THE ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT
(1905—1910)

BY
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To
The Memory
of
Lala Lajpat Rai,
Bal Gangadhar Tilak
and
Bipin Chandra Pal,
The three valiant fighters in India’s Freedom Movement, who sacrificed their all for the country’s cause and who inspired countless Indians with the ‘mantram’ of patriotism,
This book is dedicated
By their admirers—the humble Authors.
FOREWORD

OF

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI,
Padma-bhushana, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., M.P.

As one interested in its theme, I value the privilege given to me by my young friends, Prof. Haridas Mukherjee and his accomplished wife, Prof. Uma Mukherjee, to write the Foreword to their work on the Dawn and Dawn Society and their place in the national movement which so deeply stirred India in the year 1905. The importance of the work lies in its bringing to light some forgotten facts of India’s Freedom Movement which, through nearly half a century of a people’s struggle, suffering and sacrifice, attained its fruition in the birth of Free India in 1947. It is not generally known that this freedom movement, like all things great, had small beginnings. Its beginnings were laid in a very humble manner in Bengal in the minds of some of its great thinkers who first dreamt of it and tried to translate their dream into reality by founding special institutions where the youth of the country would be trained as devoted workers for achieving that end. One of the most important of such institutions was what was aptly named the Dawn Society to indicate its objective of ushering in the dawn of India’s Freedom. It was founded by Satis Chandra Mukherjee of revered memory as far back as the year 1902.

While a mere boy I first saw Satis Chandra Mukherjee at Berhampore where he was very intimate with my father, Srii Gopal Chandra Mookerji, a leading lawyer of that place. Perhaps that was in 1887 or 1888. Next, in 1891, while Atul Chandra Chatterjee (who afterwards became an I.C.S. and a G.(C.I.E.) was studying in the Fourth year class of the Presidency College, Satis Chandra came with him to my ancestral home at the village of Amadpur about three miles from E. R. Staation, Memari, to witness the Durga Puja festival celebrated
there. Atul Chandra, his disciple, struck me as a model student. He came early under the spell of Satis Babu's personality. Next, in 1897, I came to Calcutta after passing the Entrance Examination, and found in Satis Babu a much-needed guide and guardian in strange surroundings where I felt lost. I joined the F.A. class of the Presidency College where I studied as a resident student of the Eden Hindu Hostel. From that time onwards I found Satis Babu preoccupied with schemes for the training of youth in nationalism and social service, till they materialised in the institution, which he named as the Dawn Society. It was located in a room at the Vidyasagar College, then called the Metropolitan Institution. The Dawn Society (1902) was conceived by him as an instrument of a moral and intellectual revolution among the youths of Bengal so as to prepare them ultimately for political revolution to achieve the freedom of the country. The youngmen that were trained in this institution were the pioneers of the National Education Movement which was organised by the foundation of the National Council of Education, and of Bengal National College as its central institution, with Sri Aurobindo as its first Principal and Satis Chandra Mukherjee as its first Executive Head or Superintendent. It was like the Encyclopaedists paving the way of the French Revolution.

The most prominent of the youths moulded by Satis Chandra in the Dawn Society were Haran Chandra Chakladar, Rabimdra Narayan Ghose and Benoy Kumar Sarkar as well as Rajendra Prasad who was then our junior contemporary and studying in the Presidency College as a resident of the Eden Hindu Hostel (1902-07). My own connection with the Dawn Society began with its inception. My intellectual life was bound up with its growth.

The programme of training of the Dawn Society comprised regulated reading of select literature in its library and weekly lectures generally delivered by Satischandra together with Discussion Classes held under his direction. But he did not confine himself only to work within the institution. He cultivated personal contacts with some of the promising resident students
off the Eden Hindu Hostel where he daily spent hours with them. It was this personal touch which really helped to build up their character and personality.

A test of these youngmen's patriotism presented itself in 1905 during the stirring times of Lord Curzon's. Partition of Bengal and the national movement which was generated as a reaction against the tyranny of British imperialism. The mere utterance off the mantra of 'Bande Mataram' by students of Government Schools was visited by the extreme punishment of their expulsion under a Circular issued by the East Bengal Government of Sir Bampfylde Fuller. His methods and inequities brought him into conflict with the Liberal Secretary of State, Lord Morley, who promptly accepted the resignation he offered as a protest against the treatment meted out to him. The national opposition provoked by the measures of the East Bengal Government soon assumed formidable dimensions. It was India's first Battle for Freedom. It first took the shape of a Triple Boycott,—boycott of British goods, Schools and Courts of Justice,—by way of Non-Co-operation with a foreign Government. The educational boycott was organised in Calcutta by its student leaders like Rabindra Narayan Ghose and Nripendra Chandra Banerjee who started by declaring a boycott of the impending M.A. Examination at which they were to appear in November, 1905. Bienoy Kumar Sarkar and my humble self also played an important role in the organisation of the educational boycott of which the driving force was Satis Chandra Mukherjee, the founder-organiser of the Dawn Society. The leadership of this revolt was soon assumed by Rabindra Nath Tagore who fostered it and kept up its fire by his great literary creation of national songs, a unique poetry of patriotism. These patriotic poems he composed and came to set to music with Ajit Chakravarty every evening in the hall of the Metropolitan Institution where the Dawn Society was located. His close associate in this work was Hirendra Nath Datta, and behind them was Sister Nivedita, than whom a more passionate patriot the country has rarely seen. There was another leader who supported this independence movement, the Editor of the powerful evening
daily, known as *Sandhya*. He was Brahmbandhav Upadhyaya who was the Steward of the mess at the Field and Academy where Benoy Sarkar and myself came to live in those fateful days.

Myriads of patriotic youths began to court expulsion from Government Schools and created a complex and difficult situation in the country, claiming the immediate attention of its leaders. The situation was considered at a historic meeting at the Bengal Landholders' Association in November, 1905. It was convened by two renowned Barristers of the Calcutta High Court, Ashutosh Chaudhury and Byomkesh Chakravarty, and was presided over by that distinguished leader and jurist, Dr. Rashbehari Ghose. It was a representative Conference of national leaders, of all men of light and leading in the country, including Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Tarak Nath Palit, Saradâ Charan Mitra, Satyendrâ Prasanna Sinha (later Lord Sinhaa), Hirendra Nath Datta, Bepin Chandra Pal and Satis Chandira Mukherjee. The meeting was marked by animated and protracted discussion for hours. It continued up to midnight and came to the conclusion that to avoid an open conflict with the authorities, the boycott of the Calcutta University Examinations be called off by the students concerned. It was also resolved that for the education of the expelled students, a National Council of Education be founded with Dr. Rashbehari Ghose as its President. The National Education Movement received a very good start by the donations announced on the spot by Brajendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury (Zemindar of Gouripur) and Surya Kanta Acharya Chowdhury (Maharaja of Mymensingh). The former promised a donation of Rupees five lakhs and the latter three lakhs, while Subodh Chandra Mallilk, another pioneer, had already promised a donation of Rupees one lakh. But besides these financial aids, a great impetus was imparted to the movement by human and spiritual factors, the inestimable services rendered to it by Satis Chandra Mukherjee, by Aurobindo Ghose and several other patriotic youths. Satis Chandra saw in the Bengal National College the fruition and fulfilment of the work he had started at the Dawn Society and
was appropriately appointed the Superintendent of the College. Sri Aurobindo lent the weight of his name and personality to that institution as its Principal and Professor of History and Politics. Its administration was left to the Superintendent, with all its practical problems and responsibilities.

It is fortunate that the special contribution made by an almost forgotten Society towards national awakening has received recognition in this publication. Its two gifted authors have carried on much painstaking research into the general Swadeshi Movement which was pregnant with such possibilities as precursor of India’s Freedom Movement as a whole. They have traced and utilised all its primary and original sources and documents and have constructed by their laborious research and in a patriotic spirit an authentic account of this early and forgotten phase of India’s national movement. It is especially gratifying that this cultured couple has rescued from oblivion the eventful but comparatively unknown life of a promoter of Indian Nationalism like Satis Chandra Mukherjee.

The addition of a biographical sketch of such a great patriot and thinker has been very apt and appropriate. The authors have also substantially added to the value of this volume by classifying with commendable zeal the numerous articles that appeared in the Dawn during a period of sixteen years (1897—1913) on the basis of the principal themes on which they were written. Such a classification will make the volume an important book of reference for a historical study of the first Freedom Movement of the country, of which this magazine had been a very faithful record.

I whole-heartedly commend to all students of public affairs this excellent work which throws light upon some unknown and forgotten phases of the national struggle for freedom and, in a sense, its largely obscure origins in Bengal.

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26-1-57

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI,
Member of Parliament
The present work, dealing as it does with the National Education movement of the Swadeshi days (1905-11), is the first authentic and elaborate study of an important phase of India's struggle for independence. The Swadeshi Movement of 1905 was a turning point in our national history and was for all practical purposes the first stage in India's Freedom Movement, at which we have been working for a number of years on the basis of primary and original sources. The present work on National Education constitutes Volume I of our researches into the Swadeshi Movement. Our study is to be complete in four volumes,—Vol. II (Political), Vol. III (Economic) and Vol. IV (Cultural). Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal, Srijut Haran Chandra Chakladar, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Dr. Surendra Nath Sen and Dr. Narendra Krishna Sinha as well as Srijut Hemendra Prasad Ghose, Acharya Jadu Nath Sarkar, Srijut Manindra Narayan Roy and Srijut Kalidas Mukherjee have been a source of constant inspiration to us in all this literary venture.

