour were ideologies which further reflected the fragmented nature of society in Calcutta. For instance, religious affiliation sharply divided wage earners into two large factions (Hindu, Muslim) and numerous smaller ones.[37] As well, scattered as they were in small slums over the full extent of Calcutta, they lacked agencies or institutions through which they could develop a cohesive ideology.

Perhaps the most significant divisive factor, however, was the lack of identity with Calcutta felt by the majority of residents; for, as census figures and other indicators suggest, there was a distinct change in the pattern of migration, as the period progressed, from linkages with neighbouring districts to linkages with more distant districts within Bengal, itself, and from linkages with Bengal to linkages with other provinces. For example, near the end of the period under discussion, 69 per cent came from outside Bengal.[38] As a direct result of this development, only 58 per cent of the population spoke Bengali; the remainder communicated in a variety of languages ranging from Hindi through to Tamil.[39]

In general then, it would seem that inhabitants of Calcutta were largely engaged in non-productive labour and, as a result, that their social behaviour was governed by social relationships which prevailed in the country and in other provinces. Clearly, with the exception of those engaged in small industries in Calcutta or in the emerging large industries just outside the city, there was no clear development of what Marx termed fundamental capitalist classes. The underlying logic of this type of development was, of course, the colonial nature of Calcutta itself; for while it was an important factor in the expansion of industrial capitalism in Britain, its function in the Indian situation was largely related to the expansion of small-scale commodity production, which was essentially rural based.

There were, nonetheless, at least two significant changes which occurred in Calcutta because of this colonial situation. In the first place, there was the emergence of a rentier property class among the Hindus. And secondly, there was the development of a middle class among this same group. There was, of course, no industrial bourgeoisie among them. As a result, both the rentier class and the middle class in Calcutta were linked by a primary relationship to an industrial bourgeoisie some twelve thousand miles away. Yet such a link could never be totally forged, owing to the inner contradictions of the colonial system itself. On the one hand, the industrial bourgeoisie in Britain developed organically out of different sets of cultural and ideological relationships. On the other hand, the rentier class and the middle class in Calcutta continued to retain strong indigenous ties. Indeed, it was in this context that they could be defined as one group: the *bhadralok*. What follows then is an examination of the development of different sets of class ties within the *bhadralok*.

In this respect, the rentier class was the first to emerge. Indeed, its origin can be traced to 1690 when Calcutta was founded by merchants from the East India Company; for the descendants of the Setts, indigenous merchants who were leaders of a local weaving caste with whom the Company's traders

first made contact,[40] were among the more important members of this rentier class in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[41] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, the social relationships of the Setts were quite different from those of their descendants. Indeed, as K.N. Chaudhuri has pointed out, the former were, unlike their counterpart weavers in Britain, more representative of Marx's first way in which the producer himself becomes a capitalist and merchant, rather than becoming a mere worker for the merchant.[42] As Chaudhuri also notes, however, while there were necessary conditions prevailing, there were not, owing to a variety of structural factors, sufficient conditions for this development to follow its logical course.[43] In fact, it would seem that, by 1758, even the necessary conditions no longer existed, particularly as the East India Company, which had progressively grown more powerful, had replaced the *dadni* merchants with *gumashtas* to act as direct agents between the producers and the Company.[44] In this context then, merchant capital in Britain can be seen as having provided the basis for the development of local entrepreneurs in Calcutta, on the one hand, and as having set down parameters within which this development might take place, on the other.

As noted elsewhere in this chapter, the needs of merchant capital in Britain also provided the push factor behind the establishment and development of a colonial state centred in Calcutta. Yet, it was, as Marshall has argued, a state which the Company was unprepared to administer and which was for a period of twenty years highly unstable.[45] Indeed, it was during this time that the majority of leading rentier families in Calcutta in the latter half of the nineteenth century acquired their fortunes. They did so in two general ways. In the first place, they accumulated quick fortunes as merchants, as bankers, as *banians*, or as a combination of all three. Secondly, they assumed key functionary positions in the emerging colonial state and exploited these positions to siphon off part of the surplus for themselves.[46] Such categories, however, can be misleading, for these positions tended to overlap, especially as the British servants of the Company were allowed, and indeed expected, to trade privately in order to build up their income.[47]

Nonetheless, in the case of the embryo rentier class clearly discernible patterns are evident. Among those who acquired their fortunes through trade, the most powerful group to emerge was a traditional merchant caste, the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks, which had previously traded with the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French.[48] In addition to this group, there were a number of enterprising individuals, like the Dattas of Hathkala[49] and the Mukherjees of Bagbazar,[50] who belonged to *jatis* which had no traditional ties with trade, but who had, nonetheless, established quite powerful mercantile establishments.[51] Of those who accumulated their wealth through their dubious activities as state functionaries, no one caste emerges as all-powerful. On the contrary, it would seem that in certain cases, like that of the Debs of Sobhabazar,[52] they had connections with the Mughal administration, and, in other cases, like that of the Singhs of Jorasanko,[53] they were individuals with the appropriate skills in the right place at the right time.

Between the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and the arrival of Cornwallis in 1786 then, there emerged a group of Hindu entrepreneurs, some of whom represented the beginnings of a merchant bourgeoisie and others of whom represented a Calcutta-based rentier class. No doubt such individuals existed prior to 1757 in other parts of Bengal and, indeed, in Calcutta itself, but never had so many been concentrated in one place at one time. Certainly both groups, which tended to overlap, owed their existence to the inability of a mercantile company to operate a colonial state, and to the needs of the servants of this company for money to trade privately. Never again would such ideal conditions exist for the rapid accumulation of wealth. On the contrary, in the years that followed, the colonial state would gradually extend its control over eastern India and, as a result, the social relationships of indigenous capital in Calcutta would be either reinforced or altered in accordance with the shifting needs of British capital.

Broadly, these shifts were marked by the attack on the monopoly of the East India Company, on the one hand, and the growing predominance of industrial capital in Britain, on the other hand. Moreover, in the sense that the situation in Bengal was far from a *tabula rasa*, the historical development which occurred there was highly complex. Indeed, it is still unclear exactly how indigenous capital was formed and how it was linked to British capital. It *is* clear, however, that internal shifts within indigenous capital were largely determined by the risks generated by the changes in the colonial structure. For example, when investments in rural ground rent represented a low return at high risk, and investments represented a high return at low risk, indigenous capital tended to be accumulated through the latter process. Conversely, when the positions were reversed it tended to be accumulated through the former process.

In this context, there were four broad areas of capital accumulation all of which were interrelated. In the first place, there was the opportunity for investment which the agency houses and the East India Company offered as a result of their predatory methods of primitive accumulation of capital. Indeed, in the absence of large-scale banking facilities and given the preoccupation of British money with the domestic scene, these bodies were reliant upon funds from the Company servants and the indigenous entrepreneurs.[54] As a consequence, there was a development of a joint stock market and of a system of government loans in which the local entrepreneurs could invest their money. The extent to which they did can be roughly gauged by the fact that, in 1833, Indians held bonds in the Company worth nearly £7,000,000.[55] Among the more important investors in this group were the Sukmoy Roys of Pathuriaghata,[56] the Deys of Simla,[57] and the Tagores of Jorasanko.[58]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, local entrepreneurs no longer found this area of investment as attractive as they had once done. In part, this was the result of financial crises in 1830-1833, when the leading agency houses collapsed, and in 1848-1852 when the economy was depressed following the fall of the Union Bank.[59] It was also the result of the development

investment. Of course, indigenous entrepreneurs had held property in Calcutta since the eighteenth century, and, as P. Sinha has shown, some of them accumulated huge profits in this process.[78] Indeed, after trade had become freer following the 1813 Charter Act, investment in urban ground rent provided a very useful alternative to the world of commerce which was becoming progressively more competitive; so much so, in fact, that inflationary values existed there until the financial crisis of the 1830s.[79] Yet it was not until the economic upheaval of the late 1840s that the leading indigenous entrepreneurs turned their backs on trade in favour of urban ground rent. Moti Lal Seal, for example, gave up his *banian*ships and became a property speculator and within a short period was collecting rent in excess of Rs. 30,000 per month.[80] By the middle of the nineteenth century, of course, Calcutta had a population close to 400,000 and was on the verge of a significant commercial expansion.

Generally then, in the years between the Cornwallis regime and the period under discussion, the indigenous bourgeoisie who emerged did so in response to the changing needs of British capital. Yet in most cases they were able to do so because of local ties. The careers of Ram Dulal Dey and Moti Lal Seal, two of the most powerful merchants in the history of Calcutta, illustrate this point. Both have often been cited as examples of individuals who rose from poverty to riches overnight. Although there is an element of truth in those stories, neither Dey nor Seal could have achieved what they did without their local ties.

Dey, for instance, was linked by these ties to the powerful Datta family of Hathkala. As his grandmother was cook for this family and of the same *jati*, Dey was entitled to certain services which bound a Hindu master to a servant and one casteman to another. Among other things, he lived with the family, was educated by their *pandit*, employed in one of their firms, and was eventually able to establish himself as an independent merchant with their help.[81] There is, of course, little doubt that his entrepreneurial skill was an important factor in his rise to power; for obviously a number of other individuals within the Datta household had similar opportunities to achieve the same position, but failed to do so. Yet there is equally little doubt that he could not have gone so far without the kind of support that the Datta family provided through caste ties.

Certainly the career of Moti Lal Seal illustrates this factor. His position in the commercial world was largely undistinguished until he had inherited the role of guardian to his nephews upon the death of their father; a role which he, as the eldest male within the joint family, was entitled to according to customary law. Moreover, according to the same law, he was allowed to manage the property which their father had left them. In this way, he was able to raise money which he employed to speculate in the commercial market.[82]

Indeed, a close examination of the careers of other leading merchants, who emerged after the Cornwallis era, points to the diversity and importance of local ties. Some, like the Mitra of Simla, were able to

extended their holdings, through purchasing mortgaged estates, though at the lower levels indebtedness and other factors gave rise to fragmentation of land-holdings and the multiplication of tenure-holders.[91] Such was the movement of capital into rural estates, in fact, that their value continued to rise in Bengal proper until the 1870s, and in Bihar and Orissa until the end of the period.[92] Certainly the large rentier families in Calcutta were the recipients of a significant proportion of the surplus in this area. The Singhs, for instance, collected a gross sum of Rs. 11,34,844 from holdings spread over eighteen districts.[93]

Urban ground rent was an equally attractive investment during these years. For example, between 1857 and 1861, the price of houses in Calcutta doubled.[94] Parallel with this development was an even more significant increase in rent. Indeed, in the same period, the rentals of small shops grew by over 200 per cent.[95] Moreover, although there are no figures to indicate what the increase was for the period as a whole, it would seem that they continued to rise as is suggested by the steady growth in the annual municipal valuations in property; a growth, as has been noted, in excess of 170 per cent of the base figure in 1857.[96]

In this context, there is clear evidence to suggest that the large rentier class benefitted most from this development. Among other things, there are the Calcutta Housing Assessments for 1857 to 1861 which indicate that families like the Seals and the Malliks (of Pathuriaghatta and Barrabazar) owned large numbers of houses, offices, shops, warehouses, mills and bazaars.[97] Again, the preponderance of this class among those individuals eligible to stand for election to the Calcutta Corporation between 1876 and 1885 also underlines this factor.[98] And finally, near the end of the period, they owned all but two of the four European and twenty-seven native bazaars.[99]

Broadly then, during the period under discussion, this group could be seen as a non-productive class of big rentiers, the social relationships of which had been largely determined by shifts in the needs of British capital and the competition between British and indigenous capital. Moreover, in the process of arriving at this position, they had gradually become aware of themselves as a class and, indeed, by this time, perceived themselves very much as a local aristocracy. For example, they lived in lavish *rajbaris*, had country houses, educated their sons at the exclusive Hindu College and, when the government assumed control of that institution, at the Hindu School. They patronised literary journals and, in 1853, founded their own newspaper. They joined prestigious European voluntary associations such as the Agricultural and Horticultural Society and the Asiatic Society and sat on the committees of the Native Hospital and the District Charitable Society. And, most importantly, they founded their own political pressure group in 1851.[100] In short, they assumed many of the characteristics of the British aristocracy.

Significantly, in this respect, the colonial state went to some length to reinforce this image they had of themselves so that it could utilise them as a means of local social control. It did so in two ways. In the first place, it appointed them to honorary positions of local magistrates and justices of the peace as well as to legislative bodies such as the Imperial Council of India, the

Provincial Council of Bengal, and the Calcutta Corporation.[101] Secondly, it formalised the notion of a local aristocracy by conferring titles upon them for contributions made to the state in the way of building roads, schools and other public works and in providing the colonial state with support during periods of natural disasters, such as famines. It further symbolised this notion of a local aristocracy by inviting the leading families to formal functions at government house and by accepting through the auspices of its most important functionaries, like the Governor-General, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Commander-in-Chief, invitations from these families to celebrations such as weddings. The state had, of course, pursued such policies prior to 1857, but after the 'Mutiny' and more particularly after the Government of India Act of 1858, it did so in a more systematic and comprehensive manner.[102]

Parallel with the rise of a local rentier class, there emerged a middle class, among the *bhadralok*. Like the large rentiers, the middle class developed in response to the needs of British capital and, therefore, to the policy of the colonial state. In part, they, too, were the product of the mercantile development of Calcutta: a development which gave rise to commercial traders, small brokers at a middle-range level down to pawnbrokers, small traders and shopkeepers at a lower level. Indeed, although the monopoly of the powerful managing agency houses limited the growth of big indigenous merchants during the period under discussion, they provided the basis for expansion at the intermediary and lower levels.[103]

Yet, if the mercantile development of Calcutta provided a basis for the expansion of a middle class, it was the colonial state that provided the support on which this expansion was based. Indeed, it was the colonial state which was the main impetus behind the rise of a middle class, for as its bureaucracy and associated agencies grew so did the number of functionaries who filled the positions created by this growth. In fact, as has been noted, a number of the founders of the wealthy families had acquired their fortunes through helping the colonial state penetrate Bengal. Moreover, although Cornwallis was instrumental in excluding 'natives' from important positions of control, they nonetheless continued to play an influential role in the growth of the state. Certainly, by the period under discussion, *bhadralok* functionaries were crucial to the operation of the colonial state. For example, during this time the revenue of the state increased by 167 per cent from £30,000,000 to £70,000,000,[104] the extraction of which would not have been possible without this class.

What made Calcutta particularly important in this respect was that it was the nodal point for this process. Apart from being the administrative capital for the colonial state in British India, it was the control centre in Bengal, the most significant of all the presidencies. For instance, in 1856-57, the revenue of Bengal amounted to 44 per cent of the British Indian total and 260 per cent more than that of Bombay.[105] By 1884-85, of course, owing to the permanent nature of the land revenue settlement, and to development in other parts of British India, the percentage that Bengal contributed to the total budget was reduced. Yet, even then, it represented nearly 25 per cent of the total, or 160 per cent more than Bombay.[106]

CHAPTER TWO

BHADRALOK SOCIETY

As Gramsci has noted, it is important to underline, in describing subaltern classes, their links to the pre-existing social order.[1] In this respect, the *bhadralok* were clearly definable, particularly as Calcutta, for the period under discussion, lacked a large industrial base necessary to dissolve completely the old order. Certainly, the appearance of traditional ties was very much in evidence, even though the essence of such relationships might have undergone substantial change. Indeed, there is little doubt that such appearances were, in themselves, highly significant and indicative of the nature of capitalist development in Calcutta.

Among other things, their origins remained firmly rooted in the northern section of the city; an area which was linked together by narrow laneways, bazaars, imposing *rajbaris,* temples, and *atithisalas.*[2] In fact, although they increasingly settled throughout Calcutta in the latter half of the nineteenth century, their ties with this area were never completely destroyed, even after its physical pattern was uprooted from the 1870s onwards, by municipal development and by the building of warehouses in the north-western zone of the city.[3] As a consequence there was, at the very least, the form of an old order that tended to obscure the newly emerging class relationships.

In particular, there were manifestations of *jajmani* forms of exchange in which reciprocal services were performed according to perceived hereditary status.[4] What the exact nature of these relationships was has continued to puzzle historians. Generally, caste has been used as the basis of an answer to this question. Yet, apart from a common name, caste as defined in the broad sense fulfilled few functions as a social variable among the *bhadralok.* For example, none of the five Kayastha groups in Bengal intermarried, shared the same traditions, or originated from the same region during the period under discussion.[5]

In large part, this tendency to describe the *bhadralok* in terms of caste in the broader sense has been the result of the nature of government documents which characterised Hindu society this way. They did so, moreover, along an ordinal scale in which castes were hierarchically arranged according to what were presumed to be their ritual rankings in the macro-society. The reliability and validity of this classification system, which was the result of the rising interest in ethnography in the latter half of the nineteenth century,[6] was nonetheless questionable, for it was described differently from document to document.[7] Furthermore, there was no basis for devising a large social system within which the social status of caste could be fixed. The compilers of Census Reports after 1901 noted these weaknesses;[8] yet they tended to perpetuate the idea[9] to the point where it has assumed the significance of a fundamental principle.

It remains to be asked, then, whether caste in its more precise sence (that is, *jati*) helped define the *bhadralok*, and, if so, whether it was significant in so far as it limited membership to certain *jatis*. If the leading *bhadralok* families for this period are used as an index of *jati* background, it would seem that the situation was similar to that of the 1820s as described by S.N. Mukherjee,[10] for they came from a wide range of *jatis* (twelve in all).[11] Moreover, it would appear that, within this grouping, while the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas were significant, the 'Brahmans' and 'Baidyas' were not. On the contrary, the only other important *jati* were the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks.

If a broader indicator of the *jati* background of the *bhadralok* is taken, there emerges an even more open system. For instance, those individuals who held positions of control in voluntary associations for the period under discussion range over eighteen different *jatis* among which the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas, the Radhi Kulin Brahmans, and the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks tended to predominate.[12] In short then, it would seem that the *bhadralok* were drawn from a wide range of *jatis*, but that some were more significant than others. Indeed, it could be argued that the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas, the Radhi Kulin Brahmans, and the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks were powerfully placed among the *bhadralok* in Calcutta. Apart from the Radhi Kulin Brahmans, however, there seems to be little basis for attributing this structure to traditional ritual status.

What does become evident when the various appendices are examined is the regional nature of the *bhadralok* in Calcutta and the change in this structure during the period under discussion. For example, in 1857, it would appear that nearly all the *bhadralok* belonged to local *jatis* from south-west Bengal.[13] By the end of the period, however, while the *bhadralok* were still predominantly drawn from local *jatis*, it had begun to draw on groups from east and north Bengal.[14] It would appear that this change was the result of the establishment of the University of Calcutta, of the expanding job market in the city, and of the growing railway network which facilitated the rural-urban movement in these other two areas. In effect then, caste can be seen as a link which the *bhadralok* had with the old social order, but it was neither a simple nor an unchanging relationship.

Yet caste by itself does not provide an adequate explanation of the nature of the relationships which the *bhadralok* retained from the old social order. Indeed, where there is evidence to demonstrate that *bhadralok* were divided into a number of castes, there is also evidence which indicates that this structure occurred within a common ideological framework. In the latter context, Dumont has argued quite powerfully that Hindus were ideologically bound together by a belief in a social hierarchy in which the Brahmans assumed a pre-eminent position.[15] Very broadly this belief gave rise to the idea of superior and inferior roles in society and which, as a result, led to a dominant-deferential situation in all social interactions between Hindus.

In this context then, all Hindus in Bengal were classified as Brahmans or non-Brahmans of which the former were the most important; for they defined

the ritual ranking of other Hindus by the manner in which they interacted with them. If, for example, a Brahman refused to take water from another Hindu he was stating, in effect, that he considered that individual to be *acal* and thus of low hereditary status. If, on the other hand, he accepted water from a Hindu, he was acknowledging his *jalcal* or respectable hereditary status.[16]

Within this framework, the *bhadralok* could be seen as *jalcal* or of respectable hereditary status and their servants as *napits* and *dhobas* as *acal.* In essence, of course, their relationships with their servants were basically determined by the capitalist economy; yet the master-servant interaction was highly ritualised by traditional forms of behaviour.[17] A *napit*, for instance, would not wash clothes or mix with Hindus who did. He would, however, shave the members of the master family prior to any religious function and convey news of happy events to kinsmen of the family. In return for these services, he would receive in addition to a small wage, various gifts of a traditional nature. When he carried good news from the master family, for example, he received presents such as shawls, silk, and brass vessels from both kith and kin.[18]

Social relationships, within *bhadralok* society, were, in the first instance, determined by the individual's position within the family. According to nineteenth century Bengali commentators, these relationships were ideally defined by reference to a ceremony called *parvana sradhha* in which oblations were offered up to a common paternal ancestor. In this ceremony, all those who offered oblations of water to a common paternal ancestor up to fourteen degrees away referred to one another as *samanodakas;* all those who offered partial oblations of *pinda* to a common paternal ancestor five degrees away referred to one as *sakulya;* and all those who offered full oblations of *pinda* to common ancestors three degrees away referred to one another as *sapindas.*[19]

Membership in each of these groups carried with it certain rights and duties in institutions and customs such as adoption, marriage and inheritance. For example, an individual could not marry into a family that belonged to any of these groups; nor could he adopt a son from outside them. His position as heir was similarly governed by these ties; a *sapinda* assuming precedence over a *sakulya,* and a *sakulya* over a *samanodaka.* Generally if he could afford it, he was expected to provide food and shelter for the less fortunate of his kinsmen.

Those individuals who referred to one another as *sapinda* formed the family in the broadest sense. Generally, they fell into agnatic and cognatic groups the former of which assumed precedence over the latter. As a cognatic *sapinda* (commonly referred to as *bandhu),* an individual inherited the duties that his mother had held in the paternal family, but he did not pass these duties on to his children. Yet there were some instances where a *bandhu* relationship took precedence over the paternal one. For example, the son of a daughter stood before a brother because only the *bandhu* relation was capable of offering *pinda* to the individual when he died. Cases like this were rare, however, for individuals without male heirs usually adopted a close relative.

Indeed, the agnatic relationship, which was hereditary, was usually much more important than the cognatic one, which was terminal; for it ensured that the deceased would continue to be incorporated in the *pinda* offerings of future generations. In the widest sense then, the family could range over seven generations in that those who offered *pinda* could rightly expect to receive similar offerings from their sons, as well as their grandsons, and great-grandsons on the patrilineal side. However, the family of worship rarely functioned as one unit in other respects. Most of the families, for example, tended to divide their property equally among their sons, or, if they had no sons, among their adopted sons. Yet division in property did not necessarily carry with it division in household, for three generations could live in the same household and eat in the same kitchen. In such cases, although various individuals might have owned property, they allowed the right of management to be vested in the head of the family.

In Calcutta, there is no reason to believe that *bhadralok* families reflected this complex set of kinship relationships. Certainly there are no data which suggest that this was the case. Yet there is evidence which points to the extended nature of family ties. For example, wealthy families, like the Deys of Simla and the Dattas of Nimtola, supported large numbers of kinsmen within their households. Again, these families tended to remain part of the same family of worship, even after they had moved into separate households.[20] For example, the Malliks of Pathuriaghata and of Chorebagan were members of the same family of worship during the period under discussion, despite having divided into separate households in 1821.[21]

This pattern of sub-division tended to repeat itself, so that a family of worship usually consisted of members from a number of households. For instance, the Tagores of Pathuriaghata and of Chorebagan were members of the same family of worship in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but had divided into separate households at a much earlier date.[22] Again, the Tagores of Pathuriaghata separted into two more households in 1885, when Surendra Mohan left the parent body, headed by his elder brother Jatindra Mohan, and formed a new branch of the family.[23] Sometimes this process led to a complete duplication of family functions in all matters except those relating to worship. In other instances, they simply resulted in the duplications of a few functions, and in important questions such as marriage the separate households acted as a corporate unit.

In the broader context, *bhadralok* society in Calcutta was also characterised by more complex kinship relationships, particularly that of the *gotra*, an exogamous social structure which was popularly defined as containing all those individuals who were patrilineally related to a common patronym. In practice, however, Hindu patronyms did not coincide with *gotras* or, indeed, with *jatis* or castes. Among the *bhadralok*, for example, there were Sens who were Daksina Radhi Kayasthas, Radhi Baidyas and Saptagram Suvarnavaniks.[24] In fact, various sources indicate that most of the leading *bhadralok* families changed their patronyms from generation to generation. The Ballabhs of Baghbazar,[25] the Debs of Sobhabazar,[26] the Deys of Simla,[27] the Malliks of Barnabazar,[28] the Malliks of Pathuriagham[29] and the Mitras of Kumartuli[30] had altered their names at least once, and in most cases more than that.

Presumably then, these families, in conjunction with the *ghataks* whom they hired, wielded great influence in creating these *gotras,* especially over families who claimed membership in their *gotra.* Naba Krishna is said to have acquired a very influential position among his kinsmen by performing the task for the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas.[31] The Setts acquired a similar influence when they compiled twenty-three *gotras* for the Tantuvaniks later in the nineteenth century.[32]

If the *gotra* represented the highest organisational form based on exogamy, then *jati* represented the highest organisational form based on endogamy. Between these two organisational forms, there lay various other groupings, the most widespread of which was that of *kula.* As with other levels of organisation, most Hindus modelled their *kula* ranking upon those employed by Brahmans. In doing so, they ranked themselves along a scale that was based on a classification system which ostensibly was introduced by King Vallala Sena in the middle of the twelfth century.[33] Thus, the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas divided themselves into three major *kulas,* while the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks formed two such groupings. Wealthy *bhadralok* families played an important role in this process. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, for example, Naba Krishna endeavoured to formalise the ranks of the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas by compiling, with the aid of *ghataks,* the 'Kayastha Kulagrantha' in which the places of Kulin families were fixed.[34]

Once such a structure had been established, families of inferior, and thus suspect, *kulas* could firmly establish their social status with the *jati* by means of marriages with Kulin families.[35] Certainly the wealthy Daksina Radhi Kayastha families, like the Dattas, the Debs, the Deys and the Singhs, improved their Maulik status by marrying members of their families to Kulins. They did so by purchasing for significant sums of money and gifts a measure of high social status which the Kulin family had inherited. Ram Dulal Dey, for example, married his five daughters to high ranking Kulins each of whom received, among other things, a house (worth Rs. 10,000) and Rs. 50,000.[36] However, as wealthy families were rarer than Kulin ones, they could afford to impose rigid standards in selecting Kulin sons-in-law or daughters-in-law. Ashutosh Dey, for instance, rejected Dwarka Nath Mitra - a high ranking Kulin and one of the outstanding scholars in Bengal in the 1850's - as a potential husband for his grand-daughter because Mitra was physically unattractive.[37]

Jati structures, like *kula* organisations, were also mostly based on Brahmanical models. Hindus endeavoured to demonstrate that their *jatis* belonged to one of the twice-born varnas, or failing that, at least, to a clean Sudra rank; a sign that they had inherited a high social position in Hindu society. The wealthy families played a major role in this process by introducing into the *jatis* such customs as the wearing of sacred thread, *pujas* and prayers used by Brahmans, and, as has been demonstrated, kinship and *kula* structures similar to those of the Brahmans. They endeavoured to substantiate these innovations by reference to historical sources such as Vedic writings, and by publishing *jati* histories in which they attempted to relate the origins of their *jati* to twice-born varnas.[38] They also sought to

reinforce these claims by securing government recognition, and by obtaining favourable judgements on their status from one or more of the authoritative *samajes* of *pandits.*[39]

They achieved government recognition by having members of their *jatis* admitted to the Sanskrit College. When the government established this college in 1823, only Brahmans and Radhi Baidyas were admitted. By 1863, however, all of the leading *bhadralok* families in Calcutta had managed to have members of their *jatis* admitted to the college as students, and subsequently as teachers.[40] The Deb family, for example, was primarily responsible for securing the admission of Kayasthas to that college in the late 1840s, when it used its influence with the government to have members of its family accepted there.[41]

In addition to securing government recognition of their claims, most of the wealthy families attempted to secure a favourable *vyavastha* on the status of their *jati* from one of the celebrated *samajes of pandits,* the four most important of which were those of Nadia, Tribeni, Vikrampur, and Backla.[42] In particular, they sought the acknowledgement of the orthodox Sakta *pandits* who resided in Nadia.[43] For example, in the late eighteenth century, Krishna Kanta Nandi asked the Nadia *pandits* for their support when the Pandas of the Jagganath Temple in Orissa refused to accept his gifts because he was unclean Sudra. Nandi received a favourable reply from the Nadia *pandits* and, as a result, his gifts were accepted by the Pandas.[44] There is little doubt that Nandi, who was one of the richest and most powerful Hindus in south-west Bengal, used his influence to secure this *vyavastha.* Indeed, although the *pandits* declared him to be a Tili (oil merchant) which they claimed was a clean Sudra, it would seem that this group was, in fact, part of the Teli (oil manufacturing) *jati* which was ostensibly unclean.[45] In short, wealthy individuals, like Nandi, were capable of improving the status of their *jati,* or, at least, of certain members within it. It is significant, in fact, to note that all the *jatis* to which the rentier aristocracy belonged were, by the end of the nineteenth century, classified as twice-born or clean Sudra by the orthodox *pandits* of Nadia.[46] All, that is, except one.

Unlike other *jatis,* the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks remained unclean in the eyes of the Sakta *pandits* in Nadia, even though its members were among those respectable *jatis* who established the Hindu College in 1817,[47] and who founded the Dharma Sabha in 1830.[48] Indeed, Ram Gopal Mallik, a leading Saptagram Suvarnavanik, was the first president of the latter organisation.[49] The Saptagram Suvarnavaniks, moreover, gained admission to the Sanskrit College both as students and as teachers, and, like other *jatis* to which leading Hindus belonged, followed a policy of Sanskritisation, the Malliks of Pathuriaghata, for example, having introduced the sacred thread into this *jati.*[50] Why then did this *jati* fail to achieve the rank of Tili, for instance?

There are a number of possible answers to this question. Perhaps the most obvious reason is that they were rich merchants by tradition and were thus the object of criticism among other *bhadralok,* in much the same way as the Marwaris in Calcutta are today. Indeed, in spite of the fact that representatives

of this *jati* spent large amounts on charity in Calcutta, they were the subject of proverbs such as

> A sonar (Saptagram Suvarnavanik) will rob his mother and sister; he will filch gold even from his wife's nose ring; if he cannot steal his belly will burst with longing.[51]

Yet it is doubtful whether this was the most important reason. Unlike most other *jatis* in Calcutta, the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks virtually all belonged to one religious sect, the Vaishnavs, who paid homage to the Gossain Brahmans.[52] As a result, few, if any of them, acknowledged the orthodox Sakta *pandits* in Nadia and the *pandits*, in turn, had no interest in promoting the social status of their *jati*. On the contrary, the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks were referred to disparagingly by the *pandits* of this school.[53] Presumably, if some of the wealthy families in this *jati* had, like those of other *jatis*, offered expensive gifts to the Nadia *pandits*, the situation might have been different. In this way then, there emerged a set of relationships which provided the basis of a larger community. Yet the question remains: how exactly were the functions which these relationships implied fulfilled?

Within the context of the family, this process was determined by age, sex and generation. Normally, the most significant role was filled by the eldest male of the first generation; an individual who was called *karta*.[54] The other roles were hierarchically ordered according to generation and age; the eldest member of each generation, for example, was referred to as *dada* by his brothers. Although the women deferred to the male members of the household, they had a parallel structure among themselves. The eldest woman of the first generation, who was usually the wife of the *karta*, was known as *ginni*;[55] and the eldest member of each generation was called *didi* by her sister. In fact, there was a specific term for each possible interaction which might occur within a family. To give an example, the youngest brother of a husband's father was known as *chhota thakur*, but only by the wife of an elder brother's son. The *bhadralok* family, then, represented a very complex structure in which behaviour was, for the most part, predetermined.

Of course, in so far as the family operated at different organisational levels, an individual could be *karta* in one situation and a younger brother in another. For example, in 1857 Kali Krishna Deb performed the role of *karta* in the junior branch of the Deb family, but Radha Kanta Deb, the head of the senior household, filled that role in matters relating to the family of worship. When Radha Kanta died in 1867, his position as *karta* in the senior household was assumed by his eldest son, Rajendra Narain. His position within the family of worship, on the other hand, was inherited by Kali Krishna, who was next in line within that group.[56]

This structure, although not so clearly defined, was also the model for social relationships which operated in the larger societal organisations. Indeed, it provided the means through which wealthy families related themselves to their more distant kinsmen and to sections of their *kulas* and *jatis*. It was, however, less effective as an integrating agency in the higher levels of

organisation. Certainly there is little evidence to suggest that *jatis* acted as tightly knit groups in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In this respect, the wealthy families tended to play a divisive role; for once they had accumulated large capital holdings they tended to purchase the most significant roles within their *jatis* for themselves and thus disturbed the prevailing structure.

The Debs, for example, bought the position of *gostipathi* in the late eighteenth century when Naba Krishna, the founder of the Deb family, gave a large sum to the Singh family of Gopinagar, so that his grandson, Radha Kanta, could marry the daughter of the leader of the latter family, and thus assume the role of *gostipathi* which the Singhs had held.[57] The functions which this role implied, however, could only be fulfilled so long as *jati* fellows accepted the *gostipathi* in question. In this case, other powerful Daksina Radhi Kayasthas challenged the right of the Deb family to hold that position. The Dattas of Hathkala, for instance, refused to accept its rulings, and they carried a large number of Daksina Radhi Kayasthas with them.[58] Similarly, the Roys of Andul rejected the leadership of the Debs on the question of caste.[59] In 1841, in fact, there was a cleavage within the Deb family itself over the subject of leadership, that occurred when one faction endeavoured to outcaste the other.[60]

Conflict among the wealthy families of various *jatis* over leadership roles continued throughout the period under discussion. For example, in 1875, when the Sett and the Basak families joined together to legislate on the question of dowries in Tanuvanik marriages, their decision was disallowed by a number of *jati* fellows.[61] Again, in 1878, when the Malliks of Pathuriaghata called a meeting to formalise certain customary laws for the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks, they were not supported by all of the powerful families within their *jati*,[62] in spite of the fact that they had claimed the position of *pramanik* among the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks since the eighteenth century.[63] When these divisions are added to the others which presumably occurred among these *jatis* throughout south-west Bengal, it seems clear that *jati* relationships were breaking down in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

But the struggle for power among the wealthy families was not the only factor that prevented *jati* fellows from uniting under one head. In many cases religious beliefs cut across *jatis* and precluded them from functioning as corporate units.[64] Unfortunately, there are inadequate data to demonstrate exactly how religious belief affected the social organisation of the *bhadralok* in Calcutta; yet there is evidence to show that it was quite often important in determining marriage and other social relationships. For instance, Vaishnavs, like the Bose family of Simla, refused to eat with Saivites, like the Dey family of Simla, even though they belonged to the same *jati*.[65] Similarly, the Dey family severed its ties with the Datta family of Hathkala, when the latter negotiated a marriage with the family of Ram Gopal Ghose, a professed non-believer.[66]

Owing to these internal contradictions, the *jatis*, as a whole, were never homogeneously Sanskritised. Certainly there is no way of determining the

rate at which Sanskritisation occurred within the various *jatis*. Generally, however, powerful families from non-Brahman *jatis* had been involved in Sanskritisation within their respective *jatis* from as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet Sanskritisation was not summed up in one such change, nor within one short period; and in many cases was never fully effective within the *jati* as a whole. For example, in the 1840s, the Roy family of Andul introduced the sacred thread into the Daksina Radhi Kayastha *jati*, but by 1885, and, indeed as late as the end of the nineteenth century, many members of this *jati* did not wear the thread.[67] In fact, by the end of the period under discussion, the Radhi Baidyas were the only *jati*, apart from the Brahmans, themselves, to have become almost completely Sanskritised.[68] Presumably, they achieved this because they had pursued a policy of Sanskritisation for a long period, and because they were a relatively small *jati*.

In addition to the internal contradictions which prevented *jatis* from being fully Sanskritised, there were external difficulties; for the *jati* members concerned had to convince other Hindus that their claims were justified. Yet there is little evidence to suggest that the different *jatis* fitted neatly into the mainstream of a *bhadralok* ideological system. On the contrary, there is ample evidence that competition of this kind between members of various *jatis* led to conflict rather than to consensus. Indeed, while the wealthy families endeavoured to establish a high place for themselves in the system of varnas, few of them were prepared to accept the similar claims of others. In many cases, this feeling was manifested more generally. For example, in 1869, Bhola Nath Chunder wrote that

> antipathy between a Kayest [Kayastha] and a Bunya [Suvarnavanik] is as strong as between a Hindoo and Mussilman.[69]

While it is doubtful that all Kayasthas and all Suvarnavaniks felt this way about one another, it is highly probable that there existed a lack of consensus over questions of *jati* among these two groups; especially as they both contained a number of the richest families in Calcutta. Similar examples indicate that there was no specific set of rules which *bhadralok* of different *jatis* could follow when interacting with one another. Unlike *bhadralok* in *mufassal* communities, those in Calcutta were part of a much larger group of individuals many of whom were newly arrived and not all of whom were permanently resident in the city. They were thus faced with the difficulty not only of performing different roles, but also of adapting to a much wider range of social relationships. Moreover, because they had to do this in a situation where no one religious authority prevailed, it was hardly possible for a tightly knit community to evolve.

Nonetheless most *bhadralok* families endeavoured to preserve traditional religious ties by calling on those Brahmans who fulfilled special roles in the day to day life of the Hindu. For instance, they tended to have *purohits* at every family ceremony from the *jata karma* to the *sradhha*; and *gurus* at all initiation ceremonies in which religious advice was required. Again, they

generally, for other Brahmans at these ceremonies and appointed *pandits* who were pursuing Sanskrit learning.[72] Moreover, while not all *bhadralok* families were served by all Brahmans, they could refer to one Brahman *jati* which would serve them. For example, while those who were Saptagram Saraswatis were unable to obtain the services of Radhi Brahmans, they were able to secure the services of a large number of Dakshin Varsika Brahmans.[73]

Yet, *bhadralok* families were, themselves, not prepared to accept the services of all Brahman *jatis*, nor, for that matter, of all members within one *jati*. For example, the Saptagram Saraswatis only paid homage to those Dakshin Varsika Brahmans who were Vaidiknas, they did not, as has been noted, honour Brahmans who were orthodox Sakta. As a result of this situation, a growing number of Saktas in search of gifts were converted to Vaishnavism during the period under discussion.[74] Indeed, the wealthy families were able to purchase the services of even the highest Brahman *jatis*. For instance, the Tagores, who, as Pirali Brahmans, had been rejected by the Radhi Brahmans at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were receiving recognition from the highest ranking members of this *jati* by the end of the period under discussion.[75]

It would seem then, that while kinship, *jati*, and religious ties, which characterised the *bhadralok* and which had their origins in the old feudal order, changed as the result of the development of Calcutta, they were certainly not destroyed. Indeed, a survey of wills drawn up by *bhadralok* during the period under discussion clearly demonstrates this fact. For example, when Kristo Mohun Basak died in 1875, he left a will which stated that his trustees were

> to spend suitable sums at the annual sradaha or anniversary of my father, mother, and grandfather as well as of myself after my demise on the feeding of the Brahmin and the poor. To spend suitable sums for the annual contribution to the Brahmin Pandits holding tolls or native schools for the diffusion of Sanskrit learning in the country at the time of Doorga Pujah. To spend suitable sums for the perusal of the Mahabharat and Puran and for the prayer to the God during the month of Kartick.[76]

What is significant in the case of Calcutta, however, was that many of these relationships were institutionalised into a system of *dals*. In fact, as S.N. Mukherjee has shown, this development occurred in the latter half of the eighteenth century and was very much in evidence in the early nineteenth century.[77] Scattered data suggest that *dals* continued to operate, though in a progressively more diffuse manner, throughout the period under discussion.

For example, just prior to this time in 1849 when J.D. Bethune, the Law Member of the Government of India Council, found that he could not establish a female school for Hindus without the support of the leading *dals*, he wrote to Dalhousie that:

> My female school is going steadily and well. The opposition appears to be breaking up, and I have secured the promise from some of the 'Dhols' or 'clans' into which Calcutta is divided that if any are excommunicated and turned out of a Dhol for sending their daughters to my school they shall be taken into theirs.[76]

A few years later, it was reported that the Setts and the Basaks, the two leading *dalapatis* among the Tantuvaniks in Calcutta, held a meeting in Barrabazar for the purpose of bridging the differences which had kept their *dals* apart for the previous twenty-five years.[77] Again, in 1870, Naba Gopal Mitra pointed to the significance of this institution when he referred to the two *dals* in the Brahmo Samaj. He claimed that

> It may not be known to every European reader, but it is known to every native that even the orthodox Hindus have separate dals of their own, of which one or two of them are heads.[78]

Similarly, in 1883, Shib Chunder Bose wrote that the heads of *dals* fulfilled many of the functions of the Hindu Rajas of the eighteenth century.[79] Finally, in 1885, there are accounts which indicate that the *dals* continued to operate in Calcutta.[80]

For the most part, it would appear that the *dals* emerged in Calcutta as an agency for defending traditional ties against the impact of large scale changes generated by the impact of capitalist development there. They can also be seen as the means of resolving questions that could not be adequately handled by the colonial state. Indeed, although the British attempted to establish a Hindu law code by having Hindu legal commentaries translated into English, they were not successful. As jurists from Maine[81] to Derrett[82] have argued, such an approach largely ignored the significance of customary law; for its underlying assumption that Brahmanical and Hindu law were identical and that this law could be uniformly applied to Hindus failed to take into account the fact that Hindus were also governed by customs which varied from locality to locality.

Yet the problem was even more fundamental than this, because whereas the British method of determining justice was based on the bourgeois concept of equality, the Hindu process was based on the feudal concept of hierarchy. For example, while the former held all citizens to be equal in the eyes of the law, the latter maintained an opposite view. Again, while the former held that the position of judge and witness could not be fulfilled by the same individual, the latter believed that they could. And finally, while the former aimed to provide a specific decision on the defendant's innocence or guilt, the latter argued for some kind of compromise.[83]

Broadly then, *dals* provided the specific means through which the *bhadralok* were able to rationalise traditional relationships that characterised their existence in Calcutta. In this respect, they can be seen as a manifestation of the network of overlapping kinship and *jajmani* ties that centred around the leading *bhadralok* families. Moreover, even though the patterns of these

relationships are difficult to discern. It is possible to build up a general picture of the structure of *dals* from scattered evidence.

On the one hand, members within a *dal* referred to one another as *samajiks*,[25] and, on the other hand, their relationships with one another were based on a hierarchical pattern. In the latter context, the chief *samajik* was known as a *dalapati*, a position which was usually inherited by the *karta* of the aristocratic family around which the *dal* functioned. Below the *dalapati*, there were a number of principal men who were presumably the *kartas* of other important families within the *dal*.[26] More generally, other *samajiks* were ranked according to their relationships to the leading family within the *dal*. In addition, there were a number of individuals who fulfilled special roles within the *dal*. There were, among others, the *purohit* who carried out priestly functions, the *pandit* who acted as a adviser on matters of Hindu law, the *ghatak* who arranged marriages, and the *napit* who acted as a barber and as a messenger. Their functions within the *dal* further symbolised its hierarchical nature. For example, when a *dal* held a meeting, the *purohit* placed garlands over the leading *samajiks* in order of rank.[27]

While the *dal* was not primarily a political institution, its hierarchical structure was evident in its political behaviour. Certainly it did not treat all the *samajiks* within the *dal* equally in the context of the customary laws which it followed. Indeed, as S.C. Bose has noted, the most influential individuals within a *dal* were not bound to the same extent by its customs as were *samajiks* of lower rank.[28] For example in the 1860s Ram Gopal Ghose was reputed to have used his influence so that members of his family could perform ceremonies such as *sraddhas* within their *dal*, in spite of the fact that he, himself, openly rejected certain of its customary laws. Similarly, Dwarka Nath Mallik, a member of a leading family in Calcutta, was accepted back into his *dal* without difficulty, after he had returned from an overseas trip.[29]

Nevertheless, even the most powerful were bound to some extent by the customary laws of their *dals*. Gyanendra Mohan Tagore, for example, was expelled from his *dal* when he married the daughter of Krishna Mohan Banerjee, a Christian, even though the Tagores of Pathuriaghata were one of the most powerful families in Calcutta.[30] Similarly, the Datta family of Hatkhola was dismissed from its *dal* when it negotiated a marriage with the family of Ram Gopal Ghose in the 1860s, for Ghose did not accept a number of the customary laws of that *dal*. Yet the Dattas had belonged to that *dal* since the eighteenth century and were, in fact, the original *dalapatis* within that body.[31]

This hierarchical structure was also evident in the process of decision-making within the *dal*. Generally, demands for change in the customary laws were channelled through the principal men within the *dal* and through other *dalapatis* within the *bhadralok* community. Such demands were usually examined by *pandits* and then, on the basis of this opinion, either accepted or rejected by the *dalapati*. Yet even when demands for change were accepted in this way, they could be subsequently rejected; for no decision was in itself final.

For example, in the 1850s, when Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar attempted to persuade Radha Kanta Deb's *dal* to alter the customary laws which prevented widows from marrying, he presented his demand to Deb through the aid of Ananda Krishna Bose, a close kinsman of the latter, and therefore a *samajik* of some importance within that body. As was the custom, Vidyasagar was invited by Deb to debate his case against other *pandits*, who were associated with this *dal*, but who were opposed to the idea of widow marriage. At the end of the debate, Vidyasagar received a shawl from Deb; an act which symbolised that Vidyasagar had won the debate and that Deb favoured the idea of widow marriage. Shortly afterwards, however, Vidyasagar was recalled by Deb to debate the question again; for Deb had been approached by a number of other leading *dalapatis* who were not happy with the idea of widow marriage. On this occasion, Vidyasagar lost the debate and Braja Nath Vidyaratna, his leading opponent, was awarded the shawl. In this way, then, the original decision was reversed.[91]

While the *dal* remained the primary institution in the local system, more complex organisations also operated, although on a far less stable basis. Indeed, in so far as most *dals* were centred around one particular family within a caste, they had to form organisational ties with other *dals* in order to provide marriage partners for their *samajiks*. Consequently, there emerged what might be termed a network of supra-*dals* (variously known as *sabhas* or *samajes*) each of which consisted of a collection of localised *dals* that cross-cut the territorial boundaries of Calcutta and linked the city to the country. In a number of cases, the centres of action of these supra-*dals* were located in Calcutta.

According to Guru Prosad Sen, the average supra-*dal* contained 300 families.[92] However, there is evidence which suggests that the more important supra-*dals* were much larger. For example, in 1878 the supra-*dals* which centred around the Mallik family of Barrabazar held a meeting that included twenty-three *dalapatis* and 1,064 representatives in all, from *dals* situated in and around Calcutta.[93] Structurally, these bodies were similar to the *dal* in that members referred to one another as *samajiks*, and authority was hierarchically arranged. However, the term *samajik* in this context had a more limited meaning; for the member of one *dal* did not normally invite the member of another *dal* to family celebrations even though they might have belonged to the same supra-*dal*. Moreover, the chief of the supra-*dal* was not known as a *dalapati*, but by the title traditionally assumed by the leader of the caste or the *samaj*. For example, the leader of the supra-*dal* which centred around the Mallik family of Barrabazar was known as *pramanik*.[94]

As larger more diffuse organisations, these supra-*dals* lacked the stability of the *dals* and were unable to maintain a formal structure for a very long period. Indeed, those bodies which were centred around the same caste were, in fact, never highly institutionalised; for, apart from a common oral tradition, they were primarily bound together by the need for marriage partners. For example, the supra-*dal* which revolved around the Basak and Sett families split and subsequently reassembled on at least two occ s nineteenth century.[95]

If supra-*dals* based essentially on caste were unstable, then those founded on multi-caste ties were equally so. As the result of the absence of a central authority among the *bhadraloh*, there were various attempts in Calcutta to create one large *samaj* or *sabha* which would incorporate all the *dals*. Such attempts were largely unsuccessful, however, for none of them managed to secure the support of all *dals* or to last as a united body for any great length of time. In 1830, for example, a Dharma Sabha was established in Calcutta, but it did not incorporate all the leading *dals* and it had by the 1840s split into three different groups.[96] In 1847 another attempt was made to form an organisation in which all *dals*, whether 'orthodox' or 'heterodox', would join. Like its predecessors, it failed.[97]

Between 1857 and 1885, a number of similar attempts were destined to meet the same fate. In 1867, the National Society was formed to unite 'for one common purpose different sections and classes of the Hindu community, fusing all discordant elements into one harmonious whole'.[98] Initially, this organisation aroused great interest, and the general committee included representatives from most of the leading families in Calcutta. By 1874, however, it had, according to Akshay Chandra Sirkar, editor of the *Sadharani*, developed into a limited organisation owing to *dala-dali*.[99] By this time, in fact, it represented nothing more than an extension of the *dal* that centred around the Tagore family of Jorasanko.

In 1869, the Sanatana Dharma Raksini Sabha was established to provide a central authority which would advise on questions of Hindu law. Sponsored by the Junior Branch of the Deb family, it included a number of the leading *dalapatis*, the most important of whom were Rajendra Narain Deb, Tara Chand Banerjee, Khelatch Chandra Ghose, Krishna Mohan Mallik, and Rajendra Mallik.[100] Although not as representative of the Hindu community as was the National Society, it was much more active and generally better organised. Nevertheless, owing to shortage of funds, a lack of agreement over what its functions should be, and an absence of sustained support from the *dals* which initially sponsored it, the Sabha failed to retain its corporate identity and became synonymous with the *dal* that revolved around the Junior Branch of the Deb family.

Even those *sabhas* with less ambitious goals were relatively unsuccessful in maintaining a highly institutionalised organisation. For instance, in 1870, a group headed by Pandit Khettra Pal Sritiratna established the Arya Ritiniti Sanathpati Sabha which aimed to reassert the authority of the Brahman in Hindu society. Although this organisation included over 400 eminent Brahmans, it was by no means representative.[101] It did not include, for example, such distinguished individuals as Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar. Moreover, like the larger organisations, it ceased to function after a few years.

This inability of the *bhadralok* to combine effectively beyond the level of the *dal* was, according to Naba Gopal Mitra, the result of 'exclusivism and cliquism'.[102] But it was more than that. In the absence of territorial power, no one *dal* was capable of imposing its will upon other *dals*. Furthermore, *dals* were themselves governed by different customs, and, as a result, at each

higher level of organisation, they had fewer common values to hold them together. Finally, the *dal* became increasingly more diffuse as capitalist development broke down the relationships upon which it was based. Yet this process of disintegration was long and complex.

Indeed, this pattern was most evident in the Brahmo Samaj, an organisation which had been established in opposition to the prevailing system of *dals*, but which had, as Naba Gopal Mitra indicated, continued to fulfil many of the same functions as the traditional *dal*. For example, in the early 1860s the *samajiks* of the Brahmo Samaj were divided over a number of customary laws, particularly those relating to the wearing of the sacred thread (a Brahmanical symbol of authority) and to inter-caste marriage. Indeed, although Debendra Nath Tagore, the leader of the Samaj, endeavoured to pacify both the conservative older faction and the more radical younger faction, this body split in 1866 into two independent organisations: the Adi Brahmo Samaj led by Tagore and the Brahmo Samaj of India led by Keshub Chunder Sen.[103]

Similarly, in 1878, after prolonged internal dissension over a number of issues, especially the role of women, the Brahmo Samaj of India divided into two groups - the Brahmo Samaj of India and the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj - when its *samajiks* quarrelled over the behaviour of its leader with respect to the marriage of his daughter to the Maharaja of Cooch-Behar. In particular, a faction within this group consisting largely of East Bengalis argued that Sen had, by this action, violated the law whereby a *samajik* was forbidden to marry a non-Brahmo. They claimed, as well, that he had ignored the rules relating to the legal age of the bride and bridegroom, and that he had allowed the ceremony to be performed according to orthodox rites instead of those laid down by the *Samaj*. As a result, when Sen refused to relinquish the leadership position, they broke away from the Brahmo Samaj of India and formed the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.[104]

In effect, what had happended in the first two Brahmo Samajes was that while they had professed new ideologies, the relationships within the *samajes*, themselves, tended to reflect the traditional ideology. Indeed, the relationships were hierarchically arranged around the Junior Branch of the Tagore family in much the same way as relationships in the *dals* revolved around one or another of the rentier aristocratic families. Moreover, although Sen had left his paternal family household, he did not necessarily divorce himself from the system of behaviour which prevailed there. In fact, when the Brahmo Samaj of India split in 1878, one of the arguments of the dissenting group (Sadharan Brahmo Samaj) was that Sen had merely imitated the behaviour of the Tagore family and had failed to fulfil the goals of the Brahmo Samaj of India. Like Tagore, he neglected to draw up a constitution along bourgeois democratic lines.[105]

Significantly, the new group, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, went some way towards breaking down traditional relationships in organising itself. Among other things, its communal property was governed by a board of trustees elected by its members, and supreme authority was vested in a committee which was elected annually by the members. Authority was further

determined by a rule that no office-bearer might hold the same post for more than five years, and by the right of twenty members to call a special meeting to dissolve the managing committee.[101] The underlying ideology was, in effect, much closer to that of the bourgeois-democratic system.

The reasons for the substantive change in the nature of the relationships are varied. First, unlike the other two Brahmo Samajes, it contained no resident aristocratic families, but rather consisted of a number of middle-class families who were relatively equal in power and influence. Consequently, it was less likely to fall under the domination of one family.[102] Secondly, it contained mostly of East Bengalis who had migrated to Calcutta in the previous twenty years and who had found themselves isolated from the local *bhadralok* by virtue of their different social behaviour.[103] Thirdly, a number of its members had travelled to England where they experienced a bourgeois ideological system largely independent of their own indigenous ties, and the nature of the local *bhadralok* system in Calcutta.[104] Finally, and most importantly, they were linked to the developing capitalist system through their jobs, most of them belonging to one of the professions.[105]

Yet, it is differed from the other Brahmo Samajes and the *dals* in terms of social and ideological relationships. It was still bound together by similar local needs. In particular, it provided marriage partners for East Bengalis who migrated to Calcutta. For instance, it enabled A.M.Bose and his brother to marry the sisters of Jagdish Bose. Prasanna Kumar Roy and Jagdish Bose the daughters of Durga Mohan Das, and Dwarka Nath Ganguli the cousin of W.C. Bonnerjee.[106] All these individuals were East Bengalis who joined the Brahmo Samaj after they had migrated to Calcutta.

Nonetheless, as the structure of the *dals*, and the bodies, became more diffuse so too did their functions. Indeed, owing to the colonial nature of the system in which the *dals* were embedded, their functions were not precisely defined; nor were they the same for all the *bhadralok*. Theoretically, of course, according to Section 5, Regulation XI of 1793, civil social questions fell within the jurisdiction of the courts of the colonial state.[107] In practice, however, this was not the case. On the contrary, partly because Hindus rarely brought such matters before the court authorities, and partly because the court itself was reluctant to interfere, Hindus were largely autonomous on such questions. As a consequence of this situation, the boundary between these two sets of relationships was never clear, and what the *bhadralok* might accept as falling within the realm of the authority of the colonial court another would not.

For example, when Vidyasagar lost his argument over widow-marriage in Delhi's *dal*, he raised the question within the colonial legislative system. Along with other *bhadralok* who supported his position, he petitioned the government to legislate on this issue, and, as a result, it passed a law which allowed Hindu widows to marry. Of course, the effectiveness of such a law depended upon how much support it had among the *bhadralok* themselves. In this case, those who recognised government authority were very much in the minority, and, if the number of names on petitions can be taken as a

rough guide, they were outnumbered sixty to one.[113] Yet even those who supported the principle in theory were rarely prepared to put the idea into practice, and, consequently, the law remained largely a dead letter. Indeed, some twenty-eight years later, in 1884, according to the *Som Prokash*, only a few families had ever acted upon this law.[114]

The law failed to take effect among those who supported it partly because they feared the penalties they would incur if they endorsed it. In fact, when the first widow-marriage was performed in Calcutta, Vidyasagar had to call in the police for protection, so violent was the reaction among the opposition.[115] Moreover, as Grish Chandra Ghose noted, those who did join in widow-marriage ceremonies were completely outcasted by the large majority of *bhadralok* in Calcutta, and thus found themselves cut off from all forms of social interaction.[116]

The law also failed because of the restrictions imposed by other customary laws. For example, when a Hindu woman married, she exchanged her role in her paternal family for a new one of the paternal family of her husband. In so doing, she accepted the authority of the latter body. Consequently, if a widow wanted to marry she was obliged to obtain the permission of her father-in-law; permission which he would have certainly withheld, especially as widow-marriage tended to undermine the structure of the *parvana sradhha* ceremony. Yet, even if she obeyed her father-in-law, a widow still had to persuade her father to meet the various expenses associated with marriage - expenses which in many cases drew very heavily upon family resources. Consequently, even families which supported the idea of widow-marriage were strongly opposed to paying twice for the marriage of their daughters.[117] In fact, Vidyasagar had to bear most of the costs for the few widow-marriages that did take place, and, as a result, by 1867, he was in debt to the extent of Rs.82,000.[118]

The hazy nature of this system was further blurred by the fact that the colonial courts were essentially conservative on questions of caste. The Calcutta Courts, for instance, usually dismissed caste cases during the period under discussion. For example, in 1857, the Sadr Diwani Adalat ruled that it could not try a *jajman* for dismissing a *purohit*, even though it had precedents that suggested otherwise.[119] Similarly, legislative bodies tended to follow a policy of discreet silence, and only legislated for those *bhadralok* who petitioned for changes, as, for example, they did for the members of the Brahmo Samaj of India when they passed the Native Marriage Act in 1872.[120] Consequently, caste issues which theoretically fell within the realm of the formal agencies of the state were, for all intents and purposes, the prerogative of the *dalapatis*.