The present volume on National Education has grown out of our several contributions on the subject originally published in the Ananda Bazar Patrika (April 25, 1948 and April 19, 1953), the Hindusthan Standard (May 9, 1948 and October 11, 1953), the Vartaman (June, 1948), the Viswa-Vani (January, 1953), the Central Calcutta College Magazine (April, 1953), the Presidency College Magazine (April, 1953), the Amrita Bazar Patrika (April 20, 1953 and October 11, 1953), the Itihas (May, 1953), the Modern Review (May, 1953), and the Jayasri (October, 1956). And the origin of most of these writings was directly inspired by the late revered Benoy Kumar Sarkar, that patriot, thinker and scholar whose energy in action and boldness in thought were the two most fascinating features of his character and personality. Our indebtedness to him is immense.
The book is divided into two parts—Part One and Part Two. The first Part deals with the genesis and development of the National Education movement receiving its concrete shape in the National Council of Education. The second Part makes a special study of the creative and valuable role played in the movement by the *Dawn* and the Dawn Society, both of which were founded by Satis Chandra Mukherjee as the silent inspirer of Young Bengal during the Swadeshi days.

The sources of information utilised in the present work are in the main original and primary sources, both published and unpublished. The most important of these primary sources is the *Dawn*. The issues of the *Dawn* in its old and new series (March, 1897-November, 1913) are listed below:

**Old Series:**

- Vol. I. (March, 1897-February, 1898)
- Vol. II. (March, 1898-Dec., 1898 and June-July, 1899—No publications for five months, January-May, 1899)
- Vol. III. (August, 1899-July, 1900)
- Vol. IV. (August, 1900-July, 1901)
- Vol. V. (August, 1901-July, 1902)
- Vol. VI. (August, 1902-July, 1903)
- Vol. VII. (August, 1903-July, 1904)

**New Series:**

- Vol. I. (September, 1904-July, 1905)
- Vol. II. (September, 1905-July, 1906)
- Vol. III. (September, 1906-August, 1907)
- Vol. IV. (September, 1907-October, 1908—No publications during November-December, 1907 and November-December, 1908)
- Vol. V. (January-December, 1909)
- Vol. VI. (January-December, 1910)
- Vol. VII. (January-December, 1911)
- Vol. VIII. (January-December, 1912)
- Vol. IX. (January-November, 1913)

The old copies of the *Dawn*, one of the mighty organs of Indian Nationalism in those days, are at present not easily
available and they are hardly to be found in the public libraries or research-institutes of Calcutta. It is only through a regular and systematic search that we were able to discover a complete set of the *Dawn* in the private library of the late Hemendra Nath Mitra, carefully preserved by his sons, Mahendra Nath Mitra and Hirendra Nath Mitra. Hemendra Nath Mitra was a class-mate and life-long friend of Satis Chandra Mukherjee. To his sons we owe a debt of gratitude which we shall never be able to repay. Later on, however, we secured from different sources another almost complete set of the *Dawn* for the sixteen years (1897-1913) through the kindly gifts of Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Prof. Sourindira Narayan Ghose (younger brother of the late Rabindra Narayan Ghose) and Sj. Phanindra Narayan Datta of Jaynagar-Majilpur. The information derived from the *Dawn* has been copious.

Secondly, we should like to mention that other literary records of that period such as the *Bengalee*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Statesman*, the *Sanjivani*, the *Bangadarshani*, the *Bihandar*, the *Prabasi*, the *Modern Review*, the *Jugantar*, the *Biande Mataram*, the *Sandhya* etc. have also been very helpful to us in certain particulars. The Government Records as preserved in the Writers' Buildings have not been of much help for our purpose in the present work, excepting in the matter of verification of certain dates and details already known to us.

Thirdly, the unpublished letters of Satis Chandra Mukherjee written over a considerable period (1912-1948) to different persons (lying at present scattered mostly in Calcutta, Jaynagar-Majilpur, 24 Parganas, Bengal, Benares and Nasik, Bombay) have also been utilised. These letters not only throw significant light on the religious and philosophical outlook of Satischandra, but also occasionally give an idea of his work in particular phases of his life and sometimes supply us with definite dates.

Fourthly, a lot of information about the Dawn Society and the National Education movement has been gleaned by us
through long discourses with some of those who had been in very close touch with Satis Chandra Mukherjee at one time or another. Among them the names of Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Satis Chandra Guha (Editor of the *Indiana*, Benares) and Mr. Krishnadas Sinha Roy (a devoted follower of Satishchandra since 1907 and an ex-Private Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi) deserve special mention. Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal (the Historian), Kaviraj Kishori Mohan Gupta and the late Dr. Mahendra Nath Sircar have also furnished us with valuable information about Satishchandra’s role in the national movement. On many obscure points of the *Dawn* and the Dawn Society they have thrown light from their personal experiences. Again, special mention must be made of the name of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar whose dialogues in the book entitled *Benoy Sarkarer Baithake* (1942) have been a mine of first-hand materials for our study and reflection.

Fifthly, the unpublished *Smriti-Katha* or Memoirs written by Rai Bahadur Matilal Ganguli, the nephew of Satis Chandra Mukherjee, has also been utilised in this work. This compilation, fragmentary as it is, contains the only authentic record of certain events of Satishchandra’s early life.

Notwithstanding these sources, authentic materials for constructing the life-story of Satis Chandra Mukherjee, particularly for the early period, remain extremely meagre. The issues of the *Dawn* (1897-1913) are practically of no avail excepting for the period covered by them. The difficulty for a historian is immensely increased in this case because of Satishchandra’s scrupulous attempt to avoid the lime light of publicity and remain in the background. It is for this reason that authentic materials about his life are so very scanty. The articles bearing on his life as published in the monthly *Mandir* (February-March, 1942) have not been written with a due sense of historical perspective and have at times given conflicting reports about him. The chief events and landmarks of Satishchandra’s life have been, therefore, recorded in the second Part of this book only in bare outline, with as much accuracy, however,
as possible under the circumstances. As for the other chapters of the book sources utilised have relatively been fuller and more exact. Secondary sources have, as a rule, been avoided, and sometimes quoted for purposes of criticism. Not only new facts hitherto unknown have been indicated in this study, but also new viewpoints advocated at the appropriate points.

In the Appendices are presented, among other things, the Foreword written by Srijut Hemendra Prasad Ghose to our previous work on National Education (published in 1953) along with the personal reminiscences of Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal, Dr. Sushil Kumar Dutt, Srijut Krishnadas Sinha Roy and Dr. Jadu Nath Sarkar on the late Satis Chandra Mukherjee.

We must take here the opportunity of expressing our heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Triguna Nath Sen, the Rector of the Jadavpur University, who has taken keen interest in our researches throughout this period (1953-57) and who has been chiefly instrumental in this publication. Our special debt of gratitude is also due to Srijuts Pravir Chandra Vasu Mallick and Sassanka Sekhar Bagchi who are respectively the Registrar and the Treasurer of the Jadavpur University. They have helped us in innumerable ways for the early publication of this book. We should also express our obligations to Dr. B. C. Roy, the President of the National Council, for his kindly interest in the publication of this work. Nor should we fail to mention in this connection the name of our revered teacher, Prof. Sushobhan Chandra Sarkar, now the Head of the Department of History of the Jadavpur University, who has kindly read the type-script and offered us certain valuable suggestions. The index has been prepared by Srimati Anuradha Ganguli to whom our sincere thanks are due.

Finally, we shall be failing in our duty if we do not acknowledge the ungrudging help and co-operation we received from Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd., particularly from its indefatigable manager, Sj. Mahendra Nath Datta, as well as from Sjtss. Makhan Lal Sarkar, Purna Chandra Bardalai and Mani
Mohan Datta, all of whom are connected with that Press in valuable and responsible capacities.

104, Ballygunge Gardens, Calcutta-19
4.12.1957

Haridas Mukherjee
and
Uma Mukherjee
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By Aurobindo Ghose, Subodh Chandra Mallick and Rabindra Nath Tagore
A teacher who has allowed his mind to rust—who looks on the store of accumulated knowledge with a sense of complaisance, whose brain does not teem with new ideas or novel combinations but only with thoughts (however excellent) of others—such a man I should like to relegate to a subordinate position in a revised scheme of University or collegiate education in India. It follows, therefore, that the teacher proper must be an original worker himself; one who is not resting on his oars, but pushing away as best as he might into the wide sea of knowledge in a direction of his own choice; so that he might know how to whet the intellectual appetite of his pupils and direct them along lines of original thought and research. A teacher who is also a worker is alone fitted to raise himself and others from the slough of routine or dogmatic teaching and routine examinations.

Satis Chandra Mukherjee
(1902)
PART ONE

THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION
Chapter I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE MOVEMENT.

GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN BENGAL

"The ideas of 1905" are more creative and epoch-making than what is generally conceded by casual scholars. It has become almost a fashion with historians to label the revolutionary upsurge of 1905 as the Swadeshi Movement confined to the economic sphere, at most to the politico-economic sphere. This is an inadequate characterisation of a movement which was complex and many-sided, including in its ample sweep almost all national activities. Ideas of Boycott of foreign goods or the use of Swadeshi goods "even at a sacrifice" or political Swaraj or all of them combined together did not make up the whole ideology of the movement. Ideas of National Education under national control were strikingly in evidence even in the initial stages of the Swadeshi Movement which was in fact "the first historic announcement of India's will to independence and freedom". It marked the beginning of open and organised revolt of a self-conscious subject nation against an alien ruling power.