If it is not possible to determine exactly the realm of the different levels of authority, it is possible to underline some of the functions and to note some of the general changes. Broadly, *dals* fulfilled legislative functions in so far as they altered customary laws, and judicial functions in so far as they ensured that these laws were obeyed. In Calcutta, the need for change in customary laws was much more acute than in the *mufassal;* for, among other

things, the *bhadralok* in Calcutta had to adapt to a wide range of technological changes. To give an example, innovations such as vaccinations, tap water, and railways were introduced during this period to meet health and transport problems, and in each instance customary laws had to be altered. It is not possible, of course, to determine which *dals* effected which changes in these areas, but generally there seems to have been little hesitation where changes were necessary. For instance, Radha Kanta Deb is reputed to have sanctioned vaccinations for Hindus;[121] a fairly strong indicator that the more orthodox *dals* had accepted the need for this practice. Similarly, in spite of a strong initial protest, the *bhadralok* seemed to adapt very quickly to the use of tap water, and to railway travel.[122]

Customs which caused the most discussion during this period, however, were those relating to overseas travel and to marriage. In the case of the former, the *bhadralok* who wished to become barristers or to enter the Covenanted Civil Service were compelled to travel to England to study for examinations. Yet, in so doing, they broke a long standing customary law against crossing the 'black water'; a law which probably emerged as the result of the dining rituals of Hindus and of their need to perform *parvana sradhha* in Bengal. As a result, the few individuals who ventured overseas prior to 1857 incurred heavy penalties. Indeed, even Dwarka Nath Tagore, one of the leading rentiers in Calcutta, was punished by his *dal* when he returned from an overseas trip.[123]

Consequently, except for Christian converts and Brahmos, most *bhadralok* continued to acknowledge this custom, at least for the early part of the period under discussion. In fact, in 1868, when R.C. Datta and B.L. Gupta decided to travel to England to study for the Covenanted Civil Service, they had to run away from their homes and board the ship at night; and they were both from highly Anglicised Hindu families.[124] During the next year, Rishi Kasi Mallik of the Barrabazar family endeavoured to do the same thing but was made to give up the idea at the last moment.[125] Similarly, in 1872, Shama Charn Dey, a Hindu employee in the Bengal administration, was invited to travel to England to give evidence before the Select Committee on Indian Finance. He refused, ostensibly for health reasons, but, in fact, because overseas travel was strongly opposed by the large majority of *bhadralok*.[126]

Gradually, however, some of the leading *dals* altered this customary law. For example, once Dwarka Nath Tagore had visited England, *samajiks* from within his *dal* slowly followed suit. Their willingness to disregard this custom can probably be attributed to the fact that they were mainly Pirali Brahmans and were, therefore, considered to be degraded by most of the other leading *dals*. As a result, they had much less to lose than members of these other *dals*. More significantly, however, in 1868, Shama Charn Laha, a leading Saptagram Suvarnavanik, raised his position among the *bhadralok* in Calcutta by travelling to England to establish an agency for his family business.[127]

By 1876, there were signs that this practice was becoming more acceptable among *bhadralok* in Calcutta, for in that year a member of the Mallik family of Barrabazar who had returned from an overseas trip attended a reception

held by Komal Krishna Deb, one of the leading orthodox *dalapatis.*[128] Indeed, in 1881, a member of the Junior Branch of the Deb family travelled to further his education.[129] Indeed, while this custom was never entirely abolished, most of the *dals* lessened substantially the nature of the penalties associated with this behaviour. By 1885, for example, some *dals* no longer forced individuals who had travelled overseas to perform *prayaschitta,* but they rather required the guilty party to bathe in the Ganges and to fulfil supplementary observances.[130] Broadly then, these changes can be seen as the means whereby the *dals* adjusted traditional ties to cope with changes which had been effected by capitalist development.

During this period, customs relating to marriage were also widely discussed, and in some instances supra-*dals* attempted to implement changes. For example, between 1857 and 1885, a number of supra-*dals* endeavoured to lessen customary marriage expenses because families were finding that it was increasingly difficult to meet such obligations. Thus, in 1864, some of the leading *dalapatis* announced that they would dispense with processions during weddings.[131] In 1871, the Sanatana Dharma Raksini Sabha raised the question of limiting dowries in Hindu marriages,[132] and in 1875 the Setts and the Basaks attempted to implement this practice for all Tantuvaniks.[133] A few years later, the supra-*dal* which centred around the Mallik family of Barrabazar drew up an extensive list of reforms along this line. It stated, among other things, that *samajiks* were to obey the following rules: the old marriage contract law was to be no longer valid, and that only what the family of the daughter could afford should be taken; the invitation should state that the marriage was going to be held according to this rule, otherwise it would not be accepted; any *samajik* who broke this rule would be punished by the *dalapati* of the *dal* to which he belonged; and any *samajik* who was oppressed by the old marriage law could have his position investigated by the supra-*dal.*[134]

Although a number of supra-*dals* passed these kinds of laws, it is difficult to determine how effectively they implemented them. Certainly marriage expenses, especially dowries, were not eradicated during this period. On the contrary, in some instances, expenses actually increased. Significantly, they did so among the more highly educated *bhadralok;* for as H.T. Prinsep, an ex-civilian who was resident in Calcutta at this time, pointed out:

> The usual rate demanded by one who has taken the degree of Bachelor of Law in the Calcutta University was...Rs.10,000, or nearly £700.[135]

Such examples, of course, highlighted the changing nature of social relationships as the result of capitalist development in Calcutta. In this particular case, for instance, capitalist development had commoditised the bridegroom, so that, while the customary appearance of the marriage exchange may have remained, the essence of the relationship had undergone a fundamental change.

Mostly, however, *dals* and supra-*dals* were concerned with maintaining rather than changing customs, and thus they primarily performed judicial functions. Generally, they attempted to maintain customs relating to caste

property, adoption, inheritance, claims of *purohits* and other forms of social behaviour of their *samajiks*. As has been indicated, of course, many of these functions overlapped with those of the formal state agencies, and were thus never clearly defined. Moreover, as the local system was subject to the demands of these bodies, there was no way of enforcing customary laws through the use of physical punishment. Nonetheless, *dals* and supra-*dals* were able to impose other sanctions, which were in certain instances equally, if not more, effective than physical punishment.

Usually, those *bhadralok* who contravened customs were expelled from their *dal*, and were punished according to the nature of the offence. Individuals who blatantly ignored customs were, along with their immediate families, permanently excommunicated: a penalty which debarred them from all kinds of social intercourse with any member of their *dal* and theoretically with any Hindu. In effect, this meant that members of their families were refused hospitality by relatives and friends, unable to obtain brides and grooms, cut off from the services of *purohits* and *napits* within the *dal*, excluded from using the temple and property of the *dal*, and prevented from performing necessary ceremonies such as *sradhhas*.[134]

Such a penalty was, of course, less effective in Calcutta than in the *mufassil*, because the number of *dals* which might uphold different laws was much greater and because, as a result of this situation, ostracised individuals could more easily find an alternative society. Yet even in Calcutta certain acts were generally considered illegitimate and carried with them great costs for the individual concerned. The most serious of these acts was that which rejected the Hindu religion in favour of a foreign one, and that which contravened the customary law of marriage. The position of Gyanendra Mohan Tagore in Calcutta during this period readily illustrates the former case. As had been noted, Tagore held a very influential position in Calcutta and, more particularly, within his own *dal*. Yet, after he had been converted to Christianity, he was ostracised by all *bhadralok*, except those who made up the Christian community. Indeed, his own father, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, banned him from the family house and disinherited him, and even his cousins (the Tagores of Jorasanko), who were among the most unorthodox *bhadralok* in Calcutta, refused to intermarry with him.[135]

Almost as isolated were those *bhadralok* who married outside their caste, or who married a widow. Dakshina Ranjan Mukherjee, who did both of these things when he married the widow of the Maharaja of Burdwan,[136] found that most *bhadralok* would not even sit at the same table with him during meetings of voluntary associations.[137] Indeed, largely as a result of his isolated position among the *bhadralok* in Calcutta, he migrated to Oudh after the mutiny.

Yet most offences against customary law carried with them more moderate penalties. For example, individuals who had been ostracised could generally re-enter their *dals* by performing *prayaschitta* and by paying a heavy fine to the leading *dalpatis*.[138] In 1879, for instance, Kali Mohan Das had to fulfil both of these obligations when he decided to leave the Brahmo Samaj of

India and to return to an orthodox *dal.*[141] Of course, individuals who had committed less serious offences were punished more lightly, and performed simple acts of atonement such as bathing in the Ganges.

However, as Calcutta developed and as *dals* increased and changed their customary laws, this system of constraints became less effective; for the guilty party could more easily ignore the *dal* or find a place in an alternative *dal.* For instance, as has been indicated, in 1857 nearly all *dals* outcasted those individuals who had travelled overseas; by 1885, however, a number of them had altered this customary law. As a result, the authority of the various *dals* which still acknowledged this law tended to be negated by other *dals.* For example, in 1885, the *dal* which centred around the Mukherjee family of Kasaripara expelled A.C. Mukherjee for marrying his daughter to the son of Siv Chandra Banerjee, an individual who had travelled overseas.[142] The effectiveness of this decision was undermined, however, by the fact that the Mitras of Kumatuli and the Boses of Kasaripara, the leaders of two of the most authoritative *dals* in Calcutta, offered A.C. Mukerjee a place in their *dals.*[143]

In short, while the *dal* still existed in 1885, it was no longer capable of enforcing social control in the way it had in the earlier part of the century. Indeed whereas it was, in part, a product of early capitalist development in Calcutta, it was essentially a conservative force and thus in conflict with the more progressive forces upon which further capitalist development was based. It is the analysis of these latter processes then, to which the subsequent chapters are devoted.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COLONIAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

Although the limited nature of capitalist penetration in Calcutta ensured the presence of powerful conservative forces, it also provided the basis for the growth of ideological and political relationships that were a product of the British capitalist system. Yet the production of these ideological and political relationships was not merely a super-structural derivative of the British industrial economy. On the contrary, in so far as social relationships among the *bhadralok* were fairly fluid, such ties were strongly influenced by the apparatus of the colonial state and by the transferred institutions upon which this state was based. Indeed, apart from providing the *modus operandi* for the colonial system, these bodies also acted as key legitimising agencies by conveying the values of the colonial ruling class.

Of those transferred institutions which acted as instruments for the dissemination of such values, English education was undoubtedly the most important. As the *lingua franca* of the colonial ruling class, English represented the language through which a large expanding bureaucracy could be rationalised. It also provided the means through which the ideas of this class could be disseminated. Significantly, however, neither of these principles were accepted as official doctrine until the 1830s. Prior to that time, the official court language was Persian, and the state took only a minor interest in the development of English education. Indeed, the little that was achieved in this area was mainly the result of the efforts of the missionaries and the *bhadralok*, rather than of the state.[1]

Nonetheless, this situation had begun to change by the 1830s, particularly, as, in Britain, the industrial bourgeoisie had started to establish hegemony over the mercantile bourgeoisie, and as, in state policy, the conservative stance of the former had started to give way to the liberal utilitarian philosophy of the latter.[2] Certainly this change was reflected in Calcutta where the arguments of the Anglicists, representatives of the liberals, were preferred at the state level to those of the Orientalists, representatives of the conservatives. It was, of course, underlined most clearly by T.B. Macaulay, Law Member of the Supreme Council in India, on 2 February 1835 in the now famous memorandum in which he stated that oriental learning was useless and that European learning should be spread among the 'natives'.[3]

There is no doubt that Macaulay saw in English education the main key to the full colonisation of India. Indeed, he argued that, in so far as English was the language of the ruling class, it should be used as the means of educating Indians in European knowledge. Such knowledge, he suggested, would eventually lead them to demand European institutions.[4] In any event his memorandum paved the way for the adoption by Bentinck's government on 7 March of a resolution which sealed the fate of the Orientalist cause. In this resolution, the Government of India declared that European literature

ıd science should be promoted among Indians through the medium of English ıd that funds previously disbursed to Oriental Institutions were henceforth) be appropriated for English education.[5]

As might be expected, it took some years before this policy was nplemented. In fact, it was not until 1854 that a comprehensive plan for the evelopment of English education was outlined. In that year, a long document, ubsequently titled the Wood Despatch, was drawn up by Sir Charles Wood, he Secretary of State for India. Apart from giving a detailed account of the node of operation through which an English education system was to be :onstructed, the Wood Despatch clearly pointed to the reasons for such a levelopment.

In the first place, it rationalised the exercise in a point of principle by declaring that the Imperial Government had a 'sacred duty' to secure the ultimate benefit of the people committed to their charge. Secondly, it noted the benefits that would accrue to these people by claiming that education would confer upon the Indians those vast moral and material blessings which would flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge. Thirdly, and perhaps unwittingly, it pointed to the fundamental reason for developing English education by suggesting that such a system would supply the government with 'natives' of intellectual fitness and moral integrity for public offices of all grades; colonial functionaries, so to speak, who would operate the state machinery in order that the colonial ruling class might consolidate its position in India. Lastly, and again quite revealingly, the Despatch underlined the direct relationship between the development of English education in India and of capitalism in Britain by stating that the education of Indians would help promote the material interests of India by teaching them the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital which would ensure the increase of wealth and commerce. As a consequence of such a process, it added that Britain would gain articles necessary for the manufacturing industry and local consumption, as well as an unlimited market for British industrial produce.[6]

Various studies have demonstrated that Indians were strongly influenced by the development of this policy. Certainly the Calcutta *bhadralok* felt its impact, arguably more so than any other regional group in South Asia. In the case of tertiary education, for example, there was a growth in the number of students enrolled for a degree, from 140 in 1857[7] to 2,525 in 1885.[8] These figures assume an even greater significance when they are compared to similar developments elsewhere in South Asia. Ceylon, for instance, did not have even a university college until 1921 and it did not acquire a university proper until 1928.[9] Even Bombay lagged behind Calcutta in this respect. For example, whereas only twenty-one students passed the first entrance examination into the University of Bombay in 1859,[10] fifty-eight passed a similar examination held by the University of Calcutta in 1857.[11] Again, whereas the University of Bombay had 1,440 undergraduates in 1885-86 for the Bombay Presidency as a whole and the Princely States,[12] the University of Calcutta had over 2,500 in 1885 for the city of Calcutta alone.[13]

In this context then, it would appear that the *bhadralok* in Calcutta felt the colonising influence of English education both earlier and more intensively than other groups in South Asia.[14] Indeed, there is clear evidence that, as the period progressed, the *bhadralok* began to operate independently within this colonial system by assuming more control over schools and colleges. For instance, between 1857 and 1885, the number of educational institutions either totally or partly controlled by the *bhadralok* increased from eleven to thirty.[15] During this time, in fact, there were at one point or another 202 *bhadralok* who filled key organisational roles in this capacity.[16]

Particularly significant in this respect was the development of an educational role largely independent of European support. Such a process was clearly evident, for example, in the changing structure of those institutions which the *bhadralok* operated by employing a professional educator to administer the organisation. When they first established schools of this type, they were obliged to hire Europeans to fill the position, for they themselves tended to lack the skills necessary for such an operation. By 1885, however, they had completely dispensed with Europeans in this context, thus underlining the degree to which they had absorbed the principles upon which the colonial system functioned.[17]

This development can also be noted in the changes which occurred among those institutions that were administered by voluntary committees. At the beginning of the period, such bodies tended to be unstable and short-lived,[18] unless, of course, they had Europeans on their committees. In 1857, for instance, there were five schools run along these lines. By 1871, however, only two of these institutions were still operating. Yet by 1885 this instability seemed to have disappeared, for not only were these organisations experiencing much longer life cycles,[19] but they were also largely independent of European support.[20]

Of course, to indicate the extent to which the English educational system penetrated the *bhadralok* is not to reveal the structural nature of this development, for, within this general framework, there were various processes at work. There were elementary-secondary institutions, commonly referred to as Anglo-vernacular schools; tertiary colleges which were affiliated to the University of Calcutta; and special schools which were modelled on those in Victorian England. Each type of institution was developed at different periods and each represented a different stage in the development of a colonial culture.

The earliest of these three types - the Anglo-vernacular school - appeared well before the beginning of the period under discussion, the first school having been established by Nitya Nanda Sen in the latter part of the eighteenth century.[21] By 1857, in fact, Calcutta was reasonably well serviced by such schools. Apart from a number of missionary schools and the Hindu College which had been founded by the *bhadralok* and a few Europeans in 1816 but which had gradually been taken over by the Department of Public Instruction,[22] there were five schools operated by the *bhadralok* themselves.[23]

There were at least three reasons for this latter development. In the first place, as English was a key language in the trading world of Calcutta from the eighteenth century onwards, *bhadralok* merchants, like Nitya Nanda Sen, established schools in order to provide clerks for their offices. In this respect, it is interesting to note that, of the five Anglo-vernacular schools operated by *bhadralok* at the beginning of the period under discussion, three (the Oriental Seminary,[24] the Indian Free School,[25] Seals Free College[26]) had been founded by leading members of the Saptagram Suvarnavanik caste, a traditional merchant group, and the others (Hindu Metropolitan College,[27] Calcutta Seminary[28]) had depended heavily for its financial support upon this same body. Secondly, the *bhadralok* recognised early the significance of the shift from a Muslim colonial regime to a British one and, as a result, the inevitable change from Persian to English as the language of the ruling class. Finally, they were eager to control the development of English education to prevent its undermining the Hindu belief system; something they felt would certainly happen in the missionary schools that were set up in the first half of the nineteenth century.[29]

Anglo-vernacular schools, then, were well established by 1857, and they continued to increase, but at a more rapid rate in the years that followed, so that by 1885 there were sixteen such schools run by the *bhadralok*.[30] In part, this increase was due to the establishment and development of the University of Calcutta, entry to which was based on subjects taught in the Anglo-vernacular schools.[31] Directly connected to this were the positions created for functionaries in the expanding state bureaucracy and the associated professions that were linked to this system.[32]

It is in this context then, that the development of tertiary education must be seen, for it was through this mode of educational operation that the state could most effectively colonise the *bhadralok*. Certainly it can be argued that the establishment of the University of Calcutta in 1857 was the single most important step in shaping the mind of the *bhadralok*. Modelled as it was on the University of London, this institution consisted of a senate which was appointed by the Government of India and which managed funds, framed regulations of courses, nominated examination committees, and conferred degrees upon successful candidates from colleges that had been given university status. As well, it provided professorships in those areas of professional education - medicine, law, civil engineering - where facilities were either poorly developed or non-existent. In short, the university was, with the exception of the special branches of learning, essentially a coordinating body.[33]

What emerges as significant in this respect was that, of the six colleges in Calcutta which were granted university status in 1857, none were controlled by the *bhadralok*. On the contrary, they were controlled by either the government or the missionaries.[34] The *bhadralok* lacked the resources and skills necessary for such an operation. For example, there were no *bhadralok* who had experience in university teaching or administration, nor, for that matter, were there even any graduates among them. By the end of the period under discussion, however, this situation had changed quite substantially.

Indeed, between 1872 and 1885, the *bhadralok* were responsible for the establishment of four university colleges: the Metropolitan Institution in 1872, Albert College in 1881, City College in 1881, and the Presidency Institution in 1884 (later renamed Ripon College).[35]

This change is significant in that it marks the beginning of a shift in control of tertiary education away from the government and the missionaries, to the *bhadralok* in Calcutta. In fact, by 1885, this shift was, to a large extent, complete, for by that time the Metropolitan Institution had an enrolment which was nearly twice that of any other tertiary institution, and the four *bhadralok* colleges, when taken together, had more students than either the government or the missionary colleges.[36] In particular, they dominated the field of law, for which they provided places for 524 of the 649 students enrolled for that degree.[37]

In part this development reflected the growing sophistication of the *bhadralok* as professional educators and as political agitators.[38] Certainly in the latter context, as will be argued in Chapter Seven, there was a strong link between the founder of the City College (Ananda Mohan Bose) and of Ripon College (Surendra Nath Banerjee) and the student associations which were associated with the Indian Association. More generally, of course, this development underlined the extent to which the *bhadralok* had been absorbed into the colonial system by the end of the period under discussion.

While the nature of the penetration of English education among the *bhadralok* was most profoundly shaped by the development of tertiary education, it was, in a more limited form, also affected by the introduction of schools which provided special forms of education, similar to those in Victorian England. Indeed, from around the middle of the nineteenth century, there occurred a movement in which *bhadralok*, in conjunction with Europeans, began to establish schools for females, schools for the poor, and schools for the advancement of science; the types of institutions, in fact, which had been developed by the liberal elements of the industrial bourgeoisie in Britain at that time. Owing to a lack of an established bourgeoisie among the *bhadralok*, however, it would seem that links between the *bhadralok* and most of these special forms of education tended to be rather tenuous.[39] In fact, while there was a marked increase in activity in special education in the latter quarter of the period under discussion, it was largely confined to female education.[40]

Although the colonial education system penetrated and, indeed, shaped the *bhadralok* through the instrument of these three institutional forms, it did not affect all of the *bhadralok* to the same extent. On the contrary while the nature of this penetration was defined by this three-way linkage, it was further defined by those *bhadralok* who were most directly related to this structure. It was defined, in short, by the convergence, or lack of convergence, of particular relationships which were peculiar to the individuals concerned. What then, it may be asked, were these relationships?

In the case of the 202 *bhadralok* who provided the organisational resources and skills for this development, there are some clearly distinguishable ties.

In the first place, it is significant that when the period is taken as a whole, those individuals tended to originate in town rather than country areas. Indeed, 73 per cent of them were born in Calcutta, while the majority of the remainder were born in districts bordering on the city.[41] Secondly, within the city itself, 85 per cent lived in the zone where they tended to cluster around Ward 6. In the case of the general pattern, of course, the *bhadralok* had traditionally resided in the north of the city. In the case of the particular patterns, Saptagram Suvarnavaniks, who played an important role in the development of English education, tended to live in Ward 6 or thereabouts.[42]

Caste is another factor which, like geographical ties, shaped the relationship between the penetration of education and the *bhadralok*. In one respect, it was a weak link, for there were eighteen different *jatis* who played some part in the development of the colonial system of education. In another respect, however, there was a definite relationship between these two factors, in that the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas (29 per cent), the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks (27 per cent) and the Radhi Brahmans (20 per cent) clearly predominated.[43] Of these, the first represented one of the largest and certainly the most powerful *jati* in Calcutta; the second represented a small but extremely influential merchant group; and the third represented a very large group who were, by tradition, educators.

Another relationship which emerged as important was that of religion. In this context, perhaps the most significant pattern was the relatively strong control which the orthodox sector of the *bhadralok* retained over education, with 56 per cent of the total number of organisers coming from this group. Although not as influential, the three Brahmo bodies and the Christian community accounted for 32 per cent of educational organisers and thus underlined the close link between this very small minority group and the development of the colonial ruling class ideological infrastructure.[44]

A fourth factor which helped to define this structural link was that of educational background. What was most in evidence here was the dominance of those who were educated prior to 1857, for the majority of educational organisers (63 per cent) had not gone beyond the secondary level. Moreover, these individuals were drawn more closely together by the fact that most of them had been educated at the Hindu College; an institution which acted as a key socialisation agency for this earlier generation of *bhadralok*.[45]

Fifthly, there was also a clear link between the *bhadralok* educational entrepreneurs and particular occupations. There were, for example, a significant number of landholders (30 per cent) and, as would be expected, professional educationists (18 per cent). As well, there were government servants (18 per cent), lawyers (14 per cent), merchants (12 per cent), and a few doctors and newspaper editors.[46] No doubt, when compared to the situation in Britian, one important difference that would emerge is the absence of industrialists in the case of Calcutta; a factor which definitely shaped the nature of education there.

All the above relationships, when taken together, tend to bear out the class ties of the *bhadralok* who are under scrutiny. The predominance of

Calcutta-born, merchant-based, aristocratic Dakshin Radhi Kayasthas, Satgram Suvarnavanik, and Brahmans who attended the Hindu College and who were undoubtedly the most defining characteristics of the senior aristocracy in this time. Certainly this is indicated by the fact that 44 per cent of the educational organisers belonged to this class for while in many terms they were a minority within the overall group, they were proportionally, in the context of their time, very much a controlling factor, particularly when their links with the orthodox middle class are taken into consideration.[47]

While these figures give an indication of the structural relationships between the formation of the colonial system of education and the *bhadralok* for the period as a whole, they do not demonstrate the organic changes which occurred within this system. In this respect, there seem to have been only minor changes in the place of origin of individuals concerned in that there was only a slight drop in the number from Calcutta, 72 per cent to 71 per cent, though there was a small but significant increase in those from Dacca, 6 per cent to 10 per cent.[48] As a long term pattern, of course, this latter development pointed to the growing influence of East Bengalis in the educational network of Calcutta. Similarly, in the case of residential patterns, there was hardly any change, except for an increase of 5 per cent in West L. owing to the residence of Brahmins in suburbs there.

The relationship between caste and the development of colonial educational system suggests more fundamental changes, however. In the first place, links between these two factors became more diffuse as the period progressed, as is suggested by the increase from six to thirteen castes between 1817 and 1885. Secondly, there was also a decline in the position of the Radhi Brahmans (28 per cent to 18 per cent), thus undermining the breakdown in the traditional educational ties. In the same way, there was a weakening of the control of the orthodox *bhadralok*, especially as the Brahmos began to emerge as a powerful force.[49]

In the case of educational background, there was, of course, quite a dramatic change in *bhadralok* relationships, for in the beginning of the period there were no graduates nor were there any individuals who had studied overseas. By the close of the period, however, 22 per cent of the educational organisers had studied at a tertiary college and 15 per cent had studied overseas. Parallel with this development was the decline in the influence of the Hindu School and the rise in influence of the Presidency College as the institution at which these individuals were educated.[50]

All the above changes represent a substantial shift in the relationship between the colonial education system and class ties. Whereas the senior aristocracy completely dominated English education at the beginning of the period, with 74 per cent of all organisational positions, the middle class had assumed control by 1885 with 70 per cent of the positions. Occupational patterns also reflected this change, for while the percentage of landholders and merchants dropped from 57 to 28, that of professional administrators and of lawyers increased from 10 to 52.[51]

Broadly then, the nature of the penetration of the educational system was marked by a shift in structural ties from linkages with the rentier aristocracy to the much broader middle-class group, particularly those who had rejected orthodox values. Within this broad framework, there were, of course, different ties at different levels of the educational system.

In the case of Anglo-vernacular schools, there were strong links with those *bhadralok* who were rentier aristocrats, who were born in Calcutta and lived in the northern wards, who were orthodox and who were educated at the Hindu College to a secondary level. Here particularly, there seems to have been a very strong link with the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks, who filled 35 per cent of all educational organisational roles and who lived in and around Ward 6 of the city. As noted elsewhere, it was in the first half of the nineteenth century that, as traditional merchants, they established schools to train individuals in English for their business firms and, as orthodox Hindus, they were concerned to provide schools free of missionary influences.[52]

As the period progressed, all of these relationships became more diffuse and the expanding middle class began to assume a more independent position. Initially, individuals, like Kanay Lal Dey, Jadu Nath Ghose, and Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar were co-opted into the system by rich patrons to provide the educational and administrative skills necessary for the operation of the schools. Towards the end of the period, however, this patronage system tended to break down as professional educationists, like Vidyasagar, began to operate schools as profit-making concerns, independent of aristocratic control.[53]

Whereas the nature of the links between the *bhadralok* and the development of Anglo-vernacular education were similar to that of the general pattern, the structure of the ties between the *bhadralok* and tertiary education was markedly different. Unlike those in Anglo-vernacular education, the large majority (73 per cent) involved in tertiary education were born outside Calcutta. In fact, 36 per cent of them originated in East Bengal.[54] Again, in contrast to those operating at the secondary level, the majority resided in the southern zone of the city.[55] Significantly, they were mainly from four castes: Radhi Brahmans, Daksina Radhi Kayasthas, Bangaja Kayasthas, and Radhi Baidyas.[56] In this respect, of course, they reflected almost exactly the caste background of the *bhadralok* as perceived by most modern historians of Bengal. Yet another distinctive characteristic was the fact that they were all unorthodox.[57] In terms of education, they had few links with the establishment-dominated Hindu College and 25 per cent of them, including individuals like Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendra Nath Banerjee, had studied overseas.[58] Finally, they were nearly all middle-class (85 per cent) professional educationists.[59] For example, Vidyasagar, the founder of the Metropolitan Institution, had served as Principal of the Sanskrit College and as an Inspector of Education in the Department of Public Instruction,[60] while Banerjee, the founder of the Presidency Institution, had taught in the Metropolitan Institution, City College, and Scottish Church College.[61] It was this group of educational organisers, then, who, more than any of the others, had been affected by the penetration of the colonial educational system. It was this group, also, who had a close interest in the formation and development of the Indian Association in 1876.[62]

In the third area of educational development, special education, the social characteristics of those who acted as educational organisers were somewhere between that of the other two groups.[63] What is significant in the area of general education, however, was the distinct change in the structure of social ties as the period progressed. Whereas orthodox aristocratic landholders controlled such schools in 1857, unorthodox middle-class educationists had taken over by 1885.[64] This change was particularly noticeable in the sphere of female education.

Just prior to the period under discussion, for example, a group of unorthodox middle-class *bhadralok*, at the suggestion of J.D. Bethune, attempted to establish a school for Hindu females, only to find that they were unable to attract any pupils, such was the effectiveness of the sanctions imposed on this move by the *dals*.[65] Moreover, when Bethune invited the chief *dalapatis* to join the management committee which he had set up to run this school, they accepted on the condition that the unorthodox *bhadralok* whom they regarded as polluted be made to resign.[66]

Yet this structure began to alter by the 1860s, for as the local control of the *dalapatis* was loosened, unorthodox *bhadralok* groups, like the Brahmos and the Christians, began to argue for female schools which would effect significant change among the *bhadramahila*. As a result of this development, the Brahmos, especially the followers of Keshub Chunder Sen, persuaded the government, through the auspices of that great proselytiser of Victorian values, Mary Carpenter, to dissolve the standing committee of the Bethune School.[67] Significantly, in the years that followed, it was a cleavage among the Brahmos, themselves, that provided the impetus for the development of female education.[68]

Broadly then, the nature of the penetration of the colonial education system was reflected both in the types of educational institutions which were developed, and in those *bhadralok* who acted as instruments for this development and who were, as a consequence, socialised according to the colonial value system. It was, of course, characterised at a more general level by the students who were the recipients of the ideas propagated by this agency.

Unfortunately, there is no way of clearly identifying these individuals; for, during the period under discussion, education officials were neither systematic nor consistent in classifying students. For example, in the early stages of the period, they tended to employ five categories - *zamindar*, *banian*-broker, professional service, government-service, other - under which they categorised students according to their fathers' occupations.[69] Although they added the category 'shopkeeper' to the list in 1865,[70] the education officials remained dissatisfied with this method of categorising students. Indeed, the Director of Public Instruction indicated this in 1867, when he stated that this type of classification was

> calculated to convey a very incorrect idea of the social position of many of [the students] particularly of those who [were] entered in the first two columns. As a rule every student whose father or grandfather

> has ever owned a piece of land, however small, considers himself entitled to rank as zamindar and many who describe themselves as belonging to the merchant class would be more properly placed under the head of shopkeepers.[71]

As a result of criticisms like this, a special committee was established in 1869 to devise a more comprehensive and valid system of classifying students. It is clear that the members of this committee gave some thought to the problem, for they worked out a system based, in part, on occupation (twenty-two categories and 170 sub-categories), and, in part, on income (eleven scales). They suggested that when these measures were cross-tabulated, the reading would provide a fairly accurate indication of 'social-class'.[72]

While this scheme was an improvement on the previous method, it was not without substantial weaknesses. For instance, the fathers of many students held more than one occupation and could not be validly classified under uni-occupational categories. Presumably, however, such categories did represent primary occupations and were thus indicative of the central tendency in occupational patterns. Yet an even more complex problem was that of defining family incomes, for as noted previously the *bhadralok* family continued, in nearly all cases, to be defined by a set of complex relationships, particularly those pertaining to kinship. The committee, itself, pointed this out when it said that:

> claims of consanguinity are extended beyond the limits of even Scotch cousins, and in the absence of any system of parochial relief, poor dependents cluster around some fortunate member of their house.[73]

In short, in so far as a student was a member of a joint family, he did not necessarily finance his college education through his father's income. Significantly, however, the fathers of most students held middle-rank occupations and were thus capable of paying college fees. Furthermore, the poorer individuals who did manage to enter college were, in most cases, scholarship winners and thus independent of family incomes.

In addition to these problems, education officials also experienced difficulty in securing the correct information from the boys. Parents strongly objected to revealing their incomes because they believed that schools were being used as intelligence departments for income tax assessors. The officials endeavoured to overcome this problem by cross-checking the income stated with a sample for that particular kind of work.[74]

Within the error margins that have been outlined then, this classification is a general indicator of the type of student who was acquiring a tertiary education. Significantly, therefore, when the system was first employed in 1869, of the 774 college students in Calcutta, only thirteen belonged to upper income groups; that is to groups earning more than £600 per year. Of these, only five were titleholders of independent means, while eight were important

zamindars. On the other hand, there were still fewer from the lower income groups; that is groups whose incomes were less than £24 per year. Moreover, both of these were the sons of shopkeepers and thus not truly representative of the lower income category. In fact, nearly all of the students belonged to middle income groups.

Of these, 200 were members of upper-middle income groups, whose incomes ranged from £240 to £600 per year, while 429 belonged to lower-middle and middle income groups whose incomes ranged from £24 to £240 per year. Among the first group, eighty-four belonged to high ranking professions, forty-one to high ranking government positions, and ninety-six to merchant occupations, whereas, in the latter group, 199 were professionals of one type or another, eighty-seven were low ranking government officers, and 141 were small landholders.[75]

Clearly then, income, and thus occupation, were very significant factors in determining those who acquired a tertiary education by the middle of the period under discussion. On the one hand, the wealthy *bhadralok* tended not to require a college education, and, on the other, poorer *bhadralok* could not afford to send their sons to college. As a result, the middle class among the *bhadralok* tended to control tertiary education.

Although there are no exact figures for the period from 1857 to 1869, it would seem that this had been the situation since the establishment of the University of Calcutta. In 1858, for example, when Dr. Duff suggested that a large proportion of students attending the Presidency College were sons of the 'upper-class' Hindus in Calcutta and that the government was, therefore, channelling its funds in the wrong direction, he was corrected by Mr. J. Sutcliffe, the principal of that college.[76] According to Sutcliffe, the argument put forward by Duff was invalid because it treated the Presidency College and the Hindu School as one institution when they were, in fact, two separate bodies. As Sutcliffe demonstrated, less than 5 per cent of the students at the Presidency College belonged to 'upper-class' families, whereas a much larger percentage of pupils at the Hindu School did.[77] As indicated, this structure continued to prevail and in 1872, for example, less than 5 per cent of the students at the Presidency College were 'upper-class', even though such students accounted for more than 20 per cent of the students at the Hindu School.[78]

Why did aristocratic families tend to ignore the colleges? The answer to this question can be found partly in the refusal of these families to mix with individuals whom they considered 'lower' class, and partly in the fact that the primary motivation for a university education was economic. They, in fact, were very conscious of themselves as an 'upper' class distinct from the rest of society, and this attitude had been clearly shown by the fact that they ignored the senior section of the Hindu College (renamed Presidency College) once the rules of admission were altered,[79] while continuing to patronise the junior section of the college (renamed the Hindu School) where the old rules prevailed.[80] Their wealth meant that there was no economic need to obtain a university degree.

The middle classes thus dominated tertiary education in 1870, and they continued to do so for the remainder of the period. There were, however, a number of significant changes within this class itself. Whereas the figures for 1870 indicate that most of the students belonged to the middle and upper-middle income ranks,[81] by 1885 the majority of students came from the lower-middle to middle income group. Indeed, by 1885, 10 per cent of all students came from lower income families; that is from families whose income was less than £24 per year.[82] This change was largely brought about by the alteration in the educational structure.

In the middle of the period, the Presidency College, which had the largest enrolment, was attended mainly by individuals from middle to upper-middle income groups because its fee of Rs.12 per month was beyond the means of lower-middle income families.[83] In the early 1870s, however, the missionary colleges expanded their facilities and, as a result of charging a fee of Rs.5 per month, experienced a rapid increase in the enrolment of students, the majority of whom were drawn from the lower-middle to middle income groups. Indeed, they quickly exceeded the number at the Presidency College where, in fact, the student population began to decline.[84] This movement towards the lower-income ranks of the *bhadralok* was further accelerated in the late 1870s and the early 1880s when a number of *bhadralok*-controlled colleges, charging a fee of only Rs.3 per month, acquired university status.[85] In fact, as noted earlier in this chapter, the *bhadralok* colleges had, by 1885, more students than either the government or the missionary colleges.[86]

During the period under discussion then, class differences among Hindus were highlighted by the development of English education. In the first place, the rentier aristocrats usually refused to enter the same college as the middle class, and having no college of their own and, indeed in economic terms, no need for one, they were not subjected, to the same extent, to the ideas of the colonial ruling class that were disseminated through these colleges. Secondly, and in contrast to the large rentiers, the middle classes entered the colleges and in so doing were exposed to this ideology. Thirdly, within this class itself, there was a gradual increase of individuals from lower-income families in tertiary education. As will be argued in Chapter Seven, these developments were reflected in parallel developments in political relationships among the *bhadralok*.

If the type of *bhadralok* entering the University colleges was, in part, determined by income, it may be asked whether there were any other significant defining variables. In particular, it may be asked whether caste played an important part in determining those who entered college. Certainly the education officials thought that 'caste' was important, for they employed this variable to categorise college students. the serio
attempt to classify students by 'caste' as
and then they used categories so
virtually useless. Indeed, they employed
Baidya-Kayastha, Lower Caste) which
with social divisions within Hindu
classification, but they did not define

students belonged. On the contrary, they confused the categories still further by incorporating Brahmans, Raijputs, Baidyas, and Kayasthas under the same heading.[88] Such a category was, of course, almost meaningless.[89]

Still, if the caste of tertiary students cannot be determined, it is possible to speculate about the caste of students in the Hindu School, the leading Anglo-vernacular institution in Calcutta. The students studying in this institution were drawn from the leading *bhadralok* families in Calcutta, but were not confined to Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas. In 1869, for example, there were 184 Kayasthas (mainly Daksina Radhis), 100 Suvarnavaniks (mainly Saptagrams), eighty-seven Brahmans (mainly Radhis), thirteen Baidyas (mainly Radhis), nine Khettris, and thirty-one Navasaks.[90] Presumably, in other Anglo-vernacular schools where entry rules were less rigid, the variety of castes would have been broader. Certainly the tertiary colleges in Calcutta, which drew students from other districts in Bengal as well as local areas, would have had an even greater range of castes. As a variable then, the caste of students was apparently not as significant as their family incomes.

If caste was not very significant in defining who acquired a tertiary education, other factors seemed to have been. Clearly religion seemed to play an important role. Indeed, even though religious categories were used only occasionally throughout the period and were, for the most part, far too vague, there seems little doubt that the *bhadralok* who belonged to groups that had rejected a large number of the orthodox values were represented far out of proportion to their sizes. For example, Brahmos and Christians, very small minority groups among the *bhadralok* in Calcutta, comprised a sizeable proportion of the student body.

In 1867, for instance, they represented over 16 per cent of all successful entrance examination candidates, over 30 per cent of first year Art students, and 45 per cent of BA graduates.[91] Yet, they represented far less than 10 per cent of the *bhadralok* population.[92] Although scattered figures suggest that their predominance began to wane later in this period, this pattern does indicate that individuals from unorthodox families tended to enter college in much higher proportions than those from orthodox families. This fact was further underlined by the adamant refusal of orthodox families, for most of the period under discussion, to send their sons to England for higher education.[93]

Geographical location was another factor which helped to determine the type of student who entered the University colleges in Calcutta. Although the Calcutta-born Hindus made up a large majority of tertiary students at the beginning of the period under discussion, they were rapidly replaced by individuals who were born outside Calcutta. Indeed, as early as 1862 over 56 per cent of all undergraduates had come from outside Calcutta.[94] Initially, most of them came from the south-west districts which were close to Calcutta, but, as the rail network spread, they began to come from all over Bengal, especially Dacca.[95] Among other things, this development helped to diffuse local ties in Calcutta and to weaken those relationships which were manifested in the system of *dals*.

It did so by means of the student messes which were created to provide accommodation for students from the country. Such quarters provided socialisation agencies alternative to those described in Chapter Two. In so doing, they underlined the very different impact that tertiary education in Calcutta had upon rural students as opposed to those who had their homes in Calcutta, for whereas the former were able to experiment with a new life style, the latter were subject to strict day to day family control.[96] Indeed, according to B.C. Pal, whereas the traditional Hindu household operated as a hierarchical decision-making process, the student messes were managed on strictly democratic lines in which everything was decided by the 'voice of the majority'.[97] For example, managers were elected on a monthly basis by all the students in the mess and disputes between members were settled by a 'court of the Whole House'.[98]

Significantly, the Vikrampur Mess, at 33 Mussalmanpara Lane, was the most prominent mess during this period. It was the mess to which the brightest and most active East Bengali students were attracted, including, among others, Ananda Mohan Bose, Rajani Nath Roy, Prasanna Kumar Roy, Sri Nath Datta, and Dwarka Nath Ganguli. Situated close to the Presidency College and other messes, it became a focal point for student activity.[99] As well, it provided both a geographical and organisational basis for the establishment of the Indian Association in 1876 and the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in 1878. In short, as a secondary socialisation agency in tertiary education, it acted as a key link in the development of ideological and political relationships in Calcutta.

Broadly then, the *bhadralok* who entered the tertiary education system in Calcutta differed markedly from the *bhadralok* who controlled the local system. They were from a different class, they held, in a number of cases, sharply different religious views, and they generally came from outside Calcutta. However, as products of degree courses, they, more than the *bhadralok* of the earlier generation, were exposed to the ideology of the colonial ruling class. They formed, in fact, the basis of an expanding 'middle class' largely independent, in the same way that locally born *bhadralok* were not, of the control of the rentier aristocracy.

Of course, these individuals were more than mere vents for colonial ruling class ideas. Indeed, as education officials often noted, most students entered university for economic reasons;[100] for they were aware that the acquisition of a degree usually ensured lucrative employment, at least in the context of the environment in which they lived. Certainly this attitude was reflected in enrolments in that the number of students entering for a BA degree increased annually so long as jobs were available upon graduation.[101] Conversely, they decreased as soon as job opportunities declined as was the case, for example, between 1870 and 1874.[102] In professional degrees, this pattern was even more evident and enrolments in law,[103] engineering,[104] and medicine[105] all tended to drop sharply as soon as their associated jobs became scarce.

As a result of the above process, the emphasis was upon obtaining a degree rather than acquiring knowledge; a situation which led to learning by rote and to the proliferation of publications containing model answers for examination questions. When the Senate of the University of Calcutta attempted to rectify this problem by revamping the entrance examination, altering the structure of literary questions, discontinuing the practice of setting fixed tests, and making the subjects more broadly based,[106] they were unsuccessful; for examiners had to lower their standards in order to secure a suitable pass rate.[107]

Yet this pattern is hardly surprising, particularly as the colonial educational process was an alienating one, at least in the context of the Bengali culture. Indeed, the fact that of all the subjects, English represented by far the highest failure rate at the University of Calcutta[108] underlined the difference between the two cultures. What happened, of course, is that the most colonised individuals proved to be the most successful students. Certainly this was indicated by the fact that students who studied in Calcutta institutions performed markedly better than those in the *mufassal.*[109] Again, within Calcutta, itself, those who were least conservative tended to achieve better results than others.[110] Moreover, as will be argued in subsequent chapters, it was essentially this group who provided the basis for significant shifts in ideological and political relationships; for the underlying contradiction within the colonial system meant that the *bhadralok* would not only reject the old order, but that they would also increasingly recognise that they were the products of exploitation in the new order.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRESS

While the colonial education system laid the structural basis for the development of a new ideology, other institutions reinforced this process. In particular, the development of the press in Calcutta provided an agency through which the ideas of the colonial ruling class could be communicated. Paradoxically, of course, in describing values such as freedom and democracy, the press also went to some length to show how these sentiments were undermined by the colonial economy and the colonial state. In so doing, it reflected the incongruity of these ideas within this system and marked the beginning of the disintegration of colonialism in Calcutta. The question arises then as to how, in what ways, and with what effects, the press penetrated the *bhadralok* during the period under discussion.

Clearly in answering this question the origin of the link between the press and the *bhadralok* must first be established. Initially, they became aware of the press near the end of the eighteenth century,[1] when they were employed as consultants by Protestant missionaries who wished to publish religious pamphlets, and by government authorities who wished to publish manuals for the civil service.[2] In each instance, of course, they provided a knowledge of the vernacular language. It was in this way then that they began to acquire an independent interest in this facility and as early as 1816 they began to operate their own printing presses and to publish their own periodicals.[3]

Although they were quick to establish an independent press, they encountered numerous problems and the growth of the press was by no means rapid. Indeed, by 1857 there were only twenty-two periodicals run by *bhadralok* in Calcutta; that is an approximate increase of one publication every two years. However, in the years that followed, especially in the years after 1870, there was a dramatic growth of such publications; so much so, in fact, that there were ninety-six in operation by 1885.[4]

Accompanying this development was an increased effectiveness in the way in which these publications were established. Certainly an examination of their life cycles bears this out. The first *bhadralok* periodical (*Bengal Gazette*), for example, lasted less than a year.[5] Again, of the twenty-five periodicals founded between 1821 and 1839, only nine were still functioning at the end of that period.[6] Moreover, five of these nine had been established within the previous twelve months. Between 1839 and 1857, the *bhadralok* links with the press acquired a little more stability as was indicated by the fact that just over 50 per cent of the periodicals founded during this period were still functioning at the end of it.[7] Still, it was not until the period under discussion, and more particularly the latter half of it, that a marked change in the life cycle of *bhadralok* publications occurred. This is indicated by the fact that nearly 80 per cent of journals printed in 1871 were in operation in 1885.[8] In short, by the latter half of the period, the *bhadralok* had acquired most of the skills and resources necessary for running a jo

Such a development suggested that the *bhadralok* were capable of producing or building a printing press with Bengali or English characters, of operating and maintaining a press, or at least, being somewhat more capable of organizing the production and editing of articles which reflected a particular point of view, of building up a readership, delivering the publications to them, collecting payments from them and finally of repeating these tasks at regular intervals throughout the year. It implied, in effect, that they had learned how to master a complex set of organizational skills, most of which were foreign to the local system.

To understand how the *bhadralok* acquired these skills, it is necessary to examine the modes of control which they employed to operate the press. In this context, there were two broad forms: ordinary control through individual rule or control through voluntary association. Of the two, the *bhadralok* used the former method first. They did so, moreover, by means of a patron-client relationship. Indeed, in the absence of large organizations, nearly all of the early *bhadralok* publications depended on some form of patronage. For example, the *Bengal Gazette* was run by Ganga Kishore Bhattacharya under the patronage of Ram Chandra Roy,[illegible] while the *Samachar Chandrika* was operated by Bhabani Charan Banerjee with the support of Radha Kanta Deb and Hara Kumar Tagore.[illegible]

By 1857 this mode of functioning was still very much in evidence. Indeed, without the patronage of Kali Prasanna Singh, at least six *bhadralok* publications could not have been published during the first half of the period under discussion. For instance, Kristo Das Pal would not have been able to publish the *Hindoo Patriot*,[illegible] nor Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee *Mookerjee's* magazine without the help of Singh.[illegible] Significantly, however, this patron-client relationship became less important as the period progressed.

Such a change was significant because it indicated that this mode of control had become less dependent upon local patronage and more the province of middle class. Clearly, although the patron-client network enabled individuals to acquire various editorial skills, it left them psychologically and economically dependent upon powerful patrons. Among other things, they were obliged to adopt the point of view of the patron figures, and were able to operate publications only as long as the patrons provided the finance necessary for operational costs. For instance, when Singh died in 1870, nearly all the periodicals which he patronised ceased to function.

In this context then, the emergence of a *bhadralok* press which was established and run by the same individual or set of individuals was important, for it underlined the fact that *bhadralok* were beginning to absorb the principles upon which the press, as a transferred institution, operated. Although there were signs of this development prior to 1857, it did not really occur until the period under discussion. Indeed, Vidyasagar represented the beginning of this development when he established the *Som Prakash* in 1858.[illegible] Significantly, however, it was most noticeable in the latter half of the period; that is at the same time as the *bhadralok* press itself became more stable. In the early 1870s, for example, the Ghose brothers established the

Amrita Bazar Patrika in Calcutta, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee the *Banga Darsan*, Akshay Chandra Sirkar the *Sadharani* and the *Navajivan*, M.N. Ghose the *Hemlanta*, and Kali Charan Banerjee the *Indian Student*.[14] In the years leading up to 1885, this pattern of ownership became increasingly widespread among *bhadralok* publications.

This change from a patron-client relationship to an independent role was largely the result of the emergence of an unorthodox, fairly highly educated body of middle-class *bhadralok* who were not tied to the local system in Calcutta. Vidyasagar, for instance, was born in Burdwan, and educated at the Sanskrit College. He was unorthodox in his religious belief, and a lecturer and educational administrator by profession. As a result of his good income and his flexible working hours, he was able to purchase a printing press and a book depository, and to publish the *Som Prokash* once a week.[15] Moreover, owing to his freedom from binding local ties, he was able to express an independent point of view. Along with the emergence of this type of individual, there was also a marked increase in the indigenous reading public. Available figures suggest, in fact, that, while newspapers and periodicals never made large profits during this period, a number of them became self-supporting.[16]

If the individual mode of control underwent significant change before it acquired stability, so too did that which was based on voluntary associations. In fact, whereas the latter should have initially represented an important departure from the patron-client system, the shift was not always as marked as the theoretical implications would seem to suggest. On the contrary, in many instances the patronage system operated in the guise of a voluntary association. For example, the *Hindoo Patriot* was controlled by Kali Prasanna Singh within the British Indian Association, and not by that body as a whole.[17] Similarly, the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* was the property of the Tagores of Jorasanko and not of the Adi-Brahmo Samaj;[18] the *Dharma Tattva* was run by the Sens of Colootolla and not by the Brahmo Samaj of India;[19] and the *Sanatana Dharma Podesini* was owned by the Junior Branch of the Deb family and not by the Sanatana Dharma Raksini Sabha.[20] These publications did, of course, represent the views of the associations to which they were attached, but, significantly, when a division occurred within these bodies, the interests of the patron figures invariably predominated.[21]

Although this type of patron-client relationship within voluntary associations continued to govern the publication of a number of periodicals throughout the period under discussion, it was less evident after the establishment of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in 1878. Indeed, periodicals which were owned by individual Sadharan Brahmos and which claimed to represent this association were replaced by periodicals which were owned by the organisation as a whole. For instance, the *Samalochuk* which was owned by Dwarka Nath Ganguli was replaced by the *Tattva Kaumudi*,[22] and the *Brahmo Public Opinion* which was controlled by Ananda Mohan Bose, Durga Mohan Das, and Bhuvan Mohan Das was replaced by the *Indian Messenger*.[23]

Clearly then the press, as an institution, had established itself among the *bhadralok* by the latter part of the period under discussion. In so doing, of course, it was shaping, as well as responding to, the cultural needs of the *bhadralok* in Calcutta. It is interesting in this context to note that the *bhadralok* press became less diffuse, assuming more specific characteristics as the period wore on. Whereas literary, religious, and, to a lesser extent, political publications were the only types produced at the beginning of the period, there were seven distinct categories operating at the end of the period.

There were a number of religious publications. There were magazines devoted to social reform. There were periodicals which reflected the growth in the colonial professions. There were scientific journals and there were business journals. There was the blossoming of a number of new literary journals. And, of course, there was the sudden proliferation of political newspapers.[24]

Of these various types of publication, religious periodicals were most in evidence prior to 1857. Apart from the *Tattvabodhini Patrika*,[25] however, they tended to have no specific aim and to pursue only general subjects. During the period under discussion, there were a number of changes in this pattern as is evidenced by the fact that they grew from 4.3 per cent to 13 per cent of the total number of publications between 1857 and 1885, or in absolute terms from one to seventeen.[26]

There were at least three reasons for this increase. In the first place, there was a constant output of Brahmo publications, especially after 1864 when that body experienced two major cleavages and each new organisation established journals to represent its ideas. Among others, there appeared the *Dharma Tattva* in 1866, the *Bharat Sanskarak*, the *Tattva Kaumudi* and the *Theistic Quarterly* in 1878, the *New Dispensation* in 1881, and the *Dharma Bandhu* in 1882.[27] Secondly, there emerged two important Indian Christian journals (the *Arunodaya*,[28] the *Indian Christian Herald*[29]) which, like the Brahmo publications, reflected specific religious viewpoints.[30] Significantly, in this respect, unlike earlier missionary publications, these periodicals were concerned not so much with attacking orthodox Hindu values, as with noting some of the inconsistencies between Christian belief and missionary behaviour. Finally, in the latter half of the period, there were established a number of orthodox religious journals, the first and most important of which was the *Dharma Sanatana Pradarshini*.[31] In contrast to the orthodox religious magazines which were established in the 1880s, periodicals such as the above were created as a means of introducing changes among orthodox Hindus: changes like the acceptance of vaccinations, the lowering of marriage dowries, and the abolition of kulin polygamy. Broadly then, the development of religious publications during this period underlined the complex nature and the innate contradictions of colonial ruling class values as they were disseminated among the *bhadralok*.

There is hardly any evidence of periodicals devoted to social reform prior to 1857. Yet in the years that followed, especially between 1864 and 1878 when they represented approximately 27 per cent of all *bhadralok*

publications,[32] they flourished. There were magazines devoted to the temperance movement, to the enlightenment of the working class, to the education of females, and to whatever else was in vogue among the social reformers in Victorian England at that time. Indeed, the assumption behind the establishment of most of these publications was that they would fulfil functions similar to their counterparts in England. For example, the *Well Wisher* and the *Hitasadhak* were founded in 1864 to propagate the aims of the Bengal Temperance League.[33] Similarly, the *Sulabh Samacar* was set up by the Indian Reform Association in 1871 to improve the life style of the poorer classes.[34]

Significantly, such publications seemed to achieve very little. Their lack of success was the result, in part, of the tenuous cultural links between the *bhadralok* and the majority of the poorer classes in Calcutta and, in part, of the limited nature of industrial development there. Unlike England, there were no large scale changes in this respect. On the contrary, the situation in Calcutta tended to be, as a consequence of its colonial character, unproductive and static. In fact, the only type of social-reforming magazine to make any headway was that which was devoted to educating females as is indicated by the fact that twelve such publications were founded after 1870.[35] In this case, of course, the journals were concerned with the *bhadramahila*, the relationship with whom was much more logically linked to the *bhadralok*. Clearly, as the *bhadralok* assumed more and more of the values of the colonial ruling class it followed that their wives and daughters would follow suit.

A third area of press activity which emerged during the period under discussion was that which was concerned with business, the professions, and the sciences. Although these publications never represented more than 10 per cent of the total number of periodicals produced by the *bhadralok*, they did increase from one in 1857 to nine in 1885.[36] Business magazines such as the *Trade Advertizer* and the *Calcutta Advertizer*,[37] reflected the adaptation which the *bhadralok* merchants were making to the emergence of a literate consumer middle-class society. Similarly the growth of publications like the *Calcutta Journal of Medicine* (1868),[38] *Shome's Law Reporter* (1878),[39] and the *Indian Homeopathic Review* (1882)[40] underlined the development of colonial professional occupations among the *bhadralok* in Calcutta. Again, the foundation of a journal devoted to science (*Prakriti*) in 1880[41] and to agriculture (*Krishi Gazette*) in 1885[42] were indicators of development in these areas. Equally, the absence of financial magazines and of industrial periodicals were measures of the nature of capitalist development in Calcutta.

Many publications, of course, were founded purely for literary purposes. Indeed, approximately 26 per cent of all *bhadralok* periodicals printed during the period under discussion were of this type.[43] Significantly, however, while they represented 48 per cent of all such publications at the beginning of this period, they equalled only 19 per cent by the end of it.[44] As has been noted, there was during these years a distinct movement away from general literary publications to those with more specialised goals. Nonetheless,

literary journals continued to play an important, if not dominant, role in the development of the *bhadralok* press as was evidenced by the popularity of periodicals, such as the *Banga Darsan*, and the *Bina*.[45] Apart from facilitating the development of the Bengali language to the point where it had lost its early crudity of structure and form, these periodicals, more so than any other type, attempted to describe the nature of *bhadralok* society, noting, on the one hand, the gross contradictions within it, but, on the other hand, never fully understanding the complexity of the colonial forces which were shaping it.

Of all the publication types, however, the greatest growth occurred among those which were established primarily for political purposes. More precisely, they represented 30 per cent of all publications during the years under discussion.[46] Furthermore, they increased as the period progressed from seven in 1857 to thirty in 1885.[47] In particular, they began to appear more often in the latter half of the period when newspapers such as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,[48] the *Sadharani*,[49] the *Aryadarsan*,[50] the *Reis and Rayyet*,[51] and the *Sanjivani*[52] were set up for the purpose of political education and political agitation. Indeed, such was the increase in interest in this area that after 1878 two new political publications appeared every year.[53] There were various reasons for this development. Undoubtedly the most important of these, however, was the growing consciousness of the middle classes in Calcutta of the innate contradictions of their position within the colonial system; contradictions which were manifested in the limited scope they had for employment, despite their qualifications, and in their lack of political equality, regardless of the proclamation of Queen Victoria and other such empty gestures of the colonial ruling class.