The movement for National Education as manifest in 1905 was essentially an expression of Bengal's militant nationalism which had been slowly but surely growing in our land since the middle of the nineteenth century1. The memories of the Sepoy War (1857), the Indigo Agitation (1860), the activities of the Hindu Mela (1867-1880), the Indian League (1875) and the Indian Association (1876), the Ilbert Bill Agitation (1883),

1. The term "National Education" as used in this work is a technical expression, embodying "the special ideas, ideals and experiments associated with the activities of the National Council of Education, Bengal, which was established by the Bengali people in 1906 as a result of the political and industrial movements of 1905". It meant, among other things, a three-dimensional system of education—that is, literary education in combination with scientific and technical—on national lines and exclusively under national control for the realization of the national destiny.
the activities of the Indian National Conference (December, 1883) followed by the Indian National Congress (1885);—the literary creations of Rangalal, Madhusudan, Dinabandhu, Bankim, Hemchandra, Nabinchandra and Rabindranath (1858-1900);—the national plays of Jyotirindranath (Tagore), Upendranath (Das) and Girishchandra as well as the national songs of Satyendranath (Tagore), Dwijendranath (Tagore), Manmohan (Basu), Govindachandra (Roy) and Dwijendralal (1868-1900);—the journalistic propaganda of the Hindu Patriot (since 1853) and the Amrita Bazar Patrika (since 1868) as well as the Bengalee under Surendranath (since 1879);—the moral and spiritual forces generated by Keshabchandra, Ramkrishna, and Bejoykrishna (1860-1899), Vivekananda’s Chicago success (1893) and the cult of Sakti-Yoga;—all these factors shook Bengal and together awakened the self-consciousness of the Bengalis and promoted the spirit of militant nationalism in our country. Patriotic pride in our past heritage and the mood of veneration for ancient Indian culture were uppermost in the minds of our countrymen. The reaction against the flippancy of Derozio’s “Young Bengal” was complete and with a vengeance². The search for the Hindu Classics and popularisation of the ancient Scriptures became persistent and systematic. Prof. Max Muller’s publication of the famous Sacred Books of the East since 1875 rendered the ancient Classics accessible to the general reader and stimulated the patriotic self-consciousness of the Indians. In this connection, the historical studies of Rajendra Lal Mitra and Romesh Chandra Dutt should be noted with care. Dinesh Chandra Sen’s monumental publication, Bangabhasha O Sahitya (Bengali Language and Literature), first published in 1896, went a long way in stimulating the historic race-consciousness of the Bengalis.

² The earliest notable reaction of the English-trained Bengalis against the flippancy of “Young Bengal” was in evidence as early as the ’fifties of the last century. One of the typical products of “Young Bengal”, Madhusudan also embodied a powerful reaction against it. His social farce, Ekei Ki Bale Sabhyata (1859) was a direct attack on the frivolities of the early Derozians. In Dinabandhu Mitra’s Sadhabar Ekadasht (1866) this reaction was carried to further lengths (Vide Hemendra Nath Dasgupta’s Bangla Nataker Itivritta, 1947, pp. 50 and 80).
DEMAND FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION

As early as the closing decade of the nineteenth century the English system of education as prevalent in our country since the time of Lord William Bentinck (1835) came up for sharp criticism at the hands of the national leaders. Already in 1889 under the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne a resolution was drafted and issued by the Secretary Sir Anthony MacDonnell, “drawing attention to some of the most glaring defects of our educational system from the point of view of intellectual training and of discipline, and containing valuable recommendations for remedying them”, but it produced little practical effect (Vide Valentine Chirof’s Indian Unrest, London, 1910, p. 229).

Gooroo Dass Banerjee, the first Indian Vice-Chancellor, was one of the first among us who sought to draw public and governmental attention to the numerous deficiencies of the existing system of University education in course of his Convocation Addresses (1890-1892) and suggested, among others, the urgency of the introduction of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction, University Fellowships for the promotion of original researches and adequate arrangements for technical education. And in all these he foreshadowed in broad outlines “the entire pedagogic pattern of the National Council of Education” (Vide Benoy Kumar Sarkar’s paper on Gooroo Dass Banerjee as incorporated in Sir Gooroodass Centenary Commemoration Volume, Calcutta University, 1948, pp. 162-165). About the same time Rabindra Nath Tagore in his paper on Shikshar Her-Fer, published as early as Paush, 1299 B.S. or Dec. 1892-Jan. 1893 in Sadhana3, pointed out in a clear manner the inadequacy of the prevailing system of education under British rule and pleaded for the acceptance of Bengali as the medium of instruction. The same idea was advocated by Lokenkdra Nath Pallit in his paper on Shiksha-Pronali or Methods of Teaching published in Sadhana for Magh, 1299 B.S. or January-February,

3. Rabindranath’s ideas on education as set forth in his Shikshar Her-Fer at once drew the admiring support from three leading educationists, viz., Bamkimchandra Chatterjee, Gooroodass Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose: Vide Sadhana for Chaitra, 1299 B.S. or March-April, 1893 (pp. 440-443).
1893. A few years later Satis Chandra Mukherjee as the Editor of the *Dawn* (1897-1913) observed in 1898 how the prevalent system of University education had failed to satisfy every one of the parties concerned. "From the point of view of savants," observed he, "it is regarded as a failure, since as an examining and not a teaching University, the Indian University has hardly succeeded in drawing to itself a body of learned men who devoted their time and energies wholly to the cause of original research in every department of learning or knowledge. Nor, from the political or the Government point of view, is the University the success which its founder expected it should be." He observed further: "From the commercial point of view, it is looked upon with disfavour by the large majority of graduates and undergraduates who with a smattering of literary or semi-scientific instruction find it hard even to earn a bare pittance to keep body and soul together." The bread-problem became more and more acute every year and even higher University education proved no guarantee against economic disruption. Speaking of the economic conditions of India at the beginning of the twentieth century, Valentine Chirol, the correspondent of the London *Times* in India, observed: "The rapid rise in the cost of living has affected no class more injuriously than the old clerkly castes from which the teaching staff and the scholars of our schools and colleges are mainly recruited. Their material position now often compares unfavourably with that of the skilled workman and even of the daily labourer, whose higher wages have generally kept pace with the appreciation of the necessaries of life. Whilst the skilled artisan, and even the unskilled labourer, can often command from 12 annas to 1 rupee (1s. to 1s. 4d.) a day, the youth who has sweated himself and his family through the whole course of higher education frequently looks in vain for employment at Rs. 30 (£2) or even at Rs. 20 a month" (Vide *Indian Unrest*, London, 1910, pp. 224-225). A worse indictment on the English system of education in India could hardly be
The vast majority of the thinking Indian community consequently began to look upon the Indian University education as "an unmitigated nuisance", calculated to breed discontent among the students and scholars.

The next charge that was levelled against the prevalent system of English education was that the Indian University was a foreign product, not rooted in the native soil. As Valentine Chirol observed: "The fundamental weakness of our Indian educational system is that the average Indian student cannot bring his education into any direct relation with the world in which, outside the class or lecture room, he continues to live. For that world is still the old Indian world of his forefathers, and it is as far removed as the poles asunder from the Western world which claims his education" (Indian Unrest, London, 1910, p. 216). It had failed to be the organ of national aspirations and thinking. "Foreign education", complained Satishchandra in 1898, "has failed to produce original men amongst us. Foreign education has not enabled us to be self-reliant, self-dependent, self-sacrificing, patriotic. The present system of mere examinations has failed to bring to the front the stamp of men who can hold their own in the great industrial struggle which is the marked feature of the great civilisations amidst which we live. Must we still stand by with folded hands until the doom of extinction overtakes us? Seriously speaking, these are momentous questions and cannot indefinitely wait for an answer."

Another glaring limitation of the system of University education which prevailed at that time was its "over-literary, all-too academic, unscientific and unindustrial" character. It had failed to equip the students with industrial and technical training which was urgently needed for India's economic development.

Thus on different grounds many of our national leaders became highly critical of the existing system of English education in our country in the 'nineties of the last century. Nor was

this awareness confined to our nationals alone. Sympathetic Western scholars like Sir George Birdwood, Mrs. Annie Besant and Sister Nivedita were equally aware of the failure or inadequacy of the Government's educational policy in India and they all advocated national control over education as the sovereign remedy to the manifold ills of the nation. While discussing the question of "The Education of Hindu Youth," Mrs. Besant observed in 1897: "Boys of the upper classes must, under the circumstances of the day, receive an English education. Without this, they cannot gain a livelihood, and it is idle to kick against facts we cannot change. We can take the English education, then, for granted. But a reform in the books they study is necessary, and efforts should be made to substitute a detailed knowledge of Indian history and geography for the excessive amount of foreign history and geography now learned. A sound and broad knowledge of universal history widens the mind and is necessary for culture, but every man should know in fuller detail the history of his own nation, as such knowledge not only conduces to patriotism but also enables a sound judgment to be formed as to the suitability of proposed changes to the national genius."

The abnormality of Indian University Examinations drew the notice of the British philosopher Herbert Spencer also. Referring to a passage in a London newspaper showing up the strange faults and shortcomings of Indian University Examinations, Spencer remarked that what struck him most in this connection "is the amazing folly of an Examiner who proposes to test the fitness of youths for commencing their higher education, by seeing how much they know of the technical terms, cant phrases, slang, and even extinct slang, talked by the people of another nation. Instead of the unfitness of the boys, which is pointed out to us, we may see rather the unfitness of those concerned in educating them" (The Dawn, June, 1899, p. 350).

As early as September, 1898 Sir George Birdwood, in a letter written from the India Office, Whitehall S. W., dated 9th Sept.,

6. Ibid, June, 1897, p. 121.
to the Editor of the *Dawn*, expounded within a very short compass the whole case for education on national lines and under national control. He observed: "The first thing to do is to take the whole of your higher education more into your own hands. In our English system of education far too much of time and energy is spent on English Literature and far too little on Hindu, i.e., Sanskrit and the literature of the literary Prakrits, such as Mahratti and Tamil.

"Science is almost the exclusive creation of modern Europe . . . It is to modern Europe therefore that you must directly look for your scientific culture . . . But for your literary and artistic and your philosophical and religious—in a word, your spiritual culture, you already possess your own—the indigenous growth of 4,000 years of Aryan supremacy in India; and you must never surrender it, but to the utmost of your ability and power strengthen it and extend its influence.

"Of course, you cannot help its being modified by the literary, artistic and religious culture of the West,—not if India is to keep an equal place and all worthy of her ancient civilisation, in the international life of the world; but the point is that it must not be forced upon you under alien compulsion through the Government schools and the not less official Indian Universities. The modification must come naturally and spontaneously and gradually, as if subjectively, through inevitable commercial and social intercourse—which have ever proved the most powerful influences in stimulating the spiritual advancement of peoples and nations". It is worthy of note that this letter of Birdwood exerted a great influence on our country’s education several years later. The course followed by the National Council of Education in 1906 in the formulation of its scheme of studies, as Satis Chandra Mukherjee, one of the main builders of the National Council, frankly confessed, was to a great extent on the lines laid down or suggested by Sir George Birdwood.