Such then was the general nature of the penetration of the press among the *bhadralok* in Calcutta based on data relating to publications. It is possible, however, to go beyond these conclusions and give a more detailed analysis of this process by examining the characteristics of those individuals who acted as instruments for this development. Indeed, it is possible to discern the particular social groupings among the *bhadralok* who acted in this capacity. This is an important point which deserves some attention. To say, for example, that the *bhadralok* were instruments through which the press in Calcutta was developed, misses the subtlety of the situation; for the press did not penetrate all of the *bhadralok* to the same degree or with the same effect. On the contrary, there was a differential development according to different sets of relationships.

What were these relationships? In the first place, a significant number (47 per cent) of them had been born outside the city.[54] By way of comparison, these figures are quite different from those for educational institutions and voluntary associations, both of which were controlled by locally born *bhadralok*.[55] There were, however, similarities in this respect between the press organisers and those individuals who made up the Indian Association, a political pressure group which was established in 1876.[56] Such a pattern underlines the close linkage between the development of the press and changing political relationships.

Residential patterns also emerge as significant in defining who the press organisers were; for, while most of them (74 per cent) resided in the northern part of Calcutta, there were clusters living in Ward 6 and Ward 8 respectively.[57] In the case of Ward 6, the pattern was due to the large number of Saptagram Suvarnavaniks who were involved with the press and to the tendency of numbers of this caste to live in that part of Calcutta. Again, in Ward 8, the cluster was the result of the strong link between the Brahmos and the press and of their residential ties to that area.[58]

In addition to geographical variables, there was also the question of caste. In this respect, the press organisers were not drawn from one particular *jati*. On the contrary, like the educational organisers, they were fairly diffuse, ranging over twelve *jatis*. Within this general framework, they were, again like the educational organisers, made up mainly of Radhi Brahmans (29 per cent), Saptagram Suvarnavaniks (22 per cent) and Daksina Radhi Kayasthas (18 per cent).[59]

By way of contrast, however, the religious background of the press leaders was different to that of the educational leaders. Whereas the majority of the latter were orthodox, 72 per cent of the former were unorthodox. Indeed, nearly one-third of the press organisers were Brahmos.[60] Here again, then, was a clear sign that the colonial ruling class ideology was much more effective in penetrating these areas in which traditional ties had been broken.

Educationally, they also differed from those who held power in the educational structure. Indeed, apart from the Presidency College, they did not attend any one college in large numbers. On the contrary, they were spread over ten different institutions. If anything is apparent, it is that they came from families of moderate means, for prior to the establishment of the University of Calcutta more attended the Oriental Seminary than the exclusive Hindu College. Again, after the establishment of the University, a significant number were educated at either the Sanskrit College or the General Assembly Institution both of which were considerably less expensive than the prestigious Presidency College.[61] Certainly the high drop-out rate (38 per cent) of those who enrolled for tertiary studies[62] suggests that the press organisers were from families with fairly limited financial resources.

Such a pattern was also evident in the occupational background of this group. Unlike the present day, there were no press barons. Indeed, only 17 per cent of them were full-time editors and even these were not engaged in accumulating large surpluses. In fact, most of the *bhadralok* involved with the press were schoolteachers or college lecturers[63] who had the spare time to run a publication and who found this activity a useful way of supplementing their modest incomes. This relationship becomes more obvious when their class ties are examined; for very few of them (less than 16 per cent) were rentier aristocrats.[64] Yet, as has been noted, the middle class who were connected with the press were dependent on the patronage of aristocrats, especially in the early stages of its development.

If this was the general social structure of the press organisers for the period under discussion, it may be asked what changes occurred within this

pattern throughout these years. In this context, what becomes apparent is the breakdown of the local control system, based largely on conservative forces. For example, by the end of the period, the majority of press organizers were born outside of Calcutta, were increasingly settling in the southern part of the city, were becoming more diffuse in terms of caste background, were largely unorthodox, were fairly highly educated, but not to degree standing, and were predominantly middle class.[46]

This pattern becomes clearly evident when the social structure of those bhadralok who operated political publications is examined. Indeed, in certain respects, these changes were even more manifest. For example, whereas there were none of this group residing in the southern zone of the city in 1857, 33 per cent of them were living there by 1885. Similarly, in the case of caste background, there was an increase from eight to twelve *jats* participating in this area of press activity during this period. Interestingly, in this context, although the Radhi Brahmins (25 per cent in 1857, 30 per cent in 1885) and the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks (25 per cent in 1857, 20 per cent in 1885) continued to represent a significant proportion of the total, the Dakshin Radhi Kayasthas dropped from 25 per cent to 7 per cent over this time. In this same period, on the other hand, the Radhi Baidyas made a marked increase from 8 to 17 per cent. As the caste background of these individuals became more varied, so too did their religious affiliations. Indeed, the orthodox group became increasingly less powerful in this respect, their numbers falling from 40 to 24 per cent of the total between 1857 and 1885.[47]

Educationally, this body, when examined over the period, reflected the impact of tertiary education upon the bhadralok, on the one hand, and the marked tendency of its members to withdraw from college before completing a degree, on the other hand. In terms of occupational background, there was also substantial change. Indeed, whereas the mercantile occupations of landholding (20 per cent) and mercantile activities (20 per cent) were prominent at the beginning of the period, they were relatively insignificant (17 per cent collectively) by the end of it. Moreover, as their influence decreased, teachers, lecturers, government servants, and lawyers became more powerful. As a consequence of these changes of course, the middle classes increased their hold upon political newspapers.[47]

The mode of penetration of the press, then, was, like that of colonial education, reflected in the types of publications which were developed and in those bhadralok who acted as instruments for this development. In another context, it was also reflected in the way in which it acted as an integrating agency for the values which it expressed. In this respect, it helped determine the manner in which the bhadralok perceived themselves and the world around them.

Traditionally, Bengalis had always regarded their desh as their ancestral village and its immediate surroundings. Certainly, in the broadest sense, they did not go beyond the sub-regions of Bengal when referring to their homeland.[48] Indeed, as late as the 1860s, there were a number of incidents in which the East Bengali bhadralok were ridiculed for their cultural differences

by south-west Bengalis.[69] Yet the perceptions upon which these differences were based were replaced, in part at least, by the concept of Bengal as a whole, and of a united India.

There is little doubt that the bhadralok press, in following the European press in India in using columns such as 'local', 'mofussil', 'provincial', 'India', the 'British Empire', and the 'world', facilitated this development. In so doing, moreover, they set up specific spatial boundaries and particular roles into which they attempted to place themselves. It was in this institutionalised interaction that they began to acquire a consciousness of nationalism. Of course, in so far as it was linked to an early stage of the capitalist mode of production and to a colonial state, this process was marked by a number of inner contradictions. Certainly there was a lack of consensus among the *bhadralok* themselves as to what nationalism meant.

In this context, the bhadralok press acted as an agency for two types of nationalism. On the one hand, it provided a forum for nationalism based on idealised pre-capitalist relationships, according to which Indians were urged to maintain and revive what were considered traditional institutions. On the other hand, it acted as a means for the expression of a nationalism based on the Westminster model, in which Indians would eventually hold ultimate power.

While the first form of nationalism had its origins in early publications such as the *Samvad Chandrika*,[70] it was not systematically delineated until 1865 when Naba Gopal Mitra, under the auspices of Debendra Nath Tagore, established the *National Paper*.[71] In the years which followed, Mitra pursued a number of themes pertinent to this type of nationalism through the columns of this newspaper.

In part, he attacked foreign elements which he considered were undermining Hindu society. In particular, he attacked Christianity, claiming that missionaries lacked sympathy for other religions and that those Hindus who adopted Christianity were, in effect, divorcing themselves from Hindu society.[72]

> The fact is [he stated] that European nonsecular teaching though extremely revolting, does not come in the eyes of the people of this country with half the bad grace as European religious teaching conveyed through the medium of native Christians does.[73]

His critical attitude even extended to those Hindus who made social contact with Christian missionaries. For example, when Keshub Chunder Sen, P.C. Mazumdar, and other members of the Brahmo Samaj of India discussed the Bible with missionaries, Mitra classed them as nothing more than 'Asiatic Christians'.[74]

He was equally scathing in his treatment of English education which, he argued, was not built on a solid understanding of the vernacular and which he claimed tended to alienate Hindu students from their society.[75] He stated that this alienation was most apparent in voluntary assoc[illegible] such as

Bengal Social Science Association which carried out its proceedings in English and which thus excluded most Hindus from its activities. He felt that social science should have been developed by the people themselves with the assistance of only a few foreigners.[76] Similarly, he criticised the debating clubs which were springing up among young English-educated Hindus, because he felt that these boys tended 'to calumniate their own customs in the name of reforms'[77] when they did not know enough about their own society.

The adoption of the European model of education, he stated, caused the higher classes to decline in wealth and power, and the 'lower' classes to increase proportionately. These 'lower' classes, he felt, often lacked intelligence and position, and were given to making the greatest blunders. A washerman, for example, might be a good English scholar, but he would not be able to shake off his caste peculiarities; for the 'upper' classes had a way of life which would take the 'lower' classes years to acquire. Indeed, he argued that

> even the most illiterate person of respectable birth and connections imperceptibly acquired polish and manner and a nobility of feeling which the most educated vulgar can never pretend to.[78]

Largely because of this process then, he claimed that the natural leaders were not taking their place in Hindu society, and that, as a consequence, the society was being undermined.

Conversely, Mitra praised those characteristics which, he claimed, were the traditional heritage of Hindu society. Indeed, he argued that it was only by rescuing and pursuing these features that Hindu society could be saved. He pointed to the value of the caste system,[79] to the importance of the arts and literature,[80] and, most of all, to the superiority of the Hindu religion.[81] He also eulogised physical education and courage,[82] both of which, he felt, could be developed in the gym,[83] and both of which were part of the Bengali Hindu tradition as was evidenced by the fighting qualities of the *paik* and the *lathial*.[84] He postulated that these traditional qualities could be preserved and revived if caste members worked within their traditional occupations,[85] if schools for the traditional arts and literature were established,[86] and gyms founded,[87] and if and when British were required to employ Hindu *lathials* as soldiers and Bengali high castes as officers in their army.[88]

In spite of his devotion to the subject, however, Mitra never precisely defined what he meant by nation. In particular, he was vague in his definition of the corporate members of his nation. Although he often used the term 'Indian', he only referred to the Muslims in this context on one occasion, between 1867 and 1872, after which he excluded them from this category.[89] On other occasions, indeed, he implicitly excluded them by equating the Indian nation with the Hindu nation. Yet he was even less precise when he referred to Hindus, speaking sometimes of Hindus throughout India,[90] but most often of Bengali Hindus[91] who, he argued, could become a nation like that of the Marathas prior to British rule.[92]

His stands on various issues, moreover, were not always consistent, for he was unable to reconcile his notion of a Hindu nation with that of capitalist

development. For example, he criticised English education on most occasions, but when, in the late 1860s, the government suggested that it might withdraw support from this area and provide more aid for vernacular education, he challenged the proposal on the grounds that it would prevent Hindus training for positions in the government service.[93] As these inner contradictions imply then, Mitra's concept of the nation was, at best, a rather hazy one.

Part of the reason for this lack of definition was that Mitra was endeavouring to construct a model of nationalism from essentially local institutions, which had no parallel in the larger colonial society. For example, when he argued that Hindus should adopt their traditional caste occupations he did not, and could not, demonstrate how such a system would work. He was, in effect, referring to traditions which were not viable in a nationalist context, and as a consequence he was unable to develop his arguments to their logical conclusion. Moreover, under the impact of capitalism, these local institutions had been irrevocably distorted, so that, despite appearances, in essence they had undergone substantial change.

Yet, given these inconsistencies, the significance of press roles such as Mitra's should not be underestimated. In the first place, they were the earliest attempt in any systematic fashion to draw all the small traditions into the mainstream of a great tradition with which the *bhadralok* could identify and to point to the colonial nature of society in Calcutta. In this context, they provided one ideological basis, albeit a conservative one, from which colonial ruling class values could be rejected. Secondly, as a client of the Tagores of Jorasanko, Mitra outlined an ideology, diffuse as it was, which was to become progressively more popular among the aristocracy; for it provided an alternative ideological viewpoint with which to protect themselves against an ideology that the middle class were using to attack them. In this respect, Mitra provided an ideology which would sustain the status quo; that is, one which would not undermine the non-productive social relationships of the rentier aristocracy.

Parallel with this development there occurred another which was much more firmly based on the idea of a bourgeois-democratic constitution. It was founded on the belief that the *bhadralok* could, and would, act as equal partners in a political system based on the Westminster model. It was concerned, therefore, not so much with criticising the colonial institutions as with arguing the right of the *bhadralok* to function on an equal footing with the colonial ruling class.

Although the origins of this view can be traced to the 1820s, it was first expressed comprehensively by the *Hindoo Patriot* which was established in 1853. Certainly by 1857 this newspaper was articulating themes which would provide the major platforms in the nationalist movement in the latter part of the nineteenth century. More precisely, it argued that there should be reforms in the Indian government, in the Covenanted Civil Service, in the Indian Revenue System, in the Judiciary and in the Penal Code. It suggested that only when these changes were effected and all citizens were treated as equal would there be a truly national system.

Yet, as the great outbreak of 1857 was to demonstrate, these views were fairly tenuously based. Owing to this event, there was a strong source of racist feeling among the European merchant bourgeoisie in Calcutta at that time; a development which caused the *bhadrelok* to question the wisdom of a constitutional democratic form of government, particularly as the Europeans were fervent advocates of this type of reform. Fearing that such a system would leave Indians at the mercy of European settlers, Hurrish Chunder Mukherjee, the editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, dropped the reforming stance and adopted a conservative platform for that newspaper.

For example, he criticised the India Reform Bill which had been drawn up in 1858 to effect changes in the system of government in British India. Indeed, he opposed the abolition of the Court of Directors on the grounds that a despotic system of government was the safest for British India.[94] In so doing, he claimed that the Court of Directors acted as a powerful barrier between the interests of Indian people and the impossible theories of colonisation.[95] Mukherjee also attacked the idea of centralisation in India and argued that it consisted of a number of countries.[96] In fact, he even objected to the notion of a competitive examination for the Covenanted Civil Service in the belief that examinations could never replace good breeding.[97] He was, in short, arguing for the *status quo*. But he was doing more than that. He was demonstrating, albeit unintentionally, the incompatibility of a constitutional form of government operating within a colonial system.

Of course, once the threat of the uprising had subsided, the racist feeling diminished. Indeed, there were public meetings of goodwill and the establishment of a Union Club for Indians and Europeans in late 1858. As well, there was, at the official level, the proclamation of Queen Victoria promising equal treatment for all British subjects. Perhaps most important was the recognition by the *bhadrelok* that the European merchant bourgeoisie in Calcutta was not necessarily synonymous with the industrial bourgeoisie in England and that the views of the former were not necessarily those of the latter.

Certainly this change can readily be seen by examining Mukherjee's references to the Indian Reform Society, an organisation in England which advocated constitutional reforms in India and which represented the views of the industrial bourgeoisie. Initially, he equated this body with the Indian Reform League, an association which had been established by the European merchants and planters in Calcutta and which had a representative in London. He believed that both those groups shared the same views and that they aimed to make the Europeans in Calcutta as powerful as possible. Even as late as September 1859, when the Indian Reform Society had dissociated itself from the Indian Reform League and had stated that its proposals for reform included all people in India, Mukherjee suspected its motives.[98] By the end of October, however, he was clearly more sure of the organisation; for, at this time, he stated that there was a growing alliance between the Indian Reform Society and the British Indian Association.[99]

Eventually this relationship would prove to be as tenuous as the one that existed between the *bhadralok* and the European merchants in Calcutta. In the meantime, however, the *bhadralok* acted as agents for the ideas of the industrial bourgeoisie element of the colonial ruling class by continuing to raise issues relevant to the democratic notion of equality. For example, Mukherjee and, when he died in 1861, Kristo Das Pal, as editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, spoke out strongly against the indigo planters on behalf of the ryots.[100] Again, in the late 1860s, Pal took up the cause of middle-class Indians by opposing proposals to alter the system of higher English education,[101] and in the early 1870s he attacked the oppression of the coolies by the tea planters.[102] Yet, although he raised these and other specific issues, his nationalist programme revolved around such topics as what form the Indian government should take, the Covenanted Civil Service, the judiciary, the penal code, and racism.

During this period, there were some significant changes in the development of this process. In particular, an increasing number of newspapers were established for the specific purpose of expounding these issues. Indeed, whereas the *Hindoo Patriot* was the only *bhadralok* newspaper capable of articulating these demands at the beginning of the period, there were, as has been noted, thirty such publications in the latter stages of the period.[103] Moreover, whereas the *Hindoo Patriot* was a weekly publication, eight of the latter newspapers were dailies.[104] In short, the number of *bhadralok* who were subjected to the ideas put forward by these journals increased greatly, and the pressure upon the government to alter the structure of the colonial state became much more intense.

Apart from this change, the *bhadralok* press began to express these demands in an increasingly vehement manner, especially from the 1870s onwards. This was reflected in the divisions that occurred in these newspapers over such issues. For instance, the *Hindoo Patriot*, which had assumed the pre-eminent position as leader of the *bhadralok* press in the 1860s, began to caution vernacular newspapers about the manner in which they were expressing their demands. In 1875, for example, it claimed that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had overstepped the mark in criticising the government over the Baroda question.[105] Similarly, in 1879 it warned the *Som Prokash* to express opinions about the Vernacular Press Act in a more moderate manner.[106]

Partly as a result of this situation, other *bhadralok* newspapers began to accuse the *Hindoo Patriot* of adopting a conservative stance on nationalist issues. In the 1870s and early 1880s, newspapers such as the *Sadharani*,[107] the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,[108] the *Bengalee*,[109] and the *Brahmo Public Opinion*[110] began increasingly to criticise the *Hindoo Patriot* for pursuing its own interests. Indeed, in 1882 the *Bengalee* claimed that the *Hindoo Patriot* 'has ceased to represent native opinion; it is slowly becoming the official moniteur of Bengal'.[111] It would seem then that whereas the *Hindoo Patriot*, as representative of the *bhadralok*, initially feared the reaction of the European merchants and planters, as spokesman for the large rentiers, it eventually feared the outcome of a nationalist form of government which advocated reforms proposed by the middle classes.

Underlying this cleavage were the emerging class divisions within the *bhadralok* itself. Indeed, the development of a constitutional nationalist programme must be viewed in the context of the more substantial emerging class ties. Certainly, although it periodically claimed to represent the interests of all Indians, the *Hindoo Patriot* was first and foremost a vehicle for the ideology and claims of the rentier aristocracy element among the *bhadralok*. It did, of course, argue the case of the indigo ryots in the early 1860s and the tea-plantation coolies in the late 1860s and early 1870s, but, significantly, it did so only after the *Friend of India*, a missionary periodical, and middle-class *bhadralok* newspapers such as the *Som Prokash* had taken up these issues. Moreover, it did so because the interests of the rentiers were not affected. When such was the case, it did not hesitate to attack the position of the ryots. Indeed, the class interest of the *Hindoo Patriot* is very clearly underlined throughout the period by its hostile opposition to Act X of 1859 and to all subsequent land legislation up to the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885.[112]

The class interest of the *Hindoo Patriot* was also evident in the stance which it adopted on other issues. For example, throughout the period under discussion, it strongly opposed all attempts to introduce an income tax or a license tax,[113] because the burden of such taxes would have fallen on the wealthier classes. In fact when these proposals were mooted, it argued that a salt tax would be increased on the grounds that such a tax would be distributed fairly throughout the population.[114]

On other occasions, the *Hindoo Patriot* directly attacked the interests of the emerging working class. In 1857, for example, it complained about the rise in wages of this class.[115] Again, in 1858 it agreed with the *Englishman* that the Calcutta workers were 'a set of lazy, dishonest and faithless men'.[116] Indeed, it argued that in certain instances wages were not necessary.[117] Similarly, whenever the Calcutta Corporation attempted to raise housing rates, it urged that the responsibility for the payment of these rates should rest with the inhabitant, even though he might only be renting the house.[118] In such cases, of course, the *Hindoo Patriot* was underlining the differences that existed between the rentier aristocracy and the middle class.

If the *Hindoo Patriot* represented the reactionary interests of the rentier aristocracy, there were a number of newspapers which assumed the position of spokesman for the middle class. Indeed, apart from a few newspapers such as the *National Paper* which did not give much attention to these questions, most of the *bhadralok* newspapers founded during those years were of this type. There were, for instance, the *Som Prokash*, the *Bengalee*, *Mookherjee's Magazine*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Sanjivani*.

Very broadly, the effect of these newspapers, most of which emerged in the latter half of the period, was to underline the rentier interests of the *Hindoo Patriot* and to act as an agency for middle-class demands. In the case of the former, they did this mainly by acting as spokesman for the ryots when land legislation was impending, and by occasionally defending the position of the emerging working class in and around Calcutta. In 1861, for example, both the *Som Prokash* and the *Indian Mirror* clashed with the *Hindoo Patriot*

over the question of master-servant relationships.[119] Similarly, in 1869 the *Bengalee* castigated the *Hindoo Patriot* for suggesting that the salt duty should be increased rather than impose an income tax which would exempt small income earners from taxation.[120]

Yet they, too, were primarily concerned with protecting and advocating their own interests. In 1875, for instance, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* agitated for an elective system within the Calcutta Corporation so that the middle classes would have some say in how Calcutta was run. Again there were numerous articles devoted to the difficulty which the middle class were experiencing as a result of the continual increase in prices. Moreover, their concern for the ryots and the emerging working class was more apparent than real. In the case of the ryots, for example, they argued not so much for the cultivating ryots as for the tenure-holders, a group of petty rentiers who were closely linked to the *bhadralok* in Calcutta.[121] Similarly, their support of the emerging working class was very fragile and they consistently opposed most of the advances which were made either by this group or on behalf of it, as was evidenced, for instance, by their criticism of the Mehter Strike in Calcutta in 1877,[122] and of the Factory Law in 1881.[123]

Even the Brahmo element of the *bhadralok* press was concerned with the working class only in so far as the latter could be brought under the umbrella of colonial ruling class values. Indeed, it was for this reason that the *Sulabh Samacar* was established by the Indian Reform Association in 1870. As the first *pice* newspaper in India, it achieved a wide circulation in the years up to 1880, by which time it had a distribution of around 4,000.[124] Yet it was primarily interested in altering the social habits of this class rather than with articulating their political or economic demands. Whereas it was quick to point out to them the benefits of vaccinations and the drinking of tap water,[125] it made little effort to expose the process through which the group was exploited. It is significant, though ironic, that the most radical segment of the *bhadralok* middle class formed an intelligentsia which acted as representatives for the interests of the colonial ruling class rather than for the depressed peasantry or for the emerging labour force in and around Calcutta. Of course, in the case of the former, the middle class were themselves linked to the petty rentiers whose existence depended on the exploitation of the cultivating ryot;[126] and, in the case of the latter, there were few cultural ties and no economic links between the middle class and the mill-workers.[127]

Still, their relationship with the colonial ruling class was, at least, very tenuous; for although they continued throughout the period to establish newspapers which articulated reforms within a constitutional framework, their demands were largely ignored. Certainly their position as a middle class in Calcutta was markedly different to that of the middle class in London. Indeed, apart from the appointment of a Hindu to the High Court in 1862 and the introduction of elections into the Calcutta Corporation in 1876, the middle-class press did not achieve much in the way of actual constitutional reforms. As a result, they became increasingly alienated from the colonial ruling class, especially when it chose to take positive measures to suppress their demands.

Indeed, the period under discussion marked a distinct change in policy in this context. Whereas the colonial state was primarily concerned with the power of the Anglo-Indian press through to the late 1860s,[128] it began to turn its attention to the Indian Press in the early 1870s. In 1870, in fact, there were suggestions from some of the higher authorities that the *bhadralok* press was seditious.[129] In 1872, moreover, the government warned Dwarka Nath Vidyabhusan, editor of the *Som Prokash*, about the inflammatory nature of the newspaper.[130] Three years later, in 1875, W. Robinson, the government translator, expressed grave concern over various publications.[131] Finally in 1878 the government passed the Vernacular Press Act which, unlike the Press Act of 1857, was aimed solely at *bhadralok* newspapers.

Yet this form of control merely accelerated the growth of the press and by 1882 the vernacular press in Bengal had a circulation of over 16,000,[132] the majority of which would have been distributed in Calcutta. If, as was argued at that time, each newspaper was read by at least ten individuals, then the press would have reached a large number of people by the end of the period under discussion.[133] However, the *bhadralok* who controlled the press were, in many ways, like a rudder without a boat to steer. As an indigenous middle class intelligentsia, they had become increasingly alienated from the colonial ruling class which had provided the rationale for their existence. But, in so doing, they found few alternative groups to which they could logically align themselves. Certainly there was no indigenous industrial bourgeoisie in Calcutta. On the contrary, there was a non-productive rentier aristocracy which was basically opposed to the notion of a democratic-bourgeois state, there was an exploited cultivating peasantry upon whom the existence of the middle class partly depended, and there was an emerging labour force whose cultural ties lay in northern India rather than in Bengal and with whom the *bhadralok* had few links. It was the type of development which would be found in other institutional forms.

CHAPTER FIVE

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Like the press, voluntary associations played a major part in shaping the ideology of the *bhadralok* according to colonial ruling class values. Like the press, too, this institution first penetrated the *bhadralok* through the agency of Europeans resident in Calcutta who had established such organisations as early as the eighteenth century. However, it was not until 1816 that the *bhadralok* joined Europeans in setting up an institution of this kind,[1] and it was some years before they became familiar with this form of organisational behaviour. Those individuals who made up the voluntary committee which was the Hindu College, for example, found the type of interaction and corporate decision-making associated with this organisation foreign and, at times, in contradiction to the norms upon which the local system was based. In fact, they were unable to manage the financial affairs of the College and were within a few years without a building and in need of government support.[2] Moreover, while the *bhadralok* gradually assumed a more active role in the development of voluntary associations, they were even then participating in only twelve such organisations by the beginning of the period under discussion.[3]

Between 1857 and 1885, however, this pattern began to change, as the *bhadralok* established and joined voluntary associations in steadily increasing numbers. For example, they had assumed key organisational positions in twenty-seven such bodies by 1871; forty-one by 1878; and fifty-nine by 1885.[4] In short, by the latter half of the period, there were clear signs that voluntary associations, as an institutional form, were beginning to make their mark upon the *bhadralok*.

They did so, furthermore, with increasing effectiveness. Certainly an examination of the life cycle of the associations which operated during this period suggests that these bodies became markedly more stable as the period progressed. Indeed, whereas 33 per cent of all voluntary associations containing *bhadralok* in key organisational positions in 1857 had either no *bhadralok* or had ceased to operate by 1871, only 7 per cent of those operating in 1871 were without *bhadralok* leadership in 1885.[5] Yet these figures do not reveal the full picture, for in many instances *bhadralok* ran voluntary associations in conjunction with Europeans. In such cases, of course, they could very easily rely on the latter to provide the necessary managerial skills to operate the association. In fact, when the various committees are examined, it can be seen that Europeans continued to participate in over 70 per cent of these organisations.[6] In this respect then, there is no indication that the *bhadralok* became less dependent upon Europeans during this period. In other respects, however, there were signs that they were assuming such a position.

In the first place, they began to demand more say in the decision-making committees of voluntary associations fairly early in the period. For example,

in 1862 Kristo Das Pal complained that the Vernacular Literature Society was on its last legs because it had relied too heavily on Europeans.[7] He pointed out that though the organisation had attempted to rectify this fault by electing Pratap Chandra Singh, Rama Nath Tagore, and Prasanna Kumar Tagore to the committee, its system of operation had remained the same and the wrong type of books had continued to be selected. He suggested, therefore, that eminent Bengali writers, like Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rajendra Lal Mitra, Akshay Kumar Datta, and Nil Madhav Basak, be invited to sit on the committee.[8]

Although there is no evidence that Pal's demands were effective, there is proof that, after this time, *bhadralok* began to predominate in most of the voluntary associations in which they participated. Indeed, five years later in 1867, when the Bengal Social Science Association was established, Justice Phear, one of the founders, stated that Indians should fill the majority of positions on its committee.[9] Certainly, by the latter part of the period under discussion, the *bhadralok* filled the majority of positions on the committees of nearly all such voluntary associations in Calcutta.[10]

A second indication that the *bhadralok* became increasingly independent of Europeans during this period can be found in the development of voluntary associations which tended to use Bengali as opposed to English. In 1857, and indeed for some years after, literary associations conducted their meetings in English even though the Calcutta Book Society and some others dealt with vernacular subjects. As the period progressed, however, a number of *bhadralok* began to demand that more attention be devoted to the Bengali language and literature. In particular, Dwarka Nath Vidyabhusan in the *Som Prokash*,[11] and Naba Gopal Mitra in the *National Paper*,[12] raised this question. For instance, when the Bengal Social Science Association was established, Mitra claimed that it would have difficulty in achieving its goals because the *bhadralok* were not as conversant in English as they were in Bengali.[13]

Although Mitra tended to overstate his case he did underline the problem of langauge. Certainly he was correct in noting the need for voluntary associations to operate in the vernacular, for in the 1870s a number of associations of this type were established. Among others, the Society for Improvement of Bengali Language and Literature was founded in 1874, the Hindu Literary Society in 1875, and the Calcutta Literary Society in 1876.[14] Significantly, all of these organisations flourished.

Finally, there are a number of case studies which suggest that the *bhadralok* gradually acquired the skills to establish and operate voluntary associations by themselves during this period. For example, in the first half of the period, those associations which were controlled by the *bhadralok* alone or by a large majority of *bhadralok* tended to function somewhat erratically. In some cases they operated without a written constitution and, as a result, their goals were ill-defined and their meetings held spasmodically. For instance, the Oriental Debating Society failed to develop a systematic ongoing pattern because of this factor. Similarly, Brahmo associations tended to ignore the constitutional aspects of organisation. Clearly this factor was evident when the

Brahmo Samaj split in 1865, and when the Brahmo Samaj of India divided into two separate groups in 1878.[15]

In other instances, voluntary associations had constitutions, but members tended to ignore fundamental rules contained within them. Sometimes they imposed their own goals upon the association as was the case, for example, in the Bethune Society in 1867,[16] and the Bengal Social Science Association in 1876.[17] On other occasions, they were unable to manage the financial affairs of their associations, a difficulty that faced the Bethune Society in 1859[18] and the District Charitable Society in 1874.[19] In certain cases, they even failed to hold meetings; a pattern which was reflected in the proceedings of the Bengal Social Science Association in 1874 when it held no ordinary meetings and between 1875 and 1878 when it called no annual meetings.[20]

Yet, by the 1870s, this pattern was beginning to change. Certainly proceedings of associations such as the Family Literary Society[21] and the Bengal Temperance League[22] reflected this development. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, too, underlined this trend when, in 1878, it placed great emphasis not only upon drawing up a constitution but also upon insisting that these rules be followed at all times.[23] For these reasons then, it would seem that, as well as establishing more and more associations, the *bhadralok* were operating these organisations with increasing effectiviness. They had reached a point, in effect, where they had assimilated the ruling class values upon which this type of institution was based.

Having established that voluntary associations had penetrated the *bhadralok*, we may ask what the nature of this penetration was. Apart from shaping the educational and the political value systems of the *bhadralok*, voluntary associations acted as agencies for moulding the ideological structure of this group along seven distinguishable lines: social-reforming, religious, literary-cultural, technical-scientific, professional, charitable, and social.

Of these different types, the first to engage the interest of the *bhadralok* were literary-cultural voluntary associations. Indeed, *bhadralok*, along with Europeans, were elected to the committee of the School Book Society when it was established in May 1817.[24] Yet their involvement in this type of organisational activity remained confined to a few associations for a number of years, and in 1857 they were participating in only four such bodies.[25] By the 1870s, however, they began to express a strong interest in this activity, and by 1885 they served on the committees of sixteen such organisations;[26] an increase which was marked by the fact that literary-cultural associations represented 27 per cent of all voluntary associations operating during this period.[27]

The major reason for this growth was the development in the 1870s of a strong interest in Bengali literature.[28] Partly because of the emergence in the 1860s of a form of nationalism based on the appearance of traditional institutions, and partly because of the growing sophistication of the Bengali language, the *bhadralok* began to establish voluntary associations to discuss vernacular publications. In this respect, they set up associations such as the

Bangabhasha Sanskrit Samaj, the Calcutta Literary Society, the Hindu Literary Society and the Sham Bazar Reading Club.[29]

Voluntary associations also acted as agencies for developing religious values, although, for the most part, they were limited only to the fringe elements of Hindu society. Indeed, while the first of these bodies was established under the auspices of the Brahmo Samaj in 1828,[30] there were only two such associations in operation in 1857.[31] Like the literary-cultural associations, however, they showed a marked increase in the latter half of the period under discussion and by 1885 they numbered thirteen, 24 per cent of all voluntary associations.[32]

The growth of this type of association was the result of changes in three areas of religious activity. In the first place, there was the development of the Brahmo Samaj, an organisation which attempted to assimilate ideas from both the indigenous and colonial religious systems. As has been noted, the inability of this body to establish a coherent ideology led to two major cleavages each of which gave rise to new associations.[33] Secondly, a small but significant number of *bhadralok* chose to accept the colonial religious value system almost in toto by converting to Christianity. In so doing, they also began in 1864 to assume key organisational roles in voluntary associations which had been set up by missionaries.[34] Finally, orthodox *bhadralok* founded a number of voluntary associations as a means of protecting the ideology upon which they perceived Hinduism to be based. Nonetheless, as has been indicated in Chapter Three, these bodies tended to be short-lived. Indeed, even the most important of these bodies during the period under discussion, the Sanatana Dharma Rakshini Sabha, which was formed in 1869, only lasted for a few years.[35]

During this period, the *bhadralok* also began to participate in voluntary associations which had been established to carry out social reform. In fact, there was a steady increase in this type of organisation from two in 1857 to ten in 1885.[36] For the most part, this development can be seen as a direct transfer of ideas which were prevalent among the liberal-bourgeoisie in England at that time. Certainly organisations such as the Bengal Temperance League[37] and the Calcutta Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals[38] were obvious products of this process. So too were those associations which were founded for women. Indeed, it was the latter type of organisation that was most prominent among the social reforming associations. Yet such associations were not widespread throughout *bhadralok* society, but were rather the product of the Brahmo movement and of Christian converts.[39]

There were, as well, a few societies, which were devoted to scientific and technical subjects, that attracted *bhadralok* into their committees. Inevitably, all these associations had their counterparts in London. Certainly this was so in the case of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, the Photographic Society, the Zoological Gardens, and the various museums. For the main part, moreover, these organisations were founded and dominated by Europeans and only later joined by *bhadralok*.[40]

While the *bhadralok* manifested only a passing interest in scientific and technical societies, they showed even less interest in charitable organisations. In fact, voluntary associations which had been set up for this purpose only grew from two to four throughout this period.[41] Lack of concern for this type of activity can be largely attributed to the fact that local ties tended to cater for this need. Most wealthy *bhadralok*, for example, supported *atithisalas* and fed large numbers during famine.[42]

Finally, there were two relevant minor developments in this sphere during the period under discussion: three professional voluntary associations and two social clubs were formed.[43] The former reflected the steady movement of the *bhadralok* into the medical and legal professions during these years. Indeed, they played a major role in establishing the Bengal Branch of the British Medical Association in 1863[44] and the Attorneys and Vakils Association[45] later in the period. By contrast, the latter emerged as a direct response to the two major outbursts of racism in Calcutta between 1857 and 1885. In 1859, Europeans and *bhadralok* formed the Union Club in an endeavour to mark the end of the European racist activities generated by the outbreak of 1857.[46] Similarly, in 1882 representatives from these communities along with a few of the leading Muslims, established the India Club to resolve the differences that were precipitated by the Ilbert Bill. Significantly, however, neither association lasted very long, for the leisure activities of these communities were essentially different. On the one hand, leisure for the British ruling class reflected a closed class activity and resolved around a ritualistic club life. On the other hand, the *bhadralok* preferred to relax in traditional ways most of which revolved around household activities.

Between 1857 and 1885 then, not only was there a substantial growth in the number of voluntary associations containing *bhadralok* organisers, but there was also a movement towards specialisation among these bodies. Among other things, this pattern underlines the fact that there was an increase in both the number and kind of organisational roles which *bhadralok* could fill during this period. Certainly it indicates that, for the first time in Calcutta, a significant number of *bhadralok* had assimilated decision-making skills which could be readily transferred to political organisations. In another respect, it demonstrates that during this period the *bhadralok* began to identify goals in various spheres and that, as a result, they were much better equipped to fill key political organisational positions. Such changes were, of course, the result of the assimilation of colonial ruling class ideas.

In one context then, although these voluntary associations were not primarily political in purpose, they did perform important political socialisation functions by creating organisational roles which could be readily transferred to political activities. There is little doubt, in fact, that they provided the necessary training for those *bhadralok* who established the Indian League in 1875 and the Indian Association in 1876.[47] Who then, it may be asked, filled these roles?

In all, there were at least 475 *bhadralok* who assumed key organisational roles in voluntary associations at one point or anothe rin e period

under discussion.[illegible] Of these, [illegible] per cent were born in Calcutta, the remainder having originated in one of twelve districts. In this respect, they resembled the educational organisers ([illegible] per cent born in Calcutta) more than the press organisers ([illegible] per cent born in Calcutta). Similarly, in the case of residence within the city itself, the organisers of voluntary associations with [illegible] per cent living in northern wards were more like the educational organisers than the press organisers.[illegible]

Caste background, too, provides an interesting basis for comparison. Like individuals in education, those in voluntary associations were drawn from eighteen different castes. Moreover, like the organisers of the educational institutions and the press, those of voluntary associations were made up mainly of Rarhi Brahmans ([illegible] per cent), Dakshin Rarhi Kayasthas ([illegible] per cent), and Saptagram Suvarnabaniks ([illegible] per cent). There were, however, some interesting shifts in the distribution of influence among these three castes, with the Rarhi Brahmans assuming a more prominent position in the press and in voluntary associations than in education.[illegible]

Religion was yet another factor which seemed to place the voluntary associational organisers somewhere between those in education and those in the press. For [illegible] per cent were identified as Brahmos, as opposed to [illegible] per cent in education and [illegible] per cent of those in the press respectively. Like the press, however, the Sadharan Brahmos and the Christians were represented far out of proportion to their actual numbers.[illegible]

In the case of educational qualifications, fewer organisers of voluntary associations had studied to tertiary level - [illegible] per cent as opposed to [illegible] per cent of those in the press - but a greater number had degrees - [illegible] per cent as opposed to [illegible] per cent of those in the press. What emerges as significant in this latter context is the large number of individuals associated with voluntary associations who had acquired law degrees, twice as many, in fact, as those connected with education or the press. In acquiring these qualifications, nonetheless, they shared a similar background to the organisers of educational institutions in that those who had passed through the school system prior to the establishment of the University of Calcutta had studied mainly at the Hindu College, while those who were educated after that time had studied at the Presidency College.[illegible]

Finally, they were more similar to the organisers of education than to those of the press in terms of occupation and class. In this respect, [illegible] per cent of them were either landlords or merchants, while the remainder were either government servants or members of the three major professions in Calcutta (law, medicine, teaching). In keeping with this pattern, [illegible] per cent were rentier aristocrats, whereas the rest were, of course, middle class.[illegible]

While this description underlines the [illegible] structure of *bhadralok* voluntary associations during the period, it does not demonstrate the changes which occurred over the period. What happened was that the nature of relationships among the *bhadralok* became more widely based; less so than that of those who operated the press but more so than that of those who organised education. In this respect, there were by the end of the period a

greater number born outside of Calcutta, though those from the city still tended to predominate with 66 per cent of the total. Outside of Calcutta, there was a movement away from the districts that surrounded Calcutta and the number of East Bengali *bhadralok* increased from zero in 1857 to 15 per cent of the total in 1885. Similarly, although the individuals who ran these voluntary associations lived for the main part in the northern zone of Calcutta throughout the period, there was a gradual movement into the southern part of the town.[54]

As the geographical background of this group altered during the period so too did its caste characteristics. Whereas there were only five different *jatis* represented among these organisers at the beginning of the period, there were eighteen by the end of the period. Moreover, whereas the Radhi Brahmans and the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas were predominant in 1857, they had to share this influence with the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks by 1885.[55]

Similarly, the religious structure of this group also underwent a number of changes between 1857 and 1885. In 1857, 44 per cent of the individuals were orthodox, while the remainder were unorthodox, or Brahmos, or Christians. By 1885, however, non-orthodox grouping had increased to 62 per cent of the total of which, very significantly, 31 per cent were either Sadharan Brahmos or Christians.[56]

Educationally, three important changes occurred among this group during the period. First, there was a gradual increase in the numbers of university graduates among whom Bachelors of Law were particularly evident. Secondly, there was a small but significant rise in the number of *bhadralok* who had studied overseas. And finally, the individuals concerned were increasingly acquiring their tertiary education in institutions other than the Presidency College.[57]

This development of a more open social system during the period was also reflected in the changes within the class structure of the *bhadralok*. Indeed, whereas 66 per cent of the voluntary associational organisers were aristocrats at the beginning of the period, only 32 per cent were so by the end of the period. The emergence of the middle class during these years was further underlined by the movement in the occupational structure; for while aristocratic occupations (landholders, merchants) tended to predominate in 1857, they were less important by 1885.[58]

Changes among the *bhadralok* assuming control of voluntary associations varied, of course, according to the type of organisation. In some instances, the changes were not as evident, whereas in other cases they were more marked. For example, the origin and caste of those individuals in the scientific-technical and the charitable associations were not affected by the migration of East Bengalis into Calcutta; nor did the religious characteristics of this group reflect the changes that were occurring in the general structure during this period. Similarly, most of them did not possess a degree, were either landholders or merchants and came from the aristocracy.[59]

In contrast to this pattern, the changes among the organisers of social reforming and of religious bodies were more marked [illegible] which were

effected within the general structure. Indeed, in the case of origin, by the end of the period only 32 per cent of the organisers were from Calcutta as opposed to 46 per cent from East Bengal. Moreover, both this type of association and the social reforming bodies were very strongly influenced by *bhadralok* who were either Brahmos or Christians. In this context then, it is hardly surprising that the associations contained more individuals who had received a university education and who were middle class, the majority of whom were government servants or members of one of the professions.[50]

In some instances, the organisers of particular associations differed from the general norm in some aspects, but not in others. For instance, the individuals associated with the professional associations were all middle-class lawyers or doctors who held a degree; yet none of them came from East Bengal. Similarly, although there was a definite movement of overseas educated individuals into social clubs in the latter stages of the period, there were no other major changes in this structure.[51]

Politically, these changes were significant because they reflected links that were also evident in political relationships. Indeed, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, there were close ties between the technical-scientific and the charitable associations and the British Indian Association, a rentier aristocratic political pressure group, as well as between the social-reform and the religious bodies and the Indian League and the Indian Association, middle-class political pressure groups.[52]

There are, in fact, a number of case studies which demonstrate that, while these bodies may have pursued primary goals of reform, religious activities and so on, they also acted as instruments for the development of political relationships. They did so, on the one hand, by laying the foundation for the development of a nationalist mentality, and, on the other hand, by facilitating the emergence of a class structure among the *bhadralok*. They did so, moreover, in various ways.

As has been noted in Chapter Four, of course, there were expressed in the press two forms of nationalism each of which reflected a different mode of thought. There was that which was linked to the democratic-bourgeois notion of nationalism and there was that which was related to a traditional feudal idea of nationalism. The former was first and most powerfully expressed by literary associations which were founded by Europeans and which were primarily concerned with producing literature based on the ideology of the colonial ruling class. Among others, the Asiatic Society,[53] the Bethune Society,[54] the Family Literary Society,[55] and the Bengal Social Science Association[56] held meetings at which papers relating to questions of Indian education, economics, geography, history, law and literature were presented.

Although the literary associations were the most important agents in this respect, they were not the only ones. Scientific-technical associations such as the Indian Economic Museum, the Zoological Gardens, and the Indian Antiquarian Association also helped to develop this concept of nationalism. Similarly, reform societies such as the Sadharani Sabha and the Indian Reform Association and professional bodies like the Attorneys and Vakils Association endeavoured to import this idea.

Whereas the first notion of nationalism received its impetus from the literary associations, the second was initiated through religious associations. For example, as the organisational force behind the Hindu Mela, the Adi-Brahmo Samaj provided the means for the implementation of many of the suggestions outlined by the *National Paper.* Indeed, from 1867 onward, it established a forum for indigenous arts, crafts, gymnastics, and dramas.[67] The Sanatana Dharma Raksini Sabha, too, contributed to this mode of thought by attempting to standardise traditional practices among Hindus both in Bengal and in more northern parts of India. It sought, for instance, the opinion of eminent Brahmans and others on questions such as polygamy and dowries. Having done that, it then attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to draw up general rules of behaviour.[68]

This process was further facilitated by a subtle change in the types of literary associations that were established in the latter half of the period. In contrast to the earlier literary associations such as the Bethune Society, a new body of literary voluntary associations were founded by the *bhadralok*, themselves, with the specific aim of developing an indigenous literature and history through the medium of the Bengali language. In this way, societies such as the Hindu Literary Society and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad were set up to reject the British interpretation of Indian history and to focus upon the positive characteristics of traditional institutions.

Underpinning the development of these nationalist modes of thought was the emergence of a class consciousness among the *bhadralok.* At a general level, of course, this process was indicated by the fact that these associations separated the *bhadralok* from the rest of Indian society. For example, in each case there were rules which specified that members must be educated and be able to pay an annual subscription that was beyond the means of the poorer classes in the society.[69] More specifically, it was indicated by the fact that certain associations limited their membership mainly to members of the rentier aristocratic class. For instance, some organisations such as the Mayo Hospital confined membership to individuals from families that had made large donations, while other bodies such as the Union Club charged prohibitive fees.[70]

In part, the class consciousness which the *bhadralok* developed through these associations was facilitated by the pressure of individuals from other communities who belonged to similar classes. In particular, it was aided by the interaction with the colonial bourgeoisie and the colonial middle-class functionaries of the ruling class. Yet, as has been noted, there were fundamental contradictions in this set of relationships not the least of which was the fact that the indigenous middle class had no firm ties with the colonial bourgeoisie or its associated middle-class functionaries in developing their notion of a democratic-bourgeois ideology. On the contrary, owing to the colonial nature of this situation, the latter tended to view the development of a middle-class consciousness among the *bhadralok* with the deepest suspicion. In fact, even those *bhadralok* who had been converted to Christianity and who had, therefore, assimilated most fully the ideology of the colonial ruling class felt themselves alienated in this way. Certainly Lal Behari Dey

indicated this when he criticised the Reverend Alexander Duff for excluding 'Native' Christians from management positions in missionary associations in the earlier part of the period under discussion.[71] In arguing that this sort of treatment was counter to the spirit of Christianity and the 'natives' should be treated as equals, he was inadvertently underlining a fundamental contradiction in the development of the colonial society in India.

Indeed, *bhadralok* were not slow in recognising the exploitative nature of the colonial mode of operation, as is indicated by the fact that they used the voluntary associations as a forum for raising such issues. For example, at a meeting of the Bengal Social Science Association in 1869, Chandra Nath Bose read a paper entitled 'Thoughts on the Economic Conditions of Bengal and Its Probable Future' in which he referred to the harm caused to Indian manufacturers by the government policy of favouring English merchants. Around the same time, Krishna Mohan Mallik read a series of papers at the Family Literary Society on Bengal Commerce[72] in which he emphasized a similar theme. As the middle class became increasingly alienated from the colonial ruling class in subsequent years, such papers did, of course, provide valuable reference points in articulating political issues.

While the big rentiers, as a non-productive class who were concerned with retaining the *status quo*, did not feel this sense of alienation in the same way that the middle class did, there were occasions when the *bhadralok* in general felt the true nature of the colonial process. Clearly this was the case in 1857 when the great revolt saw latent fears expressed in overt acts of racism by Europeans. Whereas such behaviour was not new to Calcutta, it had never before assumed such intensity. Indeed, the aristocratic element of the *bhadralok*, who were usually exempt from these attacks, were lumped along with all Indians as potential threats to the Empire. Although there were a number of heated exchanges between the two communities around this time, the most pointed occurred when Rajendra Lal Mitra was expelled from the Bengal Photographic Society for publicly condemning those Europeans who had questioned the loyalty of Indians in Calcutta following the oubreak in northern India.[73] This action, in turn, led to a strong protest from the *bhadralok*, a movement which was taken up by the rentiers' newspaper, the *Hindoo Patriot*.[74] Yet, as far as the rentier aristocracy was concerned, this situation was an exception for they perceived themselves as very much a part of the ruling class in India, without recognising the parasitic nature of their position. Indeed, even at the time of the Ilbert Bill in the early 1880s when European racism was again rampant in Calcutta, the rentiers were reluctant to join the middle-class *bhadralok* in responding to these attacks.[75]

Perhaps most important, however, was the role these voluntary associations fulfilled in shaping the consciousness of the middle class; for these organisations provided formal agencies through which the *bhadralok* could identify their interests. In particular, these bodies created the means whereby members of the middle class could articulate their political position in society. They fulfilled this function for the middle class largely because this group

had no political pressure group for most of the period. Significantly, the big rentiers who had founded the British Indian Association in 1851 to voice their political demands were not keen to have other voluntary associations used for this purpose. As a result, there was a series of clashes, throughout the period, between the rentier aristocracy, who wanted to maintain social control of the *bhadralok*, and the middle class, who sought to undermine that control.

In 1859, for example, Kailas Chandra Bose suggested that the Bethune Society alter Rule 5 of its constitution.[76] This suggestion was criticised by the *Hindoo Patriot*, the rentiers' newspaper, which pointed out that by proposing that 'any subject which may be fairly included within the range of general literature and science' be allowed, Bose was, in fact, creating the opportunity for political debate.[77] Similarly, in February 1867, shortly after the Bengal Social Science Association was established, Rajendra Lal Mitra, a spokesman for the rentier aristocracy, moved that the Social Science Association should adopt a rule which specifically prevented political discussion. When his proposal was rejected, the rentier aristocrats and their clients withdrew from the Association.[78]

In March 1876 there was yet another clash between the rentiers and the middle-class *bhadralok* when the former were informed that Krishna Mohan Banerjee had, at a meeting of the Bengal Social Science Association, raised the question of the Calcutta Municipality, with specific reference to the electoral system which had just been introduced. The rentiers, who were strongly opposed to this change within the Municipality, attacked Banerjee, through the auspices of the *Hindoo Patriot*, and claimed that he was using the Association as a political body. They warned that the Bengal Social Science Association had nearly been disbanded shortly after being founded largely because of a similar situation.[79]

A few years later, the role of the Bengal Social Science Association was again called into question when its application to hold meetings in the Town Hall was rejected by the Calcutta Corporation. Commenting with some approval, on the decision of the Corporation, the rentier press noted, in referring to the activities of the Association that

> if things are allowed to go in the same way as heretofore, [we] shall not be surprised to find out washerman and barbours [*sic*] clamouring for the concession of holding their Punchayets there.[80]

These incidents, of course, reflected the desire of the rentier aristocracy to maintain control among the *bhadralok*, and also the need of the middle class to identify their own position within the colonial society. They point, in short, to the underlying force behind the development of *bhadralok* political pressure groups during this period. It is to this subject, then, that the next chapter is devoted.

CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL PRESSURE GROUPS

Of all the types of voluntary associations, political pressure groups were the usual means through which political demands were articulated, for they had as their primary goal the representation of the political interests of particular segments within society. In Britain, they were employed for this purpose by various elements within the bourgeoisie, the middle classes, and the emerging labour aristocracy. In India, as a transferred institution, they were also used by social classes, or groupings within these classes, as instruments for political expression. Owing to the nature of capitalist development in India, however, there were fewer identifiable classes than in an industrialised society such as Britain. Certainly in Calcutta there was no indigenous bourgeoisie, nor was there a labour aristocracy. On the contrary, there was, as has been noted, only a rentier class and a middle class. Consequently, it was through these classes that political pressure groups penetrated indigenous society there.

Significantly, between 1857 and 1885, there were only three such associations operating in Calcutta, and, of these three, two were not established until the latter stages of this period. The first, the British India Association, was founded in 1851;[1] the second, the Indian League, in 1875;[2] and the third, the Indian Association, 1875.[3] In this context then, the ideological preconditions for the development of these organisations could be seen as having been established by the penetration of colonial education, the press, and voluntary associations, in general.

Of the three associations, the British Indian Association was established to protect the interests of the big rentiers within the colonial society. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that 85 per cent of the key organisational positions were held by members of that class.[4] Nor is it surprising that 58 per cent of them were either landholders or merchants;[5] that is tied to occupations which were traditionally associated with this class. In fact, all their background characteristics were those that were related to this class.

Thus, 71 per cent of them were born in Calcutta, while the remainder came largely from the neighbouring districts of Hooghly and Twenty-four Parganas. Moreover, 80 per cent of them resided in the traditional Hindu zone of Northern Calcutta.[6] Again, while they were drawn from eleven different castes, 72 per cent were either Dakshin Radhi Kayasthas, or Radhi Brahmans, or Saptagram Suvarnavaniks.[7] As well, they were predominantly orthodox (71 per cent) in religious orientation.[8] Finally, whereas very few of them had a tertiary education (12 per cent), most of them had attended the exclusive Hindu College (73 per cent).[9]

Within this general structure, of course, certain changes occurred during the period. In the first place, the association became more exclusively the

province of the rentier aristocrats, for, whereas 72 per cent of the key organisational positions were filled by them in 1857, 91 per cent of these positions were filled by such individuals in 1885.[10] Similarly, whereas only 33 per cent of them were landholders at the beginning of the period, 65 per cent of them were so by the end of it.[11] In part, this change can be attributed to the fact that the aristocratic element within the *bhadralok* became more clearly identified as a rentier class during the period under discussion. It can also be attributed to the establishment of political pressure groups which were largely middle class during this time, a process that tended to break down traditional ties that had previously linked the *bhadralok* together.

This development was further underlined by changes that occurred in some of the associated background characteristics of the rentier class. For instance, although most of the key figures in the British Indian Association had lived in the northern part of Calcutta, more (95 per cent) did so at the end of the period than at the beginning of it (85 per cent).[12] During this time, of course, the middle class were gradually moving into the southern section of the city.[13] Parallel with this change was the growing religious orthodoxy of the group, for whereas only 56 per cent of them were of this persuasion in 1857, 81 per cent of them were in 1885.[14] It would seem, in fact, that as the new political pressure groups emerged with a strong link with unorthodox middle-class *bhadralok* the British Indian Association adopted a more conservative stance.

In other respects, however, the British Indian Association reflected a growing sense of class identity among the rentier aristocrats in that, throughout the period, certain characteristics which tended to undermine this identity were altered. In the first place, its key organisational members became less localised and more representative of the rentier aristocracy in Bengal as a whole. Indeed, whereas 83 per cent of them came from Calcutta at the beginning of the period, only 60 per cent did so at the end of it;[15] figures which underline the movement of the rural aristocracy into this sphere of politics.

A second factor which was very significant was the change in caste background of this group. In 1857, although there were seven castes represented among this body, 50 per cent of them were Daksina Radhi Kayasthas, one of the largest and clearly the most powerful *jati* in the local system in Calcutta. As the period progressed and as local ties became more truncated and fragile, it became increasingly difficult for one caste to dominate. Clearly this was the case by 1885, for the number of Daksina Radhi Kayasthas in key positions had been almost halved (27 per cent) since the beginning of the period. As well, by this time, there were many Saptagram Suvarnavaniks (27 per cent) and a significant number of Radhi Brahmans (19 per cent) holding such posts.[16] In fact, it would appear that caste relationships, though still present, had by then given way to class ties.

This change was enhanced, as might be expected, by the penetration of colonial education among those individuals who ran the British Indian Association. There were, for example, a growing number of key organisers who had acquired a degree and fewer individuals who had been [illegible]ated at

the exclusive Hindu College.[17] Yet these changes should not be over-emphasised. A large majority of them had not gone beyond the secondary level of education (83 per cent) and most of them had studied at the Hindu College (70 per cent), even at the end of the period. Moreover, of those who had acquired a degree, none had studied overseas, and most of those who had not attended the Hindu College had attended the Presidency College,[18] an institution which, though less exclusive than the Hindu College, was by far the most expensive of the new university colleges.

In effect, during the period under discussion, the individuals who controlled the British Indian Association progressively absorbed the colonial ruling class values, at least to the extent that they increasingly perceived themselves as an indigenous aristocracy. As has been indicated in Chapters Three to Five, however, *bhadralok* organisations such as this one inevitably took some time to integrate these values. In this respect, the British Indian Association was no exception. Certainly, in the early stages of its development, this body was by no means an integrated political organisation; rather it reflected contradictions so evident in other areas of colonial society. On the one hand, as *dalapatis* within the local system, the key organisers of this association were in conflict with one another. On the other hand, as large rentiers, they had in common a set of economic interests, to protect which they had to operate collectively. This link between these two sets of relationships played a large part in shaping the development of the British Indian Association.