7. The *Dawn*, June, 1899. The full text of this letter as well as the reply to it by Satis Chandra Mukherjee will be found in Appendix I.
As early as 1893-94 Satischandra had become conscious of the serious deficiencies in the prevalent system of University education in our country. He expressed himself clearly through the pages of the *Dawn* during 1897-98. In an article on “Principles of University Education in the East and the West,” he made the following observations: “The ideal of University education under the old Hindu regime and the modern ideal of education seem to differ as poles asunder. The Hindu ideal looked to the intellectual development of the student as a means to an end, the end being the development of the higher, the spiritual nature of man . . . Education, therefore, was with the ancient Hindus, the perpetual regulation of conduct, and the intellectual growth of the student was part of an all-embracing scheme of education. Turning now to the principles of education as it obtains in the West, we may see that education is here also a means to an end, but the end in the case is greater worldly comfort, greater worldly prospects, acquisition of wealth and power. The training of the mind is no doubt an avowed object, but all mental discipline subordinates itself to the requirements of the age, the race for greater worldly enjoyment, greater worldly power . . . The Indian Universities are, if we may so express ourselves, copies of copies: for the English Universities themselves being bad copies themselves it is clear that the Universities here in India suffer from a double taint; (1) that of being bad imitations, and (2) that the original itself requires to be very far perfected before it will be able to assimilate the true functions of education”.

Again, in course of a serial article entitled “To The Memory of the Late Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter”, Satischandra observed in August, 1899: “The encouragement and promotion of oriental thought and learning have never been the object of the British Government. That object has been in the first place political; in the second, administrative; and so far as it has had an educational aspect, the last has always been subordinated to the other two more immediate and pressing consi-

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The contention was that "neither true Eastern nor true Western training" had been imparted to Indians and that the influence brought into being by the Government's educational policy "has been only fruitful of effect in directing the ambitions and aspirations of educated Indians along a narrow line of thought, along the line merely of seeking official patronage, or professional advancement, without their being able to bring into operation forces that tend towards a wider rapprochement with higher Western thought." He pointed out further that the cultivation of higher Eastern thought and learning was as much imperative in the interest of national advancement along evolutionary lines as a wider appreciation and assimilation of a higher culture from the West. He further addled that "Government policy since the time of Lord William Bentinck, and indeed from even earlier, has subordinated this higher educational factor in the interests of mere administration and political purposes, and by unduly subordinating it, has failed in considerable measure in the solution of the political problem." This was exactly the position taken up by Satishchandra with regard to Government's educational policy and the truth of his contention was forcefully brought out by him in an illuminating article published in the Dawn in September, 1899 (lengthy extracts from which have been quoted in the Appendices).

CONSTRUCTIVE ATTEMPTS AT IMPROVEMENT

Thus many a thinking mind of that time became dissatisfied with the Government's educational policy. The discontent against the existing system of English education was not confined to the ideological plane alone. Steps were also taken, generally on private initiative, in the practical direction. The foundation of the "Society for the Higher Training of Youngmen" in August, 1891 through the exertions of Pratap Chandra Maijoomdar, Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

10. The Dawn, September, 1899, pp. 33-34.
and others, with H. H. Risley as its President and Pratap Chandra Majoomdar as its Secretary, was a notable venture in the sphere of education. The Society was brought into being under official support, the Government deeming it its duty to espouse its cause by financial contributions and by other means. But the Society's scheme of work did not go to the roots of the basic deficiencies that marked the existing educational system. Nor was it calculated to generate in the students the impulses of patriotism, social service and nationalism. At its best the Society was an appendix to the pattern of University education and consequently failed to rouse the moral enthusiasm of the public for its cause. Even some of its earliest members gradually came to consider the Society as utterly inadequate for the real needs of the students, as evidenced by the series of letters published by Hemendra Prasad Ghose in the *Indian Mirror* (Nov. 14, 1893, Dec. 4, Dec. 7, Dec. 19, Dec. 20, 1895) and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Dec. 12, 1895) under the nicknames of “L’Exactitude” and “Reader” respectively.

A more significant attempt was, however, the foundation of the *Bhagavat Chatuspathi* (1895) in Bhowanipur, Calcutta, on the initiative of Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter in collaboration with Satis Chandra Mukherjee. The object of the Chatuspathi was “to enable all willing persons to study Hindu religious philosophies and other Hindu Sastras according to the ancient orthodox method, under able and experienced teachers free of charge.” But its primary object was “the regulation of the daily life and habits of the scholar under a system of Hindu discipline according to the orthodox plan of Gurugrihabasa or residence with the Guru at his Asrama and under his complete control.” Though modelled on the ideals of the ancient Tols, the Bhagavat Chatuspathi, as Satischandra informs us, was endowed with a larger programme. Not only spiritual knowledge would be disseminated as in the ancient Tols, but also constructive attempts were to be made, unlike the ancient Tols, to stimulate other lines of activity, such as the industrial to answer to the modern requirements of the country (*Vide* the *Dawn*, February, 1898, pp. 353-356).
At the beginning of the twentieth century another important step was taken by Rabindra Nath Tagore who founded in December, 1901 the Bolpur Brahmacharyasram at Santineketan to give shape to his cherished ideals of education quite in conformity with the best national traditions. The services of Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya in the early organisation of this institution deserve more than a passing notice. The Bolpur Brahmacharyasram, like the Bhagavat Chatuspathi, stood for the autarchy in education and embodied the manifest signs of the times—nationalisation of education.

STORM IN THE COUNTRY OVER CURZON’S UNIVERSITIES ACT

The clamour for National Education, i.e., a system of education rooted in the soil, respectful of the best heritage of the past, alive to modern requirements, and directed to balanced national growth, became more general in our country in connection with the work of the Indian Universities’ Commission constituted in January, 1902. Dr. Gooroo Dass Banerjee, the only Hindu Member on that Commission, expressed his strong disapproval of the Commission’s (majority) Report to which was appended his memorable “Note of Dissent”, containing as it did an attack on the attempt “to place education under the control of Government” and to reduce the control of the “popular element”. Dr. Gooroodass concluded his “Note of Dissent” by stating: “While yielding to none in my appreciation of the necessity for raising the standard of education and discipline, I have ventured to think that the solution arrived at is only a partial solution of the problem, and that we should aim not only at raising the height, but also at broadening the base, of our educational fabric”. Identical opinions were cherished also by many a thought-leader of the time including Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Heramba Chandra Moitra, Jagadish Chandra Bose and Mohit Chandra Sen.

111. Anathnath Basu: Sir Gooroodass Centenary Commemoration Volume (Calcutta University, 1948, p. 91).
112. The Bhandar, the Bengali monthly edited by Rabindranath Tagore (Janistha, 1312, B.S. or May-June, 1905, pp. 85-95).
When in June, 1902, the Report of the Indian Universities' Commission together with the "Note of Dissent" by Gooroodass was published, it drew at once hostile reactions from the leaders of education. There started a regular campaign of criticism of the report and recommendations of the Universities' Commission both in the Indian press and on the platform. The contemporary Bengali reaction to the Commission's Report is to be best seen in the different issues of the Bengalee (edited by Surendra Nath Banerjea), the Indian Mirror (edited by Narendra Nath Sen), the Amrita Bazar Patrika (edited by Motilal Ghose), the Bangadarshan (edited by Rabindra Nath Tagore), the Dawn (edited by Satis Chandra Mukherjee) and the Prabasi (edited by Ramananda Chatterjee). Satis Chandra Mukherjee, however, offered the most uncompromising opposition to the Commission's Report through the editorial columns of the Amrita Bazar Patrika and the Bengalee. In his own journal, the Dawn, which was at that time a very powerful organ of resurgent Indian nationalism, he made a scathing criticism of the existing system of University education in India. A most illuminating article (pages 61, Royal Size) under the general title—An Examination into the Present System of University Education in India and a Scheme of Reform was published in the Dawn in three consecutive issues, April-June, 1902. Satischandra did not rest content with a mere theoretical discussion, but took a definite step in the practical direction by way of establishing a special society, known as the Dawn Society, in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution, now called the Vidyasagar College. It had its permanent President in Principal Nagendra Nath Ghose and its General Secretary in Satis Chandra Mukherjee. It was intended to remedy the defects and deficiencies of the existing system of University education and to be an institution for the cultivation of patriotic and nationalistic impulses. Born in July, 1902 as a reaction against the Report of the Indian Universities' Commission, the Dawn

Society (1902-07) proved to be the harbinger of the National Council of Education.

The criticism of the Government's educational policy continued unabated during 1902-03. The bureaucratic Government of Lord Curzon paid, however, little or no heed to the popular criticism emanating from the press and the platform. The first sketch of Curzon's scheme of changes in the educational system was not published until October, 1902, and the Bill embodying his scheme was not introduced for more than a year afterwards. The Universities Bill was finally passed on March 21, 1904 on the basis of the (majority) Report of the Universities' Commission of 1902.

The Indian Universities Act passed by Lord Curzon was received "with a violent outburst of indignation" not only by Indian leaders and politicians, but also by some European thinkers of great repute. In an article published in the *Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* (January, 1906; Part II), Mrs. Annie Besant observed that "the educated Indians ought to take the question of education into their own hands. This has been essentially necessary in consequence of the late University Act" which was likely to render higher education very costly and thus excluding from it "the very class that demands it most urgently and to shut the doors of the University to many brilliant students in India who would do their country very good services." Apart from the economic aspect of the issue, there were numerous other glaring defects which were summed up by Motilal Ghose, Editor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in his masterly way. And Motilal's opinions on the Act of 1904 may be taken as the representative views of many Indians of the time.

First of all, the reactionary character of the Act is to be noticed. Growth of education leading to the growth of political

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14. In Uma Mukherjee's Bengali article on the *Dawn Society* (*Ananda Bazar Patrika*, April 19, 1953) and in Haridas Mukherjee's English paper on the same published in the *Modern Review* for May, 1953, the system of work at the aforesaid Society has been discussed at length.


consciousness was viewed with alarm by Curzon who decided to strike at the very roots of the educational system. His Act was designed to check unofficial control of education. It led, on the contrary, to the officialisation of the whole educational machinery. The native influences were drastically reduced.

Secondly, the educational policy underlying the Universities Act was not intended to give to the young students any useful or solid knowledge, whether scientific, technical or literary. Even before 1904 the text-books taught in the schools had been too numerous for the young students, but their number had been practically increased, as Motilal Ghose complains, “by doing away with a specified course for the Entrance Examination,” so far as English was concerned. Again, the pass mark in English under the new Act was raised from 33 per cent to 37. The enhancement of the standard in English was calculated to serve as a brake upon high percentage of passes and to arrest the rapid expansion of higher education. Even when the pass mark in English was 33 per cent, there was “a general massacre” of 50 per cent of the candidates appearing in the Entrance Examination. And quite naturally it was feared by Indian leaders that the raising of the pass mark from 33 to 37 per cent would surely lead to the failure of about 80 or 90 per cent of the candidates, and the ten or twenty per cent who would successfully pass through the ordeal “would be well-nigh killed by the strain, physical and mental, on their system”. It was also feared that in the higher examinations,—the F.A., the B.A., and the M.A. examinations,—there would be correspondingly higher percentages of failures.

Thirdly, "What," observes Motilal Ghose, "is bound to take place is this: of the Entrance students 80 or 90 per cent will fail when they appear at the examination. Thus, a large number of our lads will never again enter into the precincts of a college hall and know what higher education is. Every year their number will swell, and our country will be filled with tens of thousands of half-educated men belonging to respectable classes, who will either be useless or dangerous members of the society."
Finally, the Act of 1904 sounded the death-knell of private colleges which were bound to be closed in the absence of sufficient number of Entrance passed and F.A. passed candidates.

Thus, serious apprehensions were roused by Curzon's Universities Act in the minds of our countrymen who imputed, as a rule, worst motives to the Viceroy. "The least that Lord Curzon was charged with", observed Valentine Chirol, "was a deliberate attempt to throttle higher education in India." But he remarked at the same time that the nationalist apprehensions were to a large extent baseless. The merits of the Act were generally ignored by the nationalists, of course, with a few exceptions in their excesses of nationalistic bias. According to him, Curzon's education policy "recognised in the first place the importance of the vernaculars as the proper medium for instruction in the lower stages of education, whilst maintaining the supremacy of English in the higher stages. Great stress was also laid upon the improvement of training colleges for teachers as well as upon the development of special schools for industrial, commercial, and agricultural instruction. Government emphasized the great importance of a large extension of the system of hostels or boarding-houses, under proper supervision, in connexion with colleges and secondary schools, as a protection against the moral dangers of life in large towns; and whilst provision was made for the more rigorous inspection of schools to test their qualifications both for Government grants-in-aid and for affiliation to Universities, certain reforms were also introduced into the constitution and management of the Universities themselves." This is the verdict of a contemporary British journalist on Curzon's Universities Act. Although critical in many respects of India Government's policies and actions, Chirol was of opinion that so far as the

18. Valentine Chirol: Indian Unrest (London, 1910, pp. 230-231) which was a reprint, revised and enlarged, from The Times to which the author had previously contributed series of articles on Indian unrest, examining its causes and consequences, in the first decade of the present century.
Act of 1904 was concerned, there was hardly any sufficient grounds for its condemnation. Whatever be the intrinsic merits of the Universities Act, the fact, however, stands out in bold relief that on its passage the Act encountered serious opposition from the nationalist quarters and furnished a powerful fillip to the growing demand for an independent system of National Education.
Chapter II

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MOVEMENT

THE SWADESHI UPSURGE AND THE UNIVERSITY BOYCOTT

The Partition of Bengal in 1905 was "the signal for an agitation such as India had not hitherto witnessed." The Anti-Partition agitation going on in the country since December, 1903 entered upon a new phase in 1905 with the formal declaration of the Boycott-Swadeshi Movement on August 7 at the historic Town Hall meeting, presided over by Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar, and addressed by Surendra Nath Banerjea. The Boycott-Swadeshi Movement galvanised in no time national sentiments into vigorous channels. The Samjibani edited by Krishna Kumar Mitra, the Bengalee edited by Surendra Nath Banerjea and the Hitabadi edited by Kaliprasanna Kavya-visharad addressed themselves most wholeheartedly to the propagation of the Boycott-Swadeshi ideologies.

The cry for 'Boycott' and 'Swadeshi', once raised, spread along the entire front of national life. It expressed itself no less in the educational field than in the political or the economic. The youthful votaries of the Swadeshi Movement, influenced by Satis Chandra Mukherjee, soon declared themselves for a boycott of the Government-controlled Calcutta University, beginning with the boycott of the impending P.R.S. and M.A. examinations to be held in November-December, 1905. Rabindra Narayan Ghose, the best M.A. candidate of that year, assumed leadership in the boycott move against

1. Mr. J. C. Bagal in his newly published History of Indian Association (1953, p. 165) and the late Krishna Kumar Mitra in his Bengali Autobiography (1937, p. 239) have wrongly mentioned the name of Raja Peary Mohun Mukherjee of Uttarpara as the President of the aforesaid Town Hall meeting (August 7, 1905). It should be Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar. Vidie: the Sanjibani (August 10, 1905, p. 2, Leader) and Prithwischandra Roy's The Case Against the Break-up of Bengal (September, 1905, pp. V-XV).
the officialised University. Nripendra Chandra Banerjee, another brilliant M.A. student, was always by Rabindranarayan's side in this matter. Radha Kumud Mookerji, who was to sit for the P.R.S. examination, also joined the boycott agitation in which Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who had recently won the Ishan Scholarship in the B.A. examination, played an important role. Of these four young agitators for educational boycott, three (Radhakumud, Rabindranarayan and Benoykumar) were not only recognized members of the Dawn Society, but constituted the inner circle of Satischandra with whom they all lived together since June, 1905 at a mess of which Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya was the steward. And Nripendrachandra also was under the personal influence of Satischandra, as stated by the former in his autobiographical study: *At the Cross Roads* (1950, pp. 66-67). The leadership of these brilliant young men in the agitation for the University-boycott automatically rendered Satischandra the leader of the whole show. "The leadership of this revolt," writes Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, "was soon assumed by Rabindra Nath Tagore who fostered it and kept up its fire by his great literary creation of national songs, a unique poetry of patriotism. These patriotic poems he composed and came to set to music with Ajit Chakravarty every evening in the hall of the Metropolitan Institution where the Dawn Society was located. His close associate in this work was Hirendra Nath Datta, and behind them was Sister Nivedita, than whom a more passionate patriot the country has rarely seen." A great stimulus to the educational boycott was given by Hirendra Nath Datta who 'addressed privately a students' rally on the top floor of the house in

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2. This mess was started by Satischandra and Brahmabandhab in June, 1905, of which the boarders were, besides Mokshadacharan Shyamadhyayi, Radhakumud, Rabindranarayan and Benoykumar. It was located on the first floor of a big building at 16, Cornwallis Street, on the ground floor of which was situated the famous Field and Academy Club—the club of Subodh Chandra Mallick, Bepin Chandra Pal, Chittaranjan Das, Bejoy Chandra Chatterjee, Rajatnath Roy and others (Vide: *Benoy Sarkarer Baithake*, Second Edition, Vol. I. Calcutta, 1944, pp. 284-85 and Benoy Kumar Sarkar's paper in the *Presidency College Magazine* for February, 1950, p. 54).

3. Vide Dr. R. K. Mookerji's Foreword to this work and his paper on "Tagore as a Political Thinker" as published in *The Golden Book of Tagore* (1931, pp. 170-171)
which the mess of Brahmabandhab and Satischandra was situated (16, Cornwallis Street) and encouraged the students to go in for the boycott of the Calcutta University and its examinations. According to Benoy Kumar Sarkar, the date of Hiren-dra Nath Datta's speech was 'sometime in September, 1905. The students' impulses were fanned into flame by his inspiring utterances which led before long Radhakumud, Rabindranarayan and Nripendrachandra to prepare and issue a boycott-manifesto to the M.A. and P.R.S. candidates.

These developments took place in Calcutta in September, 1905, long before the foundation of the Anti-Circular Society (November 4, 1905), nay, even before the public announcement of the famous or infamous Carlyle Circular through the columns of the Statesman on October 22, 1905. The significance of this initial step taken by the M.A. and P.R.S. candidates at Callcutta has hardly been grasped, nay, even touched, by previous writers and researchers on the Swadeshi period. It is rather unfortunate that Kedarnath Dasgupta's publication Shikshar Andolan (Calcutta, December, 1905, p. 14) has perpetuated for posterity a false impression as to the date of the boycott decision taken by the M.A. and P.R.S. candidates in course of 1905 and has long awaited challenge. Mr. Probhat Chandra Ganguli's version on this issue as offered in his Bharater Rashtriya Itihaser Khasra (Calcutta, 1942, pp. 99-100) is but an echo of Kedarnath Dasgupta's publication and has no independent basis to stand upon. Both the authors maintain that the M.A. and P.R.S. candidates of Calcutta resolved to boycott their impending examinations only after the foundation of the Anti-Circular Society and its organised campaign after November 4, 1905. The truth, however, is just the reverse. As expressly stated by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Nripendra Chandra Banerjee and Radha Kumud Mookerji, the decision of the M.A. and P.R.S. candidates in regard to the boycott of the Calcutta University long preceded both the Rangpur impasse

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4. This fact has been referred to both by Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Nripendra Chandra Banerjee, two actors in the drama, respectively in Benoy Sarkarer Baithake (1st Edition, 1942, pp. 314-316) and At the Cross Roads (19550, p. 71), and has also been corroborated by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji.
(Nov. 3, 1905) and the foundation of the Anti-Circular Society (Nov. 4, 1905). The truth has also been corroborated by Kaviiraj Kishori Mohan Gupta and several others intimately connected with the University boycott affair of 1905.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE CARLYLE CIRCULAR

The Anti-Partition Agitation followed by the Boycott-Swadeshi Movement was not a mere Calcutta upheaval. Its echoes were heard daily louder even in the villages and mofussil towns. The swift course of the movement, although described by Curzon as "manufactured", had "taken the British nation by surprise," as Sir Alfred Lyall frankly confessed in his Introduction to Chiril's work on Indian Unrest (London, 1910, p. VIII). The entire student community of Bengal was quite naturally caught in its grip in those stirring times. The Calcutta students took the solemn vow of Boycott and Swadeshi at several meetings towards the end of July, 1905 and the mofussil students did not lag much behind. The students' active participation in the national upsurge led in quick stages to the broadening and deepening of the Boycott-Swadeshi Movement. It was the students who carried from door to door the messages of Boycott and Swadeshi in the villages and towns of Bengal.