When the British Indian Association was established in 1851, for instance, Radha Kanta Deb, the leading *dalapati* in Calcutta, was elected as the first President.[19] Moreover, even though the rules of the Association stated that elections were to be held every year, he retained that position without an election for the next sixteen years, the last four of which he spent in Brindaban,[20] a religious centre in the United Provinces. The influence which the Deb family exerted in the British Indian Association at that time was further underlined by the fact that Kali Krishna Deb held one of the vice-presidencies for most of that period.[21]

By the early 1860s, however, the influence of this family had begun to wane[22] and when Radha Kanta Deb died in 1867 it was not in a position to claim the Presidency of the Association. Indeed, by that time, at least three other leading Hindu families - the Tagores,[23] the Singhs,[24] the Ghosals[25] - held strong claims to such a position. However, of these three families, the Singhs and the Ghosals experienced a number of deaths and, as a result, they had no suitable candidates to put forward. Consequently, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, the leading member of the Tagore family, was elected President in 1868.[26]

Once in power, the Tagores endeavoured to impose a traditional claim upon the position of President. Indeed, when Prasanna Kumar died shortly after being elected, he was replaced by Rama Nath Tagore.[27] Again, when Rama Nath resigned to enter the Council of the Governor-General of India in 1873 and 1874, the position of President was held vacant and then filled by Digumber Mitra, a follower of the Tagore family, until Rama Nath was able to resume duties. Finally, when Rama Nath died in 1877, he was replaced by Jatindra Mohan Tagore.[28]

Clearly then, for much of the period, the development of the British Indian Association was marked by the social control that operated at a local level. Yet, while this system of patronage may have continued for some years, it came increasingly under attack from other members of the British Indian Association. In the early 1870s, for example, Jadu Lal Mallik, a representative of the Mallik family of Pathuriaghata, suggested that annual elections should be held according to the rules of the constitution.[29] Although Mallik's criticism was rejected,[30] there was an attempt to make the Association more open by increasing the number of vice-presidencies from one to four.[31]

When Jatindra Mohan Tagore assumed the Presidency in 1878, however, the general feeling of discontent among the members at the way the Association was being run became even more evident. Indeed, it led to claims that Tagore had been 'smuggled in as President of the Association' and that the position should have been filled by proper means.[32] As a result of such criticisms, the constitution was amended at the Annual General Meeting on 7 June 1879 so that no person who held the office of vice-president or president during the preceding year was eligible for re-election until one year had lapsed.[33] Although this rule was not strictly adhered to in subsequent years, it tended to prevent one or two leading families from controlling the executive.

This inability to act as a co-ordinated unit was also reflected in the failure of the British Indian Association to set up permanent links upon which to build a comprehensive nationalist programme. Although it established a number of branch associations, its records suggest that these bodies were generally short-lived and inactive. Again, shortly after it was founded, it attempted unsuccessfully to establish sister associations in Bombay and Madras through means of contact with the leading Indians in those cities.[34] Similarly, it endeavoured to tie itself more firmly to the centre of the colonial political system by hiring an agent in London in 1853 to act on its behalf, only to allow this link to disappear within the matter of three years.

If the British Indian Association found it difficult to act as an integrated body until the latter part of the period, how then did it survive until that time? As has been argued elsewhere, it did so by hiring functionaries who had the ability to operate effectively in the colonial society and who had shown themselves to be potentially loyal clients.[35] In effect, it recruited these individuals to fill roles which its members could not fill because they lacked the necessary skills, were unable to spare the time, or felt that such activities were beneath their social status. For example, during most of the period under discussion, it employed Kristo Das Pal as its Assistant Secretary; a position which entailed drawing up petitions, drafting memoranda and articulating the demands of the Association at public meetings. In this way then, the British Indian Association was able to survive the transitionary period until it became an effective political pressure group within the colonial context.[36]

It has been argued, of course, that the primary objective of the British Indian Association throughout this period was, as stated in its constitution, the protection of all classes of the Indian population.[37] Certainly this was the

platform which the Association continued to claim for itself during this time. In 1861, for example, it stated that it pursued political questions that were in the general interest of India.[38] Again, in April 1868, it pointed out that the British Indian Association was open to all Indians regardless of class.[39] Similarly, at the Annual General Meeting in 1880, Peary Chand Mitra said that 'I rejoice that it is an Association not for any particular class but for all classes'.[40] Rajendra Lal Mitra echoed the same sentiments at the Annual General Meeting two years later when he claimed that

> the Association has always been true to its profession of representing all classes of the community and the interests of those who cannot help themselves.[41]

Stated aims are, of course, not necessarily a true guide to actual behaviour. Indeed, the stated aims of the British Indian Association were clearly not evident in the way it operated. Although it might claim that it was open to all classes, it actually ensured that only the rich could participate in its activities by charging a fee of Rs.50 per year; an amount which was beyond the means of all but the wealthy.[42] Moreover, when this body was approached in 1873 by a middle-class group with a request to lower the subscription fee to Rs.10 or Rs.5, it refused to do so.[43] It was meant exclusively for the rentier aristocracy or for the few middle-class individuals, like Kristo Das Pal, who would act as functionaries for them.

Nor was it primarily concerned with representing all classes in India. It did, of course, touch on a variety of nationalist subjects ranging through all levels of the system. For example, at the municipal level it agitated for a greater voice for Bengalis in the Calcutta Corporation,[44] while at the provincial level it urged the government to remove racial discrimination which existed within the judicial system,[45] and, at the British Indian level, it expounded on the discrepancy between British promises and British action in opening up the Civil Service to Indian candidates.[46] In expressing these views, it was laying the basis for the nationalist movement which began to gather force in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

But this picture, so popular with nationalist historians, is monolithic and somewhat misleading. There is no doubt that the British Indian Association made some impression in articulating issues such as those outlined above. However, a close examination of its policy suggests that it only supported such issues so long as its own class interests were not endangered. For instance, it supported the idea of a salt tax instead of an income tax because the former, though adversely affecting the poorer classes, would have been less of an imposition upon the wealthy.[47] Similarly, it continually urged that more political authority be given to Indians; yet it attacked the concept of limited franchise which was introduced by the government at a municipal level in 1876, claiming, among other things, that the system of nomination was less dangerous politically.[48]

The clearest example of the limitations of its nationalist policy, however, was its indecisive stand on the Ilbert Bill, one of the most controversial issues

to emerge in Calcutta in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although it generally supported the Bill, which was drawn up to eliminate racial discrimination from the Criminal Procedure Code, when the European planters, strong opponents of the Bill, suggested that they might ally themselves with the rentier aristocrats against the proposed Tenancy Bill, Kristo Das Pal, a spokesman for the British Indian Association, indicated that both Bills were equally dangerous.[49]

Underlying the British Indian Associations's stance on nationalist issues, of course, was a clear class position. Indeed, even when it ostensibly aided classes other than the large rentiers as was indicated by its support for the indigo ryots in the early 1860s[50] and the tea plantation coolies in the late 1860s[51] and the early 1870s,[52] it did so for reasons of political expediency rather than for any deeply held conviction on the plight of these other classes. For example, to what extent it would have assumed this position had the missionary newspapers, the *Friend of India,* and the middle-class *bhadralok* newspapers, the *Som Prokash* and the *Bengalee,* not done so is a matter of conjecture. Yet these newspapers, rather than the British Indian Association, were primarily responsible for initiating support for the above classes.

In fact, although both issues were essentially concerned with limiting the power of the European planters, there is evidence to suggest that members of the British Indian Association were closely connected with the indigo and tea industries. Certainly the Tagores of Jorasanko[53] and the Seals of Colootolla, [54] both of whom held powerful positions in the British Indian Association, had made huge profits out of indigo. Moreover, other members of the Association, like Peary Chand Mitra, were involved with tea companies in the 1860s and the 1870s.[55]

More importantly, however, there is ample evidence to demonstrate that it actively opposed the poorer classes on most issues. In the late 1870s, for instance, it spoke out strongly against the Master and Servants Bill and the Factory Bill,[56] both of which were intended to rationalise the lot of the emerging labour force in and around Calcutta at that time. In the case of the latter bill, it suggested that 'nothing could be more pleasing than the sight of smart little children generally full of good health and spirits working at the spindles'.[57]

It saved its major criticism, however, for the peasants. Certainly, as most of its members were large *zamindars,* it had a vested interest in ensuring that their interests were not undermined by government legislation. Consequently, whenever rent bills were mooted that might in any way compromise their control of landholdings, the British Indian Association would attack the proposed changes. Prior to Act X of 1859, for example, it argued strongly against those clauses which improved the position of the peasant on the grounds that such changes were contrary to the tenets of the Permanent Settlement of 1793. In the same way, it adopted similar arguments in the long public debate which led up to the Bengal Tenancy Act of

In view of this evidence then, it is hardly surprising to find that a content analysis of the petitions which the British Indian Association presented to the government during this period reflects the class nature of that body. Indeed, of the 117 petitions addressed by the British Indian Association to the government between 1860 and 1883, over half were primarily concerned with protecting the position of the zemindar aristocracy.[35] This trend, moreover, became more evident from 1879 onwards, largely as a result of the pressure that was placed upon the Association by the new middle-class political pressure groups.

Generally then, the British Indian Association emerged and operated in response to two sets of needs. On the one hand, it reflected a growing desire among Indians to articulate a nationalist policy, and, on the other, it demonstrated an increasing awareness on the part of the zemindar aristocracy of their class position in society. Inevitably, of course, the latter development would eventually preclude the former. When that happened, there was no doubt in the minds of the zemindar aristocracy as to where they stood. In this context then, it is hardly surprising that this class, which had been created by the colonial process, would, in subsequent years, emerge as the strongest supporter of the system.

Indeed, this limitation was recognised very early in the period under discussion by the emerging middle classes. In 1860, for example, the *Som Prakash* suggested that the British Indian Association was failing to communicate with the people whom it was ostensibly representing.[36] Similarly, in December 1862, it claimed that the British Indian Association was representative neither in its membership nor in its views.[37] In May 1867, the *National Paper* stated that the Association was operating under false pretences by purporting to represent the Indian subjects of British India when, in fact, it only represented the aristocracy.[38] In May 1868, the *Bengalee* made a similar point when it criticised that body as a *zamindari* organisation which generally pursued *zamindari* measures.[39]

In this context then, the emergence of the Indian League and the Indian Association was more than just the result of factionalism among the *bhadralok*; it was the expression of a political need which had not been satisfactorily met by the British Indian Association. Indeed, by the late 1860s and early 1870s not only were middle-class *bhadralok* urging the British Indian Association to broaden its views, but they were also beginning to discuss the possibility of forming a political pressure group which was more truly nationalistic in its aims. In the 1860s, for example, Vidyasagar and Digambar Nath Mitra had mooted the possibility of such a move.[40] Again, in 1872, a group of middle-class *bhadralok* had put forward a similar proposal.[41] In view of this situation, it would appear then that it was only a matter of time before a new political pressure group emerged. Certainly both the Indian League and the Indian Association can be viewed as part of this development.

In the case of the Indian League, therefore, it is hardly surprising that 68 per cent of its key organisers were middle class.[42] In this respect then, they were not large zemindars in the main, but rather they were representative

of the middle-class occupations in Calcutta at that time. They were, in fact, spread over ten occupations of which 38 per cent were lawyers of one type or another (attorneys, barristers, pleaders), 14 per cent landholders (mostly small to medium), 14 per cent teachers or lecturers, 14 per cent government officials, and the remainder either editors, or doctors, or merchants, or private clerks.[67] In this respect, they represented a class group which was distinct from that which controlled the British Indian Association.

In other respects, they were also different. Indeed, 50 per cent of them were born outside Calcutta. Moreover, of this 50 per cent, 32 per cent came from districts some distance from Calcutta, particularly districts in East Bengal.[68] As a result, they were not subject to the local social control of *dalapatis* in the same way that the Calcutta-born *bhadralok* were. This pattern was further underlined by the fact that over 42 per cent of them lived in south Calcutta, away from the traditional ties of the northern part of the city.[69]

Furthermore, although the majority of organisers of the League belonged to castes which were located in South-West Bengal, 36 per cent of them belonged to castes which were located either in East Bengal or North Bengal. This difference between the British Indian Association and the Indian League was, in addition, highlighted by the religious factor; for whereas the former were mainly orthodox (71 per cent), the latter were predominantly unorthodox, or Brahmos, or Christians (73 per cent).[70] The educational background of the individuals in the League was also substantially different from those in the Association. Unlike the latter, they did not have close ties with the Hindu College, and in contrast to the latter, the majority of them had degrees (54 per cent).[71]

This association had little chance to develop, however, for within a year of its foundation it had been largely supplanted by the Indian Association. Certainly the changes that occurred within the leadership structure of the League over the short period of three years clearly indicates this lack of development. In the first place, there was a significant increase in the number of rentier aristocrats associated with the association. Whereas only 30 per cent of the committee of the League were rentier aristocrats when it was established in 1875, 40 per cent of the committee were rentier aristocrats in 1877.[72] This pattern was also reflected in the growth in the number of landholders and merchants associated with the League during this period.[73]

Secondly, this body also became more localised in its associated characteristics. For example, whereas in 1875 only 48 per cent of the individuals belonging to this group had been born in Calcutta, by 1877 60 per cent of them fell into this category. Similarly, they became more orthodox, less highly educated, and more closely tied in their educational background to the Hindu College.[74] What do all these changes suggest?

Various answers have been given to this question. One historian, for instance, has argued that the League failed to develop due to personality clashes.[75] Another has pointed out that Shishir Kumar Ghose, the League's secretary, did not have the necessary attributes to assume the leadership of that body. While these views certainly have some validity, they are not in themselves conclusive.

Yet the Indian League did not collapse solely because of the opposition of the British Indian Association; it also lacked the capacity to integrate the different groups which belonged to it. In particular, it failed to win the support of the Brahmos, especially those individuals who would eventually form the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Indeed, that it was established when Ananda Mohan Bose, the leader of the radical Brahmos, was in East Bengal was probably planned by those *bhadralok* who had links with the Datta family of Bowbazar. Certainly, in commenting on the establishment of the League, Sirkar, who belonged to this group, hinted that such was the case by noting that Bose was not the only 'asset' in Calcutta.[84]

Moreover, although Brahmos were nominated to the general committee, they were not included on the executive. Again, they were excluded from participating in the key decision-making activities of the League. Among other things, they were not advised when meeting times were changed; nor were their opinions sought when petitions were drawn up.[85] Such behaviour, of course, inevitably led to a split and on 22 December 1875, the Brahmos, nearly all of whom were to become Sadharans, publicly resigned *en masse*.[86] Their action marked the beginning of the end for the Indian League; for they represented the only alternative organisational base to the British Indian Association. Indeed, as has been noted in previous chapters, they had, by the middle of the 1870s, built up strong ties in the areas of education, the press, and voluntary associations.

There is little doubt that the key organisers of the Indian League were aware of the significance of the Brahmos and for this reason attempted to incorporate them into the League. Equally, there is little doubt that they did not want to be controlled by the Brahmos, otherwise they would not have gone to the lengths which they did to exclude them from the policy making process. What remains uncertain is the identity of these key organisers.

Shishir Kumar Ghose who ran the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* played an important role in establishing the League, but it is doubtful whether he was the most influential figure within this organisation. Certainly he held neither of the key positions of President or Secretary.[87] Indeed, it would seem that there were other more influential individuals involved in the establishment of this association. Among others, there was Akshay Chandra Sirkar an influential pleader and *zamindar* in whose newspaper, the *Sadharani*, rather than in Ghose's newspaper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the prospectus for the Indian League was published.[88] As well, there was the Christian faction led by Krishna Mohan Banerjee and Kali Charan Banerjee; the former of whom assumed the role of President for a period and the latter of whom tended to act as spokesman for the League at public meetings.[89] There was also Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee who was the first President of the League.[90]

It would appear, however, that the key organisers were the Dattas of Bowbazar, a powerful *bhadralok* family who were among the leading indigenous merchants of Calcutta. Not only did they provide the first secretary in Jogesh Chandra Datta, but they were also patrons of Sirkar and Mukherjee.[91] It would seem that they provided the resources for the establishment and operation of the League as an alternative political pressure group to that of

the British Indian Association. Certainly, in 1877 when the League had lost its initial following, the Duttas remained tied to that body. Whether they had quarrelled with other members of the British Indian Association, whether they planned to establish an organisation which was more directly concerned with the interests of merchants, or whether they merely wished to patronise dissident middle-class *bhadralok* like Ghose, Sirkar, or Mukherjee remains to be established.

Clearly the stated objectives of the Indian League were very similar to those of the British Indian Association. Among other things, it claimed that its aims were to propagate the views of the people, to educate them politically, to safeguard the interests of various classes, to generate a feeling of nationalism among the people, and to develop the economic resources of the country.[92] It would seem, however, that it was more truly a middle-class association than the British Indian Association. One indication of this was that its annual subscription was set at Rs.5[93] as opposed to the Association's Rs.50.[94] Another indication was that its first concern, the question of representation in the Calcutta Corporation, was largely a middle-class issue.[95] Apart from this question, however, the Indian League had only a limited opportunity to express its views; for, as has been noted, within the matter of a year it had been largely supplanted by the Indian Association.

It remains to be shown, therefore, to what extent the social basis of the Indian Association was comparable to that of the Indian League. What emerged, in effect, was a similar pattern, though one in which the difference between the Indian Association and the British Indian Association was more pronounced. In the first place, there were slightly more middle-class *bhadralok* in the Indian Association and a stronger predominance of lawyers (35 per cent) and educationists (33 per cent). Significantly, just under one-third of the lawyers were barristers, who by virtue of their profession had studied in England.[96] This pattern becomes even more evident when their educational backgrounds are examined, for 72 per cent of them had degrees. Indeed, 14 per cent had studied overseas, 21 per cent had MAs, and 28 per cent had BLs.[97]

Secondly, in the case of associated characteristics, there is strong evidence to suggest that they were not dominated by the system of local control in Calcutta. For example, 61 per cent had been born outside Calcutta and 42 per cent of them resided in south Calcutta. Moreover, of those who lived in the northern zone of the city, 18 per cent resided in Ward 8,[98] a Brahmo stronghold that had broken away from the local system of *dals*. Caste ties also reflected this development, particularly the fact that Bangaja Kayasthas (an east Bengali *jati*) accounted for 20 per cent of the total. Religious background, however, highlighted most clearly the lack of local social control in the development of the Indian Association. Only 21 per cent of them were orthodox. By way of contrast, 41 per cent were Sadharan Brahmos. In fact, 54 per cent of all organisers in the Indian Association belonged to one of the three Brahmo Samajes.[99] It was, in short, established on a Brahmo organisational base.

Within this contextual framework, there were significant changes between 1876 and 1881. Unlike the Indian League, however, the Indian Association developed into a more fully based middle-class political pressure group. Indeed, the percentage of middle-class committee members increased from 75 to 81 during this period. They increasingly came, moreover, from the professions of law and education, so that by 1881, 78 per cent of the total were representatives of this group. In fact, by this time they could be clearly identified as the highly educated among the *bhadralok* (82 per cent of them had degrees). They could also be seen as having formed their friendship ties at the Presidency College.[100]

In this respect, their ties with the traditional local system in Calcutta became increasingly weaker throughout these years, as did their links with the northern part of the city. By 1881, for instance, less than 30 per cent had their origins in Calcutta, and over 54 per cent lived in southern wards, while another 17 per cent were located in Ward 8.[101] Again, east Bengali castes such as the Bangaja Kayasthas were gradually replacing local groups like the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas. But the most important development was related to the religious background of these individuals. By 1881 the Indian Association was for all intents and purposes controlled by Sadharan Brahmos (48 per cent of total).[102] They provided the organisational resources which attracted unorthodox individuals like Surendra Nath Banerjee and Christians like Krishna Mohan Banerjee.

Certainly, when it was formed with the Sadharan Brahmos at the centre, the Indian Association had a much better chance of survival than the Indian League. Its ability to survive was further enchanced, moreover, by the fact that the British Indian Association was more concerned with crushing the Indian League than with stopping the Indian Association. In fact, there were members of the British Indian Association who joined the Indian Association, when it was established in July 1876, with the aim of controlling the development of that body by channelling its direction towards issues which were not of primary concern to the British Indian Association. Kristo Das Pal, the assistant-secretary of the British Indian Association, indicated that this is what it thought, when he suggested that the Indian Association might take the London-based East India Association as its model.[103]

Such sentiments, however, were misplaced, for the prime movers behind the Indian Association had no intention of following the advice of the British Indian Association. On the contrary, they pursued a distinct policy of their own. Inevitably, then, the two associations clashed and by 1879 were in open conflict.[104] Unlike the Indian League, furthermore, the Indian Association had a much stronger organisational base and by this time it had won the support of most of the individuals who had remained with the League after the Indian Association had been formed. Nonetheless, it, too, experienced certain difficulties in establishing an ongoing operation.

Among other things, there were problems in adapting to the constitutional pattern of running an organisation. In August 1880, for instance, Bhuvan Mohan Das, one of its leading members, called the attention of the committee

to the incipient dangers of ignoring rules that had been laid down in the constitution. He pointed out that rule 14, which stated that the committee could not memorialise the government without first convening a general meeting, had been broken on at least two occasions. He also noted that rule 17 had been contravened because the Annual General Meetings had not been held in January. Finally, he suggested that rule 34, which laid down the procedure for handling the accounts of the Association, had not been honoured.[105]

Still, in spite of these difficulties, it managed to achieve a reasonable degree of stability. Indeed, unlike the British Indian Association, its capacity to organise was not dependent on one or two members, but rather on a wide range of individuals who had gone some way towards absorbing the colonial value system and who were most certainly familiar with its underlying organisational principles. They were, as has been noted, the leaders among the middle-class *bhadralok* in Calcutta, individuals who had studied overseas or who had MAs; individuals who had rejected the orthodoxy of their past; and individuals who were deeply involved with the development of colonial institutions such as English education, the press, and voluntary associations. It was for these reasons, then, that the Indian Association marked the real beginning of a middle-class political movement in India.

In so doing, it developed links which had previously been largely untapped, but which provided a clear sign of things to come, not only in Calcutta, but throughout India. For example, it set about incorporating university students into the political arena. It was able to do this because a number of its members had close ties with the students either as their lecturers or as proprietors of university colleges. Ananda Mohan Bose, Kali Charan Banerjee, Krishna Mohan Banerjee, Surendra Nath Banerjee, and Jogendra Nath Vidyabhusan lectured in the various colleges in Calcutta, while Bose founded City College in 1880.[106] and S.N. Banerjee established the Presidency Institution in 1883.[107] As well, some of its members, like Bose, had studied in England where they had seen student organisations in operation.

In establishing these student organisations, the Indian Association was fully aware that they would provide useful channels for their political demands. For example, when the students presented their first public statement in June 1877, one member of the Association suggested that they were no longer

> the dumb subjects of the educational experiments of our university. This is the first time that they have ventured to give vent to their feelings in what most vitally concerns them.[108]

He might have added that they also represented a very useful resource for the Indian Association.

In particular, they were useful for drawing public attention to issues which the Indian Association considered important. In May 1879, for example, they sent a letter of sympathy to Dwarka Nath Vidyabhusan when government

authorities decided to implement the regulations of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 and close down his newspaper, the *Som Prokash.*[109] Again, in May 1880, they held a public meeting to rejoice at the defeat of the conservative government in the parliamentary elections in Britain, and in 1883,[110] they held public meetings to protest against the Ilbert Bill and the imprisonment of Surendra Nath Banerjee.[111] In the latter instance, when Banerjee was sent to gaol for publishing an article in contempt of court, a large contingent of students met at the City College and resolved to wear black arm bands as a symbol of protest against the treatment of Banerjee.[112]

But the students were not the only political force incorporated by the Indian Association; it also mobilised sections of the peasantry in Bengal. In particular, it claimed to act as spokesman for the peasants in the public debate which led up to the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885. It did this, in part, by organising public demonstrations of peasants in Calcutta and in the *mufassal.* In February and April 1881,[113] for example, it arranged mass meetings of peasants in the city to discuss the Rent Bill.[114] In June of the same year, it organised a series of village meetings in the Nadia district to focus on this question. Similarly, in February 1883, it supported the peasants in the rent agitations in Mymensingh and claimed to have received papers from peasants in this district outlining their case. And, in the closing stages of the Bill in 1885, it set up a massive demonstration of peasants to indicate support for the Bill.[115]

During this same period, it also took up the cause of the peasants in the Meherpaire sub-division of Nadia in their struggle against the indigo planters. In particular, it publicised the police suppression that occurred in the village of Anundabash where riots had erupted in the middle of 1881 when an indigo planting party endeavoured to measure a piece of land there.[116] It argued, moreover, that the twenty peasants who were sent to prison as the result of this outbreak were too harshly treated. It suggested, too, that the government was taking the part of indigo planters.[117]

As well as incorporating students and peasants into the political arena, the Association built up links which would provide the basis of a national political system. According to the *Bengalee,* it did this by utilising the network which had previously been established by the Brahmo Samaj when it had set up, in a very short time, a number of branch associations throughout India, especially northern India. In fact, it had established ten such branches by October 1877,[118] and eighty by the end of the period under discussion.[119]

It extended these links to Britain, moreover, by taking its demands to the political arena which operated there. While the British Indian Association had previously employed this form of communication, the Indian Association used the link more systematically. It did so by actively supporting the Liberal Party; the party to which it was most clearly linked ideologically. Indeed, in the context of transferred values, the Indian Association embodied the principles of the Liberal Party, albeit in a colonial system.

Certainly an examination of the links between the Indian Association and the Liberal Party reflects the underlying logic begind the development of the

Association. What emerges is that the Indian Association initiated this link in 1879 by sending Lal Mohun Ghose to England to press for changes in the rules relating to entry to the Covenanted Civil Service.[120] In 1880, it broadened these ties by sending Ghose back again to support the Liberal Party in the parliamentary elections that were to be held there.[121] In 1883, it endeavoured to establish this link on a permanent basis by setting up the National Fund, which would be used for political agitation in Britian.[122] And finally, in 1884, it sent Ghose to England where he was accepted as a candidate for the Greenwich Branch of the Liberal Party for the 1885 election there.[123]

Significantly, it is in the context of this development that the Indian Association decided in May 1882 to establish an inter-regional body in India called the National Conference. Basing the idea upon the annual all-Indian conferences which were held by the Brahmo Samaj, it suggested that such a body could meet once a year to discuss national issues and to devise policy for the subsequent year. After some delay, it eventually held the first meeting of the National Conference in Calcutta in 1883.[124] In spite of the fact that other leading Indian organisations in Calcutta - the British Indian Association, the Mahommedan Literary Society, the Central National Mahommedan Association - boycotted this conference, the Indian Association was able to draw upon a wide range of Indian leaders who were in Calcutta at that time for the International Exhibition.[125]

Ironically, however, when the Indian Association held the second meeting of the National Conference two years later, it managed to convince local bodies such as the Mahommedan Literary Society to send representatives, only to find that the leaders from the other provinces were more concerned with establishing a similar organisation in Bombay called the Indian National Congress. Indeed, in December 1886, the Indian Association, recognising that power lay with the Bombay body, brought the Indian Conference under the jurisdiction of the Indian National Congress.[126] It could be argued that this development took place because the middle classes in Bombay, in contrast to those in Calcutta, had an emerging industrial bourgeoisie to which they could attach themselves. But that, of course, is another story.

What is evident is that the Indian Association had some difficulty in developing a policy which went beyond the interests of the middle classes. In its stated goals, of course, it claimed that its major objectives were nationalist. Among other things, it stated that it would create a strong body of public opinion; unify the Indian races upon the basis of common political interests and aspirations; promote friendly feelings between Hindus and Muslims; and involve the masses in the great public movements of the day.[127]

Nonetheless, having made such large claims, it deliberately confined its membership to the middle classes by charging an annual subscription of Rs.5.[128] In this respect, it should be noted that it did include a special membership for peasants, but at Rs.1 per year it ensured that most of the cultivating peasants were prevented from joining. Certainly the issues it took up were largely middle-class ones. Among the more important of these, for instance, were the rules that governed entry into the Covenanted Civil

Service,[129] the Vernacular Press Act,[130] the cost of the Afghanistan War,[131] Local Self-Government,[132] Representative Government,[133] and the Ilbert Bill.[134] Of the questions considered, the issue of entry into the Covenanted Civil Service was undoubtedly the most significant. Indeed, this debate, which was of direct concern to the highly educated middle-class *bhadralok* who controlled the Association, was among the first taken up by that body,[135] especially as the Secretary of State had in February 1876 lowered the maximum age limit for the open Civil Service Examination from 21 to 19.[136]

On the other hand, it gave little indication that it was concerned with developing links with the emerging labour force in Calcutta. Indeed, it openly agitated against the interests of this group on a number of questions. Certainly this was the case when it criticised the Mehter's strike in 1877[137] and the Factory Act in 1881.[138] Indeed, its lack of concern for this group is clearly indicated by the fact that it did not present a single petition to the government on behalf of labour during the period up to 1885.

As has been noted, however, this was not the case with the peasantry. On the contrary, as has been pointed out, it tackled the question of the Tenancy Bill with great vigour, closely following and debating the relevant clauses of each new version of the Bill until the Act of 1885.[139] In the process, moreover, it organised petitions and arranged meetings on behalf of the peasants. Yet, as has been argued elsewhere, the peasantry was by no means a coherent social group. Owing to the nature of land legislation in Bengal dating from the Permanent Settlement of 1793, there was between the *zamindar*, at one extreme, and the landless labourer, at the other, a wide range of complex divisions based on sub-infeudation and different customary and legal rights which varied from place to place. There were, for example, rich peasants who cultivated land the assessment of which had been fixed at earlier dates, and who had close ties with the Indian Association. Again, there were peasants who had the right of occupancy, but who could have their rents increased, and there were peasants who had no right to occupancy. In each case, the relationship between the *zamindar* and the control of the land varied.[140]

What the Indian Association was concerned to do in the events leading up the Tenancy Act of 1885 was to loosen the grip of the *zamindar* still further. In so doing, of course, it could be seen to be representing the interests of the peasant. Yet its interest was not so much in the peasant as a cultivator whose surplus was confiscated by the *zamindar*, but rather in cultivable land as a profitable area for investment. Owing to a lack of opportunity for investment in industrial development, this area, along with urban property, remained one of the few channels into which the more affluent of the middle class could channel their money. It was for this reason then, that the Indian Association argued, for example, that occupancy peasants should be allowed to sell their mortgages.[141]

In view of this situation, it is hardly surprising that the British Indian Association perceived the Indian Association as an enemy of the class interests of the rentier aristocracy. Whereas the former wanted to retain the status quo

within the colonial system, the latter wished to bring about changes, though again within a colonial context. As a result of this development, the two political pressure groups were more often than not in open conflict. In the case of the civil service question, for example, the British Indian Association welcomed the suggestion by Lord Lytton in 1879 of a 'Native' Civil Service in which one-sixth of all posts in the Covenanted Civil Service would be awarded to Indians on two-thirds of the standard salary.[142] The Indian Association, of course, bitterly rejected this proposal.[143] But it was the question of property relations in the *mufassal* that, more than any other, defined this difference.

By the end of the period under discussion then, the development of the Indian Association represented a substantial change in the structure of political relationships among the *bhadralok*. As a middle-class political pressure group, it underlined the differences that existed between the rentier aristocracy and the middle classes and the breakdown of local social control that the *dals* had imposed upon the *bhadralok*. As well, it reflected the development of political relationships which had previously not existed.

Certainly these changes were noted by other pressure groups such as the Anglo-Indian landholders and the British Indian Association, both of whom criticised the Indian Association for drawing students and peasants into the political system and for aligning itself with a political party in Britain.[144] They were also recognised by the colonial state, leading members of which expressed their anxiety at the ease with which the Indian Association seemed to have adapted the techniques of political agitation so popular in Britain to the political system in Calcutta.[145] Yet, as will be argued in the next chapter, it was the contradictions within the state that facilitated this development.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE COLONIAL STATE

As the *bhadralok* in Calcutta developed into two distinct classes, they gradually altered the structure of political relationships, and, in so doing, questioned the nature of the state in British India. Some individuals, like Naba Gopal Mitra, employed western techniques to question the institutional basis of the state. But generally those individuals who had begun to absorb the ideological principles of colonial society questioned not so much the institutional basis of the society, as the fact that they were denied the right of entry to important positions of political power within it. In particular, they argued that, according to the Charter Act of 1833, and, more especially, the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, they were entitled to assume important political authority roles within the state.

In contrast, the colonial ruling class learned that, as political relationships changed, it became more difficult to maintain the *status quo* in the area of political authority. More precisely, they found themselves involved in a classical colonial dilemma in which, as a result of inner contradictions, they had to acknowledge publicly principles that they privately recognised would bring about the demise of their own power. In short, while they were bound constitutionally to accept the idea of equality, in practice they endeavoured to ensure that such a situation would never arise.

Certainly by the beginning of the period under discussion leading colonial authorities had come increasingly to accept the notion that India could not be governed according to principles that were coming to prevail in Britain. Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India 1859 to 1866, made this point most succinctly when he wrote in 1861 that

> The Government of India must be a despotism; the most successful rule over conquered millions is despotism... For heaven's sake don't give way to English Free, and somewhat democratic notions in India.[1]

Yet it was one thing to make statements of policy and another thing to implement them. If the state in India was based in part on institutions such as English education, the press, voluntary associations, and political pressure groups, then it could hardly hope to function indefinitely in a system in which political authority bore no relationship to these institutions. Certainly the European planting and merchant classes in Calcutta were not prepared to accept political notions of the kind outlined by Wood. On the contrary, they agitated for a more democratic process of government. Significantly, however, although the Europeans led this agitation at the beginning of the period, the *bhadralok* gradually assumed this role as the period progressed -- a process which, in fact, caused the large majority of European settlers to revert to the principles outlined by Wood, for fear of an Indian dominated

In this context, in 1861 the Council of the Governor-General of India was enlarged so that at least half of the additional or new members (not less than six not more than twelve) were to be chosen from outside the Civil Service.[11] At the same time, a legislative council was created for Bengal, modelled along the lines of the Governor-General's Council. Legislative government was also introduced at the municipal level in 1863, when the property of the Town of Calcutta and the management of its municipal affairs were vested in a Corporation in which authority was placed in the hands of the Justices of Peace, individuals who were nominated by the government. This system was restructured in 1871, when those Justices nominated were to be confined to residents of Calcutta and, more particularly, in 1876, when the number of Justices, renamed Municipal Commissioners, was increased to seventy-two, two-thirds of whom were to be elected by ratepayers of Calcutta.[12] As a consequence of these changes at the various legislative levels, there emerged a number of roles which were filled by *bhadralok*. Of course, the more significant the position the fewer *bhadralok* there were.

In the case of the Council of the Governor-General of India, in fact, there were only twenty-five Hindus nominated to this body during this period. Moreover, of these, fourteen came from provinces other than Bengal, five from the Bengal *mufassal*, and only six from Calcutta itself. The individuals who comprised these latter two groups were, apart from Kristo Das Pal, big rentiers, mostly who had studied at one time or another at the Hindu College.[13] They were, in short, representatives of the rentier aristocracy and were, therefore, closely linked to the British Indian Association.[14]

How, then, were these *bhadralok* related politically to this chamber? There is no simple answer to this question, because the function for which the Council was actually intended was not exactly the same as the one which it fulfilled. This confusion can be traced to the Charter Act of 1853, according to which the legislative role of the Council was broadened by the addition of extra members. As a result of this change, the Council assumed a more independent identity than the one for which it was intended. Instead of acting as an advisory body to the Council in its executive role, it adopted the trappings of a small parliament and opened its proceedings to the public. In this respect, it introduced, albeit in a limited manner, the notion of representation into the state machinery; for, although all the members were functionaries of the state, some of them had strong ties with the European merchant bourgeoisie in Calcutta. As a consequence, in some instances, they acted as representatives of this class in attacking the official policy as drawn up by the Governor-General in consultation with the Home Government.

Canning noted this behaviour in a letter to Wood in September 1859, when he wrote that

> A great mistake was made in dressing it [the council] up with all the forms and ceremonies of Parliament and in opening it up to the Public, but it is too late to alter this.[15]

In failing to lay down official guidelines on matters such as the number and the place of meetings, however, he neglected an error of 1858. Secondly, he in no way prevented the Council from acting as a real force in the past. Indeed, with the addition of the non-Executive members, it became more like a representative body than before and its functions more than made up for anything the Governor-General from time to time in matters of policy. In fact, it tended to fulfil at least two more important political functions. First, it created an official forum in which the European community and the senior civilians could have their interests voiced by their representatives and, secondly, it enabled individuals who were selected for the Council to acquire the skills associated with legislative rules. It is hardly fair to blame Wood, however, for his over-broad view of a situation in which the European merchants in Calcutta perceived their rights as similar to those in Britain, ignoring the colonial nature of the system in India. It is fitting, moreover, that provided the guiding principles according to which the

rentier aristocrats were able to follow suit. It was because of this fundamental contradiction in the colonial system that the structural basis of the state came to be altered.

Yet this change was not as significant as it might have first appeared, for the colonial ruling class went to some lengths to ensure that this chamber remained largely ornamental. They did so by nominating to it Hindus who were not equipped, in the bourgeois-democratic sense, to carry out the functions associated with the legislative role. Certainly a number of the individuals who were chosen to sit on the Council experienced difficulties in adjusting to the conventions of this chamber. For example, the Maharaja of Patialia, who was nominated to this body in 1862, claimed that he could not sit in the same room on an equal basis with other Hindus who were much lower in rank than himself.[21]

In addition to exploiting the conservative tendencies of the Indian aristocracy, the colonial authorities selected individuals who were, in many cases, not conversant with English – the language in which debates were carried out. As a result, they were unable to participate with any great effect in this body. The Maharaja of Burdwan, for instance, did not make one statement during his period in the Council between 1864 and 1867;[22] nor did the Maharajas of Jaipur, Benares, and Vizianagram during their periods in the Council between 1870 and 1875.[23]

This situation arose because the state chose to ignore those individuals who were best suited to fill these positions; namely, the highly educated middle-class *bhadralok*. Certainly, very early in the period, Wood emphasised that he had little time for the 'highly crammed Babus'.[24] Conversely, he advocated that individuals who were influential locally would be utilised in state activities.[25] As a result, in selecting Indians for the Council of the Governor-General of India, the colonial authorities were not concerned that these individuals would be unable to participate effectively in the proceedings, for the state had no great desire to extend the notion of democracy in this way. On the contrary, by incorporating the aristocracy into the legislative machinery of the state, the colonial rulers hoped to utilise traditional forms of social control to maintain stability within the system.[26]

This policy, moreover, was largely adhered to throughout the period. If anything, the Calcutta middle-class *bhadralok*, or *babus* as they were commonly referred to, became increasingly unpopular with the colonial authorities, and by the end of the period they were regarded as both 'irritating and troublesome'.[27] Indeed, even those individuals who were regarded favourably by the government were overlooked in favour of local leaders. In 1875, for example, Temple wrote to Northbrook, Governor-General 1872-1876, that, although Digumber Mitra was a much abler man, he should appoint Raja Narendra Krishna Deb to the vacancy in the Council because Deb had much more influence in the local system.[28]

In fact, in 1882 Kristo Das Pal became the first middle-class *bhadralok* to sit in this chamber. He was not chosen by the state, however, for he did not belong to an aristocratic family, he was not independently wealthy, and he

did not hold a high position within the British Indian Association. Instead, he was selected by the British Indian Association when it was given the right to nominate one member to this Council. He was chosen by this body because he was better equipped than any one else within it to handle the conventions of the debating chamber, as he had clearly indicated by his performances in the Calcutta Corporation and the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. As spokesman for the British Indian Association, he put forward its demands on important issues, particularly the Rent Bill which was under discussion at that time.[29]

Certainly, however, owing to the government's policy of selection, the *bhadralok* in Calcutta had little effective representation in this chamber during the period. In fact, the local press referred to the first Hindu members nominated to this Council as 'Foreign Princes' who were ill equipped to handle the position.[30] In 1869, it echoed similar sentiments.[31] Yet, even when they were nominated to the Council, the local aristocrats from Calcutta did not perform much better, in spite of the fact that a few of them had a good working knowledge of English. Indeed, they tended to follow the policy of the Governor-General regardless of their convictions, as was most clearly demonstrated when Jatindra Mohan Tagore spoke out in favour of the Vernacular Press Act in Council in 1878, even though the British Indian Association, of which he was President, had opposed this Act.[32] Certainly Tagore had no hesitation in reversing his position when four years later, in 1882, Lord Ripon, Lytton's successor, repealed this Act. In referring to Ripon's action, Tagore made a long, eulogistic speech in which he suggested that the 'lost liberty of the Vernacular Press was once more regained'.[33] In short, the rentier aristocracy were easily manipulated by the colonial ruling class.

At the provincial level, the development of a legislative chamber can be viewed in much the same way as its all-Indian counterpart, though it would be fair to say that there was more substance to the Bengal body. In the first place, the number of *bhadralok* nominated to the provincial council increased to twenty-eight, and, secondly, they were drawn from a more limited geographical area (Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa). Of the twenty-eight, fourteen were from Calcutta, eight from neighbouring districts, and the remainder from outlying areas. Apart from the few middle-class *bhadralok* who were essentially government functionaries, however, they were, like those who sat in the Governor-General's Council, all aristocrats or spokesmen for the aristocrats. In this context then, they tended to be orthodox in religious belief, not very highly educated, ex-students of the Hindu College, and large rentiers by occupation.[34] They were, in effect, closely linked to the British Indian Association.[35]

Like the all-India Council, the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal assumed roles other than the advisory function for which it was intended. Unlike the Indians in the former body, however, those in the provincial chamber were more successful at fulfilling these roles. Indeed, in contrast to the majority of Indians who entered the British Indian chamber, those who assumed places in the Provincial chamber were mainly *bhadralok*

from Calcutta, and in a number of instances were well equipped to handle the conventions of this body. For example, of the six *bhadralok* who participated in this Council between February 1862 and December 1864, Prasanna Kumar Tagore[36] and Ram Prosad Roy,[37] as leading pleaders in Calcutta in the 1840s and 1850s, were among the few aristocrats well versed in the rules of behaviour of the colonial society. Again, Ram Gopal Ghose[38] and Digumber Mitra[39] were two of the leading English-speaking middle-class spokesmen for the British Indian Association. However, the other two *bhadralok* members, Pratap Chandra Singh[40] and Sutto Charn Ghosal,[41] were rentiers who were typical in that they were not very fluent in English and thus not capable of participating properly in council meetings, as was indicated by the fact that they only spoke four times between them during this period.

Certainly the *bhadralok* in Calcutta were aware that there was a substantial difference in performance between Indians in the Council of the Governor-General of India and those in the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. In August 1866, for instance, the *Hindoo Patriot* pointed out that the twelve Indians who had served in the provincial Council had shown

> an amount of ability, a knowledge of the country and an independence which we are sorry to own we have not had the good fortune of witness in the native members of the 'other' Council.[42]

As spokesman for the British Indian Association, the *Hindoo Patriot* was, of course, inclined to exaggerate when referring to the ability of the Indian representatives in the Bengal Council, for they were nearly all members of that Association. Indeed, this was evident in the way in which it defended Indian members in this Council from European criticisms. In August 1869, for example, it attacked the *Friend of India* for claiming that Isvar Chandra Ghosal was unable to make a proper speech in that chamber. It argued that as English was Ghosal's second language his difficulty with English syntax was only natural.[43] It could not, of course, dispute the point made by the *Friend of India*, for Ghosal's inability to cope with English merely reflected his inability to cope with council proceedings.

Yet, given that individuals like Ghosal were unable to function effectively within this body, it is important to note that there was always at least one *bhadralok* member who was fully conversant with the requirements of this system and who was, therefore, capable of putting across a particular point of view. Indeed, an examination of the speeches of individuals like Ram Gopal Ghose, Digumber Mitra, Ram Prosad Roy, Kristo Das Pal, Peary Mohan Mukherjee, and Chandra Madhav Ghose clearly bears this out.[44] Still, this development should not be seen as inimical to the state. On the contrary, these individuals were chosen by the colonial authorities because in most cases they were representatives of the British Indian Association and were therefore, in the eyes of the state, powerful local leaders. In this context then, the majority of the *bhadralok* who sat in the Council were chosen because they provided useful links with the local system.[45]

In this context then, the *bhadralok* in the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal followed no definite policy that distinguished them as the representatives of India. On the contrary, on all but eleven of the 152 issues, they voted as members of groups which were not solely Indian. They sided sometimes with government members,[51] sometimes with the different groups within the European contingent,[52] and sometimes with fellow Justices of Peace.[53] There is little evidence, in fact, to suggest they they pursued a defined policy of nationalism, except on those occasions when they claimed that their class interest was the nationalist interest.

Of the three legislative bodies, however, it was the third, the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, which proved to be the most significant. Not only was this chamber much larger, but it also represented the beginning of electoral politics in Calcutta. In this context, it, more than any other formal state agency, shaped the nature of political relationships among the *bhadralok*. The question arises then as to which *bhadralok* were affected by this institution.

In answering this question, it is important to distinguish between those *bhadralok* who were nominated to the corporation and those who were elected to that body, for the latter development represented a fundamental change in the relationship between the *bhadralok* and the state. In this respect then, of the eighty-three *bhadralok* who were nominated to this chamber, 71 per cent were aristocrats, and, apart from the government spokesman, all were members of the British Indian Association. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that, while they were representative of eight different occupations, most of them were either landlords (40 per cent) or government servants (26 per cent).[54] Nor is it surprising that 86 per cent of them were born in Calcutta, and that over 80 per cent resided in the northern part of the city.[55] Certainly the predominance of Daksina Radhi Kayasthas (39 per cent) and Saptagram Suvarnavaniks (22 per cent), the primarily orthodox nature of the group (66 per cent),[56] the large number of Hindu College graduates (79 per cent), and the lack of university educated individuals (only 17 per cent) among this group[57] bears this pattern out.

While the type of *bhadralok* nominated to the Corporation by colonial authorities did not change substantially between 1863 and 1885, the number did decrease quite sharply after 1876, owing to the introduction of a system of elections. Indeed, after 1876 the majority of *bhadralok* who entered the Corporation did so through the latter process rather than through the nomination procedure; a change which was, itself, reflected in the shift in the type of *bhadralok* entering the Corporation. Undoubtedly, the most significant development in this respect was a movement away from an aristocratically dominated corporation to a middle-class controlled body, for only 35 per cent of the eighty *bhadralok* who were elected were members of the rentier aristocracy. This change was most clearly reflected in the decrease in the number of large landholders - an aristocratic occupation - from 40 to 22 per cent and in the increase in the number of lawyers - a middle-class occupation - from 9 to 37 per cent.[58]

It was also evident in subtle alterations that occurred in other relationships. In the first place, although individuals born in Calcutta and resident in the northern wards continued to predominate, there was a small but significant minortity (12 per cent) from districts in East Bengal and an even larger minority (26 per cent) from the southern division of the city.[59] Secondly, whereas there was no change in the number of castes involved, there was the emergence of two East Bengali *jatis* (10 per cent). Yet the most important factor here was the continued dominance of the Daksina Radhi Kayasthas (39 per cent) and the Saptagram Suvarnavaniks (21 per cent), a development which underlines the fact that individuals from these two castes owned extensive property in Calcutta.[60] Thirdly, in the case of religion, while the majority of members were orthodox, this group did not prevail to the same extent, for 26 per cent were unorthodox and 18 per cent were either Christians or Brahmos.[61] Finally, there was a fundamental change in educational background in that the majority of individuals had acquired some form of tertiary education. Most prominent among this group were those who had studied law (19 per cent), medicine (12 per cent), or

travelled overseas (10 per cent). As a result of this pattern, of course, while the Hindu College was still significant in terms of its graduates, it no longer predominated.[62]

There were no radical changes within the contextual structure for the years as a whole between 1876 and 1883. There were, however, a number of minor changes. In particular, rentier aristocrats, who had tended to ignore the first election, made a more concerted effort to win seats in subsequent elections when they realised that this system represented more than a short term experiment. Indeed, by the time of the later elections, they had secured nearly as many seats as the middle-class *bhadralok*.[63] Yet, by this time, the latter group had come into their own as a power base. Moreover, even though a number of these individuals were clients of the aristocracy, others, especially those who formed the nucleus of the Indian Association, were capable of operating independently of the aristocracy. In this context, the Calcutta Corporation represented a significant departure from the two legislative councils, neither of which had strong links with the middle classes in Calcutta.

But the operation of the Corporation was also different from that of the councils in other ways. In particular, its function as a legislative body was more clearly defined. Reconstituted in 1863 as part of a decentralisation policy according to which the state hoped to devolve authority at the lower levels of government upon selected members of the non-official community, the Calcutta Corporation was reorganised so that its executive functions were placed in the hands of an official salaried chairman, a senior civilian who was to be appointed by the state. Its legislative functions were placed in the hands of a group of Justices of the Peace who were also to be selected by the state.[64] These Justices of the Peace were vested with the authority to expend the revenue on matters relating to roads, water supply, sanitation, and other miscellaneous areas to Rs.50,000. As well, they were entitled to the final sanction on all appointments made by the Chairman in which the salaries exceeded Rs.200 per month. Finally, they could, with a two-thirds majority, remove the Chairman or the Vice-Chairman from the Corporation.[65]

Under the municipal acts of 1871 and 1876, these powers were curtailed in some respects and extended in others. On the one hand, the Corporation came more under the jurisdiction of the Government of Bengal, and, on the other, it assumed a more independent role. In the former case, appointments and dismissals by Justices of the Peace were made subject to the approval of the provincial government and certain areas of expenditure were prescribed. In the latter case, membership within the Corporation was confined to residents of Calcutta, and two-thirds of the positions were to be filled by means of elections in which individuals who paid at least Rs.50 annually in rates and taxes were eligible to stand as candidates and those who paid at least Rs.25 annually in rates and taxes were eligible to register as voters.[66]

In this way then, legislative roles with specific functions were established within the Calcutta Corporation. After 1876, moreover, these roles were filled independently of government patronage. Indeed, after 1876 these roles

linked the process of government within the Corporation more firmly to the colonial society in Calcutta; for the introduction of the system of elections carried with it the notion of accountability.

What emerged, as a result of this structure, was a chamber in which the *bhadralok* assumed a much more influential role than in either the Provincial or Imperial Council. They did so partly because they had greater representation in this body, especially after 1876, and partly because they had greater powers to legislate. Certainly they did not take long to make their presence felt in this chamber. In fact, shortly after the Legislative Chamber was established in the Corporation, Digumber Mitra questioned the right of the Chairman to bring up special proposals without reference to the Justices of Peace.[67] He, in turn, was supported by a number of other *bhadralok* who argued successfully that the proposed list of business should be established two days prior to the meetings.[68] In 1864, the *bhadralok* again indicated their ability to operate effectively within this chamber when they defeated the proposal by the Chairman to remove the burning *ghats* from Calcutta.[69]

One measure of their capacity to function effectively in this body was the reaction which they generated among the Europeans. For example, shortly after the legislative chamber within the Corporation was established, the *Englishman*, the European planters' newspaper, citicised Ram Gopal Ghose for the part which he had played in defeating the proposal to move the burning *ghats* from Calcutta. More generally, it attacked those *bhadralok* who were the chief spokesmen within the Corporation; individuals like Ghose, Digumber Mitra, and Kristo Das Pal. For instance, in July 1864, it came out with a very strong personal attack on Pal when it stated that

> One 'native gentleman' Pal we are told is merely the paid Assistant Secretary of an Association which is already sufficiently represented in the Municipality with as much title to be on the list of Justices as a writer in any government office.[70]

Another measure of their capacity to operate effectively within the Corporation was the assessment of the Government of Bengal. In his *Report On The Administration of Bengal 1872-73,* for example, Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor, stated that the Justices, both European and 'Native', were so independent, that the government was not really responsible for the 'great and weighty' matters affecting the metropolis.[71]

Yet effective participation was confined to a minority of *bhadralok* Justices, particularly to those who acted as spokesmen for the British Indian Association. Indeed, the majority of *bhadralok* Justices were rentier aristocrats who were not well versed in English and the conventions of the debating chamber; individuals who were commonly referred to as *ap-ka-wasta* Justices.[72] When the system of elections was introduced in 1876, however, *bhadralok* participation in this chamber became more broadly based. It did so partly because they were able to command a majority of seats in the Corporation, and partly because a significant number of them were highly educated middle-class lawyers who were we ed i English and th ir of debating.[73]

In the case of the first factor, the *bhadralok* comprised the majority of Justices because under the new system forty-eight of the seventy-two seats were determined by election held every three years in which those who paid rates of at least Rs.25 annually were eligible to vote. Although the division of Calcutta into eighteen wards was weighted in favour of the southern section of the city where the Europeans resided, *bhadralok* represented by far the majority of eligible voters. To ensure a majority of *bhadralok* in the Corporation all they had to do was register. And this they did with telling effect. In 1876, 4,556 of the eligible 8,917 *bhadralok* voters registered, and in subsequent elections this figure increased to as high as 80 per cent of the total.[74] As a result of this participation, in each of the four elections that were held between 1876 and 1885, *bhadralok* won at least 60 per cent of the seats, and on two of these occasions they won over 80 per cent of the seats.[75]

These figures, however, are somewhat misleading, for they do not reflect the actual participation of the *bhadralok* in the voting system. Certainly there is evidence to suggest that in the early stages this new system was not operating effectively. There is little doubt, indeed, that the voting system was manipulated in various ways by some of the candidates. Minors, females, and even certain individuals who had died were registered.[76] Again, signed voting papers were purchased by touts and sold to the highest bidder. In these early stages, in fact, this system was, as one observer noted, very different to the one which prevailed in Britain; for candidates made no personal appearances but proceeded personally or through agents to collect votes on an individual basis.[77]

Although these problems were by no means eradicated, the system was, by the election of 1882, beginning to operate more effectively. In the first place, candidates found it more difficult to ignore the laws upon which the system was based, and secondly they began to form campaign organisations in which candidates were selected and support gathered on a mass rather than an individual basis. In the case of the first factor, for example, there were cases in which the eligibility of the candidate was questioned. Indeed, in Ward 1 the aristocrats' candidate, Rajendra Lal Mitra, was taken to the High Court by a group of middle-class *bhadralok* after he had won a seat, on the grounds that he was not eligible to stand. Significantly, he was pronounced disqualified.[78] Similar legal proceedings were taken against Charan Chandra Mallik when he illegally purchased a voting paper from a post office peon who was supposed to deliver it to Kedar Nath Datta.[79]

During this election, Hindu ratepayers' organisations were also formed in a number of wards to nominate and campaign for those candidates who they felt would best represent their interests in the Corporation. This pattern was particularly evident in the southern wards where the unorthodox, and the Christians tended to reside. Indeed, in Ward 14, where such organisational activity had been in operation since the first election, 150 ratepayers gathered at Shama Charn Sirkar's home, and held a formal meeting at which they nominated the candidates they would support in the election.[80]

Within the Corporation, itself, *bhadralok* participation increased considerably after the system of elections had been introduced, as was demonstrated, for example, by the fact that the attendance of *bhadralok* at the committee meetings was far superior to that of other groups.[81] It was also demonstrated by the fact that *bhadralok* began to fill the key positions of Vice-Chairman and Collector with increasing regularity.[82] Again, it was demonstrated by the reaction of the Europeans, who at first boycotted the election system, but who, upon finding that *bhadralok* were beginning to take over the Corporation, subsequently endeavoured to secure seats through this system.[83] Finally, it was demonstrated by the hostile reaction of the Government of Bengal to their activities. Both Ashley Eden, Lieutenant-Governor 1877-1882, and Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor 1882-1887, attempted to curtail the activities of the Justices (mainly *bhadralok*) when they pursued policies which were opposed to the Government of Bengal.[84] Indeed, such was the organisational ability of the *bhadralok* in this respect, that the government, in 1888 and 1899, eventually passed two municipal acts to undermine the power that the *bhadralok* had assumed as a result of the election system.[85] In short, the more fully the *bhadralok* absorbed the bourgeois-democratic principles upon which the notion of an electoral system was based, the more tenuous their position became, a process which clearly reflected the fundamental inner contradiction of the British colonial system in India.

Yet it could be argued that the colonial authorities over-reacted in this respect, for, although the *bhadralok* had gained wider representation at the municipal level than at any other level of government, they were by no means representative of the Hindu population in Calcutta as a whole. Nor were they primarily interested in representing this population as a whole. On the contrary, they were drawn from, and largely represented, only approximately 20 per cent of that group; for the others were not eligible to vote.

There were occasions, of course, when the general interest of the Hindu populace in Calcutta ran parallel to their own interest. For example, in 1864 they argued, successfully, against the proposal of the Chairman of the Corporation that the burning *ghats* should be moved out of Calcutta for health reasons; for they claimed that such an action would be a gross infringement upon the religious beliefs of the Hindu community in that city.[86] In the early 1870s, they once again assumed the role of defender of Hindu interests in protesting against the suggestion that the Corporation should build a municipal market. They pointed out that the Dharmatala Market had served the natives in the past and would continue to do so in the years to come. They also pointed out that if Hindus had to pay for the improvement of burning *ghats* because these facilities were not used by the Europeans, then Europeans should pay for a municipal market because such a facility would not be used by Hindus. In spite of a long struggle, both inside and outside the Corporation, the *bhadralok* were unsuccessful on this issue, and the market was built at the expense of all ratepayers.[87]

More generally, *bhadralok* repeatedly raised the issue of the unequal treatment of the northern section of Calcutta where the majority of Hindus lived, as opposed to the southern section where the Europeans lived, in the expenditure on municipal facilities.[88] On this subject, there is little doubt that they were justified in complaining, for prior to 1876 the outlay of funds on the southern section nearly always exceeded that on the northern section, even though the latter was approximately twice the area, contained by far the larger percentage of the population, and had the majority of ratepayers. Significantly, however, after the system of elections was introduced in 1876 and the *bhadralok* assumed a majority in the Corporation, the *bhadralok* Justices had no need to raise this issue for they had much greater control over expenditure.

What did continue to emerge as a significant question throughout the period, on the other hand, were those issues in which the *bhadralok* joined forces with other Justices in the Corporation in opposition to higher levels of government. Indeed, on a number of occasions, they fought as part of a united body against what they thought were infringements against their authority by the Government of Bengal and the Government of India. They fought, for example, against the taxation system which they claimed placed the Corporation in a position of assuming responsibility for costs that should have been met by the provincial and the Indian governments.[89] In 1874, they also came out strongly against the tramway system which the Government of India had imposed upon them.[90] Again, in 1881, they opposed the idea of the Government of Bengal to extend the water supply of Calcutta to the suburbs. They claimed that the citizens of Calcutta had paid for the installation of this system and they, and only they, should benefit from it.[91]

Of all issues brought up by *bhadralok* Justices, however, class ones were predominant. Indeed, there is substantive evidence to demonstrate that the *bhadralok*, usually in conjunction with the Europeans, used the Corporation as a means of protecting the interests of the propertied classes.[92] Significantly, this pattern did not change radically after the election system was introduced. On the contrary, the rentier aristocrats and the middle-class individuals who sat in the Corporation had in common this interest. Thus, whereas these two classes quite often clashed at higher levels of the political system, they were usually in agreement at this level.

Indeed, although the reforms carried out by the Corporation during the period under discussion were quite substantial, they were not the results of the efforts of the vast majority of *bhadralok* Justices; nor for that matter of the non-official Europeans in the Corporation. In fact, all major reforms - the water system, the drainage system, the sanitation system, and the *bustee* clearance programme - were largely the result of the Executive, especially the Chairman and the Health Officer. Moreover, these reforms were usually carried out in the face of strong opposition from the majority of Justices.[93]

Certainly there was little concern expressed over the living conditions of the poorer classes by either the aristocracy or the majority of middle classes. For example, in 1875, Kristo Das Pal, the spokesman for the large rentiers,

criticised the Health Officer for being more concerned with the mortality rates than with containing his expenditure on the improvement of *bustis*.[94] Similarly, the *bhadralok* Justices opposed moves in the 1870s and the 1880s to improve sanitation in Calcutta. In one sense, of course, they were merely protecting their class interests. Yet, for the very same reason, they could hardly claim to speak for Indians generally.

Broadly then, the structure of *bhadralok* political relationships changed quite significantly in the context of the colonial system. Not only did they assume legislative roles at various levels of government, they also learned how to function effectively in at least two of those levels, and in one they were drawn more fully into the system by the introduction of elections. Yet, as has been noted elsewhere, the end result of this process was the gradual alienation of the middle-class *bhadralok*, for the colonial state would not, and indeed could not, develop logically along democratic lines. But that story would not unfold itself until well after this period had ended.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ORGANISATIONAL BASIS OF THE COLONIAL MIND

The organisational roles which the *bhadralok* filled in the educational institutions, the press, voluntary associations, political pressure groups and government agencies did not, of course, operate in isolation. On the contrary, in so far as they were all part of the colonial mode of operation, they were linked together to provide the organisational basis of the colonial mind. The important question that remains, therefore, relates to the nature of this linkage. Were these roles closely linked together and thus convergent in form, or were they loosely linked together and thus more divergent in form? And to what extent, in either case, did this structure alter during the period under discussion?

In order that these questions might be answered, all those *bhadralok* who held more than one formal position of control have been taken as the unit of analysis (inter-organisational links, hereafter referred to as IOLs). By viewing these units as the dependent variable and the organisations to which they belonged as the independent variables, it is possible to demonstrate some of the ways in which the structure changed between 1857 and 1885. More specifically, by measuring the size of the inter-organisational network or networks, noting the type of organiser, and examining the links, it can be shown to what extent the organisational basis of the colonial mind changed.

In 1857 then, there were twenty-three IOLs linking nineteen organisations,[1] a pattern which suggests that the organisational basis for the penetration of a colonial mode of thought was not very large. By 1885, however, considerable changes had occurred in that the number of IOLs had increased to seventy-seven spread over seventy-six organisations.[2] In short, during the period under discussion, it would seem that the organisational basis for the development of colonial values among the *bhadralok* had expanded quite significantly.

Yet what remains unanswered is the extent to which the nature of this structure changed; for it is conceivable that, while the structure might have expanded, the internal links continued to be closely tied. In part, this difficulty can be resolved by examining the links within the network or networks, and how they changed between 1857 and 1885. In 1857 then, of the nineteen organisations which were all bound together through one or more IOLs, there were four educational bodies, three newspapers or periodicals, eleven voluntary associations, and one political pressure group. Among these various organisations, the political pressure group, the British Indian Association, was the nodal point in the network.[3]

More specifically, it contained thirteen (57 per cent) of the twenty-three organisers;[4] a factor which enabled it to control most of the other organisations. Certainly it controlled all the more influential associations. For example, individuals from the British Indian Association accounted for at

least 33 per cent of all IOLs in the four organisations (Hindu Metropolitan College, Agricultural and Horticultural Society, District Charitable Society, Vernacular Literature Society) which contained over 20 per cent of the individuals in the inter-organisational network. Moreover, in two of these organisations, individuals from the British Indian Association filled all the positions.[5] In 1857, therefore, the structural basis reflected a tightly controlled system which revolved around one organisation.

By 1885, there was still only one clearly defined network; for of the seventy-six organisations, with the exception of two schools, and four newspapers, the remainder (fifteen schools, twelve newspapers, thirty-eight voluntary associations, two political pressure groups, two state bodies) were bound together in one network.[6] Yet, in contrast to the structure in 1857, there were three nodal points: the British Indian Association with twenty-five IOLs (33 per cent), the Calcutta Corporation with seventeen (22 per cent), and the Indian Association with sixteen (21 per cent).[7] Furthermore, in the case of the British Indian Association and the Indian Association, there was no overlap; each organisation tended to act as a nodal point for a different cluster of organisations.[8] On the one hand, the British Indian Association was closely tied to a number of secondary schools, to the *Hindoo Patriot* and a few literary journals, to the more established voluntary associations such as the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, the Asiatic Society, the District Charitable Society, and the Family Literary Society, and to the imperial and provincial councils. On the other hand, the Indian Association was firmly linked to the more important tertiary institutions and special schools, to a large number of newspapers and periodicals, and to those voluntary associations containing Sadharan Brahmos or Christians.[9]

While these two nodal points represented different clusters of organisations and different links with the local society they were, nonetheless, tied by a number of associations which contained individuals from these bodies.[10] In particular, they were linked by the third major nodal point, the Calcutta Corporation, in which each organisation contained over 20 per cent of the members.[11] In this context, while the structure was by no means diffuse, it was much less tightly knit than it was in 1857.

Two points emerge from this examination. In the first place, it indicates that the organisational basis of the colonial mind expanded during the period. Secondly, it suggests that, along with this expansion, there was a breakdown of local control. In this latter context, it is clear that the British Indian Association, which encapsulated strong local ties, exerted strict control over the development of colonial ruling class values in 1857. It is also clear that by 1885 this control had loosened considerably; for not only had the rentier aristocracy within the British Indian Association become less tied to the *dals* and more a class, but also the Indian Association provided an alternative means for the dissemination of liberal-bourgeois values. In short, the colonial machinery had assumed a much stronger grip on the *bhadralok*.

Certainly this process is evident in the changes which occurred among those individuals who filled the inter-organisational roles. Most important, in this

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1968); J.H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal* (Los Angeles, 1968); Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908* (New Delhi, 1973).

2 P. Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta, 1978); C. Furedy, Municipal Politics in Calcutta: elite groups and the Calcutta Corporation, 1875-1900 (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sussex, 1970); Rajat K. Ray 'Historical Roots of the Crisis of Calcutta, 1876-1939', *Economic and Political Weekly* XIV, 27 (1979), pp.1206-12; S.N. Mukherjee, 'Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, 1815-1838', in Edmund Leach & S.N. Mukherjee (eds.), *Elites in South Asia* (Cambridge, 1970), pp.33-78; 'Daladali in Calcutta in the Nineteenth Century', *Modern Asian Studies* IX, II, (1975), pp.59-80; 'Bhadralok in Bengali Language and Literature: An Essay on the Language of Class and Status', *Bengal Past and Present* XCV, II (1976), pp.225-37.

3 See Ch.3.

4 *Administration Report of the Commissioners of the Town of Calcutta 1885-1886* (Calcutta, 1886), pp.1-2.

5 D. Rothermund, *Government, Landlord and Peasant in India: Agrarian Relations Under British Rule* (Weisbaden, 1978).

6 John R. McClane, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress* (Princeton, 1977).

7 For an analysis of the use of this term in Bengali literature see Mukherjee, 'Bhadralok In Bengali Language and Literature'.

8 For an examination of how the term has been employed in different theoretical perspectives see Broomfield, *op.cit.*, pp.1-20. Mukherjee, *loc.cit.*; and Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp.507-16.

9 See the debate which focusses upon M. Dobb, *Studies in the Development Capitalism* (London, 1946). In particular, see R. Hilton (ed.) *Transition From Feudalism to Capitalism* (London, 1976).

10 J. Banaji has examined this question in so far as it relates to colonialism and, more especially, to the Indian situation. See, e.g., his 'For a Theory of Colonial Modes of Production', *Economic and Political Weekly* VII, 52 (1972), pp.2498-2502; 'Backward Capitalism, Primitive Accumulation and Modes of Production', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 3, 4 (1973), pp.393-413; 'Capitalist Domination and the Small Peasantry', *Economic and Political Weekly* XII, Special Number (1977), pp. 1375-1404.

[11] I have previously referred to the rentier aristocracy as *abhijats* and the middle-class as *madhyabittos*. S.N. Mukherjee has pointed out, however, that they are not completely interchangeable.

[12] For a detailed discussion of this approach see John McGuire, 'Some Problems Relating to the Collection and Reconstruction of Data for a Quantitative Study of Political Leadership.' *Bulletin of Quantitative and Computer Methods in South Asian Studies* 1 (1973), pp.19-22.

[13] For a useful examination of the problems in using official statistics see Barry Hindess, *The Use of Official Statisitics in Sociology: A Critique of Positivism and Ethnomethodology* (London, 1973).

[14] I have derived this idea from Mukherjee, 'Class, Caste and Politics' pp.33-78.

[15] 'Hindoo College Origin and Rise of: A Sketch of Progress of the Hindoo College', *Calcutta Christian Observer* 1, 1-2 (1832), p.70.

[16] B.N. Banerjee (ed.), *Samvadpatra Sekaler Katha* (Calcutta, 1949), 2, pp.753-6.

[17] *Ibid.* pp.757-60.

[18] This information was collected from the *New Calcutta Directory* (Calcutta, 1857-1863), *Thacker's Post Office Directory for Bengal* (Calcutta, 1864-1868), *Bengal Directory* (Calcutta, 1869-1884), *Thacker's Indian Directory* (Calcutta, 1885).

[19] L.N. Ghose, *The Modern History of the Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars etc* (Calcutta, 1879-1881), Vol. II.

[20] This information was obtained from S.C. Majumdar & G.H. Dhar (compilers and eds.), *Presidency College Register* (Calcutta, 1927).

[21] 'Calcutta House Assessment Books 1857-1861', Calcutta Corporation.

[22] Temple P., Mss Eur. F86/157.

[23] Although I have not used the same models, I have drawn on ideas outlined in J. Clyde Mitchell (ed.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations: Analyses Of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns* (Manchester, 1969), and in Robert Perrucci and Marc Pilisuk, 'Leaders and Ruling Elites: The Interorganizational Bases of Community Power', *American Sociological Review* 35, 6, (1970), pp.1040-57.

CHAPTER ONE

[1] C.R. Wilson (ed.) *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1895), Vol. 1, p.128.

[2] P.J. Marshall (ed.) *Problems of Empire and India* (London, 1968), p.19.

3 E.J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London, 1969) chapter 7.

4 *Ibid.* pp.148-9.

5 K.N. Chaudhuri, 'India's International Economy in the Nineteenth Century: An Historical Survey', *Modern Asian Studies* 11, 1 (1968), p.39.

6 Hobsbawm, *op.cit.*, p.149.

7 P. Roy, *India's Foreign Trade Since 1870* (London, 1934), pp.36-40.

8 For an analysis of the expansion of internal markets see John Hurd II, 'Railways and Expansion of Markets in India 1861-1921', *Explorations in Economic History* 12, 3 (1975), pp.263-88; Michelle Burge McAlpin, 'The Effects of Markets on Rural Income Distribution in Nineteenth Century India', *ibid.*, pp.289-302.

9 H. Beverly, *Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta, 1881* (Calcutta, 1881), p.19.

10 A Mitra, *Census of India 1951 Vol. VI Calcutta City* (Calcutta, 1954), Part III, p.12.

11 Beverly, *op.cit.*, Table IV, V.

12 These conclusions are based on the findings of census and municipal reports which were published during this period, e.g. *CMR 1881*, p.4.

13 Beverly, *op.cit.*, p.17.

14 For a useful analysis of the origin of these patterns see P. Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History.*

15 Beverly, *op.cit.*, pp.22, 46.

16 *CMR 1885-1886*, Appendix A, p.7. It should be noted that the death rate would have been much higher if the population had not consisted largely of males between the ages of 10 and 40.

17 *Ibid.*

18 S.W. Goode, *Municipal Calcutta* (Edinburgh, 1916), pp.6-7.

19 *CMR 1883-1884* (Calcutta, 1884), p.2.

20 This is a rough estimate based on census and municipal reports.

21 Beverly, *op.cit.*, pp.19-20.

22 Beverly, *Census of the Town of Calcutta, 1876* (Calcutta, 1876), p.17; *Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta, 1881*, pp.22-3. This is at best a very rough comparison of single-storied houses, but a fairly accurate comparison of multi-storied houses.

23 *CMR 1860*, pp.3-4; *CMR 1884-1885*, p.67.

24 *CMR 1883-1884*, p.2. Note Marx points out that as town improvements take place and that as badly built quarters are demolished, the poor are driven into worse and more crowded places; for as the wealth of a metropolis grows so do house rents. See Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy Vol. 1* (Moscow, 1954), pp.616-17.

[25] Beverly, *Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta, 1881*, p.23.

[26] *CMR 1882-1883*, p.103.

[27] *CMR 1875.*

[28] Beverly, *Census of the Town of Calcutta, 1876*, Table XVI, CXV-CXVII; *CMR 1881*, p.82.

[29] *CMR 1878*, Appendix A. p.42; *CMR 1881*, p.82; *CMR 1884-1885*, Appendix B, p.8; *CMR 1885-1886*, p.2.

[30] *CMR 1885-1886*, Appendix A, pp.6-7.

[31] Beverly, *op.cit.*, pp.11, 29; *Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta 1881*, p.46.

[32] *Ibid.* Table XIX, X/III-/X.

[33] Karl Marx, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p.327.

[34] This conclusion is based on findings of census and municipal reports which were published during this period, e.g. *CMR 1881*, p.4.

[35] Beverly, *Census of the Town of Calcutta 1876*, p.22; *Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta 1881*, p.25.

[36] See Dipesh Chakrabarty's forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, ANU, on the industrial proletariat and the jute industry in Calcutta in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

[37] Beverly, *Census of the Town of Calcutta 1876*, pp.20-1; *Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta 1881*, p.25.

[38] Beverly, *Census of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta 1881*, Table XVIII, XXXVIII-X/II.

[39] *Ibid.*, Table XVII, XXXVI-XXXVII.

[40] B. Ghosh, 'Some Old Family-Founders In 18th Century Calcutta', *Bengal Past and Present* LXXIX, 147 (1960), pp.42-45; C.R. Wilson (ed.), *The English in Bengal*, Vol. 1, pp.128, 199; Vol. II, Part 1, XI.

[41] See Appendix A.

[42] K.N. Chaudhuri, 'The Structure of Indian Textile Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* XI, 2-3 (1974), p.151.

[43] *Ibid.*, p.180.

[44] Ghosh, *op.cit.*, p.52.

[45] Marshall (ed.) *Problems of Empire and India 1757-1813*, p.21.

[46] P.J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1976), pp.43, 265-7.

[47] *Ibid.*, p.3.

[48] N.N. Laha, *Suvarnavanik: Katha O Kirti* (Calcutta, 1940-42). Vols. I-III.

49 L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.20.

50 *Ibid.*, pp.23-4-5.

51 Although there is no full length study which examines the formation of indigenous merchant capital in this period, there are a number of works which touch on this subject. See, e.g., Marshall, *loc.cit.*

52 Sinha, *op.cit.*, p.67.

53 Binay Bhushan Chaudhuri 'Land Market in Eastern India 1793-1940 Part II: The Changing Composition of the Landed Society', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* XII, 2 (1975), p.139.

54 K.N. Chaudhuri (ed.), *The Economic Development of India Under The East India Company* (Cambridge, 1971), pp.275-6.

55 *Ibid.*, p.299.

56 Sinha, *op.cit.*, pp.74-5.

57 Grish Chunder Ghose, *Ramdoolal Dey* (Calcutta, 1868).

58 Blair Kling, 'The Origin of the Managing Agency System in India', *Journal of Asian Studies* XXVI, 1 (1966), pp.37-48.

59 Binay Bhushan Chaudhuri 'Land Market in Eastern India, 1793-1940 Part I: The Movement of Land Prices', *India Economic and Social History Review* XII, 1 (1975), pp.22-7.

60 A.I. Levkovsky, *Capitalism In India* (Bombay, 1966), p.23.

61 K.N. Chaudhuri, *op.cit.*, pp.5-6.

62 Grish Chunder Ghose, *op.cit.*

63 Kling, *loc.cit.*

64 Laha, *op.cit.*, 1, pp.4-5.

65 *Bengalee*, 1 Dec. 1883.

66 L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, pp.78-81.

67 Grish Chunder Ghose, *loc.cit.*

68 Laha, *loc.cit.*

69 Kissory Chand Mittra, *Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore* (Calcutta, 1870).

70 Amit Bhaduri, 'The Evolution of Land Relations in Eastern India under British Rule', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* XIII, 1, (1976), pp.45-7; Binay Bhushan Chaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p.3.; Ratna Ray, 'Land Transfer and Social Change Under the Permanent Settlement', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* XI, 1 (1974), p.45.

71 B.B. Chaudhuri, 'Land Market in Eastern India, 1973-1940 Part II', p.143.

72 B.B. Chaudhuri 'Land Market in Eastern India, 1793-1940 Part I', p.18.

73 *Ibid.*, pp.18, 27.

74 K.C. Chaudhuri, *op.cit.*, pp.5-6.

[75] Bhaduri, *op.cit.*, pp.47-8.

[76] Rothermund, *Government Landlord and Peasant in India.*

[77] See L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, district gazeteers and settlement reports.

[78] P. Sinha, *op.cit.*, pp.62-85.

[79] K.N. Chaudhuri, *op.cit.*, pp.278-81.

[80] P.N. Mullick, *History of the Vaisyas of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1902), p.36.

[81] Grish Chunder Ghose, *loc.cit.*

[82] Laha, *loc.cit.*

[83] Ghose, *op.cit.*, p.37.

[84] Panchanan Roy Kabyatirtha, *Pratasmaraniya Taracknath Pramanick* (Midnapore, 1937), pp.8-9.

[85] Laha, *loc.cit.*

[86] Kling, *loc.cit.*

[87] Peary Chand Mitter, *Life of Dewan Ramcomul Sen* (Calcutta, 1880) L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp.127-55.

[88] Ghose, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp.247-54.

[89] Mullick, *op.cit.*, pp.142-3.

[90] E.g., the number of directorships in joint stock companies held by aristocrats increased from 3 to 15 between 1857 and 1866. See *New Calcutta Directory* (Calcutta, 1857-1863); *Thackers Post Office Directory* (Calcutta, 1864); *Thackers Directory For Bengal* (Calcutta, 1865-1866).

[91] Rothermund, *op.cit.*, Chs. 6-7.

[92] Chaudhuri 'Land Market in Eastern India, 1793-1940 Part I', p.27.

[93] L.S.S. O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers Jessore* (Calcutta, 1912), p.171.

[94] *CMR 1860* p.1.

[95] *Ibid.*, p.3.

[96] *Ibid.*, p.4; *CMR 1884-1885*, p.67. Note also comment in *CMR 1877*, p.5.

[97] 'Calcutta House Assessment Books 1857-1861', Calcutta Corporation.

[98] In 1876, for example, there were 455 individuals who registered themselves as qualified to stand for election. Of these, 360 were *bhadralok*, the majority of whom were rentier aristocrats. See Temple P. Mss. Eur. F86/157.

[99] Beverly, *Census of the Town of Calcutta, 1876*, CXVIII.

[100] See Chapter Six.

[101] See Chapter Seven.

102 P.C. Mahtab 'The Bengal Nobles: A Status Group, 1911-1919', *Bengal Past and Present* XCII, I (1973), p.24. For a detailed analysis of the ideological implications of this process see Bernard S. Cohn's forthcoming study of symbols and rituals and the colonial system of titles.

103 It remains to be shown what exactly were the links between indigenous capital in Calcutta and the managing agency houses.

104 'Accounts of Income and Expenditure of the Government of India and of the East India Company', *PP.* 1884-1885, Vol. LVII.

105 *Ibid.*

106 'Estimates of the Revenue and Expenditure of India', *loc.cit.*

107 'Report of the Public Service Commission 1886-87', *PP*, 1888, Vol. XLVIII.

108 *Ibid.*

109 *Ibid.*

110 *Ibid.*

111 *Ibid.*

112 *Ibid.*

113 *Ibid.*

114 *New Calcutta Directory For 1857* (Calcutta, 1857), Part III, p.124; Part VII, pp.9-12; *Thacker's Indian Directory 1885* (Calcutta, 1885), pp.169-77.

115 See Chapter Six.

CHAPTER TWO

1 Quintin Hoare & Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds.), *Selections From The Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (London, 1971).

2 See, e.g., 'Calcutta Municipal Assessments, 1857'; 'Charitable Institutions', *CMR 1884-85*, pp.2-3.

3 This conclusion is based on census and municipal reports which were published during this period.

4 William H. Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmani System* (Lucknow, 1936), pp.2-3.

5 J.H. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* (Calcutta, 1896), pp.177-85.

6 The works of H.H. Risley were particularly important in this respect. Apart from the census reports which he helped to compile, his most important works were *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1891), and *The People of India* (Calcutta, 1908).

7 See, e.g., L.S.S. O'Malley, *Census of India 1911*, V, 1, p.440.

8 *Ibid.*, p.5.

9 See, e.g., W.H. Thompson, *Census of India 1921*, (Calcutta, 1922), Vol. VI, Part 1, p.71; and A.E. Porter, *Census of India 1931*, (Calcutta, 1932) Vol. VI, Part 1, p.108.

10 Mukherjee 'Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, [illegible]', *op.cit.*, p.47.

11 See Appendix A.

12 See Appendix G.

13 See Appendices A-O.

14 See Appendices A-N, P.

15 Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus* [illegible].

16 Guru Prosad Sen, *Introduction to the Study of Hinduism* (Calcutta, [illegible]), p.35.

17 S.C. Bose, *The Hindoos As They are* [illegible] (Calcutta, [illegible]), pp.14-18.

18 J. N. Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, [illegible].

19 *Calcutta Review* III [illegible] *Hindu Civilization Under British Rule* (Calcutta, [illegible]).

20 L.N. Ghose, *The Indian Chiefs* [illegible].

21 James W. Furrell, *The Tagore Family* [illegible].

22 L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, [illegible].

23 *Bengalee*, 26 Sept. [illegible].

24 See Appendix A.

25 L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, [illegible].

26 N.N. Ghose, *Memoirs of* [illegible] (Calcutta, [illegible]), pp.4-5.

27 Grish Chunder [illegible].

28 Mullick, *The* [illegible].

29 *Ibid.*, p.120.

30 *GM* (Calcutta, [illegible]).

31 N.N. Ghose, [illegible].

32 Nagendra [illegible].

33 N.K. Dutt, [illegible] (Calcutta, [illegible]), Vol. II, p.5.

34 N.N. Ghose, [illegible].

35 J.N. [illegible].

36 S.C. Bose, [illegible].

[37] *Ibid.*, p.48.

[38] See, e.g., Mullick, *The Vaisyas of Bengal.*

[39] See, e.g., Kissory Chand Mittra, 'The Kassimbazar Raj', *Calcutta Review* LXII, 113 (1873), pp.94-5.

[40] *GRPI 1862-63*, Appendix A, p.305.

[41] Subul Chandra Mitra, *Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar* (Calcutta, 1902), p.219.

[42] Sen, *Hinduism*, p.218.

[43] P.C. Bagchi (ed.) *The Second City of the Empire* (Calcutta, 1938), p.23.

[44] Mittra, *loc.cit.*

[45] Hitesranjan Sanyal, 'Continuities of Social Mobility In Traditional And Modern Society In India: Two Case Studies of Caste Mobility In Bengal', *The Journal of Asian Studies* XXX, 2 (1970), pp.315-39.

[46] See, for example, Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes And Sects.*

[47] *Calcutta Christian Observer* 1, 2 (1832), p.70.

[48] B.N. Banerjee (ed.) *Samvadpatra Sekaler Katha* (Calcutta, 1949), Vol 1, p.301.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Hindoo Patriot*, 8 Sept. 1862.

[51] Risley, *The People of India*, Appendix I, XI.

[52] Bhola Nauth Chunder, *The Travels of a Hindoo* (Calcutta, 1869), Vol. 1, p.36, Vol.2, p.xvii.

[53] Bhattarcharya, *op.cit.*, pp.198-9.

[54] S.C. Bose, *The Hindoos*, pp.2-3.

[55] *Ibid.*, p.3.

[56] *Sadharani*, 19 Apr. 1874.

[57] L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, p.175.

[58] Grish Chunder Ghose, *op.cit.*, pp.35-8.

[59] *Samvad Prabhakar*, 29 Apr. 1842.

[60] *Calcutta Christian Observer* X, 104 (1841), pp.67-8.

[61] *Hindoo Patriot*, 11, 18 Jan. 1875.

[62] N.N. Laha, *Suvarnavanik: Katha O Kirti* II, pp.152-91. Over 1000 Saptagram Suvarnavaniks attended the meeting but they did not include all the leading members of that *jati* in Calcutta.

[63] L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, p.51.

[64] For a general division of some of these groups see H.H. Wilson, *Essays and Lectures* (London, 1862), Vol. I, Sect. III, pp.30-3.

[65] L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, p.228.

[66] Grish Chunder Ghose, *op.cit.*, p.38.

[67] H. Risley & E.A. Gait, *Census of India 1901, Vol. I India* (Calcutta, 1903), p.541.

[68] Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, p.160.

[69] Chunder, *Travels of a Hindoo.*, Vol. I, p.40.

[70] Sen, *Hinduism*, pp.52-3.

[71] Risley & Gait, *op.cit.*, p.542.

[72] Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, p.471.

[73] *Ibid.*, p.124.

[74] P.G. O'Kinealy (ed.), *The Calcutta Law Reports of Cases Decided By The High Court Calcutta*, (Calcutta, 1878). Vol. I, p.567.

[75] S.N. Mukherjee, 'Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, 1815-38' pp.33-78; 'Daladali in Calcutta in the Nineteenth Century', p.59.

[76] Bethune to Dalhousie, 9 June 1849, Dalhousie p., GD 45/6/145.

[77] *Calcutta Christian Observer* XIII, 154 (Oct. 1852), p.479.

[78] *National Paper*, 26 Oct. 1870.

[79] Bose, *The Hindoos*, p.167.

[80] *Bengalee*, 1 Aug., 5 Dec. 1885.

[81] H.S. Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West* (5th ed, London, 1887), p.38.

[82] J.D.M. Derrett, *Hindu Law Past and Present* (Calcutta, 1857).

[83] Bernard S. Cohn makes this point in 'Some Notes on Law and Change in North India', *Economic Development and Cultural Change* VIII, 1 (1959), pp.90-1.

[84] G.P. Sen, pp.18-21.

[85] Laha, *Suvarnavanik* III, p.153.

[86] B.N. Banerjee (ed.) *Samvadpatre Sekaler Katha* Vol 1, p.89.

[87] Bose, *The Hindoos.*, pp.178-9.

[88] *Hindoo Patriot*, 10 Jan. 1876.

[89] Man Mohan Ghose to Gunu Babu, 17 May 1862, Tagore Family Correspondence.

[90] Grish Chunder Ghose, *Ramdoolal Dey* p.38.

[91] S.C. Mitra, *Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar* pp.260-8.

[92] Sen. *op.cit.*, p.18.

[93] Laha, *op.cit.*, pp.153-91.

[94] L.N. Ghose, *The Indian Chiefs*, Vol II, p.51.

[95] *Calcutta Christian Observer*, XIII, 154 (New Series) (Oct. 1852), p.479.

[96] Banerjee, *op.cit.*, p.300.

[97] *Bengal Hurkaru*, 21 Sept. 1847.

[98] *National Paper*, 19 June 1867.

[99] *Sadharani*, 15 Feb. 1874.

[100] *Sanatana Dharma Podesini*, Vol. II, 6th Issue, June 1871.

[101] *National Paper*, 13 Sept. 1871.

[102] *Ibid.*, 17 June 1868.

[103] Siva Nath Sastri, *History of the Brahmo Samaj* (Calcutta, 1911), Vol. I, pp.151-70.

[104] *Brahmo Public Opinion*, 23 May, 31 Oct. 1878.

[105] *Ibid.*, 31 Oct. 1878.

[106] *Ibid.*

[107] See Chapter Five.

[108] See, e.g., Amar Chandra Datta, *Ananda Mohan Bose* (Calcutta, 1919), p.6; P.C. Ray, *Life and Experiences of a Bengal Chemist* (Calcutta, 1932), p.26.

[109] See, e.g., comments by Man Mohan Ghose on this process in Man Mohan Ghose to Gunu Babu, 13 Jan. 1863, Tagore Family Corres.

[110] See Chapter Five.

[111] M. Gupta, *Jagadish Chandra Bose: A Biography* (Bombay, 1964), p.20.

[112] See U.C. Sarkar, *Epochs In Hindu Legal History* (Hoshiarpur, 1958).

[113] Mitra, *op.cit.*, pp.282, 301.

[114] *Som Prokash*, 22 Oct. 1884.

[115] *Mitra, op.cit.*, p.319.

[116] *Hindoo Patriot*, 26 Feb. 1857.

[117] For an interesting discussion of this question see Risley, *The People of India* p.176.

[118] *Hindoo Patriot*, 1 July 1867.

[119] *Decisions of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut in 1857* (Calcutta, 1858), p.292.

[120] *CGGI* (Calcutta, 1873), Vol. XI, pp.149-206.

[121] *CLGB* (Calcutta, 1881), Vol. XII, p.32.

[122] *Sulabh Samacar*, 16 Nov. 1873.

[123] *Calcutta Christian Observer* XII, 3 (1843), p.151.

[124] J.N. Gupta, *Life and Works of Romesh Chandra Dutt C.I.E.* (London, 1911), pp.17-18.

[125] *Hindoo Patriot*, 17 May 1869.

[126] *Ibid.*, 8 Jan. 1872.

[127] L.N. Ghose, *op.cit.*, p.25.

[128] *Hindoo Patriot*, 10 Jan. 1876.

[129] *Ibid.*, 13 June 1881.

[130] *Bengalee*, 1 Aug. 1885.

[131] *Hindoo Patriot*, 2 May 1864.

[132] *Sanatana Dharma Podesini*, Vol. II, Issue 3, (1871).

[133] *Hindoo Patriot*, 11 Jan. 1875.

[134] *Laha, op.cit.*, p.153.

[135] *Risley, op.cit.*, Appendix VIII.

[136] Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* pp.17-18; L.S.S. O'Malley, *Indian Caste Customs* (Cambridge, 1932), p.75.

[137] Man Mohan Ghose to Gunu Babu, 17 May 1862, Tagore Family Corres.

[138] Bethune to Dalhousie, 21 May 1849, Dalhousie P., GD 45/6/145.

[139] Halliday to Dalhousie, 1 Sept. Dalhousie P., GD 45/6/153.

[140] Bose, *The Hindoos*, p.167.

[141] *Sadharani*, 14 Dec. 1873.

[142] *Bengalee*, 1 Aug., 5 Dec. 1885.

[143] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER THREE

[1] D.P. Sinha, *The Educational Policy of the East India Company In Bengal to 1854* (Calcutta, 1964), p.28.

[2] Levkovsky, *Capitalism in India*, p.27.

[3] H. Sharp (ed.), *Selections from Educational Records Part I, 1781-1839* (Calcutta, 1920), p.116.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p.131.

[6] Court of Directors to Government of India, 19 July 1854, *PP*, 1854, Vol. XLVII.

[7] *GRPI for 1856-57*, Appendix D. p.1.

[8] *GRPI for 1854-55*, p.15.

[9] J.C. Corea, 'One Hundred Years of Education', *Modern Asian Studies* III, 2 (1969), pp.151-75.

[10] Christine Dobbin, *Urban Leadership In Western India* (Oxford, 1972).

[11] *GRPI for 1857-58*, Appendix B, pp.65-6.

[12] Ellen McDonald Gumperz, English Education and Social Change in Late Nineteenth Century Bombay, (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, 1965), p.107.

[13] *GRPI for 1854-55*, p.15.

[14] Dobbin makes this point in *Urban Leadership* p.162.

[15] See Appendix B.

[16] See Appendix C.

[17] See Chapter Five for similar change.

[18] See, e.g., the problems of the Metropolitan Institution in Mitra, *Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar* pp.439-42.

[19] See Appendix B.

[20] *Thacker's Indian Directory 1885* (Calcutta, 1885), pp.203-10.

[21] Laha, *Sutemataniik* 1, p.2.

[22] R.J. Majumdar, 'The Hindu College', *Journal of the Asiatic Society Letters* XXI, 1 1955, p.39.

[23] See Appendix B.

[24] *Report of the Oriental Seminary And The Branch School For The Year 1853-54* (Calcutta, 1854), Appendix.

[25] *New Calcutta Directory For 1857* (Calcutta, 1857), Part VI, p.46.

[26] Laha, *op.cit.*, pp.9-10.

[27] *Papers Relating To The Hindu Metropolitan College With Which Is Incorporated Seal's Free College* (Calcutta, 1857).

[28] *New Calcutta Directory for 1857* Part VI, p.46.

[29] Majumdar, *loc.cit.*

[30] See Appendix B. Note that the four colleges operating in 1885 incorporated Anglo-vernacular schools.

[31] For background to this, see *Papers Relating To The Establishment of The Universities* (Calcutta, 1856).

[32] See Chapter One.

[33] The Court of Directors to the Government of India, 19 July 1854, *PP*, 1854, Vol. XLVII.

[34] *GRPI for 1856-57* p.2.

[35] See Mitra, *op.cit.*, pp.430-59; A.N. Gupta, *The Life History of a College - City College - (1879-1955)* (Calcutta, 1955), p.1; S.N. Banerjea, *A Nation In The Making* (London, 1925), p.36; *Hundred Years of The University of Calcutta, Supplement* (Calcutta, 1957), pp.43, 47.

[36] *GRPI for 1884-85* p.16.

[37] *Ibid.*, p.83.

[38] For a comparative situation during a later period see Gail Minault and David Lelyveld, 'Campaign For A Muslim University, 1898-1920', *Modern Asian Studies* 8, 2 (1974), p.145.

[39] Dipesh Chakrabarty makes this point in his forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, ANU, on the industrial proletariat and the jute industry in Calcutta, in the late 19th and early 20th century.

[40] For an analysis of the question of female education in Calcutta see Meredith Borthwick The Bengali Bhadramahila, 1849-1905, (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1981).

[41] See Appendix C.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] Laha, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp.32-113; Mitra, *op.cit.*, pp.430-59.

[53] See, e.g., Mitra, *loc.cit.*; Gupta, *loc.cit.*; Banerjea, *loc.cit.*

[54] See Appendix C.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] Mitra, *op.cit.*, p.242.

[61] Banerjea, *op.cit.*, pp.34-36.

[62] See Chapter Seven.

63 See Appendix C.

64 *Ibid.*

65 Bethune to Dalhousie, 9 June 1849, Dalhousie P., GD 45/6/145.

66 Halliday to Dalhousie, 1 Sept. 1851, Dalhousie P., GD 45/6/153.

67 See Dr Kalidas Nag (ed.) and Lotika Ghose (asst. ed.) *Bethune School and College Centenary Volume 1849-1949* (Calcutta, 1949), pp.27-9; 'Miss Mary Carpenter First Visit In Calcutta', *Calcutta Review* Vol. CXXXIX, No. CCLVII, (1909), pp.257-66.

68 Nag and Ghose, *op.cit.*, pp.132-4; Siva Nath Sastri, *History of the Brahmo Samaj* (Calcutta, 1911-1912), Vol. 1, pp.254-58; Vol. II, pp.80-1.

69 *GRPI for 1861-62*, p.18.

70 *GRPI for 1864-65*, Appendix A, pp.476-77.

71 *GRPI for 1866-67*, pp.18-19.

72 *GRPI for 1869-70*, pp.66-74.

73 *Ibid.*, p.69.

74 *Ibid.*, p.68.

75 *Ibid.*, pp.72-91.

76 *GRPI for 1857-58*, Appendix A, pp.15-23. Note for a comparison with Bombay see Gumperz, *loc.cit.*

77 *Ibid.*

78 *GRPI for 1871-72*, Appendix A, p.452.

79 These rules were altered in 1853 when the government decided, in opposition to the majority of Hindus who sat on the committee of the College, to allow students of all classes to enter the College. Partly as a compromise, the Hindus were allowed to retain control of the junior section of the college renamed, the Hindu School.

80 *GRPI for 1857-58*, Appendix A, pp.15-23.

81 *GRPI for 1870-71*, pp.72-5.

82 *GRPI for 1883-84*, p.10.

83 *GRPI for 1869-70*, p.75.

84 *GRPI for 1872-73*, Appendix A, pp.655-56.

85 *GRPI for 1881-82*, p.493.

86 *GRPI for 1884-85*, p.15.

87 *GRPI for 1878-79*, p.110.

88 *GRPI for 1883-84*, p.9.

89 See Chapter Two.

90 *GRPI for 1868-69*, Appendix A, p.444.

CHAPTER FOUR

1 S.C. Sanial, 'History of the Press in India', *Calcutta Review* CXXXII, 263 (1911), p.2; Benoy Ghose, 'The Press in Bengal', in N.K. Sinha (ed.), *The History of Bengal (1757-1905)*, p.217.

2 David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1969), pp.56-62, 71.

3 Sanial, *op.cit.*, p.7.

4 See Appendix D.

5 Sanial, *op.cit.*, p.8.

6 'The Calcutta Native Press', *Calcutta Christian Observer* 1, 2, (1840), pp.57-66.

7 This conclusion is based on a comparison of the list of periodicals given in the previous source with that in Appendix D.

8 See Appendix D.

9 Benoy Ghose, *op.cit.*, p.219.

10 B.N. Banerjee, *Samvadpatra Sekaler Katha*, Vol. III, p.185.

11 *Bengalee*, 12 Aug. 1863.

12 'Kali Prasanna Sinha', in Nirmal Sinha (ed.), *The Freedom Movement in Bengal, 1818-1904*, (Calcutta, 1968), p.263.

13 Sanial, *op.cit.*, p.45.

14 For an outline of these newspapers see R.N. Bose & H.W.B. Moreno, *A Hundred Years of the Bengali Press*, (Calcutta, 1900), pp.71-9; Benoy Ghose, *op.cit.*, pp.228-30; Sanial, 'History of the Press in India II', *Calcutta Review* CXXXII, 264 (1911), pp.141-200.

15 S.C. Mitra, *Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar*, pp.357, 370.

16 Benoy Ghose, *op.cit.*, pp.229-30.

17 *Bengalee*, 12 Aug. 1863.

18 S.N. Sastri, *History of the Brahmo Samaj* (Calcutta, 1911), Vol. 1, pp.91-164.

19 *Ibid.*, p.289.

20 *Sanatana Dharma Podesini* Vol. 1, Issue 1 (1870), p.24.

21 See, e.g., Sastri, *op.cit.*, p.164.

22 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp.125-6.

23 *Ibid.*, pp.163-4.

[24] Business, professional, and technical periodicals have been classified under one category, owing to the limited number of publications in each of these three areas.

[25] The *Tattvabodhini Patrika* was established in 1843 by Devendra Nath Tagore and edited by Akshay Kumar Datta. See Kanai Chattopadhyaya, 'Akshay Kumar Datta: A Profile', *Modern Review* CXXVII, 4 (1970), p.309.

[26] See Appendix D.

[27] These publications are mentioned in S.N. Sastri, *History of the Brahmo Samaj* I-II.

[28] The *Arunaday* was edited by Lal Behari Dey. See H.H. Das, *Lal Behari Dey* (London, 1912), p.27.

[29] The *Indian Christian Herald* was founded and edited by Kali Charan Banerjee and J.G. Shom. See B.R. Barber, *Kali Charan Banarji* (Calcutta, 1912), p.33.

[30] The *Indian Christian Herald*, e.g., argued that Hindu converts to Christianity were a Hindu sect. See Bipin Chandra Pal, *My Life and Times* Vol. 1, p.29.

[31] This journal was established by the Junior Branch of the Dev family and copies of it can be found in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

[32] See Appendix D.

[33] *Hindoo Patriot*, 29 Feb. 1864.

[34] This newspaper can be found in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

[35] See Appendix D.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] These magazines were owned and edited by the Addai family. See N.N. Laha, *Suvarnavanik* III, p.114.

[38] This journal was established and edited by Mahendra Lal Sirkar. See Rajendra Nath Ghose, 'Biography of the Late Dr Mahendra Lal Sirkar', *Satgop Patrika* Vol. i, Issue 2 (1928), p.44.

[39] This journal was founded and edited by Mahendra Lal Shome. Copies of it can be found in the S.O.A.S. Library, University of London.

[40] See *Bengal Directory for 1883* (Calcutta, 1882), p.287.

[41] 'Kaliprasanna Kavyabisharad', in Nirmal Sinha (ed.), *Freedom Movement in Bengal* p.464.

[42] This journal was founded and edited by Grish Chandra Bose. See 'Grish Chandra Basu', in Nirmal Sinha (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.403.

[43] See Appendix D.

[44] *Ibid.*

45 For a general examination of Bengali literature see S.K. De, *History of Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Calcutta, 1961); A. Tripathi 'Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century', in N.K. Sinha (ed.), *The History of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1967), pp.473-513.

46 See Appendix D.

47 *Ibid.*

48 This newspaper was established in Jessore in 1868 by the Ghose brothers and transferred to Calcutta in 1871. See Bose Moreno, *op.cit.*, pp.71-8.

49 This newspaper was founded and edited by Akshay Chandra Sirkar. See Sanial, 'History of the Press in India II', pp.154.

50 This journal was founded and edited by Jogendra Nath Vidyabhusan. See B.N. Banerjee, *Jogendranath Vidyabhusan* (Calcutta, 1948).

51 F.H. Skrine, *Sambhu Chandra Mookherjee: An Indian Journalist* (Calcutta, 1895), p.47.

52 This newspaper was established by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and edited by Krishna Kumar Mitra. See Sastri, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p.178.

53 See Appendix D.

54 See Appendix E.

55 *Ibid.*

56 See Appendix J.

57 See Appendix E.

58 *Ibid.*

59 *Ibid.*

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ibid.*

62 *Ibid.*

63 *Ibid.*

64 *Ibid.*

65 *Ibid.*

66 *Ibid.*

67 *Ibid.*

68 Pal, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp.192-215.

69 See, e.g., A.C. Dutta, *Ananda Mohan Bose* p.6; P.C. Ray, *Bengali Chemists* p.26.

70 This journal was established in order to criticise social reforms which were advocated by the *Sangbad Kaumudi*. A.H.M. Kamal, The Bengali Press and Literary Writings 1818-1831, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1969) pp.61-2.

[71] Sastri, *op.cit.*, 1, pp.165-6.

[72] *National Paper*, 30 Jan., 19 June, 24 July, 23 Oct. 1867, 22 Oct. 1870, 2 Oct. 1872.

[73] *Ibid.*, 22 Oct. 1870.

[74] *Ibid.*, 22 June 1870.

[75] *Ibid.*, 28 Aug., 2 Oct. 1867, 17 May 1871.

[76] *Ibid.*, 31 July 1867.

[77] *Ibid.*, 30 June 1869.

[78] *Ibid.*, 27 Oct. 1869.

[79] *Ibid.*, 16 Jan. 1867, 15 June 1870.

[80] *Ibid.*, 19 June 1867, 17 Feb. 1869.

[81] *Ibid.*, 25 Sept., 2 Oct. 1872.

[82] *Ibid.*, 22 May, 3 July, 31 July 1867, 21 Sept., 3 May 1870.

[83] *Ibid.*, 26 June, 7 Feb. 1867, 7 Sept. 1870.

[84] *Ibid.*, 22 May 1867.

[85] *Ibid.*, 27 Oct. 1869.

[86] *Ibid.*, 25 Aug. 1869.

[87] *Ibid.*, 26 June 1867, 30 Dec. 1868.

[88] *Ibid.*, 24 Apr., 22 May, 7 Aug. 1867.

[89] *Ibid.*, 11 Aug. 1869.

[90] *Ibid.*, 30 Dec. 1868, 5 May 1869, 16 Oct. 1872.

[91] *Ibid.*, 16 Sept. 1868, 1 Dec. 1869, 18 Sept. 1872.

[92] *Ibid.*, 16 Sept. 1868.

[93] *Ibid.*, 29 Dec. 1869.

[94] *Hindoo Patriot*, 25 Feb., 11 Mar., 8 April 1858.

[95] *Ibid.*, 29 Apr. 1858.

[96] *Ibid.*, 13 Jan. 1859.

[97] *Ibid.*, 25 Nov. 1858.

[98] *Ibid.*, 3 Sept. 1859.

[99] *Ibid.*, 22 Oct. 1859.

[100] *Ibid.*, 14 Jan., 3 Mar., 31 Mar. 1860.

[101] *Ibid.*, 1 Nov. 1869, 17 Jan. 1870.

[102] *Ibid.*, 7 July 1873.

[103] See Appendix D.

104 *Ibid.*

105 *Hindoo Patriot*, 1 Feb. 1875.

106 *Ibid.*, 31 Mar. 1879.

107 See, e.g., *Sadharani*, 8 Feb. 1874.

108 See, e.g., *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 23 Sept. 1875.

109 See, e.g., *Bengalee*, 23 Apr. 1882.

110 See, e.g., *Brahmo Public Opinion*, 7 Aug. 1879.

111 *Bengalee*, 6 May 1882.

112 See, e.g., *Hindoo Patriot*, 20 Aug., 3 Dec. 1859, 3 Apr. 1861, 14 Mar. 1862, 12 Feb., 1 June 1868, 17 Aug. 1868, 18 May 1869, 22 May 1871, 19 Jan. 1874.

113 See, e.g., *Hindoo Patriot*, 10 Oct. 1860, 5 June 1861, 2 Dec. 1867, 21 Mar. 1870, 2 Sept. 1878, 22 Sept. 1879.

114 See, e.g., *Hindoo Patriot*, 24 Dec. 1859, 12 June 1861, 3 Mar. 1862, 21 Mar. 1870, 12 Aug., 9 Sept. 1878, 13 Oct. 1879.

115 *Hindoo Patriot*, 22 Jan. 1857.

116 *Ibid.*, 15 July 1858.

117 *Ibid.*, 30 Dec. 1861.

118 See Chapter Eight.

119 *Hindoo Patriot*, 30 Dec. 1861.

120 *Bengalee*, 20 Mar. 1869.

121 Rothermund, *op.cit.*

122 *Bengalee*, 4 Aug. 1877.

123 *Ibid.*, 26 Mar. 1881.

124 *Ibid.*, 25 Mar. 1882.

125 *Sulabh Samacar*, 15 Nov. 1870.

126 Rothermund, *op.cit.*, pp.101-5.

127 Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Sasipada Banerjee: A Study in the Nature of the First Contact of the Bengal Bhadralok with the Working Classes of Bengal', *Indian Historical Review* II, 2 (1976), pp.339-64.

128 Sir Bartle Frere to Wood, 6 July 1861, Wood P. MSS. EUR. F78/L.B.S.; Lawrence to Wood, 21 Dec. 1865, Wood P. MSS. EUR. F78/113/9; Lawrence to Cranbourne, 8 Nov. 1866, John Lawrence Private P. MSS. EUR. F.90/38, Vol. 31, No.49.

129 Mayo to Grey, 9 July 1870. Mayo P. Add. 7490, 40/3/197.

130 Government House to Dwarka Nath Bidyabhusin, 19 July 1872.

131 Temple to Northbrook, 18 Feb. 1875, Temple P. MSS. EUR. F.86/2.

[132] *Bengalee*, 25 Mar. 1882.

[133] *Ibid.*; *Bengal Hurkaru*, 23 July 1857.

CHAPTER FIVE

1 R.J. Majumdar, 'The Hindu College', pp.39-51.

2 'Hindoo College Origins and Rise of: A Sketch of the Hindoo College', *The Calcutta Christian Observer* I, 2 (1832), pp.70-129.

3 See Appendix F.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Hindoo Patriot*, 3 Feb. 1862.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Hindoo Patriot*, 28 Jan. 1867.

10 *Thacker's Directory 1885*, pp.194-214.

11 *Som Prokash*, 29 Dec. 1862.

12 *National Paper*, 31 July 1867.

13 *Ibid.*

14 See Appendix F.

15 Siva Nath Sastri, *History of the Brahmo Samaj* Vol. I, pp.151-70; *Brahmo Public Opinion*, 23 May, 31 Oct. 1878.

16 *Hindoo Patriot*, 9 Dec. 1867.

17 *Ibid.*, 13 Mar. 1876.

18 *The Proceedings of the Bethune Society for the Sessions of 1859-60, 1860-61* (Calcutta, 1862), pp.IV-V.

19 *Forty-Fourth Report of the District Charitable Society* (Calcutta, 1875).

20 *Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association* (Calcutta, 1878), Vol. VII, p.XVI.

21 Laha, *Suvarnavanik* Vol. III, pp.332-470.

22 *Series of Proceedings on the Temperance Movement* (Calcutta, 1876).

23 *Brahmo Public Opinion*, 31 Oct. 1878.

24 *The Nineteenth Report of the Proceedings of the Calcutta School Book Society* (Calcutta, 1857), p.112. See also N.L. Basak, 'Origin and Role of the Calcutta Book Society in Promoting the Course of Education in India, Especially Vernacular Education in Bengal (1817-1835)', *Bengal Past and Present* LXXVIII, 1(1959), p.31.

[25] See Appendix F.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] For a general examination of Bengali literature in the nineteenth century see S.K. De, *History of Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century;* Sisir Kumar Das, Early Bengali Prose: Carey to Vidyasagar, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1963).

[29] See Appendix F.

[30] Sastri, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p.1.

[31] See Appendix F.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] See Sastri, *op.cit.*, Vols, I-II; *Brahmo Public Opinion*, 23 May 1978.

[34] For an interesting account of how a 'native' Christian gradually acquired a say in missionary voluntary associations see G. Macpherson, *Life of Lal Behari Day* (Edinburgh, 1900), pp.70-1.

[35] *Hindoo Patriot*, 29 Mar. 1869.

[36] See Appendix F.

[37] *Hindoo Patriot*, 29 Feb. 1864.

[38] *National Paper*, 29 Apr. 1868.

[39] See Meredith Borthwick's Ph.D. thesis, The Bengali Bhadramahila, 1849-1905.

[40] See Calcutta directories published between 1857 and 1885.

[41] See Appendix F.

[42] See Chapter Two.

[43] See Appendix F.

[44] Mahendra Lal Sircar was the first secretary of this association. See M.K. Sen-Gupta, 'Dr Mahendra Lal Sircar C.I.E. M.D. D.L.' *The Presidency College Magazine*, I, 1. (1914), p.97. For an examination of the development of western medicine in Calcutta see *Centenary of Medical College Bengal 1835-1934* (Calcutta, 1935).

[45] *National Paper*, 29 Apr. 1868.

[46] *Hindoo Patriot*, 7 Apr. 1859.

[47] See Chapter Seven.

[48] See Appendix G.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] See Chapters Six and Eight.

[63] *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society* XXVI, 1 (1857); LIV, IV (1885).

[64] *Proceedings of the Bethune Society.*

[65] Laha, *Suvarnavanik*, Vol. III, p.332-470.

[66] *Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association* I-VII.

[67] Jogesh Chandra Bagal, *Bengal Hindu Melar Itibritya* (Calcutta, 1968), pp.1-4.

[68] *Sanatana Dharma Podesini*, 2, 3 (1871), pp.35-56.

[69] See, e.g., the membership rules for the Bethune Society in *Selections from the Bethune Society's Papers* (Calcutta, 1854), Appendix; see also the constitution of the Canning Institute in *Report of the Canning Institute for the Sessions 1866-68* (Calcutta, 1868).

[70] The Union Club subscription was Rs.100 and Rs.6 monthly. *Hindoo Patriot*, 7 Apr. 1859.

[71] Macpherson, *Lal Behari Day.*, p.71; see also Lal Behari Day, *Recollection of Alexander Duff, D.D., L.L.D.* (London, 1879), pp.212-14.

[72] *Hindoo Patriot*, 12 June 1871; *Bengalee*, 16 Sept. 1871.

[73] *Hindoo Patriot*, 23 July 1857; *Bengal Hurkaru*, 22 Aug. 1857.

[74] *Hindoo Patriot*, 23 July 1857.

[75] John McGuire 'Kristo Das Pal: Politician as Intermediary', in W.H. Morris-Jones (ed.) *The Making of Politicians* (London, 1976), pp.99.

[76] *Proceedings of the Bethune Society* p.VI.

[77] *Hindoo Patriot*, 13 Aug. 1859.

[78] *Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association* Vol. I, pp.XV-XVI.

[79] *Hindoo Patriot*, 27 Mar. 1876.

[80] As quoted in *Brahmo Public Opinion*, 9 Oct. 1879.

CHAPTER SIX

1 *First Report of the British Indian Association from its establishment on 29 Oct. 1851, to 30 Nov. 1852.*

2 *Englishman,* 27 Oct. 1875.

3 *Supplement to the Bengalee,* 5 Aug. 1876.

4 See Appendix H.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*

19 *First Report of the British Indian Association.*

20 *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the BIA 1879.*

21 This finding is based on an examination of the annual reports of the British Indian Association, 1852-1868.

22 See *Hindoo Patriot,* 18 May, 14 Sept. 1863.

23 Devendra Nath Tagore was Secretary of the British Indian Association from 1851 to 1854, and Jatindra Mohan Tagore from 1861-1877.

24 Pratap Chandra Singh was a Vice-President of the British Indian Association from 1854 until his death in 1866. His younger brother, Isvar Chandra Singh, was secretary of the Association from 1854 until his death in 1861.

25 Satya Charan Ghosal replaced Kali Krishna Deb as a Vice-President of the British Indian Association in 1866.

[26] *Sixteenth Annual Report BIA 1868.*

[27] *Seventeenth Annual Report BIA 1869.*

[28] *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report BIA 1879.*

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *National Paper,* 6 Mar. 1870.

[32] *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report BIA 1879.*

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *First Report of the BIA.*

[35] John McGuire, 'Kristo Das Pal', p.8.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Miss Sujata Ghose, 'The British Indian Association (1851-1900)', *Bengal Past and Present* LXXVII, II (1958), p.99.

[38] *Hindoo Patriot,* 22 May 1861.

[39] *Ibid.,* 20 Apr. 1868.

[40] *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report BIA 1880.*

[41] *Thirtieth Annual Report BIA 1882.*

[42] *First Report BIA.*

[43] *Amrita Bazar Patrika,* 30 Sept. 1875.

[44] *Hindoo Patriot,* 6 Apr. 1863.

[45] *Half Yearly Report BIA 1873.*

[46] *Seventeenth Annual Report BIA 1869.*

[47] *Hindoo Patriot,* 21 Mar. 1870.

[48] *Ibid.,* 14 Feb. 1876.

[49] *Bengalee,* 24 Nov., 15 Dec. 1883.

[50] *Ninth Annual Report BIA 1861.*

[51] *Hindoo Patriot,* 12 Mar. 1866.

[52] *Half Yearly Report BIA 1873.*

[53] Kissory Chand Mittra, *Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore* (Calcutta, 1870), p.15.

[54] N.N. Laha, *Suvarnavanik* Vol. I, p.3.

[55] For example, he was on the Board of Directors of the Durrung Tea Company and the Bengal Tea Company. *Bengal Annual Directory for 1875* (Calcutta, 1875), p.386.

[56] *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report BIA 1879.*

57 *Ibid.*

58 Every Annual Report of the BIA between 1876 and 1885 included petitions which it had sent to the government protesting against the rent bills.

59 Proceedings prior to 1860 and after 1882 were incomplete and were thus excluded from this examination.

60 *Som Prokash*, 8 Oct. 1860.

61 *Ibid.*, 29 Dec. 1862.

62 *National Paper*, 15 May 1867.

63 *Hindoo Patriot*, 20 Apr. 1868.

64 Banerjea, *A Nation In The Making*, p.41.

65 *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 30 Sept. 1875.

66 See Appendix I.

67 *Ibid.*

68 *Ibid.*

69 *Ibid.*

70 *Ibid.*

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Ibid.*

73 *Ibid.*

74 *Ibid.*

75 Seal, *Indian Nationalism* p.39, 214.

76 *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 27 Jan. 1876.

77 *Bengalee*, 1 Mar. 1879.

78 *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 30 Sept. 1875.

79 *Ibid.*

80 A. Roy, *Rajendralal Mitra* (Calcutta, 1966), Appendix 3.

81 *Sadharani*, 14 Nov. 1875.

82 *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 1 Mar. 1876.

83 *Ibid.*, 3 Aug. 1876.

84 *Sadharani*, 28 Sept. 1875.

85 *Hindoo Patriot*, 27 Dec. 1875.

86 *Ibid.*, 31 July 1876.

87 The first President was Sambhu Chandra Mukherjee and he was succeeded by Krishna Mohan Banerjee. The Joint Secretaries were Kali Mohan Das and Jagesh Chandra Datta.