The Government took alarm at this disquieting development and felt impelled to crush the student agitation and thereby to undermine the vital force of the general movement. Consequently, a confidential Circular No. 1679 P.—D.—dated, Darjeeling, the 10th October, 1905 was issued to the Magistrates and Collectors by Mr. R. W. Carlyle, Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, interdicting students' participation in political meetings, particularly Boycott or Swadeshi meetings or picketing, and providing rigorous penal measures of discipline. On the basis of this secret Circular an "extra-

5. The Sanjibani, August 3, 1905—Editorial article on "Bengal Partition and the Student-Community."
6. The Amrita Bazar Patrika (Nov. 2, 1905—Leader) and the Sanjibani (Nov. 9, 1905—Andrew Fraser's Letter to Bhupendra Nath Bose). Also see the Bengalee of Nov. 7, 1905.
"Extraordinary official circular" was issued before long by District Magistrates to the heads of schools and colleges in the muofussil. A copy of this "extraordinary official circular" was published for the first time in the Statesman on Sunday, October 22, 1905. It was thus worded:—

"1. The use which has been recently made of schoolboys and students for political purposes is absolutely subversive of discipline and injurious to the interest of the boys themselves. It cannot be tolerated in connection with educational institutions assisted or countenanced by Government.

2. I am therefore to state for your information and guidance that unless the school and college authorities and teachers prevent their pupils from taking public action in connection with political questions or in connection with boycotting, picketing, and other abuses associated with the so-called Swadeshi movement, the schools or colleges concerned will forfeit their grants-in-aid and the privilege of competing for scholarship holders, and the University will be asked to disaffiliate them. Where they loyally desire to prevent such conduct on the part of their pupils and are unable to do so, they must immediately submit a report to the District Magistrate, giving a list of boys who have disregarded their authority, and stating the disciplinary action taken to punish them.

3. I am also to point out that should there be any reasonable apprehension of disturbance on the part of schoolboys or students, it will be necessary to call on the teachers and managers of the institutions concerned for assistance in keeping the peace, by enrolling them as special constables. Their services as such will be specially valuable as the boys are bound to respect them and they will be able to identify those who may offend.

4. The gentlemen to whom this circular letter is addressed are requested to explain the above to their subordinates. The District Superintendent of Police will please instruct his thana officers to report instances of misconduct on the part of boys of the nature indicated in the first paragraph above."

This Circular was reproduced in the Amrita Bazar Patrika on October 23, and in the Bengalee on the following day. The
former editorially commented (October 23): "A more mischievous and insulting document could not be conceived." It was a direct challenge to the self-respect and patriotic spirit of the entire student community in Bengal. It produced storm of indignation in Calcutta and drew upon itself concentrated attacks both from the Indian press and platform. The Bengalee, the Sanjibani, the Amrita Bazar Patrika and the Hitabadi and others joined in chorus in the unreserved condemnation of the Carlyle Circular. The Amrita Bazar Patrika called it the 'Anti-Swadeshi Circular' under which caption it published four Leaders on October 25, 26 and 30 and November 2. In an editorial article published on 27th October, it observed: "The anti-Swadeshi circular was, as already stated, the outcome of a panic. This panic was created by inflammatory writings in the Anglo-Indian press as well as the attitude of Manchester. With the honourable exception of the 'Statesman', there was not a single Anglo-Indian paper which did not cry murder over the Swadeshi movement, sometime before the ever-to-be-remembered 16th October. The greatest sinner in this respect was, of course, the 'Englishman' . . . .

Already the Government had begun to view students' participation in the political movement with grave concern. The first blow on the students had come from the Government on October 21 when a letter was issued by Mr. Alexander Pedlar, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, to the Principals of certain colleges, asking them to show cause why the students belonging to their institutions who were implicated in the Harrison Road disturbance on the 3rd instant should not be expelled. On October 3, at about 6-30 p.m., near Harrison Road-Burra Bazar Junction following a young boy's (aged about 15-16) attempt to dissuade an elderly gentleman from purchasing British-made cloth, a riot broke out between the police party and the public, and the police arrested 17 men including six students. The case, however, was not finally referred to the criminal court as it was withdrawn through the intervention of Surendra Nath Banerjea and Bhupendra Nath Bose (The Sanjibani, October 12—Leader and October 26). Even though
the matter had been closed before trial, Mr. A. Pedlar, the
D.I.P.I., Bengal, issued a letter from Darjeeling, dated October
21., 1905, No. T-292 to certain Principals of Calcutta.

The letter ran thus:—

"Sir,

As it is apparently established that the marginally named
student in the institution under your control was implicated in
the Harrison Road disturbance that occurred on the 3rd inst-
tant, I am directed by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of
Bengal to request you to be so good as to show cause why the
student in question should not be expelled from your institu-
tion.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd./- A. Pedlar"

This letter was reproduced in the Sanjibani on the 26th
October, the Amrita Bazar Patrika on the 27th and the Ben-
gallee on the 29th. The Sanjibani characterised this letter as an
act of treachery (Oct. 26). Mr. Pedlar's letter served as a signal
for a general crusade against the entire student community of
the two Provinces into which Bengal was officially partitioned on
16th October in total disregard of the national will and uni-
versal protests. The issue of the Pedlar letter and the publica-
tion of the Carlyle Circular now definitely exasperated the
national sentiments.

CHALLENGE TAKEN UP BY THE PEOPLE

(On October 24, 1905 a largely attended public meeting was
held at the Field and Academy Club presided over by the
barrister Abdul Rasul. The speakers comprised Bepin Chandra
Pall, Jnanendra Nath Roy and Shyamsundar Chakravarty who
severely criticised, on the one hand, the derogatory Government
Circular and pleaded, on the other, for establishing an independent system of education (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 25th Oct., 1905 and the *Sanjibani*, 26th Oct., 1905). With this double purpose numerous meetings were held in Calcutta in quick succession.

On October 25 was published Hemendra Prasad Ghose’s long letter under the caption of “What to do? A Proposed University”, addressed to the *Telegraph*, an English daily. In that letter, Mr. Ghose not only exposed in details the sinister character of the Circular, but also exhorted the leaders ‘to free education from the overshadowing interference of the State’ in the following words: “And if we have decided to solve the economic question without Government help, can we not undertake to teach our boys without that help?...Can we not found a University of our own? We lose nothing by it—save the ‘privilege’ of practising as pleaders...Surely a University would be a greater blessing than a Federation Hall.”

About this time (perhaps on the 25th October) Dr. Sarat Kumar Mallick promised the gift of rupees one thousand for the establishment of a National University at a public meeting in the premises of the College of Physicians and Surgeons at 18, Mott’s Lane (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Oct. 26, 1905).

This was followed by a general meeting on October 27 at the residence of Charu Chandra Mallick, Pataldanga, with Rabindra Nath Tagore in the chair and attended by such distinguished men as Bhupendra Nath Basu, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Bepin Chandra Pal, Monoranjan Guhathakurta and Bhubanmohan Chatterjee. About one thousand students, hailing from different colleges, thronged at the aforesaid meeting where the students led by Sachindra Prasad Basu (a Fourth-year student of the City College) took the decision not to bow down to the threats of the Carlyle Circular and to continue their work manfully for the country’s cause. Rabindranath spoke eloquently against the damaging

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7. This letter of H. P. Ghose was also published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its issue of October 26, 1905, p. 7.
Circular issued by the Government and expressed his wholehearted support for the stand taken by the student community.

**BIRTH OF THE FIRST NATIONAL SCHOOL AT RANGPUR**

While things were proceeding thus in Calcutta, a crisis loomed large on the horizon of Rangpur. Secretly instructed by Mr. T. Emerson, Magistrate of Rangpur, the Head Master of the Rangpur Zilla School, Mr. A. K. Ghose, issued on October 31, 1905 the Circular No. 108, prohibiting the students from participation in "boycotting, picketing and other abuses" on pain of severe disciplinary action. It was thus worded:

**CIRCULAR NO. 108**

"Notice is hereby given that if any attempt is made by any boy of the Rangpur Zilla school to take any action in connection with boycotting, picketing and other abuses, his case will be reported to the Inspector of Schools, Rajshaye Division, for punishment. Every assistant teacher is requested to explain to the boys that such a practice is absolutely subversive of discipline, and most injurious to their interests and studies. He is also requested to see, both in the school and out of the school, that the boys do not meet together for such purpose, or disturb the peace by taking any part in boycotting movement. If there be any fear of such disturbance, the names of the boys should be reported to the undersigned.

Sd./- A. K. Ghosh
Head Master."