[88] *Sadharani*, 17 Aug. 1875.

[89] *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 27 Jan. 1876.

[90] *The Englishman*, 27 Oct. 1875.

[91] Bengal Secretariat to Buckland, 30 Aug. 1875, Temple P., F86/214.

[92] *Sadharani*, 17 Aug. 1875.

[93] *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 30 Sept. 1875.

[94] *First Report BIA.*

[95] *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 30 Sept. 1875.

[96] See Appendix J.

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] *Ibid.*

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] *Hindoo Patriot*, 31 July 1876.

[104] *Ibid.*, 8, 15, 22 Sept. 1879; *Bengalee*, 4 Oct., 8 Nov. 1879.

[105] *Brahmo Public Opinion*, 26 Aug. 1880.

[106] A. Gupta, *City College - (1879-1885)* p.1.

[107] Banerjea, *op.cit.*, p.36.

[108] *Bengalee*, 23 June 1877.

[109] *Ibid.*, 31 May 1879.

[110] *Ibid.*, May 1880.

[111] *Banerjea, op.cit.*, pp.76-9.

[112] *Bengalee*, (Supplement), 12 May 1883.

[113] *Fifth Annual Report of the Indian Association, [IA] 1881* (Calcutta, 1881).

[114] *Bengalee*, 25 June 1882.

[115] *Ninth Annual Report IA 1885.*

[116] *Bengalee*, 30 July 1881.

[117] *Ibid.*, 13 Aug. 1881.

[118] *Bengalee*, 13 Oct. 1877.

[119] *Ninth Annual Report IA, 1885.*

[120] *Bengalee*, 5 Apr. 1879.

[121] *Ibid.*, 13 Mar., 8 May 1880.

[122] *Ibid.*, 21 July 1883.

[123] *Ibid.*, 15 Nov. 1884.

[124] *Eighth Annual Report IA, 1884.*

[125] *Bengalee*, 29 Dec. 1883.

[126] S.R. Mehrotra, *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress* (New Delhi, 1971), pp.406-9.

[127] *Supplement to the Bengalee*, 5 Aug. 1876.

[128] *Ibid.*

[129] *First Annual Report IA 1876-77; Bengalee*, 13 Oct. 1877, 1 Mar., 26 July 1879.

[130] *Report of the Proceedings of the Public Meeting on the Vernacular Press Act Held in the Town Hall on Wednesday, 17 April 1878* (Calcutta, 1878); *Bengalee*, 20 Apr. 1878, 1 Mar. 1879, 12 Mar. 1881.

[131] *Bengalee*, 15 Mar. 1879.

[132] *Ibid.*, 31 Dec. 1881, 4 Mar. 1882, 31 Dec., 28 Mar. 1885.

[133] *Ibid.*, 20 Dec. 1879, 20 Aug. 1881.

[134] *Ibid.*, 15 Sept., 10 Nov., 24 Nov., 29 Dec. 1883, 12 Jan., 8 Mar., 1884.

[135] *First Annual Report IA*, 1876-77.

[136] *Ibid.*

[137] *Bengalee*, 4 Aug. 1877.

[138] *Ibid.*, 26 Mar. 1881.

[139] *Ibid.*, 13 Oct., 20 July 1877, 12 Mar., 25 June, 2 July, 20 Aug. 1881, 4 Mar. 1882, 15 Sept. 1883, 8 Mar. 1884.

[140] Amit Bhaduri, 'Evolution of Land Relations in Eastern India', pp.45-58.

[141] *Bengalee*, 5 Mar. 1881.

[142] *Bengalee*, 8 Nov. 1879.

[143] *Ibid.*,

[144] *Bengalee*, May 1879, 22 May 1880, 9 July 1881.

[145] Memorandum, 14 July 1885, enclosed in Rivers Thompson to Dufferin, 15 July 1885, Dufferin P., 48 (Reel 528).

CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] Wood to Lang, 26 Mar. 1861, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.II.

[2] See, e.g., Mehrotra, *Indian National Congress*, pp.271-9; Seal, *Indian Nationalism*, Chs. 4-5.

[3] Mehrotra, *loc.cit.*

[4] See the staff lists in *Thacker's Indian Directory, 1885*, pp.129-67.

[5] Atul Chandra Patra, *The Administration of Justice Under The East-India Company In Bengal, Bihar And Orissa* (London, 1962), p.70.

[6] This information was gathered from the *New Calcutta Directory; Thacker's Post Office Directory For Bengal; Bengal Directory; Thacker's Indian Directory.*

[7] S.C. Dey, 'Ramaprosad Roy', *Calcutta Review* Vol. CXXXII No. 262 (1910), p.476.

[8] Mohindra Nauth Mookherjee, *The Memoirs of the Late Honorable Justice Onoocool Chunder Mookherjee* (Calcutta, 1876), p.39.

[9] See, e.g., Wood to Canning, 27 Aug. 1860, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.4; Perry to Lytton, 25 May 1877, Lytton P., MSS. EUR. E.218/517/3; Dufferin to Kimberly, 3 Feb. 1885, Dufferin P., 9 (Reel 517).

[10] Hugh Tinker, *The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (London, 1954), p.26.

[11] C.H. Philips (ed.), *The Evolution of India and Pakistan 1858 to 1947* (London, 1962), pp.35-8.

[12] Tinker, *op.cit.*, pp.40-1.

[13] See Appendix K.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Canning to Wood, 30 Sept. 1859, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/55/2.

[16] Wood to Canning, 26 Apr. 1861, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.7.

[17] Wood to Canning, 25 May 1860, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.3.

[18] Wood to Canning, 18 Feb. 1861, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.6.

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[20] Wood to Elgin, 19 May 1862, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.10.

[21] Elgin to Wood, 4 Nov. 1862, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.11.

[22] *CGGI* (Calcutta, 1863-1867), III-V.

[23] *CGGI* (Calcutta, 1871-1874, 1876), IX-XII, XIV.

[24] Wood to Canning, 3 Jan. 1860, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.2.

[25] Wood to Canning, 27 Aug. 1860, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.4.

[26] Beadon to Wood, 17 Dec. 1861, Wood P., MSS. EUR. F.78/L.B.9.

[27] Dufferin to Kimberly, 3 Feb. 1885, Dufferin P., 9 (Reel 517).

[28] Temple to Northbrook, 30 June 1865, Temple P., MSS. EUR. F.86/2.

[29] John McGuire, 'Kristo Das Pal', p.12.

[30] *Hindoo Patriot*, 27 Jan. 1862.

[31] *Ibid.*, 11 Jan. 1869.

[32] *CGGI*, (Calcutta, 1876), XVII, p.167.

[33] *Ibid.*, XXI, pp.46-7.

[34] Appendix L.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Furnell, *The Tagore Family*, p.83.

[37] Dey, 'Ramiprosad Roy'.

[38] *Hindoo Patriot*, 27 Jan. 1868; Amrita Lal Basu, *Speeches Of Babu Ram Gopal Ghose, With A Biographical Sketch And Likeness* (Calcutta, 1885).

[39] B.N. Chunder, *Raja Digamber Mitra C.S.I.: His Life And Career* (Calcutta, 1893).

[40] *Hindoo Patriot*, 23 July 1866.

[41] L.N. Ghose, *Indian Chiefs*, II, p.384.

[42] *Hindoo Patriot*, 13 Aug. 1866.

[43] *Ibid.*, 16 Aug. 1869.

[44] See, e.g., Basu, *loc.cit.* for the speeches of Ram Gopal Ghose, and Ram Chandra Palit (ed.), *Speeches and Minutes of the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal* (Calcutta, 1882) for the speeches of Kristo Das Pal.

[45] See, e.g., comments by Temple in Temple to Northbrook, 25 Dec. 1874, Temple P., MSS. EUR. F.86/2.

[46] *CLGB 1862* I, p.79.

[47] *Ibid.*, p.302.

[48] *Ibid.*, III, p.642.

[49] See, e.g., the voting pattern on the Calcutta Municipality Bill in 1876, *Ibid.*, X, p.20.

[50] *Ibid.*, I-XVI.

[51] See, e.g., the voting pattern on the Bengal Municipalities Bill 1884, *Ibid.*, XVII, p.10.

[52] See, e.g., the Recovery of Rents Bill in 1862, *Ibid.*, I, p.129.

[53] See, e.g., the voting pattern in 1864 on the Calcutta Municipal Acts Amendment Bill, *Ibid.*, III, p.469.

[54] See Appendix M.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] See Appendix N.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] Goode, *Municipal Calcutta* p.27.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp.27-8; *CMR* (Calcutta, 1877), pp.1-2.

[66] Goode, *op.cit.*, pp.27-8.

[67] *Hindoo Patriot*, 24 Aug. 1863.

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ibid.*, 7 Mar. 1863.

[70] *Englishman*, 19 July 1864.

[71] *Report On The Administration of Bengal 1872-73* (Calcutta, 1873), p.29.

[72] This reference was supposedly derived from a statement in the Corporation by a Muslim Justice of Peace who was not very well versed in English. When he was asked to vote on a debate which he had been unable to follow, he said *ap-da-wasta* (I vote with you sir). Goode, *op.cit.*, p.33.

[73] See Appendix N.

[74] These voting figures can be found in the *CMR* (Calcutta, 1877-1886).

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] *CMR 1882-83*, p.10.

[77] *CMR 1879*, p.8.

[78] *Bengalee*, 7 Oct. 1882.

[79] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct. 1882.

[80] *Ibid.*, 29 July 1882.

[81] See, e.g., *CMR 1885-86*, pp.12-14.

[82] This occurred mainly because the *bhadralok* had a majority of seats in the Corporation and could thus elect whom they wanted, e.g., *Bengalee*, 4 Jan. 1879.

[83] In the 1876 elections, only 199 of the 3,261 eligible Europeans registered to vote. In 1882, however, 1,277 registered. *CMR 1876*, p.4; *CMR 1882-83*, p.17.

[84] See, e.g., *Bengalee*, 4 Dec. 1882, 2 Sept. 1884.

85 C. Furedy, Municipal Politics in Calcutta, Chs. V, VIII.

86 *Hindoo Patriot*, 7 Mar. 1864.

87 *Ibid.*, 19 Dec. 1870, 23 Jan. 1871, 22, 29 Dec. 1873, 12, 19 Jan., 16 Mar. 1874.

88 *Ibid.*, 6 Aug. 1859, 4 July 1864, 29 June 1868.

89 *CMR 1868*, p.43; *Hindoo Patriot*, 14 Nov. 1864.

90 *Hindoo Patriot*, 29 June 1874.

91 *Bengalee*, 17 Dec. 1881.

92 See, e.g., *Hindoo Patriot*, 2 Dec. 1867.

93 *Hindoo Patriot*, 12 Sept. 1864, 5 Mar., 18 June, 23 July, 31 Dec. 1866, 21 July 1867, 13 Dec. 1869, 28 Aug. 1871, 16 Sept., 21 Oct. 1872.

94 *Ibid.*, 15, 29 Mar. 1875.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1 See Appendix O.

2 See Appendix P.

3 See Appendix O.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 See Appendix P.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

12 See Appendix O, P.

13 *Ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*

19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*

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INTRODUCTION

Each appendix consists of three sections: the 'Variable List', the 'Code', and the 'Data Set'. The 'Variable List' outlines the names of those variables which have been used to identify the cases that were examined and those which have been employed as the basis for analysis. It also indicates the column numbers on the punch cards into which the values for each case have been keyed. In those appendices where the case required more than one card to store information, the card number has been noted.

The 'Code' lists all the categories for each variable and the numerical values that have been assigned to these categories. In most instances, the nature and the range of categories were not difficult to identify. In certain instances, however, it was not possible to establish precise classifications. In particular, religion was a variable that was not easily coded, for 'orthodox' and 'unorthodox' are, at best, categories that convey limited information. Nonetheless, it seemed that those Hindus who were professed positivists, who supported widow-marriage, and overseas travel were generally considered unorthodox in their behaviour and were perceived as a separated group.

The 'Data Set' contains the data which has been reconstructed according to the 'Variable List' and the 'Code'. In each appendix, the first three variables have been used to identify the units of analysis and include the case number, the card number, and the name of the family, or the individual, or the organisation. The variables which follow have been employed to aggregate data into frequency distributions and cross-tabulations. Unfortunately, owing to the limitation of publication space, it was not feasible to include these tables. However, all the quantitative analysis in the text has been based on statistical tables that have been generated by means of the *Statistical Package For The Social Sciences*.

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Name of Family Founder	0230	Mitra Gangadhar
	0240	Mitra Govind Ram
	0250	Mitra Bani Madhav
	0260	Mukherjee, Baidya Nath
	0270	Mukherjee, Durga Charn
	0280	Nath Kasi
	0290	Sirkar Banamali
	0300	Pal Kali Charn
	0310	Pramanik Buru Charn
	0320	Prasad Raj Ballabh
	0330	Roy Ram Mohan
	0340	Sandal Sita Ram
	0350	Seal, Mati Lal
	0360	Sen, Bishambar
	0370	Sen, Ram Kamal
	0380	Sen Mathur Mohan
	0390	Sen Nanda Ram
	0400	Sett -
	0410	Singh Santi Ram
	0420	Sukmoy (Roy) Maharaja
	0430	Tagore, Jaya Ram
Place of Birth	01	Burdwan
	05	Hooghly
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	10	Murshidabad
	11	Jessore
Residence of Family	1-18	Corresponds with wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876.
Caste of Family	000	Do not know.
	007	Kaibarta
	008	Kansavanik
	012	Sadgopa
	016	Tantavanik
	017	Tili
	103	Radhi Brahman
	109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
	114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
	118	Radhi Baidya
	309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
	403	Barendra Brahman
	903	Pirali Brahman

1.3 DATA SET

```
001 1 BANERJEES OF JORABAGAN          0010 07 05 103 001 2
002 1 BASAKS OF BARRABAZAR            0020 10 07 016 397 4
003 1 BOSES OF BAGBAZAR 1             0030 05 01 109 001 4
004 1 BOSES OF BAGBAZAR 2             0040 05 01 109 000 2
005 1 BOSES OF SIMLA                  0050 00 06 109 397 3
006 1 BOSES OF SHAMBAZAR              0060 05 01 109 001 4
007 1 DATTAS OF BOWBAZAR              0070 00 07 000 000 3
008 1 DATTAS OF HATKHOLA              0080 05 02 109 397 6
009 1 DATTAS OF RAMGAGAN              0090 01 06 109 001 2
010 1 DEBS OF SOBHABAZAR 1            0100 10 01 109 001 3
011 1 DEBS OF SOBHABAZAR 2            0100 10 01 109 001 3
012 1 DEYS OF SIMLA                   0120 07 04 109 397 3
013 1 DHARS OF BARRABAZAR             0130 05 07 114 397 2
014 1 GHOSES OF  JORASANKO            0140 07 05 109 001 2
015 1 GHOSES OF PATHURIAGHATA         0150 00 06 109 001 3
016 1 GHOSES OF SHAMBAZAR             0160 05 01 109 001 3
017 1 LAHAS OF JHAMAPUKAR             0170 05 04 114 397 2
018 1 MALLIKS OF BARRABAZAR           0180 05 07 114 397 4
019 1 MALLIKS OF CHOREBAGAN           0190 05 06 114 397 3
020 1 MALLIKS OF PATHURIAGHATA        0200 05 06 114 397 3
021 1 MARS OF JAUNBAZAR               0210 00 10 007 397 2
022 1 MITRAS OF BAGBAZAR              0220 10 01 109 036 3
023 1 MITRAS OF NIMTOLA               0230 00 06 109 397 3
024 1 MITRAS OF KUMATULI              0240 07 02 109 001 4
025 1 MITRAS OF SOBHABAZAR            0250 00 01 109 397 2
026 1 MUKHERJEES OF PATHURIAGHATA     0260 05 06 103 001 3
027 1 MUKHERJEES OF BAGBAZAR          0270 00 01 103 001 4
028 1 NATHS OF BARRABAZAR             0280 10 07 114 001 0
029 1 NIYOGI OF KUMATULI              0290 05 02 012 001 3
030 1 PALS OF  JORASANKO              0300 00 05 017 000 2
031 1 PRAMANIKS OF  JORASANKO         0310 05 04 008 423 2
032 1 PRASADS OF BAGBAZAR             0320 10 01 109 001 4
033 1 ROYS OF SUKEA STREET            0330 05 04 103 001 2
034 1 SANDELS OF UPPER CHITPUR        0340 11 00 403 000 2
035 1 SEALS OF COLOOTOLLA             0350 05 08 114 397 2
036 1 SENS OF BARRABAZAR              0360 05 07 114 397 0
037 1 SENS OF COLOOTOLLA              0370 07 08 118 001 2
038 1 SENS OF NIMTOLA                 0380 05 06 114 392 2
039 1 SENS OF SOBHABAZAR              0390 00 01 109 001 2
040 1 SETTS OF BARRABAZAR             0400 05 07 016 397 0
041 1 SINGHS OF JORASANKO             0410 10 05 309 001 3
042 1 SUKMOY-ROYS OF PATHURIAGHATA    0420 05 06 114 001 3
043 1 TAGORES OF JORASANKO            0430 11 05 903 001 3
044 1 TAGORES OF PATHURIAGHATA        0440 11 06 903 001 4
```

APPENDIX B

EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

2.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Organisation	1	7-38
Type of Organisation	1	40
Operating in 1857	1	42
Operating in 1864	1	44
Operating in 1871	1	46
Operating in 1878	1	48
Operating in 1885	1	50
Form of Control 1857	1	52
Form of Control 1864	1	54
Form of Control 1871	1	56
Form of Control 1878	1	58
Form of Control 1885	1	60

2.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Type of Organisation	1	Tertiary Institution
	2	Secondary Institution
	3	Special Institution
All Variables Relating to Year of Operation	1	Operating
	2	Not Operating
Means by which Institution Controlled	1	Run by Individual
	2	Run by Committee
	3	Not Operating

2.3 DATA SET

```
001 ! AHIRITOLA SCHOOL                    2 2 2 1 1 1 3 3 2 2 3
002 ! ASIATIC TRAINING SCHOOL             2 2 1 2 2 2 3 1 3 3 3
003 ! BANGA MAHILA VIDYALAYA              3 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3 2 2
004 ! BENGAL ACADEMY OF MUSIC             3 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 1
005 ! BENGAL MUSIC SCHOOL                 3 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3 2 2
006 ! BENGAL TRAINING INSTITUTION         2 2 1 1 2 2 3 2 2 3 3
007 ! BETHUNE SCHOOL                      3 1 1 1 1 1 2 2 2 2 2
008 ! BOW BAZAR SCHOOL                    2 2 1 1 1 1 3 1 1 2 2
009 ! CALCUTTA BRANCH SCHOOL              2 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 1
010 ! CALCUTTA COLLEGE                    2 2 1 1 2 2 3 2 2 3 3
011 ! CALCUTTA INSTITUTE                  2 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3 2 2
012 ! CALCUTTA MODEL SCHOOL               2 2 1 2 2 2 3 1 3 3 3
013 ! CALCUTTA NORMAL SCHOOL              3 1 1 1 2 2 1 1 1 3 3
014 ! CALCUTTA RAGGED SCHOOL              3 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3 1 1
015 ! CALCUTTA SCHOOL                     2 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3 1 1
016 ! ALBERT COLLEGE                      1 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 1
017 ! CALCUTTA SCHOOL 2                   2 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 1
018 ! CALCUTTA SEMINARY                   2 1 1 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3
019 ! CALCUTTA TRAINING ACADEMY           2 2 1 1 1 2 3 1 1 1 3
020 ! CALCUTTA TRAINING INSTITUTE         2 2 2 1 1 2 3 3 1 1 3
021 ! METROPOLITAN INSTITUTION SCHOOL     2 2 1 1 1 1 3 2 2 1 1
022 ! METROPOLITAN INSTITUTION COLLEGE     1 2 2 1 1 1 3 3 1 1 1
023 ! CANNING ACADEMY                      2 2 2 1 2 2 3 3 1 3 3
024 ! CHARITABLE BENGAL SCHOOL            3 1 1 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3
025 ! CITY COLLEGE                        1 1 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 2
026 ! CITY SCHOOL                         2 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 2
027 ! FREE SANSKRIT COLLEGE               3 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 1
028 ! GOVERNMENT FEMALE NORMAL SCHOOL     3 2 2 1 1 2 3 3 2 1 3
029 ! HAYWARD SCHOOL                      3 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3 1 1
030 ! HINDU ACADEMY                       2 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3 1 1
031 ! HINDU MAHILA VIDYALAYA              3 2 2 2 1 2 3 3 3 2 3
032 ! HINDU METROPOLITAN ACADEMY          2 2 1 2 2 2 3 1 3 3 3
033 ! HINDU METROPOLITAN INSTITUTION      2 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 3 3 3
034 ! INDIAN FREE SCHOOL                  2 1 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 3 3
035 ! INDUSTRIAL ARTS SCHOOL              3 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 3 3 3
036 ! OOLOOTOLLA  EVENING SCHOOL          3 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 3 3 3
037 ! METROPOLITAN FEMALE SCHOOL          3 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 1
038 ! MIRZAPUR SCHOOL                     2 2 2 1 1 1 3 3 2 2 2
039 ! NATIVE LADIES NORMAL SCHOOL         3 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3 1 1
040 ! MR DALL'S HINDU FEMALE SCHOOL       3 2 2 2 1 2 3 3 3 1 3
041 ! ORIENTAL SEMINARY                   2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 2
042 ! PRESIDENCY SCHOOL                   2 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 1
043 ! RIPON COLLEGE                       1 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 1
044 ! SEALS FREE COLLEGE                  2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
045 ! SHAMBAZAR SCHOOL                    2 2 1 1 1 1 3 2 2 2 2
046 ! SIMLA BANGA VIDYALAYA               3 2 2 2 1 1 3 3 3 2 2
047 ! SIMLA HINDU VIDYALAYA               2 2 1 1 1 1 3 2 2 2 2
048 ! VICTORIA COLLEGE                    3 2 2 2 2 1 3 3 3 3 2
```

APPENDIX C

EDUCATIONAL ORGANISERS

3.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Leader	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level of Education	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Position in Tertiary Institution 1857-85	1	57
Position in Secondary Institution 1857-85	1	59
Position in Special Institution 1857-85	1	61
Position in Educational Institution 1857	1	63
Position in Secondary Institution 1857	1	65
Position in Special Institution 1857	1	67
Form of Control if Position Held 1857	1	69
Position in Educational Institution 1864	1	71
Position in Secondary Institution 1864	1	73
Position in Special Institution 1864	1	75
Form of Control if Position Held 1864		
Position in Educational Institution 1871		

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Position in Secondary Institution 1871	2	26
Position in Special Institution 1871	2	28
Form of Control if Position Held 1871	2	30
Position in Educational Institution 1878	2	32
Position in Tertiary Institution 1878	2	34
Position in Secondary Institution 1878	2	36
Position in Special Institution 1878	2	38
Form of Control if Position Held 1878	2	40
Position in Educational Institution 1885	2	42
Position in Tertiary Institution 1885	2	44
Position in Secondary Institution 1885	2	46
Position in Special Institution 1885	2	48
Form of Control if Position Held 1885	2	50

5.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Year of Birth	Last three digits of Year	-
Year of Death	- do -	-
	00	Do not know
Place of Birth	01	Burdwan
	05	Hooghly
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	09	Nadia
	10	Murshidabad
	11	Jessore
	15	Midnapore

Place of Birth	Number	Name of Value
	16	Darbhanga
	20	Dacca
	21	Mymensingh
Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876
Caste	000	Do not know
	007	Kaibarta
	012	Sadgopa
	016	Tantavanik
	017	Tili
	018	Kshettri
	103	Radhi Brahman
	109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
	114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
	118	Radhi Baidya
	203	Paschatya Vaidika Brahman
	209	Bangaja Kayastha
	218	Bangaja Vaidya
	303	Daksina Vaidika Brahman
	309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
	403	Barendra Brahman
	503	Maithila Brahman
	803	Kashmiri Brahman
	903	Pirali Brahman
Religion	0	Do not know
	1	Orthodox
	2	Unorthodox
	3	Adi Brahmo
	4	Brahmo Samaj of India
	5	Sadharan Brahmo
	6	Christian
Level of Education	0	Do not know
	1	Overseas Study
	2	A...

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Level of Education	3	B.L.
	4	B.A.
	5	Other Degrees
	6	Tertiary Study But No Degree
	7	Secondary
	8	Lower
College/School at which Studied	00	Do not know
	01	Hindu College
	02	Private Tutor
	03	Oriental Seminary
	04	Duff's School
	05	Ramjoy Datta's School
	06	Sherbourne's School
	07	Ram Mohun Roy's School
	08	Nitya Nanda Sen's School
	09	Seal's Free College
	10	Presidency College
	11	Sanskrit College
	12	Doveton College
	13	Medical College
	14	General Assembly Institution
	15	Hooghly College
	16	Free Church Institution
	19	Dacca College
	22	Union School
Primary Occupation	000	Do not know
	001	Government Servant
	002	Private Administrator
	003	Medical Officer
	035	Landholder
	045	Factory Owner
	188	Newspaper Editor

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Primary Occupation	397	Merchant or Banian
	452	Teacher or Lecturer
	459	Barrister
	460	Attorney
	462	Pleader
Class	0	Do not know
	1	Rentier Aristocrat
	2	Middle class
All Variables Relating to Type and Period in which Leadership Position Held	0	No
	1	Yes
Means by which Institution Controlled	0	Do not know
	1	Run by Individual
	2	Run by a Committee

3.3 DATA SET

```
001 1 ADHYA BAISNAVA D    000 000 08 07 114 0 0 00 397 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
001 2 ADHYA BAISNAVA D    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
002 1 ADHYA BHAIRAV C     000 000 08 07 114 1 7 03 397 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
002 2 ADHYA BHAIRAV C     1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
003 1 ADHYA HART K        000 000 08 06 114 1 7 03 000 2 0 1 0 1 1 0 1 1 1 0 1 1
003 2 ADHYA HARI K        1 0 1 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
004 1 BANERJEE BHAGAVATI  000 000 05 00 103 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 1 1 0 2 0
004 2 BANERJEE BHAGAVATI  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
005 1 BANERJEE BHAIRAV C  842 000 00 05 103 5 3 10 462 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
005 2 BANERJEE BHAIRAV C  1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
006 1 BANERJEE ESHAN C    000 000 00 02 103 0 0 00 000 2 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
006 2 BANERJEE ESHAN C    0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
007 1 BANERJEE G C        000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
007 2 BANERJEE G C        0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2 1 0 0 1 2
008 1 BANERJEE KALI N     000 000 00 06 103 0 0 00 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
008 2 BANERJEE KALI N     0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
009 1 BANERJEE KALI P     861 907 08 02 103 1 6 11 188 2 0 0 1 0.0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
009 2 BANERJEE KALI P     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2
010 1 BANERJEE KRISHNA M  813 885 08 17 103 6 7 01 452 2 0 0 1 1 0 1 1 1 0 1 1 0
010 2 BANERJEE KRISHNA M  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
011 1 BANERJEE OBHAI C    000 867 05 00 103 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
011 2 BANERJEE OBHAI C    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
012 1 BANERJEE SIV C      000 000 05 06 103 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 1 1 0 2 0
012 2 BANERJEE SIV C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
013 1 BANERJEE SURENDRA   848 925 08 14 103 2 1 12 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
013 2 BANERJEE SURENDRA   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 1
014 1 BANERJEE TARINI C   000 000 05 11 103 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
014 2 BANERJEE TARINI C   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
015 1 BURDWAN MAHARAJA    820 879 01 00 018 1 7 02 036 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
015 2 BURDWAN MARARAJA    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
016 1 BHATTACHARJYA H M   000 000 00 03 203 1 4 11 452 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
016 2 BHATTACHARJYA H M   0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2 1 0 0 1 2
017 1 BHUR GOPAL C        000 000 08 06 114 1 0 00 397 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 1
017 2 BHUR GOPAL C        1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
018 1 BHUR SRI NATH       000 000 08 04 114 1 0 00 397 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
018 2 BHUR SRI NATH       0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
019 1 BISWAS KAILAS C     000 000 08 10 007 0 0 00 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
019 2 BISWAS KAILAS C     1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
020 1 BONNERJEE WOMESH C  844 906 20 09 103 2 1 10 459 2 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
020 2 BONNERJEE WOMESH C  0 0 0 1 0 1 1 2 1 0 1 0 2
021 1 BONNERJEE GRISH C   000 868 20 09 103 2 7 00 460 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 1
021 2 BONNERJEE GRISH C   1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
022 1 BOSE ANANDA MOHAN   847 906 21 12 209 5 1 10 459 2 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
022 2 BOSE ANANDA MOHAN   0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2 1 0 1 1 2
023 1 BOSE BAIKANTU NATH  853 000 07 06 109 1 4 10 001 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
023 2 BOSE BAIKANTU NATH  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2
024 1 BOSE BROJIVAN       000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
024 2 BOSE BROJIVAN       1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
025 1 BOSE BAIKANTU C     829 892 20 00 209 5 7 12 001 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
025 2 BOSE BAIKANTU C     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
026 1 BOSE CHANDRA N      844 910 05 04 109 1 2 10 001 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
026 2 BOSE CHANDRA N      0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
027 1 BOSE DHURMA DAS     000 000 00 04 109 0 5 13 008 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
027 2 BOSE DHURMA DAS     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
028 1 BOSE GANGADHA       000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0
028 2 BOSE GANGADHA       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
029 1 BOSE GIRIDHAR       000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0
029 2 BOSE GIRIDHAR       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
030 1 BOSE GOPAL CHANDRA  845 000 00 00 109 0 3 10 001 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
030 2 BOSE GOPAL CHANDRA  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2
031 1 BOSE GOPAL DAS      000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
031 2 BOSE GOPAL DAS      1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
032 1 BOSE KAILAS C       827 878 08 08 109 1 7 01 001 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 1
```

```
065 2 DATTA OMESH C 2     0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2 1 1 0 0 2
066 1 DATTA PRAN K        000 000 00 03 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
066 2 DATTA PRAN K        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2
067 1 DATTA PRAN N        840 888 08 07 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
067 2 DATTA PRAN N        1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
068 1 DATTA RAJENDRA      818 889 08 11 000 1 7 01 397 1 0 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 0 1 2 0
068 2 DATTA RAJENDRA      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
069 1 DATTA SAMUL DHONE   843 000 08 05 000 1 3 10 460 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
069 2 DATTA SAMUL DHONE   1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
070 1 DATTA SHAMA CHARN   000 000 00 02 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
070 2 DATTA SHAMA CHARN   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
071 1 DATTA TARACK NATH   000 000 00 02 000 3 3 10 462 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 0
071 2 DATTA TARACK NATH   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
072 1 DATTA WOMESH C      000 000 00 06 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
072 2 DATTA WOMESH C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
073 1 DEB HARENDRA K      831 000 08 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
073 2 DEB HARENDRA K      1 1 2 1 0 1 1 2 1 0 1 0 2
074 1 DEB KALI KRISHNA    808 874 08 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 1 1 0 1 2 1 0 1 1 1
074 2 DEB KALI KRISHNA    0 1 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
075 1 DEB KAMAL KRISHNA   820 885 08 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
075 2 DEB KAMAL KRISHNA   1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
076 1 DEB RADHA KANTA     784 867 08 01 109 1 7 02 036 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
076 2 DEB RADHA KANTA     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
077 1 DEB SIV CHANDRA     811 890 05 00 109 5 7 10 001 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
077 2 DEB SIV CHANDRA     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 2
078 1 DEY DINA BANDHU     000 000 00 00 114 0 5 13 001 2 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
078 2 DEY DINA BANDHU     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
079 1 DEY G S             845 000 08 06 114 0 4 10 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
079 2 DEY G S             0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2
080 1 DEY HARISH CHANDRA  000 000 08 02 114 0 0 00 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 1
080 2 DEY HARISH CHANDRA  1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
081 1 DEY JADU NATH       000 000 08 04 114 0 0 00 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
081 2 DEY JADU NATH       0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
082 1 DEY KANAY LAL       831 000 08 16 114 1 5 13 008 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
082 2 DEY KANAY LAL       1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
083 1 DEY MATI LAL        000 000 08 04 114 6 1 13 008 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 1
083 2 DEY MATI LAL        1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
084 1 DEY NITO LAL        000 000 08 00 114 6 0 00 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
084 2 DEY NITO LAL        0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
085 1 DEY NIL MADHAV      000 000 08 04 114 0 0 00 397 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
085 2 DEY NIL MADHAV      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
086 1 DEY RAJ KISTO       000 000 08 00 114 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 1
086 2 DEY RAJ KISTO       1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
087 1 DEY S D             000 000 08 00 114 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
087 2 DEY S D             0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2
088 1 DEY SANKAR LAL      000 000 08 00 114 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
088 2 DEY SANKAR LAL      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2
089 1 DEY SHAM LAL        000 000 00 00 114 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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090 1 DHAR AKSHAY KUMAR   000 000 08 07 114 1 0 00 397 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 1 1 0 2 0
090 2 DHAR AKSHAY KUMAR   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
091 1 DHAR BROJA NATH     000 000 08 09 114 1 0 00 397 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 1 1 0 2 0
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092 1 DHAR MADHAV C       000 000 08 14 114 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 1
092 2 DHAR MADHAV C       1 0 1 1 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
093 1 GANGULI DWARKA NATH884 898 20 00 103 5 7 00 452 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
093 2 GANGULI DWARKA NATH0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2 0 0 0 0 0
094 1 GANGULI JADAV C     000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 1 1 0 2 0
094 2 GANGULI JADAV C     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
095 1 GANGULI KALI K      000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
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101 2 GHOSE HARA C       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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103 2 GHOSE KASI PERSAD  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
104 1 GHOSE KISSEN K     000 000 00  0 109 1 7 00 036 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
104 2 GHOSE KISSEN K     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
105 1 GHOSE LOKE NATH    000 000 08 03 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
105 2 GHOSE LOKE NATH    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2
106 1 GHOSE MAN MOHAN    844 896 20 08 209 5 1 10 459 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
106 2 GHOSE MAN MOHAN    0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2 1 0 0 1 2
107 1 GHOSE OBINASH C    843 000 00 00 109 0 4 10 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
107 2 GHOSE OBINASH C    1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
108 1 GHOSE PRASANNA K   000 000 08 06 109 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
108 2 GHOSE PRASANNA K   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
109 1 GHOSE RAM GOPAL    815 868 05 09 109 2 7 01 397 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 0
109 2 GHOSE RAM GOPAL    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
110 1 GHOSE SRI NATH     000 000 08 04 109 2 7 03 001 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 1
110 2 GHOSE SRI NATH     1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 1
111 1 GHOSE SARAT C      000 000 00 06 109 0 0 00 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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112 1 GOSWAMI KHETTRA M  812 885 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
112 2 GOSWAMI KHETTRA M  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2
113 1 GUPTA GOPAL C      832 000 00 00 118 0 7 01 001 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 0
113 2 GUPTA GOPAL C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
114 1 HALDAR MADAN MOHAN 000 000 00 10 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
114 2 HALDAR MADAN MOHAN 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 1
115 1 KERR DURGA DAS     000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 0
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116 2 KERR KRISHNA C     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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117 2 COOCH BEHAR MAHARAJ0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2
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118 2 KUMAR RAJENDRA N   0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 1
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119 2 LAHA BHAGAVATI     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
120 1 LAHA RAMA NATH     832 000 08 02 114 1 7 01 460 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
120 2 LAHA RAMA NATH     1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
121 1 LAHIRI RAM TANU    813 898 09 00 403 5 7 01 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
121 1 LAHIRI RAM TANU    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 2
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123 1 MALLIK BHOLA NATH  816 000 08 05 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
123 2 MALLIK BHOLA NATH  0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2 1 0 0 1 2
124 1 MALLIK CHOITAN C   000 875 08 05 114 1 7 02 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
124 2 MALLIK CHOITAN C   1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
125 1 MALLIK KISSEN M    000 000 08 08 114 1 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 1
125 2 MALLIK KISSEN M    1 0 1 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 1 0 0
126 1 MALLIK KUNJO B     850 000 08 06 114 1 7 02 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
126 2 MALLIK KUNJO B     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2
127 1 MALLIK JADU LAL    844 894 08 05 114 1 4 10 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
127 2 MALLIK JADU LAL    1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
128 1 MALLIK LALIT M     000 000 00 05 114 1 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
128 2 MALLIK LALIT M     1 0 1 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 1 0 2
129 1 MALLIK SHAMA C     000 000 08 02 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 0
129 2 MALLIK SHAMA C     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
130 1 MALLIK BHAGAVATI   000 000 08 06 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
130 2 MALLIK BHAGAVATI   0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
131 1 MAZUMDAR HEM C     834 000 00 00 109 0 7 01 001 2 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
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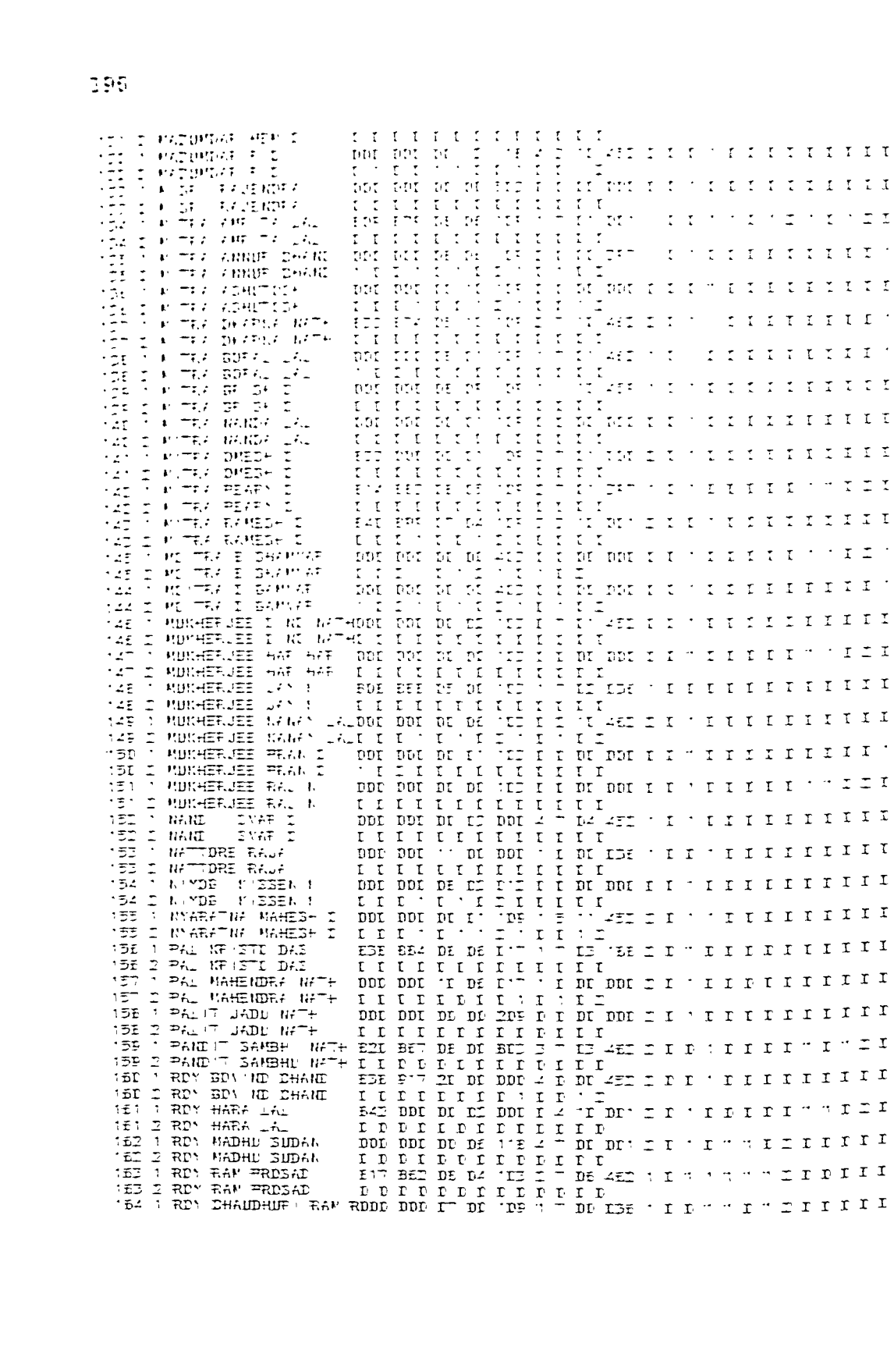

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165 1 ROY S M              000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
165 2 ROY S M              0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
166 1 SASTRI SIVA NATH     847 892 00 00 303 5 2 11 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
166 2 SASTRI SIVA NATH     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 2
167 1 SEAL CHUNI LAL       000 000 08 08 114 1 7 09 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
167 2 SEAL CHUNI LAL       0 0 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
168 1 SEAL GOPAL C         000 000 00 06 114 2 1 13 008 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 1
168 2 SEAL GOPAL C         1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 0
169 1 SEAL GOVIND C        000 000 00 08 114 1 3 10 460 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
169 2 SEAL GOVIND C        1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2
170 1 SEAL GOVIND LAL      000 000 08 08 114 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
170 2 SEAL GOVIND LAL      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 1
171 1 SEAL HIRA LAL        000 876 08 08 114 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 1 1 0 1 1
171 2 SEAL HIRA LAL        1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
172 1 SEAL KANAY LAL       845 000 08 08 114 1 4 10 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
172 2 SEAL KANAY LAL       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 1
173 1 SEN BIHARI LAL       000 000 00 03 114 0 0 00 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
173 2 SEN BIHARI LAL       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
174 1 SEN GANGA C          000 000 00 00 118 0 5 11 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
174 2 SEN GANGA C          0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
175 1 SEN HARI MOHAN       812 872 08 08 118 4 7 01 001 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
175 2 SEN HARI MOHAN       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
176 1 SEN JADU NATH        836 000 08 05 118 4 7 01 001 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
176 2 SEN JADU NATH        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
177 1 SEN JOY KRISHNA      000 000 00 00 118 4 0 00 000 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
177 2 SEN JOY KRISHNA      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2
178 1 SEN KESHUB CHUNDER 838 884 08 11 118 4 6 10 036 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 0
178 2 SEN KESHUB CHUNDER 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
179 1 SEN KRISHNA BEHARI 846 895 08 08 118 4 2 10 452 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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180 1 SEN MURALI DHAR      835 000 08 08 118 4 7 01 460 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
180 2 SEN MURALI DHAR      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
181 1 SEN NAVIN CHANDRA    834 000 08 08 118 4 7 01 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
181 2 SEN NAVIN CHANDRA    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
182 1 SEN PATIT P          000 000 00 04 114 1 0 00 397 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
182 2 SEN PATIT P          0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
 83 1 SEN PRASANNA K       000 000 00 00 109 1 7 00 452 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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184 1 SEN RAM SANKAR       000 000 00 09 114 1 0 00 001 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
184 2 SEN RAM SANKAR       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
185 1 SETT RADHA PERSAD    000 000 08 02 016 1 0 00 000 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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186 1 SHOM DOYAL CHAND     000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 1
186 2 SHOM DOYAL CHAND     1 0 2 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0 0
187 1 SHOM MAHENDRA NATH 000 000 00 00 114 0 0 00 188 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
187 2 SHOM MAHENDRA NATH 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
188 1 SINGH DWARKA NATH    000 000 00 00 000 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 1
188 2 SINGH DWARKA NATH    0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1
189 1 SINGH KALI P         840 870 08 06 309 2 7 01 036 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
189 2 SINGH KALI P         0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
190 1 SINGH PRATAP C       000 868 07 00 309 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 1 1 0 1 2 1 1 1 2 0
190 2 SINGH PRATAP C       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
191 1 SIRKAR KALI D        000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
191 2 SIRKAR KALI D        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2
192 1 SIRKAR PEARY C       823 875 08 06 109 1 7 01 452 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
192 2 SIRKAR PEARY C       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
193 1 SIRKAR SHAM CHAND    814 882 09 00 109 1 7 01 001 2 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
193 2 SIRKAR SHAM CHAND    0 0 0 1 0 1 0 2 0 0 0 0 0
194 1 SUBADHICARI P K      825 000 00 00 103 1 6 11 452 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
194 2 SUBADHICARI P K      0 1 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
195 1 SRITIRATNAR P        000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
195 2 SRITIRATNAR P        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2
196 1 TAGORE DEBENDRA N  817 905 08 06 903 3 7 01 397 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 2 0
196 1 TAGORE DEBENDRA N  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
197 1 TAGORE PRAMAD K      000 000 08 06 903 2 0 00 036 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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198 2 TAGORE RAMA NATH    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
199 1 TAGORE SURENDRA M   840 000 08 06 903 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
199 2 TAGORE SURENDRA M   0 0 0 1 0 0 1 2 1 0 0 1 2
200 1 TARKAVACHHASPATI T  812 865 00 00 103 1 6 11 452 2 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
200 2 TARKAVACHHASPATI T  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1
201 1 VIDYASAGAR ISVAR C  820 891 15 04 103 2 6 11 452 2 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 2 1
201 2 VIDYASAGAR ISVAR C  1 1 2 1 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1
202 1 VIZIANAGRAM MAHARAJ000 000 16 00 000 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
202 2 VIZIANAGRAM MAHARAJC 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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APPENDIX D

THE PRESS

4.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card No.	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Publication	1	7-32
Type of Publication	1	33-34
Language of Publication	1	36
Rate of Publication	1	38
Publications 1857	1	40
Publications 1864	1	42
Publications 1871	1	44
Publications 1878	1	46
Publications 1885	1	48
Form of Control	1	50

4.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Type of Publication	0	Do not know
	1	Political
	2	Social Reforming
	3	Religious
	4	Literary
	5	Business - Professional - Technical
Language	0	Do not know
	1	Bengali
	2	English
	3	English and Bengali
	4	Hindi
	5	Urdu
Rate of Publication	0	Do not know
	1	Daily
	2	Weekly
	3	Fortnightly

Variable	Number	Name of Value
All Variables Relating to Year of Publication	0	Not Operating
	1	Operating
Means by which Publication Controlled	0	Do not know
	1	Run by Individual/ Individuals
	2	Run by Committee

4.3 DATA SET

001	1	ABALABANDHABA	02	1	4	0	0	1	1	1	2
002	1	ARYA DARSAN	01	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	1
003	1	AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA	01	3	2	0	0	0	1	1	1
004	1	ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA	01	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
005	1	ANATHINI	00	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
006	1	ANTI CHRISTIAN	03	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	1
007	1	ARNADAYA	03	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
008	1	ARYA DARPAN	04	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
009	1	ARYA MIHIR	01	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
010	1	BALAIBANDHU	02	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	2
011	1	BALAK	02	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	1
012	1	BAMABODHINI PATRIKA	02	1	4	0	1	1	1	1	2
014	1	BANGA MAHILA	02	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
015	1	BANGA MAHILA	02	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
016	1	BANGA MITRA	01	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
017	1	BANGAVASI	01	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
018	1	BANGAVASINI	01	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
019	1	BANGABIDHA PRADASIKO	04	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
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021	1	BENGAL MAGAZINE	01	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
022	1	BHARAT BHASI	04	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
023	1	BHARATI	02	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
024	1	BHARATA KUSHA	04	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0
025	1	BHARATA MIHIR	01	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
026	1	BHARAT SANSKARAKA	03	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
027	1	BHARAT SRAMAJIBI	02	1	4	0	0	0	1	1	2
028	1	BIBIDHARTA SANGRAHA	04	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	2
029	1	BIDDAE RATNAGAR JANTAI	04	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
030	1	BIDYOTSHAHINI PATRIKA	04	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	1
031	1	BINA	04	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	1
032	1	BISA BAIRI	02	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0
033	1	BISHWA DUTT	01	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
034	1	BISHWASI	03	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0
035	1	BRAHMO PUBLIC OPINION	03	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	2
036	1	THE CALCUTTA ADVERTIZER	05	2	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
037	1	CALCUTTA JOURNAL MEDICINE	05	2	4	0	0	1	1	1	1
038	1	CALCUTTA LITERARY MAG	04	2	4	1	0	0	0	0	1
135	1	CALCUTTA MEDICAL NEWS	05	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	0
039	1	CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY MAG	04	2	4	0	0	1	0	0	1
040	1	COBITA RATNAGAR JANTAR	04	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
041	1	CHAITANA CHANDRADAYA	04	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
042	1	THE COSMOPOLITAN	04	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
043	1	DAINIK O SAMACAR CHANDRIKA	01	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
044	1	DEEJORAJ	04	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
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046	1	DHARMA BISAHAYA PRATIBODHA	03	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
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048	1	DHARMA SANATANA PODESHINI	03	1	4	0	0	1	1	0	2
049	1	DHARMA TATVA	03	1	4	0	0	1	1	1	2
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057	1	HINDOO PATRIOT	01	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2
058	1	HITAISHI	03	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
059	1	HITASADHAK	02	1	4	0	0	1	1	1	2
060	1	INDIAN CHRISTIAN HERALD	03	2	4	0	0	1	1	1	1
061	1	INDIAN ECHO	01	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
062	1	INDIAN HOMEOPATHIC REVIEW	05	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	1
063	1	INDIAN MESSENGER	03	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2

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065	:	INDIAN NATION	01	2	2	0	0	0	1	1
066	:	INDIAN SPECTATOR	04	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
067	:	INDIAN STUDENT	01	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
068	:	JAGULI PATRIKA	04	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
069	:	JYOTIRANGAN	03	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
070	:	KALPADRUM	01	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
071	:	KARAN	03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
072	:	KRISHI GAZETTE	05	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
073	:	KRISTO BANDHAU	02	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
074	:	KRISHTIYA MAHILA	02	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
075	:	MAD NA GABAL	02	1	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
076	:	MADHYASTHA	01	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
077	:	MASIC PATRIKA	02	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
078	:	MOOKHERJEE'S MAGAZINE	01	2	4	0	1	0	1	1	1
079	:	MALINI	04	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
080	:	NATIONAL PAPER	01	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
081	:	NAVAJIVAN	04	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
082	:	NAVABHIVAKAR	00	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
083	:	NABYABHARAT	04	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
084	:	NEW DISPENSATION	03	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
085	:	NITTODHARMA NANJIKA	04	1	4	1	1	1	1	0	1
136	:	ONE O'CLOCK	02	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
137	:	ORIENTAL MISCELLANY	04	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
086	:	PARICHARIKA	02	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
087	:	PANCHANANDA	04	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
088	:	PARICHARSAK	04	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
089	:	PRAKRITI	05	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
090	:	PRAHASYA SANCHARY	05	1	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
091	:	RAMAYANA	00	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
092	:	SADHARBHUSAN	04	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
093	:	SADHARANI	01	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
109	:	SAHACAR	00	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
094	:	SAHAGINI	00	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
110	:	SAHITYA MUKAR	01	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
111	:	SAHITYA SANGRAHA	04	1	0		0	0	1	0	0
112	:	SAKHA	04	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
095	:	SAMACAR CHANDRIKA	01	*	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
096	:	SAMACAR SUDHABHARSHAN	01	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
097	:	SAMACARS.	03	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
098	:	SAMAJ DARPAN	01	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
099	:	SAMAJ RAJNANI	02	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
100	:	SAMALINI	03	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
113	:	SAMALOCHAK	03	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
114	:	SAMARINI	02	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
102	:	SAMVAD PRABHAKAR	01	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
103	:	SAMVAD SADHARANJAN	04	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	1
104	:	SAMVAD PAKSHIK	00	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
105	:	SAMVAD BIBHAKAR	00	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
106	:	SANGVAD BARTABOLIS	00	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
107	:	SANGVAD BHASKAR	01	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
108	:	SANGVAD PURNOCHANDRODA	01	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
115	:	SANGVAD PRABHAT	00	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
116	:	SANJIVANI	01	*	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
117	:	SARTAHIB PAR DARSHAK	00	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
118	:	SARTAHIK SAMACAR	00	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
119	:	SARTAHIK SANGVAD	00	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	:	SARBATATTWA PRAKAS KA	04	1	4	*	1	0	0	0	1
121	:	SHOMES LAW REPORT	06	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	1
122	:	SIKSHA DARPAN	01	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
101	:	SOM PRAKASH	01	*	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
123	:	SUBARTHA PATRA CHANTER	04	*	4	*	*	*	1	1	1	1
138	:	SUDHANIDH	00	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
124	:	SULABH PATRIKA	00	*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*
125	:	SULABH SAMACAR	00	*	0	0	0	0	0	*	1	1
126	:	SURABH	00	*	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1

127	1	TAMLUK PATRIKA	00	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
128	1	TATTVABODHINI PATRIKA	03	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
129	1	TATTVA KAUMUNDI	03	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2
130	1	THEISTIC QUARTERLY	03	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	2
131	1	TRADE ADVERTIZER	05	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
132	1	UPAHARA	04	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0
133	1	URDU GUIDE	04	5	2	0	1	1	1	1	1
139	1	WEEKLY CHRONICLE	00	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
134	1	WELL WISHER	02	2	4	0	0	1	1	1	2

APPENDIX E

PRESS ORGANISERS

5.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level of Education	1	46
School College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Number of Positions Held	1	57
Whether Individual Operated Political Publication 1857	1	59
Operated Reforming Publication 1857	1	61
Operated Religious Publication 1857	1	63
Operated Literary Publication 1857	1	65
Operated Business Professional, Technical Publication 1857	1	67
Operated Political Publication 1864	1	69
Operated Reforming Publication 1864	1	71
Operated Religious Publication 1864	1	73
Operated Literary Publication 1864	1	75
Operated Business Professional Technical Publication 1864	1	77
Operated Political Publication 1871	1	79

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Operated Reforming Publication 1871	2	26
Operated Religious Publication 1871	2	28
Operated Literary Publication 1871	2	30
Operated Business Professional, Technical Publication 1871	2	32
Operated Political Publication 1878	2	34
Operated Reforming Publication 1878	2	36
Operated Religious Publication 1878	2	38
Operated Literary Publication 1878	2	40
Operated Business Professional, Technical Publication 1878	2	42
Operated a Political Publication 1885	2	44
Operated Reforming Publication 1885	2	46
Operated Religious Publication 1885	2	48
Operated Literary Publication 1885	2	50
Operated Business Professional, Technical Publication 1885	2	52

5.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	01	Burdwan
	05	Hooghly
	06	Howrah
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	11	Jessore
	12	Nuddea
	13	Rajshahi

Variable	Card Number	Name of Value
Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876
Caste	000	Do not know
	012	Sadgopa
	017	Tili
	103	Radhi Brahman
	109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
	114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
	118	*Radhi Baidya*
	209	Bangaja Kayastha
	218	Bangaja Baidya
	303	Daksina Vaidika Brahman
	309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
	403	Barendra Brahman
	903	Pirali Brahman
Religion	0	Do not know
	1	Orthodox
	2	Unorthodox
	3	Adi Brahmo
	4	Brahmo Samaj of India
	5	Sadharan Brahmo
	6	Christian
Level of Education	0	Do not know
	1	Studied Overseas
	2	M.A.
	3	B.L.
	4	B.A.
	5	Other Degrees
	6	Tertiary Study But No Degree
	7	Secondary
	8	Lower

Variable	Number	Name of Value
School/College at which Educated	00	Do not know
	01	Hindu College
	02	Private Tutor
	03	Oriental Seminary
	04	Duff's School
	05	Ramjoy Datta's School
	06	Sherbourne's School
	07	Ram Mohun Roy's School
	08	Nitya Nanda Sen's School
	09	Seal's Free College
	10	Presidency College
	11	Sanskrit College
	12	Doveton College
	13	Medical College
	14	General Assembly Institution
	15	Hooghly College
	16	Free Church Institution
	19	Dacca College
	22	Union School
Primary Occupation	000	Do not know
	001	Government Servant
	002	Private Administrator
	008	Medical Doctor
	036	Landholder
	045	Factory Owner
	188	Newspaper Editor
	397	Merchant or Banian
	452	Teacher or Lecturer
	459	Barrister
	460	Attorney
	462	Pleader
Class	0	Do not know
	1	Rentier Aristocrat
	2	Middle-class
All Variables Relating to Type and Period to which Leadership Position Held	0	No
	1	Yes

5.3 DATA SET

```
001 1 ADHYA GOVIND C      000 000 08 00 114 1 7 03 000 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
001 2 ADHYA GOVIND C      0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1
002 1 ADHYA JADAV C       000 000 08 11 114 1 7 03 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
002 2 ADHYA JADAV C       0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
003 1 ADHYA K C           000 000 08 00 114 1 7 03 000 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
003 2 ADHYA K C           0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1
004 1 ADHYA UDDIT C       000 000 08 00 114 1 7 03 000 2 2 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1 1
004 2 ADHYA UDDIT C       0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1
005 1 BANERJEE BIPRO D    000 000 00 00 103 0 0 03 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
005 2 BANERJEE BIPRO D    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
006 1 BANERJEE INDRA N    849 911 01 00 103 1 3 16 462 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
006 2 BANERJEE INDRA N    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0
007 1 BANERJEE KALI CHARN847 909 05 17 103 6 2 14 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
007 2 BANERJEE KALI CHARN0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0
008 1 BANERJEE KALI P     861 907 08 02 103 1 6 11 188 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
008 2 BANERJEE KALI P     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 1 1
009 1 BANERJEE NAVIN C    000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
009 2 BANERJEE NAVIN C    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
010 1 BANERJEE PEARY M    000 000 00 06 103 0 0 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
010 2 BANERJEE PEARY M    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
011 1 BANERJEE SASI P     840 923 07 08 103 5 7 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
011 2 BANERJEE SASI P     0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
012 1 BANERJEE SURENDRA   848 925 08 14 103 2 1 12 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
012 2 BANERJEE SURENDRA   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
013 1 BANERJEE SHAMA C    000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
013 2 BANERJEE SHAMA C    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
014 1 BOSE ADHAR C        000 000 20 00 209 5 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
014 2 BOSE ADHAR C        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
015 1 BOSE CHUNDER N      844 910 05 04 109 1 2 10 001 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
015 2 BOSE CHUNDER N      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
016 1 BOSE GRISH C        853 939 01 08 109 2 1 15 452 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
016 2 BOSE GRISH C        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1
017 1 BOSE JOGESH C       854 905 01 00 109 2 6 15 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
017 2 BOSE JOGESH C       0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
018 1 BOSE KUNJO B        000 000 00 05 000 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
018 2 BOSE KUNJO B        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
019 1 BOSE KRISHNA R      000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
019 2 BOSE KRISHNA R      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
020 1 BOSE MAN MOHAN      831 912 11 00 309 0 7 14 188 2 2 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
020 2 BOSE MAN MOHAN      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0
021 1 BOSE MRINAL K       000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
021 2 BOSE MRINAL K       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
022 1 BOSE PHIKAR C       000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
022 2 BOSE PHIKAR C       0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 2 0 0 0
023 1 BOSE SUSHI BHUSAN   000 000 20 00 209 5 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
023 2 BOSE SUSHI BHUSAN   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
024 1 CHATTERJEE A P      000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
024 2 CHATTERJEE A P      0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
025 1 CHATTERJEE BANKIM   836 894 05 00 103 1 3 10 001 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
025 2 CHATTERJEE BANKIM   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
026 1 CHATTERJEE BACHA R  000 000 00 03 103 3 0 00 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
026 2 CHATTERJEE BACHA R  0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
027 1 CHATTERJEE BHAGA    000 000 00 00 103 1 0 00 000 2 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1
027 2 CHATTERJEE BHAGA    0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
028 1 COBERATNA NANDA K   000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 2 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1
028 2 COBERATNA NANDA K   0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
029 1 DAS BHUVAN MOHAN    000 000 12 12 216 5 3 10 462 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
029 2 DAS BHUVAN MOHAN    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
030 1 DATTA AKSHAY K      820 886 01 07 109 3 7 03 452 2 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
030 2 DATTA AKSHAY K      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
031 1 DATTA BANA          000 000 00 04 000 0 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
031 2 DATTA BANA          0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
032 1 DATTA HIRA LAL      000 000 00 00 000 6 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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032 2 DATTA HIRA LAL      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
033 1 DATTA JOGESH C      847 915 08 10 000 1 6 10 397 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
033 2 DATTA JOGESH C      0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
034 1 DATTA KALI K        000 000 00 05 000 3 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
034 2 DATTA KALI K        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
035 1 DATTA OMESH C       840 907 07 00 109 5 0 00 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
035 2 DATTA OMESH C       1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
036 1 DATTA PRIA N        000 000 08 07 109 1 7 01 001 1 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
036 2 DATTA PRIA N        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
037 1 DATTA TRAILACK N    000 000 00 02 000 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
037 2 DATTA TRAILACK N    0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0
038 1 DEY AMRITA LAL      000 000 08 02 114 6 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 00 0 0
038 2 DEY AMRITA LAL      0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
039 1 DEY BANI MADHAV      000 000 00 03 114 6 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
039 2 DEY BANI MADHAV     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1
040 1 DEY LAL BIHARI      824 894 01 11 114 6 7 14 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
040 2 DEY LAL BIHARI      0 1 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0
041 1 DEY MATI LAL        000 000 08 04 114 6 1 13 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
041 2 DEY MATI LAL        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0
042 1 DEY NANDA LAL       000 000 00 03 114 6 0 00 000 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
042 2 DEY NANDA LAL       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0
043 1 DEY RAJ KISTO       000 000 00 00 114 0 0 00 397 2 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
043 2 DEY RAJ KISTO       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
044 1 DEVI JNANADA N      000 000 08 06 903 3 7 00 000 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
044 2 DEVI JNANDA N       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
045 1 DEVI MOKSHADA       000 000 00 00 103 2 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
045 2 DEVI MOKSHADA       0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
046 1 DHUR GOPAL C        000 000 08 07 114 0 0 00 397 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
046 2 DHUR GOPAL C        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
047 1 GANGULI DWARKA N    844 898 12 00 103 5 7 00 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
047 2 GANGULI DWARKA N    1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0
048 1 GANGULI KISSORI M   848 908 00 00 103 2 2 10 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
048 2 GANGULI KISSORI M   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
049 1 GARGURI HARI DAS    000 000 20 00 000 5 2 10 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
049 2 GARGURI HARI DAS    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0
050 1 GHOSE GRISH C1      829 869 08 06 109 2 7 03 001 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1
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051 1 GHOSE HEMANTA KUM   000 000 11 18 309 2 7 00 001 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
051 2 GHOSE HEMANTA KUM   0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
052 1 GHOSE KASI PERSAD   809 873 08 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
052 2 GHOSE KASI PERSAD   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
053 1 GHOSE MAHENDRA N    000 000 00 11 000 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
053 2 GHOSE MAHENDRA N    0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
054 1 GHOSE MAN MOHAN     000 000 20 08 209 5 1 10 459 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
054 2 GHOSE MAN MOHAN     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
055 1 GHOSE MATI LAL      000 000 11 18 309 2 6 10 188 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
055 2 GHOSE MATI LAL      0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
056 1 GHOSE NAGENDRA N    854 909 14 09 000 2 1 10 459 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
056 2 GHOSE NAGENDRA N    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
057 1 GHOSE S C           000 878 08 14 109 6 7 14 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
057 2 GHOSE S C           0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
058 1 GHOSE SHISHIR K     840 911 11 11 309 2 6 10 188 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
058 2 GHOSE SHISHIR K     0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
059 1 GUPTA GOSSAIN D     000 000 00 00 118 1 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
059 2 GUPTA GOSSAIN D     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
060 1 GUPTA I C           812 859 00 00 118 2 7 00 188 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
060 2 GUPTA I C           0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
061 1 GUPTA R G           000 000 00 00 118 2 0 00 188 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
061 2 GUPTA R G           0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
062 1 KERR BANI M         000 000 00 00 000 6 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
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063 1 LAHA BISSAMBHAR     000 000 08 00 114 0 0 00 397 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
063 2 LAHA BISSAMBHAR     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
064 1 MAITRA HERAMVA C    000 000 00 00 403 0 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
064 2 MAITRA HERAMVA C    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
065 1 MAZUMDAR P C        840 000 05 12 118 4 3 10 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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066 1 MISRA SADHO N      000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
066 2 MISRA SADHO N      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
067 1 MITRA KRISHNA K    852 936 13 16 209 5 6 14 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
067 2 MITRA KRISHNA K    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
068 1 MITRA NABA GOPAL   840 894 08 04 109 3 7 01 001 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
068 2 MITRA NABA GOPAL   0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
069 1 MITRA PEARY C      814 883 08 05 109 2 7 01 397 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
069 2 MITRA PEARY C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
070 1 MITRA RAJENDRA L   822 891 08 04 109 1 7 03 001 2 2 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
070 2 MITRA RAJENDRA L   0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
071 1 MUKHERJEE BHUDEV   827 898 07 00 103 1 6 11 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
071 2 MUKHERJEE BHUDEV   1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
072 1 MUKHERJEE CHANDRA  000 000 08 01 103 1 0 00 188 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
072 2 MUKHERJEE CHANDRA  0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
073 1 MUKHERJEE DHURMA D 000 000 00 00 103 2 5 13 008 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
073 2 MUKHERJEE DHURMA D 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
074 1 MUKHERJEE HARISH C 824 861 08 00 103 2 7 03 001 2 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
074 2 MUKHERJEE HARISH C 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
075 1 MUKHERJEE S C      839 894 08 00 103 2 7 03 002 2 2 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0
075 2 MUKHERJEE S C      0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 4 0
076 1 PAL KRISTO DAS     838 884 08 06 017 1 7 03 188 2 2 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 1
076 2 PAL KRISTO DAS     0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0
077 1 ROY RAJ KRISHNA    849 894 01 00 000 2 6 18 188 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
077 2 ROY RAJ KRISHNA    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
078 1 SASTRI SIVA NATH   847 892 07 06 303 5 2 11 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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079 1 SEAL KAMINI        000 000 08 08 114 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
079 2 SEAL KAMINI        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
080 1 SEAL NIMAI CHARN   000 000 08 09 114 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
080 2 SEAL NIMAI CHARN   0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
081 1 SEAL RAM MOHAN     000 000 00 00 114 0 0 00 000 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
081 2 SEAL RAM MOHAN     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
082 1 SEN KESHUB CHUNDER 838 884 08 11 118 4 6 10 036 1 2 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1
082 2 SEN KESHUB CHUNDER 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0
083 1 SEN KRISHNA BEHARI 846 895 08 08 118 4 2 10 452 1 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
083 2 SEN KRISHNA BEHARI 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0
084 1 SEN NARENDRA NATH  843 911 08 08 118 4 4 10 460 1 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
084 2 SEN NARENDRA NATH  0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0
085 1 SEN S S            000 000 00 00 114 1 0 00 000 2 2 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 1
085 2 SEN S S            0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0
086 1 SEN GUPTA K M      000 000 00 00 118 1 0 00 188 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
086 2 SEN GUPTA K M      0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
087 1 SHOM JOY GOVIND    000 000 11 00 114 6 4 16 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
087 2 SHOM JOY GOVIND    0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
088 1 SHOM MAHENDRA N    000 000 00 00 114 0 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
088 2 SHOM MAHENDRA N    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1
089 1 SIKDAR RADHA NATH  813 870 08 00 000 2 6 01 001 2 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
089 2 SIKDAR RADHA NATH  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
090 1 SINGH  KALI P      840 870 08 06 309 2 7 01 036 1 2 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 1
090 2 SINGH KALI P       0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0
091 1 SINGH  SAM SUNDER  000 000 00 00 000 1 0 00 000 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
091 2 SINGH SAM SUNDER   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
092 1 SINGH  UPENDRA N   000 000 00 00 309 2 0 00 036 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
092 2 SINGH UPENDRA N    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
093 1 SIRKAR AKSHAY C    846 917 05 00 109 1 3 10 462 1 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
093 2 SIRKAR AKSHAY C    0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
094 1 SIRKAR BHUVAN      000 000 08 08 109 2 5 13 008 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
094 2 SIRKAR BHUVAN      0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0
095 1 SIRKAR MAHENDRA L  833 904 06 09 012 2 5 13 008 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
095 2 SIRKAR MAHENDRA L  0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1
096 1 SIRKAR PEARY C     823 875 08 06 109 1 7 01 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0
096 2 SIRKAR PEARY C     1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
097 1 SUKUL K S          000 000 20 00 000 5 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
097 2 SUKUL K S          0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
098 1 TAGORE DEBENDRA N  817 905 08 06 903 3 7 01 397 1 2 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1
```

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098 2 TAGORE DEBENDRA N  0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0
099 1 TAGORE DWIJENDRA   840 000 08 06 903 3 7 01 036 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
099 2 TAGORE DWIJENDRA   0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
100 1 TURKOVAGISH GURI S 000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 188 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
100 2 TURKOVAGISH GURI S 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
101 1 VARMA RAM DAS      000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
101 2 VARMA RAM DAS      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
102 1 VEDANTOVAGISH A C  000 000 00 00 000 3 0 00 000 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
102 2 VEDANTOVAGISH A C  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
103 1 VIDYABHUSAN D N    819 886 00 00 103 1 6 11 452 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1
103 2 VIDYABHUSAN D N    0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
104 1 VIDYABHUSAN J N    845 904 00 00 103 2 6 11 001 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
104 2 VIDYABHUSAN J N    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
105 1 VIDYASAGAR ISVAR C 820 891 15 04 103 2 6 11 452 2 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1
105 2 VIDYASAGAR ISVAR C 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
```

APPENDIX F

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

6.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Association	1	7-50
Type of Association	1	51
Form of Control	1	53
Associations 1857	1	55
Associations 1864	1	57
Associations 1871	1	59
Associations 1878	1	61
Associations 1885	1	63

6.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Type of Association	0	Do not know
	2	Social Reforming
	3	Religious
	4	Literary-Cultural
	5	Technical-Scientific
	6	Professional
	7	Charitable
	8	Social-Club
Form of Control	0	Do not know
	1	Run by *Bhadralok*
	2	Mixed
All Variables Relating to Year in which Association Operated	0	Not Operating
	1	Operating

6.3 DATA SET

```
001 1 ADI BRAHMO SAMAJ                                  3 1 0 0 1 1 1
002 1 AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY            5 2 1 1 1 1 1
003 1 ALBERT HALL                                       4 2 0 0 0 1 1
004 1 ASIATIC SOCIETY                                   4 2 1 1 1 1 1
005 1 ASSOCIATION PROMOTION OF SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT       2 1 1 0 0 0 0
006 1 ATTORNEYS ASSOCIATION                             6 2 0 0 0 1 1
007 1 BANGAVASA O SAHITYA SAMAJ                         4 1 0 0 0 1 1
008 1 BEHALA SOCIETY                                    2 2 0 0 1 1 1
009 1 BENGAL BRANCH BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION         6 2 0 0 1 1 1
010 1 BENGAL FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND                    3 2 0 0 1 1 1
011 1 BENGAL PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY                       5 2 1 1 0 1 0
012 1 BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION                 4 2 0 0 1 1 1
013 1 BENGAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY                         2 1 0 0 1 1 1
014 1 BETHUNE SOCIETY                                   4 2 1 1 1 1 1
015 1 BHARAT BHARSA HARISHUDAN SAMAJ                    3 1 0 0 0 0 1
068 1 BRAHMO SAMAJ                                      3 1 1 1 0 0 0
016 1 BRAHMO SAMAJ OF INDIA                             3 1 0 0 1 1 1
017 1 BRITISH INDIAN SOCIETY                            2 2 0 1 0 0 0
018 1 CALCUTTA AUXILARY BIBLE SOCIETY                   3 2 0 1 1 1 1
019 1 CALCUTTA CHRISTIAN TRACT SOCIETY                  3 2 0 0 1 1 1
020 1 CALCUTTA HOMEOPATHIC ASSOCIATION                  7 1 0 0 0 0 1
021 1 CALCUTTA IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION                  2 2 0 0 0 1 1
022 1 CALCUTTA LITERARY SOCIETY                         4 2 0 0 0 0 1
023 1 CALCUTTA READING LITERARY INSTITUTE               4 0 0 0 0 1 1
024 1 CALCUTTA PUBLIC LIBRARY                           4 2 0 1 1 1 1
025 1 CALCUTTA SCHOOL BOOK SOCIETY                      4 2 1 1 1 1 1
026 1 CALCUTTA SOCIETY FOR PREVENTION CRUELTY ANIM2     2 0 1 1 1 1
027 1 CANNING INSTITUTE                                 4 2 0 0 1 1 1
028 1 CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR SOCIETY                      4 2 0 0 0 1 1
029 1 DALHOUSIE INSTITUTE                               4 2 0 1 1 1 1
030 1 DISTRICT CHARITABLE SOCIETY                       7 2 1 1 1 1 1
031 1 ECONOMIC MUSEUM                                   5 2 0 0 0 1 1
067 1 FAMILY LITERARY SOCIETY                           4 2 0 1 1 1 1
032 1 FREE MISSION CHURCH SCOTLAND                      3 2 0 0 0 1 0
033 1 FRIENDS IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION                   2 1 0 0 0 0 1
034 1 HARE ASSOCIATION                                  4 1 0 0 0 1 1
035 1 HINDU LITERARY SOCIETY                            4 2 0 0 0 1 1
065 1 IMPERIAL MUSEUM                                   5 2 0 0 1 1 1
036 1 INDIAN ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION                    5 2 0 0 0 0 1
037 1 INDIAN ASSOCIATION CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE         5 2 0 0 0 0 1
038 1 INDIAN DISESTABLISHMENT SOCIETY                   3 2 0 0 0 1 1
039 1 INDIAN CLUB                                       8 2 0 0 0 0 1
040 1 INDIAN MUSEUM                                     5 2 0 0 0 1 1
041 1 INDIAN REFORM ASSOCIATION                         2 1 0 0 1 1 1
042 1 INDIAN SOCIETY FOR ACQUISITION KNOWLEDGE          2 1 0 1 0 0 0
043 1 KALIKATA HARVARITI PRADAYINI SABHA                3 1 0 0 0 0 1
044 1 MISSION OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY          3 2 0 0 0 1 1
045 1 NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION                       2 2 0 0 0 0 1
046 1 NATIVE HOSPITAL                                   7 2 1 1 1 1 1
047 1 NATIVE PASTORATE FUND                             3 2 0 1 0 0 0
048 1 PRESBYTERY OF FREE CHURCH SCOTLAND                3 2 0 0 1 1 0
049 1 PUBLIC HEALTH SOCIETY                             7 2 0 0 0 0 1
050 1 RELIEF FUND                                       7 2 0 1 0 0 0
051 1 ROYAL SOCIETY INDIA                               4 2 0 0 1 1 1
052 1 SADHARAN BRAHMO SAMAJ                             3 1 0 0 0 0 1
053 1 SADHARANI SABHA                                   2 1 0 0 0 0 1
066 1 SANATANA DHARMA RAKSHINI SABHA                    3 1 0 0 1 1 1
054 1 SHAM BAZAR READING CLUB                           4 2 0 0 1 0 0
055 1 SOCIETY PROPAGATION CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE           3 2 0 0 0 0 1
056 1 SOCIETY PROPAGATION GOSPEL                        3 2 1 1 1 1 1
057 1 SOCIETY PROMOTION INDUSTRIAL ARTS                 5 1 1 1 0 0 0
058 1 SOCIETY FOR SUPPRESSION PUBLIC OBSCENITY          2 2 0 0 0 1 0
059 1 UNION CLUB                                        8 2 0 1 0 0 0
```

APPENDIX G

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONAL ORGANISERS

7.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level of Education	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Position in Voluntary Association 1857	1	57
Position in Social Reforming Association 1857	1	59
Position in Religious Association 1857	1	61
Position in Literary-Cultural Association 1857	1	63
Position in Technical-Scientific Association 1857	1	65
Position in Professional Association 1857	1	67
Position in Charitable Association 1857	1	69
Position in Social Club 1857	1	71
Position in Voluntary Association 1864	1	73
Position in Social Reforming Association 1864	1	75
Position in Religious Association 1864	1	77
Position in Literary-Cultural Association 1864	1	79

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Position in Technical-Scientific Association 1864	2	26
Position in Professional Association 1864	2	28
Position in Charitable Association 1864	2	30
Position in Social Club 1864	2	32
Position in Voluntary Association 1871	2	34
Position in Social Reforming Association 1871	2	36
Position in Religious Association 1871	2	38
Position in Literary-Cultural Association 1871	2	40
Position in Technical - Scientific Association 1871	2	42
Position in Professional Association 1871	2	44
Position in Charitable Association 1871	2	46
Position in Social Club	2	48
Position in Voluntary Association 1878	2	50
Position in Social Reforming Association 1878	2	52
Position in Religious Association 1878	2	54
Position in Literary-Cultural Association 1878	2	56
Position in Technical - Scientific Association 1878	2	58
Position in Professional Association 1878	2	60
Position in Charitable Association 1878	2	62
Position in Social Club 1878	2	64
Position in Voluntary Association 1885	2	66
Position in Social Reforming Association 1885	2	68
Position in Religious Association 1885	2	70
Position in Literary-Cultural Association 1885	2	72

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Position in Technical - Scientific Association 1885	2	74
Position in Professional Association 1885	2	76
Position in Charitable Association 1885	2	78
Position in Social Club 1885	2	80

7.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	01	Burdwan
	05	Hooghly
	06	Howrah
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	09	Nadia
	15	Midnapore
	18	Bogra
	20	Dacca
	21	Mymensingh
	27	Sylhet
Place of Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 in which Calcutta was divided in 1876
Caste	000	Do now know
	007	Kaibarta
	012	Sadgopa
	016	Tantavanik
	017	Tili
	018	Khettri
	103	Radhi Brahman
	109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
	114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
	118	Radhi Baidya
	209	Bangaja Kayastha
	218	Bangaja Baidya
	303	Daksina Vaidika Brahman
	309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
	403	Barendra Brahman

Name of Variable	Number	Name of Value
Caste	508	Maithila Brahman
	808	Kashmiri Brahman
	908	Pirali Brahman
Religion	0	Do not know
	1	Orthodox
	2	Unorthodox
	3	Adi Brahmo
	4	Brahmo Samaj of India
	5	Sadharan Brahmo
	6	Christian
Level of Education	0	Do not know
	1	Studied Overseas
	2	M.A.
	3	B.L.
	4	B.A.
	5	Other Degrees
	6	Studied Tertiary Level
	7	Secondary Level
School/College at which Studied	00	Do not know
	01	Hindu College
	02	Private Tutor
	03	Oriental Seminary
	10	Presidency College
	11	Sanskrit College
	12	Doveton College
	13	Medical College
	14	General Assembly Institute
	15	Hooghly College
	16	Free Church Institution
	19	Dacca College
	21	Hindu Metropolitan College
	22	Union School
Primary Occupation	000	Do not know
	001	Government Servant
	002	Private Administrator
	008	Medical Doctor
	086	Landholder
	188	Editor
	897	Merchant or Banian

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Primary Occupation	452	Teacher or Lecturer
	459	Barrister
	460	Attorney
	462	Pleader
Class	0	Do not know
	1	Rentier Aristocrat
	2	Middle-class
All Variables Relating to Type and Period in which Leadership Position Held	0	No
	1	Yes

7.3 DATA SET

```
001 1 ADHYA BIHARI LAL    000 000 08 05 114 1 7 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
001 2 ADHYA BIHARI LAL    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
002 1 ADHYA GOVIND CHAND  000 000 08 00 114 1 7 03 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
002 2 ADHYA GOVIND CHAND  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
003 1 ADHYA NAVIN CHAND   000 000 08 07 114 1 7 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
003 2 ADHYA NAVIN CHAND   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
004 1 BANERJEE ANNODA P   000 000 05 12 103 0 3 00 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
004 2 BANERJEE ANNODA P   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
005 1 BANERJEE BHAIRA C   842 000 08 05 103 3 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
005 2 BANERJEE BHAIRA C   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0
006 1 BANERJEE BHUVAN C   000 000 00 00 103 0 6 01 452 2 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
006 2 BANERJEE BHUVAN C   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
007 1 BANERJEE CHANDRA N  000 000 00 06 103 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
007 2 BANERJEE CHANDRA N  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
008 1 BANERJEE DWARKA N   000 000 00 00 103 0 6 01 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
008 2 BANERJEE DWARKA N   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
009 1 BANERJEE GOPAL C    852 902 00 00 103 0 3 10 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
009 2 BANERJEE GOPAL C    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
010 1 BANERJEE GURU DAS   844 918 00 12 103 1 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
010 2 BANERJEE GURU DAS   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
011 1 BANERJEE KALI CHARN847 909 05 17 103 6 2 14 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
011 2 BANERJEE KALI CHARN0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0
012 1 BANERJEE KEDAR NATH000 000 00 01 103 1 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
012 2 BANERJEE KEDAR NATH0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 1 0
013 1 BANERJEE KESHAV LAL000 000 00 00 103 2 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
013 2 BANERJEE KESHAV LAL0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
014 1 BANERJEE KRISHNA M 813 885 08 17 103 6 7 01 452 2 1 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 1 1
014 2 BANERJEE KRISHNA M 0 0 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 1
015 1 BANERJEE KUNJO LAL 000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
015 2 BANERJEE KUNJO LAL  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
016 1 BANERJEE MAHESH C   000 000 00 03 103 2 0 14 452 2 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0
016 2 BANERJEE MAHESH C   0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
017 1 BANERJEE NIL K      000 000 00 00 103 1 0 00 036 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0
017 2 BANERJEE NIL K      0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
018 1 BANERJEE PANCHANAN  000 000 00 00 103 2 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
018 2 BANERJEE PANCHANAN  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
019 1 BANERJEE RADHA K    000 000 00 00 103 5 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
019 2 BANERJEE RADHA K    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
020 1 BANERJEE RAJBALLABH000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
020 2 BANERJEE RAJBALLABH0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
021 1 BANERJEE RAM LAL    000 000 00 01 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
021 2 BANERJEE RAM LAL    0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
022 1 BANERJEE SASIPADA   840 923 07 08 103 5 7 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
022 2 BANERJEE SASIPADA   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0
023 1 BANERJEE SHIV C     000 000 00 06 103 6 7 14 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
023 2 BANERJEE SHIV C     0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
024 1 BANERJEE SURENDRA N848 925 08 14 103 2 1 12 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
024 2 BANERJEE SURENDRA N0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 1 0
025 1 BANERJEE TARINI C   000 000 05 11 103 1 7 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
025 2 BANERJEE TARINI C   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
026 1 BARDWAN MAHARAJA    000 879 01 00 018 1 7 02 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
026 2 BARDWAN MAHARAJA    0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0
027 1 BETTIAH MAHARAJA    000 000 00 00 000 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
027 2 BETTIAH MAHARAJA    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
028 1 BHATTACHARJYA J D   000 000 00 00 203 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
028 2 BHATTACHARJYA J D   0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
029 1 BHATTACHARJYA J I   000 000 00 00 203 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
029 2 BHATTACHARJYA J I   0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
030 1 BHATTACHARJYA K K   000 000 00 12 203 2 3 10 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
030 2 BHATTACHARJYA K K   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
031 1 BHATTACHARJYA R K   000 000 00 00 203 5 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
031 2 BHATTACHARJYA R K   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
032 1 BHATTACHARJYA R S   000 000 00 00 203 1 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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032 2 BHATTACHARJYA R S 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
033 1 BHATTACHARJYA S N 000 000 00 02 203 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
033 2 BHATTACHARJYA S N 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
034 1 BISWAS ASHUTOSH 000 000 00 00 007 6 2 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
034 2 BISWAS ASHUTOSH 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
035 1 BISWAS KASI NATH 000 000 08 02 007 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
035 2 BISWAS KASI NATH 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
036 1 BISWAS KEDAR NATH 000 000 08 00 007 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
036 2 BISWAS KEDAR NATH 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
037 1 BISWAS PRASANNA K 000 000 00 00 007 3 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
037 2 BISWAS PRASANNA K 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
038 1 BISWAS RADHA RAMAN 000 000 00 00 007 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
038 2 BISWAS RADHA RAMAN 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
039 1 BONERJEE WOMESH C 844 906 08 09 103 2 1 10 459 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
039 2 BONERJEE WOMESH C 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 1
040 1 BOSE A C 000 000 00 04 109 0 6 01 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
040 2 BOSE A C 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
041 1 BOSE AMRITA LAL 000 000 00 00 109 4 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
041 2 BOSE AMRITA LAL 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
042 1 BOSE ANANDA MOHAN 847 904 21 12 209 5 1 10 459 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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043 1 BOSE BHAGAVAN C 829 892 20 00 209 5 6 19 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
043 2 BOSE BHAGAVAN C 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
044 1 BOSE BASANTA KUMAR 000 000 00 12 109 2 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
044 2 BOSE BASANTA KUMAR 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
045 1 BOSE BIPIN BIHARI 000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 036 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
045 2 BOSE BIPIN BIHARI 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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046 2 BOSE B M 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
047 1 BOSE BRAJA KISSEN 000 000 20 00 209 5 6 19 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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051 1 BOSE DHURMA DAS 000 000 00 04 109 2 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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064 2 BOSE MAHENDRA N 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0
065 1 BOSE NAVIN CHANDRA 000 000 08 11 109 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

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065 2 BOSE NAVIN CHANDRA 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 0
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066 2 BOSE NAVIN KISTO   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
067 1 BOSE OMESH CHANDRA 000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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068 1 BOSE GRISH CHANDRA 853 939 01 08 109 2 1 15 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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069 1 BOSE RAJ NARAIN    826 899 07 05 109 3 7 01 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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075 1 BURMO DAMODAR DAS  000 000 08 07 007 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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076 1 BASAK GURI DAS     826 899 08 05 016 1 7 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
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079 1 CHAKRAVARTI JADU N 000 000 00 00 203 5 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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081 1 CHAKRAVARTI KESHAV 000 000 00 00 203 1 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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086 2 CHANDRA DEV CHANDR 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
087 1 CHANDRA KAMANI K   000 000 00 00 000 5 2 10 462 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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092 1 CHATTERJEE ADI     000 000 00 00 103 5 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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093 1 CHATTERJEE ADITYA  000 000 00 00 103 5 4 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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094 1 CHATTERJEE AMARI   000 000 00 00 103 0 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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095 1 CHATTERJEE ANANDA  000 000 00 03 103 3 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
095 2 CHATTERJEE ANANDA  0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
096 1 CHATTERJEE B C     826 894 05 05 103 1 3 10 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
096 2 CHATTERJEE B C     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0
097 1 CHATTERJEE BACHA R 000 000 00 03 103 3 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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098 1 CHATTERJEE VISHAN  838 000 00 00 103 6 0 00 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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098	2	CHATTERJEE VISHAN	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
099	1	CHATTERJEE CHAND K	000 000 08 06 103 1 0 00 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
099	2	CHATTERJEE CHAND K	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
100	1	CHATTERJEE CHAND M	813 885 08 01 103 3 1 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
101	2	CHATTERJEE CHAND M	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
101	1	CHATTERJEE KHLITRA	000 000 08 04 103 0 3 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
101	2	CHATTERJLE KHETTRA	0 0 0 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
102	1	CHATTERJEL HARI M	815 875 00 00 103 1 7 01 001 2 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
102	2	CHATTERJLE HARI M	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
103	1	CHATTERJEE JADU N	000 000 09 01 103 0 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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104	1	CHATTERJEE K C	000 000 00 07 103 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
104	2	CHATTERJEE K C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
105	1	CHATTERJEE KALI D	000 000 00 00 103 1 7 01 002 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
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106	1	CHATTERJEE MAHESH	000 000 00 02 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
106	2	CHATTERJEE MAHESH	0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
107	1	CHATTERJEE MAHENDRA	000 000 00 02 103 5 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
107	2	CHATTERJEE MAHENDRA	0 J 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
108	1	CHATTERJEE MOHINI	000 000 00 00 103 3 3 10 460 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
108	2	CHATTERJEE MOHINI	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
109	1	CHATTERJEE N C	000 000 00 09 103 6 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
109	2	CHATTERJEE N C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
110	1	CHATTERJEE N N	843 913 05 00 103 5 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
110	2	CHATTERJEE N N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
111	1	CHATTERJEE NIL MAD	000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
111	2	CHATTERJEE NIL MAD	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
112	1	CHATTERJEE NIL MAN	000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
112	2	CHATTERJEE NIL MAN	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
113	1	CHATTERJEE OBHAI C	000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
113	2	CHATTERJEE OBHAI C	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
114	1	CHATTERJEE OMESH C	000 000 00 00 103 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
114	2	CHATTERJEE OMESH C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
115	1	CHATTERJEE P K	000 000 00 06 103 6 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
115	2	CHATTERJEE P K	0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
116	1	CHATTERJEE RAJ K	000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
116	2	CHATTERJEE RAJ K	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
117	1	CHATTERJEE RAM M	000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
117	2	CHATTERJEE RAM M	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
118	1	CHATTERJEE SRI N	000 000 00 04 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
118	2	CHATTERJEE SRI N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
119	1	CHATTERJEE SURJYA	000 000 00 11 103 5 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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120	1	CHATTERJEE T P	000 000 00 02 103 6 4 14 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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121	1	CHATTERJEE U C	000 000 00 09 103 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
121	2	CHATTERJEE U C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
122	1	CHATTERJEE U T	000 000 00 00 103 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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123	1	CHATTERJEE V C	000 000 00 00 103 5 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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124	1	CHAUDHURI H C	000 000 00 03 000 0 7 01 002 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
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125	1	CHAUDHURI D M	844 000 00 00 118 4 1 10 459 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
125	2	CHAUDHURI D M	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
126	1	CHAUDHURI T K	000 000 00 00 000 5 2 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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127	1	CHURAMANI H M	000 000 09 00 103 1 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
127	2	CHURAMANI H M	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
128	1	DARVANGA MAHARAJA	000 898 16 00 000 1 7 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
128	2	DARVANGA MAHARAJA	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
129	1	DAS BHUVAN MOHAN	000 000 20 12 218 5 3 10 460 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
129	2	DAS BHUVAN MOHAN	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
130	1	DAS DURGA MOHAN	841 897 20 17 218 5 3 10 460 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
130	2	DAS DURGA MOHAN	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0
131	1	DAS GRISH CHANDRA	000 000 08 03 007 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

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131 2 DAS GRISH CHANDRA  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 0
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133 1 DAS KALI KUMAR     000 000 08 00 007 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
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134 1 DAS KALI MOHAN     000 000 20 12 218 2 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
134 2 DAS KALI MOHAN     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
135 1 DAS KANAY LAL      000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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136 1 DAS KEDAR NATH     000 000 00 01 000 0 5 13 008 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
136 2 DAS KEDAR NATH     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
137 1 DAS KALI SANKAR    837 000 00 00 209 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
137 2 DAS KALI SANKAR    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
138 1 DAS MAN RAMAN      000 000 00 00 000 6 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
138 2 DAS MAN RAMAN      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
139 1 DAS M S            000 000 00 02 000 6 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0  0 0 0
139 2 DAS M S            0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
140 1 DAS NAVADIP CHAND  000 000 00 00 218 5 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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141 1 DAS RADAVALLABH    000 000 08 00 007 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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143 1 DATTA AKSHAY KUMAR 820 886 01 05 109 3 7 03 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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144 1 DATTA BIDDO NATH   000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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145 1 DATTA BALAI CHAND  000 000 08 00 114 1 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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146 1 DATTA DWARKA NATH  000 000 08 06 114 1 0 00 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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147 2 DATTA GOVIND CHAND 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
148 1 DATTA HARI CHANDRA 000 000 08 02 109 2 7 01 460 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
148 2 DATTA HARI CHANDR  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
149 1 DATTA JOGESH CHAND 847 915 08 11 000 1 6 10 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
149 2 DATTA JOGESH CHAND 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
150 1 DATTA KALI KRISHNA 000 000 08 00 109 3 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
150 2 DATTA KALI KRISHNA 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
151 1 DATTA KALI KRISTO  000 000 08 00 109 3 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
151 2 DATTA KALI KRISTO  0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
152 1 DATTA KALI NATH    000 000 00 00 000 5 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
152 2  ATTA KALI NATH    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
153 1 DATTA KALI PRASAN  000 000 00 03 000 5 7 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
153 2 DATTA KALI PRASAN  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0
154 1 DATTA KRISTO LAL   000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
154 2 DATTA KRISTO LAL   0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
155 1 DATTA MAHENDRA N   000 000 00 09 114 0 2 10 462 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
155 2 DATTA MAHENDRA N   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0
156 1 DATTA MANI LAL     000 000 00 00 000 0 5 13 008 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
156 2 DATTA MANI LAL     0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
157 1 DATTA OMESH CHAND  833 000 08 06 109 6 7 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
157 2 DATTA OMESH CHAND  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
158 1 DATTA OMESH CHANDRA840 907 07 00 109 5 4 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
158 2 DATTA OMESH CHANDRA0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0
159 1 DATTA PRAN NATH    840 888 08 07 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
159 2 DATTA PRAN NATH    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0
160 1 DATTA RAJENDRA     818 889 08 11 000 1 7 01 397 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0
160 2 DATTA RAJENDRA     0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 0 0
161 1 DATTA SURESH CHAND 000 864 08 06 000 1 7 01 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
161 2 DATTA SURESH CHAND 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
162 1 DATTA SITA NATH    856 000 02 07 000 5 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
162 2 DATTA SITA NATH    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
163 1 DATTA SRI NATH     000 000 08 08 000 0 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
163 2 DATTA SRI NATH     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
164 1 DATTA TARAK NATH   000 000 00 02 000 3 3 10 462 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
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164	2	DATTA TARAK NATH	0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
165	1	DATTA TULSI DAS	000 000 00 08 114 1 7 01 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
165	2	DATTA TULSI DAS	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
166	1	DEB CHANDRA SEKAR	810 879 00 00 109 3 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
166	2	DEB CHANDRA SEKAR	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
167	1	DEB GAGENDRA NARAIN	000 000 08 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
167	2	DEB GAGENDRA NARAI	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
168	1	DEB HARENDRA K	831 000 08 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
168	2	DEB HARENDRA K	0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0
169	1	DEB KAMAL KRISHNA	820 885 08 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
169	2	DEB KAMAL KRISHNA	0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0
170	1	DEB KALI KRISHNA	808 874 08 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
170	2	DEB KALI KRISHNA	0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 1 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
171	1	DEB NARENDRA K	822 903 08 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
171	2	DEB NARENDRA K	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 1
172	1	DEB RADHA KANTA	784 867 08 01 109 1 7 02 036 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
172	2	DEB RADHA KANTA	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
173	1	DEB RAJENDRA N	815 000 08 01 109 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
173	2	DEB RAJENDRA N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
174	1	DEB SIV CHANDRA	811 890 05 00 109 5 7 01 001 2 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
174	2	DEB SIV CHANDRA	1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
175	1	DEY AMRITA LAL	000 000 00 00 114 6 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
175	2	DEY AMRITA LAL	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
176	1	DEY BIMOLA CHARN	000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 036 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0
176	2	DEY BIMOLA CHARN	0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
177	1	DEY V K	000 000 00 00 114 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
177	2	DEY V K	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
178	1	DEY DEBENDRA NATH	000 000 08 00 114 1 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
178	2	DEY DEBENDRA NATH	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
179	1	DEY GANENDRA NATH	000 000 08 00 114 1 4 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
179	2	DEY GANENDRA NATH	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
180	1	DEY HEM CHANDRA	000 000 00 00 000 0 3 14 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
180	2	DEY HEM CHANDRA	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
181	1	DEY KANAY LAL	831 000 08 06 114 2 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
181	2	DEY KANA LAL	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 1 0 0
182	1	DEY KEDAR NATH	838 000 00 00 109 4 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
182	2	DEY KEDAR NATH	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
183	1	DEY K N	000 000 00 00 000 6 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
183	2	DEY K N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
184	1	DEY LAL BIHARI	824 894 01 11 114 6 7 14 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
184	2	DEY LAL BIHARI	0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
185	1	DEY NIL MANI	000 000 08 11 000 0 7 21 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
185	2	DEY NIL MANI	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
186	1	DEY SHAM LAL	000 000 00 00 114 0 0 00 036 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
186	2	DEY SHAM LAL	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
187	1	DEY S	000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
187	2	DEY S	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
188	1	DHAR ASHUTOSH	000 000 08 07 114 1 7 01 460 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
188	2	DHAR ASHUTOSH	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
189	1	DHAR ASHUTOSH JR	000 000 08 07 114 1 3 10 460 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
189	2	DHAR ASHUTOSH JR	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
190	1	DHAR A K	000 000 08 07 114 1 7 03 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
190	2	DHAR A K	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
191	1	DHAR BHOLA NATH	000 000 08 07 114 1 0 00 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
191	2	DHAR BHOLA NATH	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
192	1	DHAR DINA NATH	000 000 08 11 114 1 0 00 000 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
192	2	DHAR DINA NATH	0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
193	1	DHAR GOVIND CHAND	000 000 00 08 000 4 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
193	2	DHAR GOVIND CHAND	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
194	1	DHAR KHETTRA LAL	000 000 08 00 114 1 0 00 000 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
194	2	DHAR KHETTRA LAL	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
195	1	DHAR NARAYN CHAND	000 000 08 00 114 1 0 00 000 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
195	2	DHAR NARAIN CHAND	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
196	1	GANGULI ARAN CHAND	000 000 00 00 103 1 0 00 000 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
196	2	GANGULI ARAN CHAND	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
197	1	GANGULI CHANDRA S	000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

197	2	GANGULI CHANDRA S	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
198	1	GANGULI DWARKA N	844 898 20 00 103 5 7 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
198	2	GANGULI DWARKA N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
199	1	GANGULI KADAM V	862 923 20 00 209 5 1 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
199	2	GANGULI KADAM Y	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
200	1	GANGULI KHETTRA M	000 000 00 06 103 1 0 00 462 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
200	2	GANGULI KHETTRA M	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
201	1	GANGULI OBHAI NATH	000 000 00 00 103 2 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
201	2	GANGULI OBHAI NATH	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
202	1	GANGULI RAJENDRA C	000 000 00 00 103 2 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
202	2	GANGULI RAJENDRA C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
203	1	GANGULI SHARODA P	000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
203	2	GANGULI SHARODA P	0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
204	1	GARGAREE HARI DAS	000 000 00 00 000 2 2 10 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
204	2	GARGAREE HARI DAS	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
205	1	GARGAREE SAMBHU N	000 000 00 00 000 3 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
205	2	GARGAREE SAMBHU N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
206	1	GHOSAL GOPAL C	000 923 00 00 103 2 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
206	2	GHOSAL GOPAL C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
207	1	GHOSAL I C	000 873 07 00 103 2 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
207	2	GHOSAL I C	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
208	1	GHOSAL JANOKI N	000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
208	2	GHOSAL JANOKI N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
209	1	GHOSAL SATIS C	000 000 07 00 103 1 7 01 036 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0
209	2	GHOSAL SATIS C	0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
210	1	GHOSAL SATYA C	000 000 07 00 103 1 7 02 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
210	2	GHOSAL SATYA C	0 0 0 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
211	1	GHOSAL SATYA N	833 885 07 00 103 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
211	2	GHOSAL SATYA N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
212	1	GHOSAL SATYA P	000 000 07 00 103 3 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
212	2	GHOSAL SATYA P	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
213	1	GHOSE BHUVAN M	000 000 20 01 209 5 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
213	2	GHOSE BHUVAN M	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
214	1	GHOSE CHANDRA M	000 000 00 04 000 2 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
214	2	GHOSE CHANDRA M	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
215	1	GHOSE CHUNI LAL	000 000 00 00 109 0 7 01 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
215	2	GHOSE CHUNI LAL	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
216	1	GHOSE DICURI	000 000 20 04 209 5 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
216	2	GHOSE DICURI	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
217	1	GHOSE GANESH C	000 000 20 00 209 5 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
217	2	GHOSE GANESH C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
218	1	GHOSE GRISH C1	829 869 08 10 109 2 7 03 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
218	2	GHOSE GRISH C1	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
219	1	GHOSE GRISH C2	000 000 05 00 109 1 7 15 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
219	2	GHOSE GRISH C2	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
220	1	GHOSE HARI CHANDRA	808 868 08 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
220	2	GHOSE HARI CHANDRA	0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
221	1	GHOSE JADU NATH	000 880 08 11 109 2 7 03 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
221	2	GHOSE JADU NATH	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
222	1	GHOSE KALI KUMAR	000 000 00 00 000 5 7 01 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
222	2	GHOSE KALI KUMAR	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
223	1	GHOSE KALI PRAS	837 000 08 05 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
223	2	GHOSE KALI PRAS	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 0 0
224	1	GHOSE KAMIKYA C	000 000 00 00 000 5 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
224	2	GHOSE KANIKYA C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
225	1	GHOSE KALI PADA	000 000 00 00 000 1 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
225	2	GHOSE KALI PADA	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
226	1	GHOSE KHELATCH C	000 000 08 06 000 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
226	2	GHOSE KHELATCH C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
227	1	GHOSE LOKE NATH	000 000 08 03 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
227	2	GHOSE LOKE NATH	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0
228	1	GHOSE MAN MOHAN	844 896 20 08 209 5 1 10 459 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
228	2	GHOSE MAN MOHAN	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0
229	1	GHOSE NANDA LAL	000 000 08 04 109 2 2 10 000 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
229	2	GHOSE NANDA LAL	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
230	1	GHOSE NAGENDRA C	838 878 08 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

230	2	GHOSE NAGENDRA C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
231	1	GHOSE N N	854 909 18 09 209 2 1 10 459 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
231	2	GHOSE N N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
232	1	GHOSE PRASANNA K	000 000 08 03 109 1 0 00 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
232	2	GHOSE PRASANNA K	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
233	1	GHOSE PRATAP C	843 000 08 01 109 1 4 10 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
233	2	GHOSE PRATAP C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
234	1	GHOSE PRIA NATH	848 000 00 06 000 0 3 10 462 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
234	2	GHOSE PRIA NATH	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
235	1	GHOSE RAM GOPAL	815 868 08 09 109 2 7 01 397 2 1 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 1 0 0 1
235	2	GHOSE RAM GOPAL	1 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
236	1	GHOSE RADHICA P	000 000 00 00 000 6 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
236	2	GHOSE RADHICA P	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
237	1	GHOSE R N	000 000 08 00 109 1 2 10 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
237	2	GHOSE R N	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
238	1	GHOSE SRI NATH	000 000 08 06 109 2 7 03 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
238	2	GHOSE SRI NATH	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
239	1	GHOSE SURJYA KUMAR	000 878 08 14 109 6 7 14 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
239	2	GHOSE SURJYA KUMAR	0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
240	1	GOSWAMI BALAI C	000 000 00 00 203 1 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
240	2	GOSWAMI BALAI C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
241	1	GOSWAMI BIJAI K	000 000 00 00 203 5 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
241	2	GOSWAMI BIJAI K	0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
242	1	GOSWAMI NIL KANTA	000 000 00 00 203 1 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
242	2	GOSWAMI NIL KANTA	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
243	1	GOSWAMI NITI C	000 000 00 00 203 1 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
243	2	GOSWAMI NITI K	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
244	1	GUHA TARINI C	000 000 08 03 109 1 0 00 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
244	2	GUHA TARINI C	0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0
245	1	GUPTA AGORE NATH	841 000 00 00 118 4 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
245	2	GUPTA AGORE NATH	0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
246	1	GUPTA BIHARI LAL	000 000 00 00 118 4 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
246	2	GUPTA BIHARI LAL	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 1
247	1	GUPTA CHUNI LAL	000 000 00 00 118 0 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
247	2	GUPTA CHUNI LAL	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
248	1	GUPTA DURGA DAS	000 000 00 00 118 0 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
248	2	GUPTA DURGA DAS	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 8
249	1	GUPTA K C	000 000 00 00 118 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
249	2	GUPTA K C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
250	1	GUPTA PRASANNA K	000 000 00 00 118 1 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
250	2	GUPTA PRASANNA K	0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
251	1	GUPTA RAM CHANDRA	000 000 00 03 118 1 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
251	2	GUPTA RAM CHANDRA	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
252	1	GUPTA UMA NATH	839 000 00 00 118 4 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
252	2	GUPTA UMA NATH	0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
253	1	KERR DURGA DAS	000 000 00 00 000 2 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
253	2	KERR DURGA DAS	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
254	1	KERR HEM CHANDRA	000 000 00 01 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
254	2	KERR HEM CHANDRA	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
255	1	KERR LALIT MOHAN	000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
255	2	KERR LALIT MOHAN	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0
256	1	KUCH BEHAR MAHARAJA	000 000 00 00 000 2 7 02 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
256	2	KUCH BEHAR MAHARAJA	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 0 1
257	1	LAHA DURGA CHARN	822 902 08 04 114 1 7 01 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
257	2	LAHA DURGA CHARN	1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
258	1	LAHA RAMA NATH	832 882 08 02 114 1 7 01 460 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
258	2	LAHA RAMA NATH	0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
259	1	LAHA SHAMA CHARN	000 000 08 04 114 1 7 01 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
259	2	LAHA SHAMA CHARN	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
260	1	MAHALANOVIS GURU C	000 000 00 00 000 5 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
260	2	MAHALANOVIS GURU C	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
261	1	MALLIK BALAI CHAN	000 000 08 05 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
261	2	MALLIK BALAI CHAN	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
262	1	MALLIK BINOD BIHARY	000 000 08 07 114 1 0 00 036 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
262	2	MALLIK BINOD BIHARY	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
263	1	MALLIK BHOLA NATH	000 000 08 05 114 1 0 00 036 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

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296 2 MITRA HEM CHANDRA  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
297 1 MITRA ISSAR C      000 000 00 00 109 0 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
297 2 MITRA ISSAR C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
298 1 MITRA KALI KRISHNA 000 000 00 02 109 2 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
298 2 MITRA KALI KRISHNA 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
299 1 MITRA KANTI CHAND  838 000 00 00 109 4 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
299 2 MITRA KANTI CHAND  0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0
300 1 MITRA KASHISAR     812 870 00 04 109 3 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
300 2 MITRA KASHISAR     0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
301 1 MITRA KEDAR NATH   000 000 00 04 109 5 0 00 000 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
301 2 MITRA KEDAR NATH   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
302 1 MITRA KISSORY C    822 873 08 06 109 2 7 01 001 1 1 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 1
302 2 MITRA KISSORY C    0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
303 1 MITRA KRISHNA K    852 936 21 00 209 5 4 14 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
303 2 MITRA KRISHNA K    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
304 1 MITRA KRISHNA M    000 000 00 00 109 1 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 .0 0 0 0 0 0
304 2 MITRA KRISHNA M    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
305 1 MITRA MATI LAL     000 000 00 01 109 0 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
305 2 MITRA MATI LAL     0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 1
306 1 MITRA NABA GOPAL   840 894 08 04 109 3 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
306 2 MITRA NABA GOPAL   0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
307 1 MITRA NIL KAMAL    000 000 08 03 109 1 0 00 397 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0
307 2 MITRA NIL KAMAL    0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
308 1 MITRA OMESH CHAND  831 879 05 01 109 2 7 01 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
308 2 MITRA OMESH CHAND  0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
309 1 MITRA PEARY C      814 883 08 05 109 2 7 01 397 1 1 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 1
309 2 MITRA PEARY C      1 0 1 0 1 1 0 1 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 1 1 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 1 0
310 1 MITRA RADHA RAMAN  000 000 08 05 109 0 0 00 397 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
310 2 MITRA RADHA RAMAN  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
311 1 MITRA RAJ JAGESH   000 000 00 00 109 6 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
311 2 MITRA RAJ JAGESH   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
312 1 MITRA RAJENDRA LAL 822 891 08 04 109 1 7 13 002 2 1 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 1 0 1
312 2 MITRA RAJENDRA LAL 1 0 0 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 1 1
313 1 MITRA RAJENDRA N   000 000 00 04 109 1 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
313 2 MITRA RAJENDRA N   0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 1
314 1 MITRA RAM C        814 874 00 12 109 0 7 01 452 2 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
314 2 MITRA RAM C        0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
315 1 MITRA RAMESH C     840 899 07 04 109 0 3 10 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
315 2 MITRA RAMESH C     0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
316 1 MITRA SRI NATH     000 000 00 03 109 3 7 01 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
316 2 MITRA SRI NATH     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
317 1 MITRA S            861 000 08 00 109 2 4 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
317 2 MITRA S            0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0
318 1 MITRA UPENDRA C    000 000 00 00 109 0 7 01 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
318 2 MITRA UPENDRA C    0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
319 1 MAIRTA DIGAMVAR    000 000 00 00 403 0 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
319 2 MAIRTA DIGAMVAR    0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
320 1 MAITRA G D         000 000 00 00 403 4 0 14 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
320 2 MAITRA G D         0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0
321 1 MAITRA HEM CHANDRA 000 000 00 00 403 5 2 10 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
321 2 MAITRA HEM CHANDRA 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
322 1 MUKHERJEE ADHAI C  000 000 00 00 103 1 7 01 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
322 2 MUKHERJEE ADHAI C  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
323 1 MUKHERJEE BHUDEV   827 898 08 00 103 1 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
323 2 MUKHERJEE BHUDEV   0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
324 1 MUKHERJEE BIJAI N  000 000 00 00 103 1 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
324 2 MUKHERJEE BIJAY N  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
325 1 MUKHERJEE CHANDRA K000 000 00 02 103 1 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
325 2 MUKHERJEE CHANDRA K0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
326 1 MUKHERJEE CHANDRA S000 000 00 02 103 1 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
326 2 MUKHERJEE CHANDRA  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
327 1 MUKHERJEE D N      000 000 00 02 103 2 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
327 2 MUKHERJEE D N      0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
328 1 MUKHERJEE GANGA P  841 000 00 00 103 2 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
328 2 MUKHERJEE GANGA P  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
329 1 MUKHERJEE GOPAL C  000 000 00 02 103 1 3 10 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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362 2 PALIT RAM CHANDRA  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
363 1 PANDIT PRAN NATH   843 000 08 00 803 2 2 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
363 2 PANDIT PRAN NATH   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
364 1 PANDIT SAMBHU NATH 820 867 08 00 803 3 7 03 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
364 2 PANDIT SAMBHU NATH 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 9 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
365 1 PYNE KANI LAL      000 000 08 00 114 5 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
365 2 PYNE KANI LAL      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
366 1 ROY BHUVAN MOHAN   000 000 00 00 118 4 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
366 2 ROY BHUVAN MOHAN   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
367 1 ROY BRAJENDRA K    000 000 08 02 118 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
367 2 ROY BRAJENDRA K    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
368 1 ROY GURU DAYAL     000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
368 2 ROY GURU DAYAL     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
369 1 ROY GOPI MOHAN     000 000 08 02 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
369 2 ROY GOPI MOHAN     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
370 1 ROY G G  GOVIND    841 000 00 00 118 4 0 00 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
370 2 ROY G G            0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
371 1 ROY HARA CHANDRA   000 000 00 05 000 0 2 10 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
371 2 ROY HARA CHAND     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
372 1 ROY HARA LAL       842 000 00 02 000 0 4 10 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
372 2 ROY HARA LAL       0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
373 1 ROY KEDAR NATH     000 000 00 08 000 5 2 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
373 2 ROY KEDAR NATH     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
374 1 ROY MOHINI MOHAN   000 000 00 12 000 4 7 01 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
374 2 ROY MOHINI MOHAN   0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
375 1 ROY NURSING CHAND  000 000 00 00 114 1 7 01 036 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0
375 2 ROY NURSING CHAND  0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
376 1 ROY PULIN CHANDRA  000 000 08 00 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
376 2 ROY PULIN CHANDRA  0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
377 1 ROY RADHA PERSAD   000 000 08 00 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
377 2 ROY RADHA PERSAD   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
378 1 ROY RAJANI NATH    849 902 20 00 218 5 2 10 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
378 2 ROY RAJANI NATH    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
379 1 ROY RAM PROSAD     817 862 08 04 103 3 7 01 462 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
379 2 ROY RAM PROSAD     0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
380 1 ROY TARA PRASANNA  000 000 00 08 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
380 2 ROY TARA PRASSANA  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
381 1 ROY TRAILAK NATH   000 000 00 08 000 3 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
381 2 ROY TRAILAK NATH   0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
382 1 ROY UMA CHARN      000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
382 2 ROY UMA CHARN      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
383 1 ROY UMA PADA       000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
383 2 ROY UMA PADA       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
384 1 ROY CHAUDHURI HARA 000 000 20 00 000 5 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
384 2 ROY CHAUDHURI HARA 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
385 1 RUDRA MAHESH CHAND 000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
385 2 RUDRA MAHESH CHAND 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
386 1 RUDRA PEARY MOHAN  000 000 00 00 109 6 4 14 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
386 2 RUDRA PEARY MOHAN  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0
387 1 SANYAL TRAILAK N   840 000 00 00 403 4 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
387 2 SANYAL TRAILAK N   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
388 1 SARKAR S M         000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
388 2 SARKAR S M         0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
389 1 SARMA H C          000 000 00 11 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
389 2 SARMA H C          0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
390 1 SARMA MAHESH CHAND 000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
390 2 SARMA MAHESH CHAND 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
391 1 SASTRI PRIA NATH   000 000 00 00 303 3 0 00 452 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
391 2 SASTRI PRIA NATH   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
392 1 SASTRI SIVA NATH   847 892 07 00 303 5 2 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
392 2 SASTRI SIVA NATH   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0
393 1 SEAL A C           000 000 00 00 114 6 4 14 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
393 2 SEAL A C           0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
394 1 SEAL BRAJENDRA K   000 000 08 00 114 1 3 10 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
394 2 SEAL BRAJENDRA K   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
395 1 SEAL GOVIND LAL    000 000 08 08 114 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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395 2 SEAL GOVIND LAL        0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
396 1 SEAL HIRA LAL          000 876 08 08 114 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
396 2 SEAL HIRA LAL          0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
397 1 SEAL HURRI MOHAN       000 000 08 00 114 1 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
397 2 SEAL HURRI MOHAN       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
398 1 SEAL KALI DAS          000 000 00 00 114 1 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
398 2 SEAL KALI DAS          0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
399 1 SEAL KANAY LAL         845 000 00 08 114 1 4 10 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
399 2 SEAL KANAY LAL         0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
400 1 SEAL M C               000 000 00 00 114 6 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
400 2 SEAL M C               0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
401 1 SEAL MADHAV LAL        000 000 00 00 114 1 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
401 2 SEAL MADHAV LAL        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
402 1 SEAL PANI LAL          000 878 08 08 114 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
402 2 SEAL PANI LAL          0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
403 1 SEAL PRAN KISHEN       000 000 00 06 114 1 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
403 2 SEAL PRAN KISHEN       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
404 1 SEAL RAKHAL DAS        000 000 00 00 114 1 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
404 2 SEAL RAKHAL DAS        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
405 1 SEN BAIKANTU NATH      343 921 01 05 114 3 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
405 2 SEN BAIKANTU NATH      0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
406 1 SEN BRAJENDRA NATH     000 000 00 00 000 3 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
406 2 SEN BRAJENDRA NATH     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
407 1 SEN GOVIND CHANDRA     000 867 08 01 109 1 0 00 397 1 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
407 2 SEN GOVIND CHANDRA     1 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
408 1 SEN GOPI NATH          000 000 00 02 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
408 2 SEN GOPI NATH          0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
409 1 SEN GRISH CHANDRA      861 000 00 06 118 4 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
409 2 SEN GRISH CHANDRA      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
410 1 SEN HARI LAL           000 000 00 03 114 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
410 2 SEN HARI LAL           0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
411 1 SEN JOY GOPAL          000 000 00 05 114 1 0 00 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
411 2 SEN JOY GOPAL          0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
412 1 SEN JOY KRISHNA        000 000 00 00 118 4 2 10 452 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
412 2 SEN JOY KRISHNA        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
413 1 SEN KESHUB CHUNDER     838 883 08 11 118 4 7 10 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1
413 2 SEN KESHUB CHUNDER     0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 0 0 0 0
414 1 SEN KRISHNA BEHARI     846 895 08 08 118 4 2 10 452 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
414 2 SEN KRISHNA BEHARI     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1
415 1 SEN MURALI DHAR        835 000 08 08 118 4 7 01 460 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
415 2 SEN MURALI DHAR        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
416 1 SEN NARENDRA NATH      843 911 08 08 118 4 7 01 460 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
416 2 SEN NARENDRA NATH      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1
417 1 SEN NARAIN CHANDRA     000 000 00 00 000 0 2 10 462 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
417 2 SEN NARAIN CHANDRA     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
418 1 SEN PARESH NATH        000 000 00 00 000 5 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
418 2 SEN PARESH NATH        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
419 1 SEN PRASANNA KUMAR     837 000 08 08 118 4 2 10 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
419 2 SEN PRASANNA KUMAR     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
420 1 SEN PRATAP CHANDRA     000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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421 1 SEN PRAMADA CHANDRA000 000 00 00 000 5 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
421 2 SEN PRAMADA CHANDRA0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
422 1 SEN SHAM CHARN         000 000 00 05 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
422 2 SEN SHAM CHARN         0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
423 1 SEN SURESH CHANDRA     000 000 00 00 114 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
423 2 SEN SURESH CHANDRA     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
424 1 SEN THAKAR DAS         000 000 00 00 000 3 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
424 2 SEN THAKAR DAS         0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
425 1 SHENOMANI C S          000 000 00 00 000 1 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
425 2 SHENOMANI C S          0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
426 1 SHOM JOY GOVIND        843 000 27 00 000 6 4 16 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
426 2 SHOM JOY GOVIND        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
427 1 SIKDAR R N             813 870 08 00 000 2 7 01 001 2 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
427 2 SIKDAR R N             0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
428 1 SIKDAR SRI NATH        000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
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428 2 SIKDAR SRI NATH      0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
429 1 SINGH BEHARI LAL     000 000 00 00 000 6 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
429 2 SINGH BEHARI LAL     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
430 1 SINGH DWARKA NATH    000 000 00 00 000 6 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
430 2 SINGH DWARKA NATH    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
431 1 SINGH INDRA C        000 000 07 00 309 2 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
431 2 SINGH INDRA C        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
432 1 SINGH ISVAR C        000 000 07 00 309 2 7 01 036 1 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
432 2 SINGH ISVAR C        1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
433 1 SINGH JADAV K        000 000 08 05 309 2 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
433 2 SINGH JADAV K        0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
434 1 SINGH KANTI C        000 881 07 00 309 3 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
434 2 SINGH KANTI C        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
435 1 SINGH PRATAP C       826 866 00 00 309 2 7 01 036 1 1 0 0 1 1 0 1 1 1 0 1 1
435 2 SINGH PRATAP C       0 1 1 1 1 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
436 1 SINGH RAM CHANDRA    840 000 00 00 209 4 4 10 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
436 2 SINGH RAM CHANDRA    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
437 1 SINGH SALIGRAM       000 000 00 00 309 2 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
437 2 SINGH SALIGRAM       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
438 1 SIRKAR BHUVAN M      838 000 08 06 109 2 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
438 2 SIRKAR BHUVAN M      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0
439 1 SIRKAR GANGA GOVIND000 000 00 00 109 2 0 00 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
439 2 SIRKAR GANGA GOVIND0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
440 1 SIRKAR K D           000 000 00 00 000 6 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
440 2 SIRKAR K D           0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
441 1 SIRKAR MAHENDRA L    833 904 06 09 012 2 5 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
441 2 SIRKAR MAHENDRA L    0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 0 0
442 1 SIRKAR NAVIN B       000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
442 2 SIRKAR NAVIN B       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
443 1 SIRKAR PEARY C       823 875 08 06 109 2 7 01 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
443 2 SIRKAR PEARY C       0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
444 1 SIRKAR RAJENDRA N    000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
444 2 SIRKAR RAJENDRA N    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
445 1 SIRKAR SHAMA C       814 882 09 00 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
445 2 SIRKAR SHAMA C       0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
446 1 SIRKAR S L           000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
446 2 SIRKAR S L           0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
447 1 SIROMANI BHARAT C    802 878 00 00 103 1 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
447 2 SIROMANI BHARAT C    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
448 1 SIROMANI CHANDRA N   000 000 00 00 103 1 0 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
448 2 SIROMANI CHANDRA N   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
449 1 SUVADHICARI P K      825 000 00 00 000 1 7 01 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
449 2 SUVADHICARI P K      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0
450 1 SUKUL KALI SANKAR    000 000 20 00 209 5 2 10 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
450 2 SUKUL KALI SANKAR    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
451 1 SURNAMAYI  MAHARAN1000 000 00 00 017 1 7 02 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
451 2 SURNAMAYI  MAHARAN10 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
452 1 TAGORE DEBENDRA N    817 905 08 05 903 3 7 01 036 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 1 0
452 2 TAGORE DEBENDRA N    0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0
453 1 TAGORE DEBENDRA      000 000 08 06 903 3 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
453 2 TAGORE DEBENDRA      0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
454 1 TAGORE DWIJENDRA     840 926 08 05 903 3 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
454 2 TAGORE DWIJENDRA     0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
455 1 TAGORE GANENDRA M    000 000 08 00 903 6 2 13 459 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0
455 2 TAGORE GANENDRA M    0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
456 1 TAGORE GANENDRA N    841 869 08 05 903 3 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
456 2 TAGORE GANENDRA N    80 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
457 1 TAGORE HAMENDRA N    000 000 08 05 903 3 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
457 2 TAGORE HAMENDRA N    0 0 0 0 1 0 1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
458 1 TAGORE JATINDRA N    849 925 08 05 903 3 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
458 2 TAGORE JATINDRA N    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0  1 0 1 0 0 0  0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
459 1 TAGORE JATINDRA M    831 908 08 06 903 2 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
459 2 TAGORE JATINDRA M    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 1 1 0 1 1 0 1 1
460 1 TAGORE PRASANNA K    801 868 08 06 903 2 7 01 462 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1
460 2 TAGORE PRASANNA K    0 0. 1 1 1 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
461 1 TAGORE RABINDRA N    861 941 08 05 903 3 7 03 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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461 2 TAGORE RABINDRA N  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0  0 0 0 0 0 0  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
462 1 TAGORE RAMA NATH   801 877 08 05 903 3 7 03 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
462 2 TAGORE RAMA NATH   0 0 1 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
463 1 TAGORE SURENDRA M  000 000 08 06 903 2 7 03 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
463 2 TAGORE SURENDRA M  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 1
464 1 THANKARCHUNAMANI J 000 000 00 00 103 0 7 11 000 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
464 2 THANKARCHUNAMANI J 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
465 1 TIPPERAH MAHARAJA  000 000 00 00 000 0 7 02 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
465 2 TIPPERAH MAHARAJA  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
466 1 VEDANTAVAGISH A C  000 000 00 00 000 0 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0
466 2 VEDANTAVAGISH A C  0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
467 1 VIDYARATNA BHATA S 000 000 00 00 000 1 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
467 2 VIDYARATNA BHATA S 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
468 1 VIDYARATNA H C      000 000 00 00 000 3 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
468 2 VIDYARATNA H C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
469 1 VIDYARATNA KALI P  000 000 00 00 000 1 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
469 2 VIDYARATNA KALI P  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
470 1 VIDYARATNA JADAV K 000 000 00 00 000 1 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
470 2 VIDYARATNA JADAV K 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
471 1 VIDYARATNA MAHESH C000 000 00 00 000 1 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
471 2 VIDYARATNA MAHESH C0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
472 1 VIDYARATNA RAM S    000 000 00 00 000 1 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
472 2 VIDYARATNA RAM S    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
473 1 VIDYARATNA SHYAM C 000 000 00 00 000 1 7 11 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
473 2 VIDYARATNA SHYAM C 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
474 1 VIDYASAGAR ISVAR C 820 891 15 04 103 2 7 11 452 2 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1
474 2 VIDYASAGAR ISVAR C 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 1
475 1 VIZIANAGRAM MAHARAJ000 000 00 00 000 2 7 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
475 2 VIZIANAGRAM MAHARAJ0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 1 0 0 0 0
```