This tactless order simply irritated the boys all the more and in the same afternoon they attended a public meeting held in the local town-hall quite in defiance of the Head Master's order, and they sang national songs and shouted _Bande Mataram_ on

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8j. The *Sanjibani* (November 2, 1905) and the *Bhandar*, (Agrahayan, 1312 Bengali Era or December, 1905, pp. 3-4). Also see the *Bengalee* of Oct. 28, 1905.
their way back home. Again, on the next day (Nov. 1, 1905) the students of the Rangpur Zilla School and local Technical School mustered strong at the public meeting and read the National Manifesto—the Manifesto that had been originally read out in Calcutta on October 16—proclaiming the nation's determination to counteract the evil effects of the Partition by all possible means. This conduct of the boys was seriously objected to by the authorities. Consequently on the following day (Nov. 2) the District Magistrate of Rangpur communicated to the Head Master of the local Zilla School the following order: "These boys are fined Rs. 5/- each and not allowed to attend the classes until the fines have been paid. Head Master to warn them that repetition of this offence will endanger the existence of the school and to send a copy of this to their parents". On the 3rd November (and not on the 1st November as the Calendar of National Council of Education for 1906-1908 records on page 166) the Head Master communicated the Magistrate's order to the 86 boys concerned. Fifty-six students of the local Technical School were similarly fined on the same day under the Magistrate's order dated Nov. 2, 1905. On the 4th the Head Master of the Zilla School carried out the Magistrate's order without consulting the Inspector and expelled the students concerned. Thus the first blow of the Carlyle Circular fell on Rangpur. In reply to an enquiry made by some of the guardians into the causes of expulsion of their wards, they were informed on the 6th of the Magistrate's order that "the boys have been fined for attending a political meeting and shouting in public on the road and maidan." The guardians seeing no fault of their wards refused to pay the fines.

9. In an editorial article under the heading of "The Rangpur Students' Case", the Amrita Bazar Patrika (Nov. 10, 1905, p. 4) published a detailed account of the circumstances leading up to the foundation of the Rangpur National School. Also see the Bengalee of Nov. 7, 1905—Leader on "The Rangpur Students' Case" and of Nov. 11, 1905.

10. Dr. S. C. Roy: The Story of My Times (Calcutta, 1934, pp. 102-105). Dr. Roy's version is that of an eye-witness to the scene and is corroborated by the reports of the New India (Nov. 11, 1905) and the Sanjibani (Nov. 9, 1905), only with a very minor difference as to the number of the pupils fined. While the New India as well as the Amrita Bazar Patrika places the figure of the expelled candidates at 86 (Zilla School) and 56 (Technical School), the Sanjibani places that figure at 87 and 57 respectively.
and allow their boys to attend the schools. Out of about 350 boys on the roll of the Zilla School only 32 attended the school on the 7th and out of about 100 boys on the roll of the Technical School none attended the school on that day (7th Nov., 1905).

The news of the Governmental persecution of the students at Ramgpur was flashed in the Calcutta dailies on the 4th November. On the same day was held at the College Square a huge students' rally, with Mr. Naresh Chandra Sengupta, University Research-scholar, M.A., B.L. in the chair, and attended by Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Monoranjan Guhathakurta, Hemendra Prasad Ghose, Ramakanta Roy, Moulavi Leakat Hossain and others. Sachindra Prasad Basu, a Fourth Year student of the City College, moved a resolution for the immediate establishment of the Anti-Circular Society, a permanent body to fight the Carlyle Circular, with Krishna Kumar Mitra as its Treasurer, with himself as its Secretary and Sukumar Mitra (son of Krishnakumar) as its Assistant Secretary. The resolution was unanimously accepted and the Anti-Circular Society was founded on the same day. As representatives of this newly forged Society, Ramakanta Roy, the Japanese-trained mining engineer, and Sachindra Prasad Basu rushed to Rangpur on the 6th November. On the following day (Nov. 7), the citizens of Ramgpur led by Umesh Chandra Gupta, senior pleader, and Proibhat Kumar Mukherjee (the story-writer and novelist, then practising there as a barrister), assembled at a public conference. Among the speakers, Ramakanta Roy and Sachindra Prasad Basu deserve special mention. This conference resolved on taking the education of the Rangpur students into their own hands and starting a national institution on national lines. The tangible outcome of this decision was the Rangpur National

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11. The Sanjibani (November 9, 1905, p. 2) and Kedarnath Das Gupta's publication Shikshar Andolan (December, 1905, pp. 6-10). Also see the Bengalee of Nov. 5, 1905.

12. The part played by Ramakanta Roy and Sachindra Prasad Basu in the Swadheshi Movement has been discussed at length in Swadesh-Premik Rama-kanta Roy edited by Haridas Namananda (1950) and Sachindra Prasad Basu published by Surendra Nath Ghose in March 1941, notwithstanding a few mistakes and exaggerations here and there.
School started on November 8, 1905 “with the object of imparting education both general and technical.” A twenty-man Executive Committee was constituted, with Umesh Chandra Gupta as its President and Rash Behary Mukherjee as its Secretary. Of these twenty men, fifteen represented the legal profession and two medical, while two were zemindars and one was of the local Loan Office.

As reported in the Calendar of the National Council of Education for 1906-1908 (p. 167), many of the members on the Executive Committee subscribed Rs. 100/- each a month for the support of the National School and donations amounting to Rs. 10,000/- were raised from local and other sources. The work of teaching was at first undertaken by some of the local pleaders who volunteered their services till better arrangements could be made. The school started its career “with about 300 boys on its rolls.” Notwithstanding some defections afterwards, “about 200 boys were left on the rolls on the 31st December, 1907.” Immediately after the inauguration of the Rangpur National School, some of the promising youths of Calcutta, viz., Brajasundar Roy, m.a., Nripendra Chandra Banerjee, b.a. and Hiralal Mukherjee, b.a. hurried to Rangpur (say, between 10th Nov. and 13th Nov.) to volunteer their services as teachers. The heroic lead that Rangpur gave in the matter of educational independence was destined to play an important part in the history of Indian nationalism.

While things at Rangpur were shaping themselves thus in early November, 1905, the stage in Calcutta was being set for a new act.

On November 2 was held on the Field and Academy Club
ground or Panti's Math (where the Vidyasagar College Hostel now stands) a students' meeting, attended by Rabindra Nath Tagore, Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Hirendra Nath Datta, Mohit Chandra Sen, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya and Monoranjan Guhathakurta.

This was followed by another students' meeting at the Dawn Society on 5th November, attended by about 2,000 students and addressed by Rabindranath, Satischandra and Hirendra-nath. Satischandra exhorted the students to sever all connections with the officialised University and to hold aloof from its examinations. His celebrated paper on The Birth of the National Idea, published in the Dawn Magazine (Nov. 1905, Part II) went a long way in focusing the public attention on the interrelation between National Education and the growth of national consciousness.

REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

The news of the foundation of the Rangpur National School was flashed in the Calcutta papers on 9th November together with the sensational news about the East Bengal Government's penal measures adopted against the Madaripur High School boys. It was reported in the Sanjibani that the Head Master of the School had been personally ordered by the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam to flog some of his boys publicly before the Madaripur Magistrate on too flimsy grounds; but actually the Head Master was requested by the Magistrate to flog one of his boys, Ananta Mohan, in the presence of the S.D.O., as recorded by the Head Master himself in his letter to the Editor of the Bengalee, published on January 12, 1906. Kaliprasanna Dasgupta, the revered Head Master, without caring for his job, stood up against the Government and expressed his dissent to the order issued by Sir Bampfyld.
Fuller. On the same day (9th Nov.) a huge students' meeting was addressed by Naresh Chandra Sengupta at the College Square and messages of sympathy were transmitted to Madaripur boys and the Head Master.

A second meeting was held on the same date at the Field and Academy Club, presided over by Subodh Chandra Basu Mallik who promised on the spot the personal gift of one lakh of rupees for the foundation of a National University in Bengal. "At the outset," he said, "I must ask your indulgence for addressing you in English. I am ashamed to own that I am one of the products of the present denationalised system of education, who can better express themselves in the foreign tongue than in their own...I have known our own bastard system of education as well as the natural type of it in the West. It is a matter of great rejoicing that a great truth has at last dawned upon us to-day in all its glory. We have come to realise that our salvation must be worked out by ourselves in spite of dangers and difficulties that may at present appear to us insurmountable. The attitude of the Government towards the students with regard to the present movement has been an eye-opener to us. We have seen what a dangerous weapon they can make of this control over education, and, secure career of national progress will be impossible for us unless we take away the same from their hands... The students are already stinting themselves of their comforts in order to contribute their humble mite to the National University Fund. Their example has not been lost and is bound to evoke universal response. For my part, to show my sympathy with their laudable efforts, I most humbly beg to place at the disposal of the promoters of this cause my humble contribution of a lakh of rupees. I am not, gentlemen, a wealthy man. I can ill afford the luxury of making such a gift. But the call of the Mother is clear and respond we must, be we great or small" 17. His speech had the immediate effect of rousing the students to greater heights of performance.

17. Subodh Chandra Mallick's speech on that occasion was originally published in the Bengalee (Nov. 12, 1905) and was reproduced in part subsequently in Dr. S. C. Roy's The Story of My Times (pp. 109-111).
and intensifying their clamour for a National University. For the declaration of a personal gift of a lakh of rupees to the sacred cause of National Education, he was at once termed "Rajja" by Bepin Chandra Pal (and not by Monoranjan Guhathakurta) as stated by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in his *Baithake* (First Edition, 1942, p. 287) and corroborated by Srijut Hemendra Prasad Ghose. In the mouth of the youthful admirers of Subodh Mallik echoed and re-echoed the word "Rajja" that day and they took him in a carriage unhorsed from the Field and Academy Club (16, Cornwallis Street) up to his residence at 12, Wellington Square.

On the following day (10th November) another meeting was held at the Field and Academy Club, with Aswini Kumar Banerjee as the Chairman, and with Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Bepin Chandra Pal and Monoranjan Guhathakurta as the speakers. It was announced at the meeting by Bepin Chandra Pal that one of Satis Babu's Zemindar friends had promised to contribute rupees five lakhs to the cause of the proposed National University.