APPENDIX H

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION LEADERS

8.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Individual	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level of Education	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Position in 1857	1	57
Position in 1864	1	59
Position in 1871	1	61
Position in 1878	1	63
Position in 1885	1	65

8.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	05	Hooghly
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	13	Rajshahi
	15	Midnapore
	20	Dacca
	40	Balasore
Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Class	0	Do not know
	1	Rentier Aristocrat
	2	Middle-class
All Variables Relating to Period in which Leadership Position Held	0	No
	1	Yes

P.3 DATA SET

```
001 1 BANERJEE GURU DAS   844 918 07 00 103 1 2 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 1
002 1 BANERJEE KUNJO LAL  000 000 00 00 103 1 0 00 001 1 0 0 0 0 1
003 1 BANERJEE NIL KAMAL  000 000 00 00 103 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 1 0 0
004 1 BANERJEE TARINI C   000 000 00 11 103 1 7 00 036 1 0 0 0 1 0
005 1 BISWAS MATHUR M     000 000 00 11 007 1 0 00 036 1 1 0 0 0 0
006 1 BOSE BAIKANTH NATH  000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 1
007 1 CHANDRA SRI NATH    000 000 00 00 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 1
008 1 CHATTERJEE CHANDRA  000 000 00 05 103 1 0 00 397 1 0 0 1 0 0
009 1 GOSSAIN KISSORI L   000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 1
010 1 DAS KALI MOHAN      000 000 20 12 218 2 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0
011 1 DAS SRI NATH        000 000 00 10 007 1 0 00 462 2 0 0 0 1 0
012 1 DATTA BHAVANI P     000 000 00 00 109 2 7 01 036 1 0 1 0 0 0
013 1 DATTA UMESH C       000 000 00 00 109 0 7 01 001 1 1 0 0 0 0
014 1 DEY BAIKANTU N      000 000 40 00 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 1
015 1 DEB NARENDRA K      831 000 00 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 0 1 1 1
016 1 DEB KALI KRISHNA    808 874 00 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 1 1 0 0 0
017 1 DEB KAMAL KRISHNA   820 885 00 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 1 0 0
018 1 DEB MAHENDRA N      000 000 00 01 103 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0
019 1 DEB NARENDRA K      822 903 00 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 1 1 1 1
020 1 DEB RADHA KANTA     794 867 00 01 109 1 7 02 001 1 1 1 0 0 0
021 1 DEB RAJENDRA N      815 000 00 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 1 1 1
022 1 GHOSAL ISSAN C      000 873 07 00 103 1 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 1 0
023 1 GHOSAL JOGENDRA C   000 000 00 00 103 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 1
024 1 GHOSAL SATYA CHARN  000 000 07 00 103 1 7 02 036 1 0 1 0 0 0
025 1 GHOSAL SATYA NAND   833 885 07 00 103 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 1 1 1
026 1 GHOSAL SATYA SATYA  000 000 07 00 103 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 1 0 0
027 1 GHOSE GRISH C 2     000 000 05 00 109 1 7 15 001 2 0 1 0 1 1
028 1 GHOSE KALI PRASANA  837 000 00 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 1
029 1 GHOSE KASI PERSAD   809 873 00 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0
030 1 GHOSE KISHEN K      807 869 00 00 109 1 7 01 462 2 1 1 0 0 0
031 1 GHOSE JOGENDRA C    000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 0 0 1
032 1 GHOSE RAM GOPAL     815 866 00 09 109 2 7 01 397 2 1 1 0 0 0
092 1 GHOSE RASH VIHARI   000 000 00 00 109 1 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 1 0
033 1 GUHA  OBHAI CHARN   000 000 00 03 109 1 7 01 397 1 0 0 0 0 1
034 1 GUHA SIVA CHARN     793 874 00 03 109 1 0 00 397 1 0 0 0 0 0
035 1 HATWA MAHARAJA      000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 1
036 1 LAHA DURGA CHARN    822 902 00 04 114 1 7 01 397 1 0 1 1 1 1
037 1 LAHA RAMA NATH      832 882 00 02 114 1 7 01 460 1 1 1 0 1 0
038 1 LAHA SHAMA CHARN    000 000 00 04 114 1 7 01 397 1 0 0 0 0 1
039 1 LAL JAY PRAKASH     000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 1
040 1 MALLIK ASHUTOSH     842 000 00 07 114 1 7 03 036 1 0 0 0 1 0
041 1 MALLIK CHARU CHAND  000 000 00 06 114 1 7 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 1
043 1 MALLIK DINO NATH    000 000 00 00 114 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 1
042 1 MALLIK DEBENDRA     843 000 00 06 114 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 1 1 1
044 1 MALLIK DWARKA N     000 877 00 05 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 1 0
045 1 MALLIK KRISTO M     000 000 00 05 114 1 0 00 397 1 0 0 0 1 0
046 1 MALLIK JADU LAL     844 894 00 05 114 1 4 10 036 1 0 0 1 1 1
047 1 MALLIK NANDA LAL    000 000 00 05 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 0 0
048 1 MALLIK SHAMA CHARN  825 000 00 02 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 1 0 0
049 1 MALLIK SUBAL DAS    000 876 00 05 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 1 0
050 1 MALLIK BAGAVATI C   000 000 00 06 114 1 0 10 036 1 0 0 0 0 1
051 1 MITRA DIGUMBER      817 879 00 04 109 1 7 01 002 2 1 1 1 1 0
052 1 MITRA KALI NATH     000 000 00 03 109 0 0 00 460 0 0 0 0 0 1
053 1 MITRA KISSORY C     822 873 00 05 109 2 7 01 001 1 0 1 1 0 0
054 1 MITRA PEARY C       814 883 00 06 109 2 7 01 001 1 1 1 1 1 0
055 1 MITRA RAJENDRA L    822 891 00 04 109 1 7 01 001 2 1 1 1 1 1
056 1 MUKHERJEE ANUKAL C  829 871 00 06 103 1 7 01 462 1 0 0 1 0 0
057 1 MUKHERJEE DAKSHIN   814 878 00 06 103 3 7 01 002 2 0 0 0 0 0
058 1 MUKHERJEE CHANDRA K000 000 05 02 103 1 0 00 036 1 0 0 0 1 1
059 1 MUKHERJEE HARISH C  824 861 00 00 103 2 3 22 001 2 1 1 0 0 0
060 1 MUKHERJEE JAY K     808 888 05 00 103 1 7 02 036 1 1 1 1 1 1
061 1 MUKHERJEE JAGGODA   000 000 00 10 103 1 7 01 462 1 1 0 0 0 0
062 1 MUKHERJEE PEARY M   840 907 05 00 103 1 2 10 462 1 0 0 0 1 1
```

063	1	PAL KRISTO DAS	838	884	08	06	017	1	7	21	002	2	0	1	1	1	0
064	1	PAL CHAUDHURI S N	000	000	15	00	017	1	0	00	036	1	0	0	0	0	1
065	1	ROY JAGGADISH NATH	000	000	00	00	000	0	0	00	000	0	0	0	0	0	1
066	1	ROY MANI MOHAN	000	000	08	00	000	0	0	00	462	0	0	0	0	0	1
067	1	ROY CHANDRA NATH	000	000	13	00	000	0	0	00	036	1	0	0	0	1	0
068	1	ROY PRAMATHA N	000	000	13	00	000	0	0	00	036	1	0	0	0	1	0
069	1	ROY SITA NATH	000	000	00	15	000	0	0	00	000	0	0	0	0	0	1
070	1	SAHAI HARVANJ	000	000	40	00	031	1	0	00	036	1	0	0	0	0	1
071	1	SEAL GOVIND LAL	000	000	08	08	114	1	7	01	036	1	0	0	0	0	1
072	1	SEAL HIRA LAL	000	876	08	08	114	1	7	01	036	1	0	0	0	1	0
073	1	SEN GOVIND C	000	867	08	01	109	1	0	00	397	1	1	1	0	0	0
074	1	SEN HARI MOHAN	812	866	08	08	118	4	7	01	397	1	1	1	0	0	0
075	1	SEN MURALI DHAR	835	000	08	08	118	4	7	01	460	1	0	0	1	0	0
076	1	SEN NARENDRA N	843	911	08	08	118	4	7	01	460	1	0	0	0	0	1
077	1	SINGH GRISH C	000	877	07	00	309	2	7	01	036	1	0	0	0	1	0
078	1	SINGH ISVAR C	000	861	07	00	309	2	7	01	036	1	1	0	0	0	0
079	1	SINGH JADAV K	000	000	08	05	309	2	7	01	036	1	0	1	0	0	0
080	1	SINGH KALI P	840	870	08	05	309	2	7	01	036	1	0	0	0	0	0
081	1	SINGH KANTI C	000	881	07	00	309	3	0	00	036	1	0	0	0	0	1
082	1	SINGH LAKMEESAR	000	000	31	00	803	0	0	00	036	1	0	0	0	0	1
083	1	SINGH PARNA C	000	000	07	00	309	2	7	01	036	1	0	0	0	0	1
084	1	SINGH PRATAP C	826	866	07	00	309	2	7	01	036	1	1	1	0	0	0
085	1	SINGH SALIGRAM	000	000	00	00	309	1	3	10	036	1	0	0	0	0	1
086	1	SINGH SARAT C	000	000	07	00	309	2	0	00	036	1	0	0	0	0	1
087	1	SUBADH RAJ KUMAR	000	000	00	00	000	0	0	00	036	1	0	0	0	0	0
088	1	TAGORE JATINDRA M	000	908	08	06	903	2	7	01	036	1	0	1	1	1	1
089	1	TAGORE PRASANNA K	801	868	08	06	903	2	7	01	462	1	0	0	0	0	0
090	1	TAGORE RAMA NATH	801	877	08	05	903	3	7	05	036	1	1	1	1	0	0
091	1	TAGORE SURENDRA M	000	000	08	06	903	2	7	01	036	1	0	0	0	0	1

APPENDIX I

INDIAN LEAGUE LEADERS

9.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Individual	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level to which Educated	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Position in 1875	1	57
Position in 1876	1	59
Position in 1877	1	61

9.1 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	03	Hooghly
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	11	Jessore
	20	Dacca
	21	Mymensingh
Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876
Caste	000	Do not know
	007	Kaibarta
	017	Tili

Number	Name of Value
103	Radhi Brahman
109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
118	Radhi Baidya
209	Bangaja Kayastha
218	Bangaja Vaidya
309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
00	Do not know
01	Orthodox
02	Unorthodox
03	Adi Brahmo
04	Brahmo Samaj of India
05	Sadharan Brahmo Samaj
06	Christian
0	Do not know
1	Studied Overseas
2	M.A.
3	B.L.
4	B.A.
5	Other Degrees
7	Secondary
00	Do not know
01	Hindu College
02	Private Tutor
03	Oriental Seminary
10	Presidency College
13	Medical College
21	Hindu Metropolitan College
000	Do not know
001	Government Servant
002	Private Administrator
008	Medical Doctor
036	Landholder
397	Merchant or Banian
452	Teacher or Lecturer
460	Attorney
462	Pleader
0	Do not know
1	Rentier Aristocrat
2	Middle Class

Variable	Number	Name of Value
All Variables Relating to Period in which Position Held	0	No
	1	Yes

.3 DATA SET

9.

1	1	BANERJEE BHAIRAV C	842	000	08	05	103	5	3	10	462	2	1	0	0
002	1	BANERJEE KALI C	847	909	05	17	103	6	2	14	452	2	1	1	0
003	1	BANERJEE KRISHNA M	813	885	08	17	103	6	7	01	452	2	1	1	1
004	1	BANERJEE SURENDRA N	848	925	08	14	103	2	1	12	452	2	1	0	0
005	1	BOSE ANANDA MOHAN	847	904	21	12	209	5	1	10	459	2	1	0	0
006	1	BOSE CHANDRA NATH	844	910	05	04	109	2	2	10	462	2	1	0	0
007	1	BOSE JOGAVANDA	000	000	20	09	209	5	5	13	008	2	1	1	0
008	1	BOSE MANO MOHAN	831	912	11	00	209	0	7	14	188	2	1	0	0
009	1	DAS DURGA MOHAN	841	897	20	17	218	5	3	10	462	2	1	0	0
010	1	DAS KALI MOHAN	000	000	20	12	218	2	7	01	462	2	1	1	1
011	1	DAS NIL KOMAL	000	000	00	01	000	0	0	00	000	0	0	0	1
012	1	DAS SITA NATH	000	000	08	13	007	1	5	10	462	1	1	0	0
013	1	DATTA GIRINDRA K	000	000	08	02	000	1	0	00	397	1	0	0	1
014	1	DATTA JOGESH C	847	915	08	11	000	1	5	10	036	1	1	1	1
015	1	DATTA PRAN NATH	840	888	08	07	109	2	7	01	001	1	1	0	0
016	1	GHOSE H K	000	000	11	14	309	2	0	00	001	2	1	1	0
017	1	GHOSE JADU NATH	000	880	08	11	109	2	7	03	452	2	1	1	0
018	1	GHOSE MATI LAL	847	922	11	14	309	2	7	00	188	2	1	1	0
019	1	GHOSE MAN MOHAN	844	896	20	08	209	5	1	10	459	2	1	0	0
020	1	GHOSE RASH BIHARI	000	000	05	12	109	2	3	10	462	2	1	0	0
021	1	GHOSE S K	840	911	11	14	309	2	7	10	001	2	1	1	1
022	1	MALLIK P C	000	000	08	09	017	0	0	00	036	1	1	1	0
023	1	MALLIK PROSAD DAS	000	000	08	07	114	1	7	01	036	1	1	0	0
024	1	MITRA NABA GOPAL	840	894	08	04	109	3	7	01	001	2	1	0	0
025	1	MITRA SHARODA C	000	000	08	01	109	1	7	01	462	1	1	0	0
026	1	MUKHERJEE S C	839	894	08	00	103	2	7	03	002	2	1	0	0
027	1	ROY JANOKI NATH	000	000	00	02	000	0	0	00	397	0	1	0	0
028	1	ROY ANNADO PROSAD	853	880	07	00	109	1	0	00	036	1	1	0	0
029	1	SEN NARENDRA NATH	843	911	08	08	118	4	3	10	460	1	1	0	0
030	1	SIRKAR AKSHAY C	846	917	05	00	109	1	5	10	462	2	1	0	0

APPENDIX J

INDIAN ASSOCIATION LEADERS

10.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-5
Card Number	1	5
Name of Individual	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level to which Educated	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Position in 1876	1	57
Position in 1879	1	59
Position in 1880	1	61
Position in 1881	1	63

Note: Complete Lists of Indian Association Leaders are not available after 1881.

10.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	05	Hooghly
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	09	Nadia
	13	Rajshahi
	18	Bogra
	20	Dacca
	21	Mymensingh
	27	Sylhet

Number	Name of Value
1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876
000	Do not know
007	Kaibarta
017	Tili
103	Radhi Brahman
109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
118	Radhi Baidya
209	Bangaja Kayastha
216	Bangaja Baidya
303	Daksina Vaidika Brahman
903	Pirali Brahman
0	Do not know
1	Orthodox
2	Unorthodox
3	Adi Brahmo
4	Brahmo Samaj of India
5	Sadharan Brahmo
6	Christian
0	Do not know
1	Studied Overseas
2	M.A.
3	B.L.
4	B.A.
7	Secondary
00	Do not know
01	Hindu College
10	Presidency College
11	Sanskrit College
12	Doveton College
13	Medical College
14	General Assembly Institution
000	Do not know
001	Government Servant
008	Private Administrator
036	Landholder
188	Newspaper Editor

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Primary Occupation	397	Merchant or Banian
	452	Teacher or Lecturer
	459	Barrister
	460	Attorney
	462	Pleader
Class	0	Do not know
	1	Rentier Aristocrat
	2	Middle class
All Variables Relating to Period in which Position Held	0	No
	1	Yes

APPENDIX K

HINDU MEMBERS FROM THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY IN THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

11.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Individual	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level to which Educated	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Position Between 1862-1873	1	57
Position Between 1874-1885	1	59

11.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	01	Burdwan
	05	Hooghly
	08	Calcutta
	16	Darbhanga
Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876
Caste	000	Do not know
	017	Tili
	018	Khettri
	103	Radhi Brahman
	109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
	114	Saptagram Savarnavanik
	703	Maithili Brahman
	903	Pirali Brahman

Variable	Number
Religion	0
	1
	2
Level of Education	0
	2
School/College at which Educated	7

11.3 DATA SET

```
001 1 BARDWAN MAHARAJA    820 879 01 00 018 1 7 02 036 1 1 0
002 1 DEB NARENDRA K      822 903 08 03 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 1
003 1 LAHA DURGA C        822 902 08 04 114 1 7 01 397 1 0 1
004 1 MUKHERJEE P M       840 922 05 00 103 1 2 10 462 1 0 1
005 1 PAL KRISTO DAS      838 884 08 06 017 1 7 21 002 2 0 1
006 1 PRASAD S S          000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 036 1 0 1
007 1 SASTRI A            000 000 00 00 000 0 0 00 000 1 0 1
008 1 DARBHANGA MAHARAJA  000 898 16 00 703 1 7 02 036 1 0 1
009 1 TAGORE JATINDRA M   831 908 08 06 903 2 7 01 036 1 0 1
010 1 TAGORE PRASANNA K   801 866 08 06 903 2 7 01 036 1 1 0
011 1 TAGORE RAMA NATH    801 877 08 06 903 2 7 01 036 1 1 0
```

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Caste	103	Radhi Brahman
	109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
	114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
	118	Radhi Baidya
	209	Bangaja Baidya
	309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
	703	Maithili Brahman
	903	Pirali Brahman
Religion	0	Do not know
	1	Orthodox
	2	Unorthodox
	3	Adi Brahmo
Level of Education	0	Do not know
	2	M.A.
	3	B.L.
	7	Secondary
School/College at which Educated	00	Do not know
	01	Hindu College
	02	Private Tutor
	03	Oriental Seminary
	10	Presidency College
	21	Hindu Metropolitan College
Primary Occupation	001	Government Servant
	002	Private Administrator
	036	Landholder
	397	Merchant or Banian
	462	Pleader
Class	1	Rentier Aristocrat
	2	Middle class
All Variables Relating to Period in which Position Held	0	No
	1	Yes

APPENDIX M

BHADRALOK NOMINATED TO THE CALCUTTA CORPORATION

13.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Individual	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level to which Educated	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Position Between 1863-1870	1	57
Position Between 1870-1877	1	59
Position Between 1877-1884	1	61

13.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	05	Hooghly
	06	Howrah
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	20	Dacca
Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876
Caste	000	Do not know
	007	Kaibarta
	012	Sadgopa
	016	Tantavanik
	017	Tili

Number	Name of Value
103	Radhi Brahman
109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
203	Paschatya Vaidika Brahman
209	Bangaja Kayastha
309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
403	Barendra Brahman
903	Pirali Brahman
0	Do not know
1	Orthodox
2	Unorthodox
3	Adi Brahmo
6	Christian
0	Do not know
1	Studied Overseas
2	M.A.
3	B.L.
4	B.A.
5	Other Degrees
6	Tertiary Level But No Degree
7	Secondary
00	Do not know
01	Hindu College
03	Oriental Seminary
10	Presidency College
12	Doveton College
13	Medical College
14	General Assembly Institution
000	Do not know
001	Government Servant
002	Private Administrator
003	Medical Doctor
035	Landholder
122	Newspaper Editor
227	Member of Banker
452	Teacher or Lecturer
453	Banker
450	Attorney
451	

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Class	0	Do not know
	1	Rentier Aristocrat
	2	Middle class
All Variables Relating to Period in Which Position Held	0	No
	1	Yes

13.3 DATA SET

```
001 1 BANERJEE ANNODA P  000 000 05 12 103 0 3 00 462 1 1 0 0
002 1 BANERJEE TARINI C  000 000 05 11 103 1 7 00 036 1 1 1 0
003 1 BANERJEE DURGA Y   000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 1
004 1 BASAK GURU DAS     826 899 08 05 016 1 7 01 001 1 0 1 0
005 1 BISWAS DWARKA N    000 000 08 09 007 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0
006 1 BOSE ESHAN C       000 868 08 01 109 1 7 01 397 1 1 0 0
007 1 BARAL PREM C       000 000 08 08 114 1 7 01 397 1 1 1 0
008 1 CHAKRAVATI S C     825 875 20 06 102 6 1 13 008 1 1 1 0
009 1 CHATTERJEE C M     813 885 08 06 103 3 1 01 036 1 1 1 0
010 1 CHATTERJEE K M     000 000 08 04 103 0 3 00 452 2 1 1 0
011 1 CHATTERJEE M M     000 000 08 00 103 0 0 00 000 0 1 1 0
012 1 CHAUDHURI M C      000 000 08 12 000 0 0 00 462 0 0 1 0
013 1 DAS G C            000 000 08 03 007 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 0
014 1 DAS NANDA LAL      000 000 08 00 007 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 0
015 1 DATTA B P          000 000 08 06 109 2 7 01 001 1 1 0 0
016 1 DATTA GOLAK CHAND  000 000 08 06 000 1 7 01 001 1 0 1 0
017 1 DATTA GOPAL CHAND  000 000 08 06 000 1 7 01 001 1 0 1 0
018 1 DATTA GOVIND CHAND 000 000 08 06 109 6 7 01 001 1 0 1 0
019 1 DATTA OMESH CHAND  833 000 08 00 109 6 7 01 001 1 1 1 0
020 1 DATTA PRIA NATH    840 000 08 07 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 0 1
021 1 DATTA SUSHI CHAND  824 885 08 06 109 6 7 01 001 1 0 1 0
022 1 DEB HARENDRA K     831 000 08 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 1 1 1
023 1 DEB KALI KRISHNA   808 874 08 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 1 0 0
024 1 DEB NARENDRA K     822 903 08 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 1 1
025 1 DEB PRASANNA N     000 870 08 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 1 0 0
026 1 DEB RADHA KANTA    784 867 08 01 109 1 7 02 036 1 1 0 0
027 1 DEY CHANDRA KUMAR  000 000 08 00 109 2 2 10 008 2 1 1 0
028 1 DEY KANAI LAL      831 000 08 06 114 2 5 13 008 2 0 1 0
029 1 DHAR ASHUTOSH      000 000 08 07 114 1 7 01 460 1 1 0 0
030 1 GHOSAL ISSAN CHAND 000 873 07 00 103 1 7 01 001 2 0 1 0
031 1 GHOSAL RAM CHANDRA 000 000 08 00 103 1 7 01 001 2 1 1 0
032 1 GHOSAL SATYA NAND  833 885 07 00 103 1 7 01 036 1 1 1 0
033 1 GHOSAL SATYA SATYA 000 000 07 00 103 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 0
034 1 GHOSE CHANDRA M    839 918 20 04 209 2 3 10 462 2 0 1 0
035 1 GHOSE HARI CHAND   808 868 08 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 1 0 0
036 1 GHOSE KHELATCH C   000 000 08 06 109 1 7 01 001 1 1 1 0
037 1 GHOSE KISSEN K     807 869 08 00 109 1 7 01 462 2 1 0 0
038 1 GHOSE KASI P       809 875 08 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 1 1 0
039 1 GHOSE PRATAP C     843 000 08 01 109 1 4 10 001 1 1 1 0
040 1 GHOSE RAKHAL D     000 000 08 11 109 2 5 13 008 2 0 0 1
041 1 GHOSE RAM GOPAL    815 868 08 09 109 2 7 01 397 1 1 0 0
042 1 GHOSE SARAT C      000 000 08 06 012 1 0 00 001 2 0 0 1
043 1 GHOSE SRI NATH     000 000 08 04 109 2 7 03 001 2 0 1 0
044 1 GUHA SIV CHANDRA   793 874 08 03 109 1 0 00 397 1 1 1 0
045 1 KISSEN KALI        000 878 08 08 114 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 0
046 1 LAHA DURGA CHARN   822 902 08 04 114 1 7 01 397 1 1 1 0
047 1 LAHA RAMA NATH     332 882 08 02 114 1 7 01 460 1 1 1 0
048 1 LAHIRI SHAMA CHARN 000 000 00 00 403 0 0 00 000 0 0 0 1
049 1 MALLIK BHOLA NATH  000 000 08 05 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0
050 1 MALLIK DEBENDRA    843 000 08 06 114 1 4 10 036 1 1 1 1
051 1 MALLIK DWARKA NATH 000 000 08 05 114 1 7 01 036 1 0 1 0
052 1 MALLIK JADU LAL    844 894 08 05 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 1
053 1 MALLIK SHAMA CHARN 825 000 08 02 114 1 0 00 036 1 1 1 0
054 1 MALLIK SUBAL DAS   000 876 08 06 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0
055 1 MALLIK TARAK NATH  000 866 08 05 114 1 0 00 036 1 0 1 0
056 1 MALLIK TULSI DAS   000 000 08 06 114 1 7 01 036 1 1 0 0
057 1 MITRA DIGUMBER     817 879 08 09 109 1 7 01 002 2 1 1 0
058 1 MITRA DWARKA NATH  833 874 05 09 109 2 7 01 001 2 0 1 0
059 1 MITRA PEARY C      814 883 08 05 109 2 7 01 397 1 1 1 0
060 1 MITRA RAJENDRA LAL 822 891 08 04 109 1 7 13 002 2 1 1 0
061 1 MITRA RAJENDRA NATH000 000 08 04 109 1 7 01 001 2 0 0 1
062 1 MITRA RAM CHANDRA  814 874 00 12 109 2 7 01 452 2 1 1 0
063 1 MITRA OMESH CHANDRA831 879 05 01 109 2 7 01 397 1 0 1 0
```

067	1	MUKHERJEE JAGGODA	N000	000	00	18	103	1	7	01	462	1	0	1	1
068	1	MUKHERJEE RAKHAL C	000	000	00	00	103	0	0	00	000	0	0	1	0
069	1	MUKHERJEE PRAN K	000	000	00	01	103	1	0	00	036	2	0	1	0
070	1	PAL KRISTO DAS	838	864	08	06	017	1	7	21	002	2	1	1	0
069	1	ROY RAJ KUMAR	000	000	08	06	114	1	7	01	036	1	1	1	0
067	1	SEAL HIRA LAL	000	876	08	08	114	1	7	01	036	1	1	1	0
070	1	SEN GOVIND CHAND	000	867	08	01	109	1	0	00	397	1	1	0	0
071	1	SETT MADHAV KRISTO	000	000	08	08	016	1	7	01	036	1	0	1	0
072	1	SINGH JADAV K	000	000	08	05	309	2	7	01	036	1	1	0	0
073	1	SINGH KALI P	840	870	08	05	309	2	7	01	036	1	1	0	0
074	1	SINGH PRATAP C	826	866	06	00	309	2	7	01	036	1	1	0	0
075	1	SINGH SRI K	000	000	08	05	309	2	7	01	036	1	1	0	0
076	1	SIRKAR MAHENDRA L	833	904	06	09	012	2	5	13	008	2	0	1	0
077	1	TAGORE JATINDRA M	831	908	08	06	903	2	7	01	036	1	1	1	0
078	1	TAGORE PRASANNA K	801	868	08	06	903	2	7	01	036	1	1	0	0
079	1	TAGORE UPENDRA N	000	000	08	06	903	3	7	01	036	1	1	1	0
080	1	TAGORE RAMA NATH	801	877	08	06	903	3	7	03	036	1	1	1	0
081	1	MITRA RADHA R	000	000	08	05	109	0	0	00	397	2	0	0	1
083	1	LAHA JAY GOVIND	836	915	08	04	114	1	7	01	397	1	0	0	1

APPENDIX N

BHADRALOK ELECTED TO THE CALCUTTA CORPORATION

14.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Individual	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level to which Educated	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Position in 1876	1	57
Position in 1879	1	59
Position in 1882	1	61
Position in 1885	1	63

14.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	05	Hooghly
	06	Howrah
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	09	Nadia
	11	Jessore
	18	Bogra
	20	Dacca
	21	Mymensingh
Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Caste	000	Do not know
	007	Kaibarta
	012	Sadgopa
	016	Tantavanik
	017	Tili
	103	Radhi Brahman
	109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
	114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
	118	Radhi Baidya
	209	Bangaja Kayastha
	309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
	803	Kashmiri Brahman
Religion	0	Do not know
	1	Orthodox
	2	Unorthodox
	3	Adi Brahmo
	4	Brahmo Samaj of India
	5	Sadharan of India
	6	Christian
Level of Education	0	Do not know
	1	Studied Overseas
	2	M.A.
	3	B.L.
	4	B.A.
	5	Other Degrees
	6	Tertiary Level But No Degree
	7	Secondary
School/College at which Educated	00	Do not know
	01	Hindu College
	03	Oriental Seminary
	10	Presidency College
	12	Doveton College
	13	Medical College
	14	General Assembly Institution
	16	Free Church Institution
	21	Hindu Metropolitan College
	25	Engineering College
Primary Occupation	000	Do not know
	001	Government Servant

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Primary Occupation	002	Private Administrator
	008	Medical Doctor
	010	Civil Engineer
	036	Landholder
	188	Newspaper Editor
	397	Merchant or Banian
	452	Teacher or Lecturer
	459	Barrister
	460	Attorney
	462	Pleader
Class	0	Do not know
	1	Rentier Aristocrat
	2	Middle class
All Variables Relating to Period in which Position Held	0	No
	1	Yes

14.3 DATA SET

001	1	BANERJEE BHAIRA C	842	000	08	05	103	3	3	10	462	2	1	0	0	0
002	1	BANERJEE GURU DAS	844	918	00	12	103	1	3	10	462	2	0	0	1	0
003	1	BANERJEE KALI CHARN	847	909	05	17	103	6	2	14	462	2	0	1	0	0
004	1	BANERJEE KRISHNA M	813	885	08	17	103	6	7	01	452	2	1	1	1	0
005	1	BANERJEE SURENDRA N	848	925	08	14	103	2	1	12	452	2	1	1	1	1
006	1	BARAL NAVIN C	845	908	08	09	114	1	3	00	460	2	1	1	1	0
007	1	BASAK LAL BIHARI	000	000	08	05	016	1	0	00	036	1	0	0	1	1
008	1	BASAK NEMAI CHARN	000	000	08	02	016	1	5	13	008	1	0	1	0	0
009	1	BOSE ANANDA MOHAN	847	904	21	12	209	5	1	10	459	2	1	1	0	0
010	1	BOSE J B	000	000	00	09	109	2	5	13	008	2	1	1	0	0
011	1	BOSE NANDA LAL	000	000	08	01	109	1	7	01	462	1	1	0	0	0
012	1	BOSE NAVIN CHANDRA	000	000	08	11	109	0	0	00	000	0	0	0	1	0
013	1	BOSE NEMAI CHAND	000	000	08	03	109	0	0	00	460	2	1	1	1	0
014	1	BOSE PRAMATHA N	000	000	08	06	109	0	0	00	460	0	0	1	0	0
015	1	CHANDRA GANESH C	844	914	08	10	114	1	3	10	460	1	0	1	1	1
016	1	CHANDRA SRI NATH	000	000	08	06	114	0	0	00	000	1	1	1	1	1
017	1	DAS DURGA MOHAN	841	897	20	17	218	5	3	10	460	2	1	0	0	0
018	1	DAS KALI MOHAN	000	000	20	12	218	2	3	10	462	2	1	1	0	0
019	1	DAS PRIA NATH	000	000	08	13	007	1	0	00	036	1	1	0	0	0
020	1	DAS RASH BIHARI	000	000	00	10	000	0	0	00	036	0	0	0	0	1
021	1	DAS SITA NATH	000	000	08	13	007	1	0	00	036	1	1	0	1	0
022	1	DAS SRI NATH	000	000	08	10	007	1	0	00	462	2	1	1	0	0
023	1	DAS SURENDRA NATH	000	000	00	09	000	0	0	00	000	0	0	0	1	1
024	*1*	*DATTA B K*	*000*	*000*	*08*	*02*	*114*	*1*	*0*	*00*	*036*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*1*
025	1	DATTA DOYAL CHAND	000	000	08	02	114	1	0	00	000	2	0	0	1	0
026	1	DATTA GIRINDRA K	000	000	08	02	000	1	0	00	397	1	1	0	0	0
027	1	DATTA JOGESH CHAND	847	915	08	11	000	1	6	10	397	1	1	0	1	1
028	1	DATTA MADHU SUDAN	000	000	00	08	114	1	0	00	397	2	1	1	1	0
029	1	DATTA OMESH CHAND	833	000	08	06	109	6	7	01	001	1	1	0	0	0
030	1	DATTA PRAN NATH	840	888	08	07	109	1	7	01	001	1	1	0	1	0
031	1	DATTA PRIA NATH	840	000	08	13	109	1	7	01	036	1	1	0	0	1
032	1	DATTA SRI NATH	000	000	08	08	000	0	7	01	001	2	0	0	0	1
033	1	DEB NIL KRISHNA	000	000	08	01	109	1	4	10	036	1	0	0	0	1
034	1	DEY BIR NURSING	000	000	08	08	114	0	0	00	036	0	0	0	0	1
035	1	DEY K L	831	000	08	06	114	2	5	13	008	2	0	1	1	0
036	1	DHAR ASHUTOSH	000	000	08	07	114	1	7	01	460	1	0	1	0	0
037	1	DHAR GOKUL CHANDRA	000	000	08	14	114	1	3	10	460	1	0	1	0	0
038	1	GHOSE BHAGAVATI C	000	000	00	10	000	0	3	10	462	2	1	0	0	0
039	1	GHOSE CHANDRA M	000	000	00	04	000	2	5	13	008	2	1	0	0	0
040	1	GHOSE GANENDRA C	000	000	08	06	109	0	7	01	036	1	0	0	0	1
041	1	GHOSE JADU NATH	000	880	08	11	109	2	7	03	452	2	1	0	0	0
042	1	GHOSE LAL MOHAN	849	909	20	08	209	5	1	10	459	2	0	0	1	0
043	1	GHOSE N N	854	909	18	09	209	2	1	10	459	2	0	0	1	0
044	1	GHOSE PRAN KISSEN	000	000	00	08	000	0	0	00	001	2	0	1	0	0
045	1	GHOSE SHISHIR K	840	911	11	18	309	2	6	10	188	2	0	1	0	0
046	1	GHOSE SRI NATH	000	000	08	06	109	2	7	03	001	2	0	1	0	0
047	1	KANNAI J N	000	000	00	07	000	0	0	00	397	2	0	0	1	1
048	1	LAHA J G	000	000	08	06	114	1	7	01	397	1	1	1	0	0
049	1	MALLIK CHARU CHARN	000	000	09	06	114	1	7	01	036	1	0	1	1	0
050	1	MALLIK M C	000	000	08	10	021	2	7	01	001	2	0	0	1	0
051	1	MALLIK P C	000	000	08	09	017	2	7	01	036	2	1	1	1	0
052	1	MANDAL B C	000	000	20	16	209	5	4	10	036	2	1	0	0	0
053	1	MITRA AMIRTA NATH	000	000	00	04	109	0	0	00	036	0	0	0	1	1
054	1	MITRA GOPAL LAL	829	000	08	01	109	1	7	01	462	1	1	0	1	0
055	1	MITRA KALI NATH	000	000	00	03	109	0	0	00	460	0	1	1	1	1
056	1	MITRA KOMUD KISSEN	000	000	08	03	109	1	7	01	036	1	0	0	1	1
057	1	MITRA NABA GOPAL	840	894	08	04	109	3	7	01	001	2	0	1	0	0
058	1	MITRA NIL MANI	828	894	07	01	109	0	7	25	010	2	0	0	1	0
059	1	MITRA R	000	000	08	01	109	2	1	00	459	2	0	0	0	1
060	1	MITRA RAJENDRA LAL	822	891	08	04	109	1	7	13	002	2	1	1	0	0
061	1	MITRA RAJENDRA N	000	000	00	04	109	1	7	01	001	2	1	0	0	0
062	1	MITRA RADHA RAMAN	000	000	08	05	109	0	0	00	397	0	1	1	0	0
063	1	MITRA SARAT C	000	000	00	04	109	0	0	00	036	2	0	0	0	1

064	1	MITRA SHAM LAL	[illegible]													
065	1	MITRA SHARODA C	[illegible]													
066	1	MUKHERJEE GOPI N	[illegible]													
067	1	MUKHERJEE LAL M	[illegible]													
068	1	PAL KRISTO DAS	[illegible]													
069	1	PANDIT PRAN NATH	[illegible]													
070	1	ROY JANOKI NATH	[illegible]													
071	1	ROY DINENDRA N	[illegible]													
072	1	SEN HARI P	[illegible]													
073	1	SEN MURALI CHAN	[illegible]													
074	1	SEN NARENDRA NATH	[illegible]													
075	1	SEN RAM KANTA	[illegible]													
076	1	SEN UMA KANTA	[illegible]													
077	1	SHOM KALI CHARN	[illegible]													
078	1	SIRKAR BHUVAN M	[illegible]													
079	1	SIRKAR NARENDRA ;	[illegible]													
080	1	SIRKAR SHAMA C	[illegible]													

APPENDIX O

INTERORGANISATIONAL LEADERSHIP 1857

15.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Individual	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level to which Educated	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Whether Held Leadership Position in Bethune Female School	1	57
Calcutta Normal School	1	59
Hindu Metropolitan College	1	61
Bbidharta Sangraha	1	63
Hindoo Patriot	1	65
Masic Patrika	1	67
Tattvabodhini Patrika	1	69
Agricultural & Horticultural Society	1	71
Asiatic Society	1	73
Bengal Photographic Society	1	75
Bethune Society	1	77
Brahmo Samaj	1	79
Calcutta School Book Society	2	26
District Charitable Society	2	28
Native Hospital (Mayo Hospital)	2	30
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	2	32
Society for the Promotion of Industrial Arts	2	34
Vernacular Literature Committee	2	36
British Indian Association	2	38

15.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	05	Hooghly
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	15	Midnapore
Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876
Caste	000	Do not know
	103	Radhi Brahman
	109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
	118	Radhi Baidya
	309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
	903	Pirali Brahman
Religion	0	Do not know
	1	Orthodox
	2	Unorthodox
	3	Adi Brahmo
	4	Brahmo Samaj of India
	6	Christian
Level of Education	0	Do not know
	6	Tertiary School but no Degree
	7	Secondary
School/College at which Educated	0	Do not know
	1	Hindu College
	2	Private Tutor
	5	Ramjoy Datta's School
	11	Sanskrit College
	22	Union School
Primary Occupation	000	Do not know
	001	Government Servant
	036	Landholder
	397	Merchant or Banian
	452	Teacher or Lecturer
	462	Pleader

APPENDIX P

INTERORGANISATIONAL LEADERSHIP 1885

16.1 Variable List

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Case Identification	1	1-3
Card Number	1	5
Name of Individual	1	7-25
Year of Birth	1	26-28
Year of Death	1	30-32
Place of Birth	1	34-35
Residence in Calcutta	1	37-38
Caste	1	40-42
Religion	1	44
Level to which Educated	1	46
School/College at which Educated	1	48-49
Primary Occupation	1	51-53
Class	1	55
Whether Held Leadership Position in Ahiritala School	1	57
Bengal Academy of Music	1	59
Bengal Music School	1	61
Bethune Female School	1	63
Bow Bazar School	1	65
Calcutta Branch School	1	67
Calcutta Ragged School	1	69
Calcutta School (Albert College)	1	71
City College	1	73
Metropolitan Female School	1	75
Metropolital Institution	1	77
Oriental Seminary	1	79
Ripon College	2	26
Seals Free College	2	28
Shambazar School	2	30
Useful Arts School	2	32
Victoria College	2	34
Bangavasi	2	36
Bengalee	2	38
Dainik O Samacar Chandrika	2	40
Dharma Bandhu	2	42
Indian Christian Herald	2	44
Indian Mirror	2	46

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
New Dispensation	2	48
Ramayana	2	52
Samalochak	2	54
Sangvad Purnachundradai	2	56
Sanjivani	2	58
Tattvabodhini Patrika	2	60
Theistic Quarterly	2	62
Dharma Tattva	2	64
Trade Advertizer	2	66
Adi Brahmo Samaj	2	68
Agricultural and Horticultural Society	2	70
Albert Hall	2	72
Asiatic Society	2	74
Bangavasa O Sahitya Samaj	2	76
Bengal Free Church of Scotland	2	78
Bengal Temperance League	2	80
Bethune Society	3	26
Bengal Medical Association	3	28
Brahmo Samaj of India	3	30
Calcutta Homeopathic Association	3	32
Calcutta Improvement Association	3	34
Calcutta Public Library	3	36
Calcutta Society Prevention of Cruelty to Animals	3	38
Calcutta Schoolbook Society	3	40
Calcutta Christian Tract Society	3	42
Dalhousie Institute	3	46
District Charitable Society	3	48
Economic Museum	3	50
Family Literary Society	3	52
Hare Association	3	54
Hindu Literary Society	3	56
Indian Antiquarian Association	3	58
Indian Society for the Cultivation of Science	3	60
Indian Club	3	62
Indian Museum	3	64
Indian Reform Association	3	66
Kalikata Harvariti	3	68
Pradayini Sabha		
Native Hospital	3	70
National Indian Association	3	72
Public Health Society	3	74
Sadharan Brahmo Samaj	3	

Name of Variable	Card Number	Column Numbers
Sadharani Sabha	3	78
Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge	3	80
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	4	26
Vakils Association	4	28
Zoological Gardens	4	30
British Indian Association	4	32
Indian Association	4	34
Calcutta Corporation	4	36
Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal	4	38
Council of the Governor-General of India	4	40

16.2 Code

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Place of Birth	00	Do not know
	01	Burdwan
	05	Hooghly
	06	Howrah
	07	Twenty-Four Parganas
	08	Calcutta
	11	Jessore
	15	Midnapore
	16	Darbhanga
	18	Bogra
	20	Dacca
	21	Mymensingh
Residence in Calcutta	1-18	Corresponds with Wards 1-18 into which Calcutta was divided in 1876
Caste	000	Do not know
	007	Kaibarta
	012	Sadgopa
	017	Tili
	018	Khettri
	108	Radhi Brahman
	109	Daksina Radhi Kayastha
	114	Saptagram Suvarnavanik
	118	Radhi Baidya

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Caste	209	Bangaja Kayastha
	218	Bangaja Baidya
	303	Daksina Vaidika Brahman
	309	Uttara Radhi Kayastha
	503	Maithili Brahman
	803	Kashmiri Brahman
	903	Pirali Brahman
Religion	0	Do not know
	1	Orthodox
	2	Unorthodox
	3	Adi Brahmo
	4	Brahmo Samaj of India
	5	Sadharan Brahmo
	6	Christian
Level of Education	0	Do not know
	1	Studied Overseas
	2	M.A.
	3	B.L.
	4	B.A.
	5	Other Degrees
	6	Tertiary Level But No Degree
	7	Secondary
School/College at which Educated	00	Do not know
	01	Hindu College
	02	Private Tutor
	03	Oriental Seminary
	10	Presidency College
	11	Sanskrit College
	12	Doveton College
	13	Medical College
	14	General Assembly Institution
	15	Hooghly College
	16	Free Church Institution
Primary Occupation	000	Do not know
	001	Government Servant
	008	Medical Doctor
	036	Landholder
	188	Newspaper Editor
	397	Merchant or Banian

Variable	Number	Name of Value
Primary Occupation	452	Teacher or Lecturer
	459	Barrister
	460	Attorney
	462	Pleader
Class	0	Do not know
	1	Rentier Aristocrat
	2	Middle-class
All Variables Relating to Positions within Organisations	0	No
	1	Yes

Note: As complete lists of committee members for the Indian Association was not available, the 1881 list was used.

16.3 DATA SET

```
001 1 ADHYA GOVIND C      000 000 08 00 114 1 7 03 188 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
001 2 ADHYA GOVIND C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
001 3 ADHYA GOVIND C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
001 4 ADHYA GOVIND C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
002 1 BANERJEE BHAIRAV C  842 000 08 05 103 3 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
002 2 BANERJEE BHAIRAV C  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0
002 3 BANERJEE BHAIRAV C  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
002 4 BANERJEE BHAIRAV C  0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0
003 1 BANERJEE GURU DAS   848 918 07 12 103 1 2 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
003 2 BANERJEE GURU DAS   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
003 3 BANERJEE GURU DAS   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
003 4 BANERJEE GURU DAS   0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0
004 1 BANERJEE KALI CHARN847 909 05 17 103 6 3 14 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
004 2 BANERJEE KALI CHARNO 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
004 3 BANERJEE KALI CHARNI 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0
004 4 BANERJEE KALI CHARNO 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
005 1 BANERJEE KEDAR N    000 000 00 06 103 0 3 00 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
005 2 BANERJEE KEDAR N    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
005 3 BANERJEE KEDAR N    0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
005 4 BANERJEE KEDAR N    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
006 1 BANERJEE KRISHNA M  813 885 08 17 103 6 7 01 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
006 2 BANERJEE KRISHNA M  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
006 3 BANERJEE KRISHNA M  1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
006 4 BANERJEE KRISHNA M  1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
007 1 BANERJEE KUNJO LAL  000 000 00 00 103 0 7 00 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
007 2 BANERJEE KUNJO LAL  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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007 4 BANERJEE KUNJO LAL  0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
008 1 BANERJEE SURENDRA   848 925 08 14 103 2 1 12 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
008 2 BANERJEE SURENDRA   1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
008 3 BANERJEE SURENDRA   1 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0
008 4 BANERJEE SURENDRA   0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
009 1 BARDWAN MAHARAJA 2  000 000 01 00 018 1 0 02 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
009 2 BARDWAN MAHARAJA 2  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
009 3 BARDWAN MAHARAJA 2  0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
009 4 BARDWAN MAHARAJA 2  0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
010 1 BISWAS ASHUTOSH     000 000 00 00 007 2 2 00 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
010 2 BISWAS ASHUTOSH     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
010 3 BISWAS ASHUTOSH     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
010 4 BISWAS ASHUTOSH     0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
011 1 BOSE ANANDA MOHAN   847 904 21 12 209 5 1 10 459 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
011 2 BOSE ANANDA MOHAN   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
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011 4 BOSE ANANDA MOHAN   0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
012 1 BOSE BAIKANTU N     000 000 00 00 109 0 0 00 036 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
012 2 BOSE BAIKANTU N     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
012 3 BOSE BAIKANTU N     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
012 4 BOSE BAIKANTU N     0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
013 1 BOSE JAGENDRA C     854 905 01 00 109 1 6 15 452 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
013 2 BOSE JAGENDRA C     0 0 0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
013 3 BOSE JAGENDRA C     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
013 4 BOSE JAGENDRA C     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
014 1 BOSE MOHINI M       000 000 21 15 209 5 1 13 008 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
014 2 BOSE MOHINI M       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
014 3 BOSE MOHINI M       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
014 4 BOSE MOHINI M       0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
015 1 CHANDRA SRI N       000 000 08 07 114 1 0 00 462 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
015 2 CHANDRA SRI N       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
015 3 CHANDRA SRI N       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
015 4 CHANDRA SRI N       0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0
016 1 CHATTERTEE BACHA    000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
016 2 CHATTERTEE BACHA    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
016 3 CHATTERTEE BACHA    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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016 4 CHATTERTEE BACHA    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
017 1 CHATTERJEE NIL M    000 000 00 00 103 3 0 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
017 2 CHATTERJEE NIL M    0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
017 3 CHATTERJEE NIL M    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
017 4 CHATTERJEE NIL M    0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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019 1 DAS DURGA MOHAN     841 897 20 17 218 5 3 10 462 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
019 2 DAS DURGA MOHAN     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
019 3 DAS DURGA MOHAN     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
019 4 DAS DURGA MOHAN     0 0 0 0 1 1 0 0
020 1 DARBHANGA MAHARAJA  000 898 16 00 703 1 7 02 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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020 4 DARBHANGA MAHARAJA  0 0 0 1 0 0 0 1
021 1 DAS SRI NATH        000 000 08 10 007 1 0 00 462 2 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
021 2 DAS SRI NATH        0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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022 1 DATTA JOGESH C      847 915 08 11 000 1 6 10 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
022 2 DATTA JOGESH C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
022 3 DATTA JOGESH C      0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
022 4 DATTA JOGESH C      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
023 1 DATTA OMESH C       840 907 07 00 109 5 4 00 452 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 010 0 0 0
023 2 DATTA OMESH C       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
023 3 DATTA OMESH C       0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0
023 4 DATTA OMESH C       0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
024 1 DATTA RAJENDRA      S15 S19 05 11 000 1 7 01 397 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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025 1 DEB NARENDRA K      831 000 05 01 109 1 7 01 001 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
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025 4 DEB NARENDRA K      0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
026 1 DEB KAMAL KRISHNA   820 885 05 01 109 1 7 01 036 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1
026 2 DEB KAMAL KRISHNA   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
026 3 DEB KAMAL KRISHNA   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
026 4 DEB KAMAL KRISHNA   0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
027 1 DEB NARENDRA K      822 903 05 01 109 1 7 01 001 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
027 2 DEB NARENDRA K      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0
027 3 DEB NARENDRA K      0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0
027 4 DEB NARENDRA K      0 0 0 1 0 1 0 0
028 1 DEB SIV CHANDRA     811 890 05 00 109 5 7 01 001 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
028 2 DEB SIV CHANDRA     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
028 3 DEB SIV CHANDRA     0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 0 0
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