From November 5 onwards stirring news regarding the Government's repressive measures against the students was transmitted to Calcutta from Dacca, Burdwan, Hooghly, Ranigunge, Sirajgunge and other *mofussil* towns. On 8th November Mr. P. C. Lyon, Chief Secretary to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, issued two circulars,—an educational circular and a *Bande Mataram* circular. The educational circular, based essentially on the earlier Carlyle Circular, was addressed to the D.P.I. of the new province and to the Inspector of Schools, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. The other circular, issued on the same day, was addressed to the Commissioner of the Dacca Division, asking him to prohibit

18. Vide the *Sanjibani* (Nov. 16, 1905) and Kedarnath Dasgupta's *Shikshar Andolan* (Dec. 1905, pp. 15-16) which was identical with the *Agrahayan*, 1312 B.S. or December, 1905 issue of the now-defunct *Bhandar*, a Bengali monthly edited by Rabindra Nath Tagore.

19. This Zemindar friend of Satischandra promising the gift of rupees five lakhs was no other than Brojendra Kishore Roy Choudhury, Zemindar of Gouripur, Mymensingh, whose name was kept secret at first: Vide the *Sanjibani* (Nov. 16, 1905).
the shouting of Bande Mataram in the streets and other places in the interests of public peace, and the holding of political or quasi-political meetings in public places. The Amrita Bazar Patrika in the leading editorial article on "The Lyon Proclamation" at once offered a scathing attack on this measure in its issue of Nov. 10, 1905. Under this circular known as the Lyon Circular, the governmental repression in Eastern Bengal reached such a record as could easily beat hollow all previous repressive measures. In two leading editorial articles, the Amrita Bazar Patrika (Nov. 15-16, 1905) brought to the public notice the height of governmental repression in Bengal at that time. The more stringent measures the Government adopted, the greater vigour and larger dimensions were acquired by the youth agitation. Repression is always a poor remedy. "For every act of repression", once observed Narendra Nath Sen, "there is a martyr and it is martyrdom that strengthens the foundation of a national movement" (Lanchhiter Samman or the Dignity of the Political Sufferers, Cal. 1906, p. 10).

On November 11, was held at the College Square a huge students' meeting attended by about ten thousand young men and presided over by the barrister Ashutosh Chaudhury. The Rangpur and Madaripur events were unreservedly condemned and the immediate need for establishing a National University was discussed by Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Bepin Chandra Pal, Hirendra Nath Datta, Monoranjan Guhathakurta, Moulavi Abul Hossain and Sachindra Prasad Basu. Ashutosh Chaudhury, while fully realising the need and urgency of a National University, observed that the students would serve the country's cause better by passing (not boycotting) the highest examinations of the Calcutta University.

This was followed by another meeting on 12th Nov. at the Field and Academy Club under the presidency of Bepin Chandra Pal, and with Sister Nivedita, Aswini Kumar Banerjee,

21. The Sanjibani (Nov. 16, 1905) and Shikshar Andolan (Dec. 1905, p. 17).
Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya and Shyam Sundar Chakravarty as the chief speakers. It was a crowded meeting, attended by about “ten thousand men”. Most of the speakers condemned Mr. Russell’s (Assistant D.P.I. to the Bengal Government) aspersions on the morality of the Calcutta students, particularly those living in hostels and messes. Mr. Russell had made himself responsible for three definite statements: (a) that some of the messes were practically next door to brothels, (b) that some of the students actually lived in brothels, and (c) that the maid servants employed in messes were commonly of loose character. The cause of the abused students was powerfully vindicated by Saty Chandra Mukherjee, Nil Ratan Sirkar and Jogesh Chandra Chowdhury who, after detailed enquiry into the Calcutta hostels and messes, published their lengthy protestation against Mr. Russell’s unwarrantable assertions. On the same day at 5 p.m. Sister Nivedita delivered an illuminating speech on the “Present Crisis and the Need of a National University” at the Dawn Society.

This was followed by the stirring news from Barisal about the Banaripara incident which took place in the second week of the month of November 1905. It was reported that three boys and a teacher of the Banaripara Union Institution were expelled by the orders of Mr. Streatfeild, the District Magistrate. A full report of the circumstances leading to the incident and the sequences ensuing from it, including the despatch of the Gurkhas to Barisal, was presented by the Statesman’s correspondent in its issue of December 2, 1905.

ASHUTOSH CHAUDHURY’S HISTORIC MANIFESTO

In the midst of this continued and sustained student agitation and the governmental repression in the towns and villages of

22. The Bengalee, Nov. 11, 1905.
Also see the Amrita Bazar Patrika of Nov. 11, 1905 which published a lengthy extract from the Report of Mr. Russel, Asst. D.P.I., that had originally appeared in the Sanjibani of 8th December, 1904.
Bengal, Ashutosh Chaudhury issued on November 14 a historic Manifesto regarding the boycott of the Calcutta University to the leading men of the country asking them to rally on 16th Nov. at 3 P.M. at the Bengal Land-holders' Association (52/4, Park Street, Calcutta) to take up the educational matter of the students in right earnestness before the situation took a more critical turn. Mr. Chaudhury's letter was in part framed thus:

"Dear Sir,

A very large number of students has apparently determined not to go up for the University Examinations this year. Their idea is to sever all connection with the Calcutta University, and join some educational institution under national control. There is no such institution now and the question of establishing one, if we are to provide for these students, and others who are likely to follow their lead, must be at once taken up and finally determined.

Most of us were unaware of this intense feeling amongst the student community, and I for one had not realised it, nor was I inclined to believe in its existence, until last Saturday when I attended a meeting of students, at the request of Babu Hirenra Nath Dutta, one of our most sedate public men. At that meeting consisting of over five thousand students, I felt for the first time the urgency of the matter, and I beg of you to take note of the fact and decide what we ought to do under the circumstances . . .

Last Saturday I found the students determined to take a decisive step on Monday, the 13th November. I was able to prevent that, by promising to get our leaders to take up the matter, and give it their earnest consideration. They wanted to know on Sunday, if they could count upon their help and if so, how soon they could arrive at a decision. I asked them

23. The full text of A. Chaudhury's Manifesto is to be found in the National Council of Education, Bengal: Calendar for 1906-1908 (Appendix A, pp. 1-2) or in the Journal of the College of Engineering and Technology (Jadavpur) Bengal, Special Issue, Dec. 1938, pp. 5-6.
to allow some time but they resolved to wait only up to Thursday, the 16th instant, 5 P.M.

"The situation must be faced, otherwise the result would be disastrous."

In response to this circular letter an Education Conference was held on Nov. 16, 1905 at the Bengal Land-holders' Association under the presidency of Raja Peary Mohun Mukherjee. The Conference comprised practically all the leaders of Bengal, including Goooro Dass Banerjee, Satis Chanda Mukherjee, Hirrendra Nath Datta, Ashutosh Chaudhury, Rashbehari Ghose, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Tarak Nath Palit, Byomkesh Chakravarty, Chitta Ranjan Das, Abdul Rasul, Nilratan Sircar, Prain Krishna Acharya, Bhupendra Nath Basu, Brajendra Nath Seall, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Nagendra Nath Ghose, Khudiram Bose, Giris Chandra Bose, Lall Mohun Ghose, Surendra Nath Banerjea, Bepin Chandra Pal, Narendra Nath Sen, Motilal Ghose, Subodh Chandra Maillik and Manomohon Bhattacharya. It deserves to be noted that some distinguished students of the Calcutta University, who were able to represent the views of their community, were also invited to this meeting. Sachindra Prasad Basu on behalf of the students delivered a fiery speech which produced an immediate effect, as Hirendra Nath Datta informs us.

The Conference after several hours' animated discussion adopted two main resolutions:

(i) "That in the opinion of this Conference it is desirable and necessary that a National Council of Education should be at once established to organise a system of Education—Literary, Scientific and Technical—on National Lines and under National Control, and that the following gentlemen should be appointed, as a Provisional Committee to take immediate steps to further this object and that the Committee be instructed to submit their report within three weeks."

This resolution was proposed by Surendra Nath Banerjea, seconded by Tarak Nath Palit and supported by Motilal Ghose. The Provisional Education Committee formed that day
included 42 members, with Ashutosh Chaudhury and Nilratan Sircar as its Secretaries.

(ii) “That this Conference, while fully appreciating the devotion and self-sacrifice of the P.R.S., M.A. and other students, is of opinion that it is desirable in the interest they are seeking to serve, that they should appear in the ensuing examinations.”

This resolution was proposed by Gooroo Dass Banerjee who was most responsible for it, and seconded by Rashbehari Ghose.

A provisional body of Trustees was formed at this Conference, including Peary Mohun Mukherjee, Tarak Nath Palit, Subodh Chandra Mallik, Ganesh Chunder Chunder and Kali Nath Mitra.

It was also announced at this Conference that besides the promised one lakh of rupees from Subodh Chandra Mallik and five lakhs of rupees (to be paid in cash or in property yielding Rs. 20,000/- a year) from “another gentleman” (referring to Brojendra Kishore Roy Choudhury), a third gentleman (whose name was not disclosed) “offered two lakhs in cash and a large house with compound”, while a fourth donor was likely to make endowment of Rs. 30,000/- a year. But the greatest glory in this respect belongs to Subodh Chandra Mallik and Brojendra Kishore Roy Choudhury who were the first to come forward with their pecuniary contributions on a princely scale and to bring within the range of practical undertaking the question of National Education. “These gifts”, wrote Surendra Nath Banerjea, “have a significance all their own. They inaugurate a new and wholesome departure. They are not given for titles or distinctions. No secret hankering for official favours, no desire for mere earthly rewards animates the illustrious men who have laid broad and deep the foundations of the future temple of national learning”.

The next day (Nov. 17) was held on the ground of the Field and Academy Club a very large meeting attended by over

24. A complete list of the forty-two members forming the Provisional Education Committee will be found in the National Council’s Calendar for 1906-08; Appendix A, pp. 2-3.
15,000 men, mostly students, to receive the decision of the Conference reached at the previous evening. Surendra Nath Banerjea presided over the function which was also graced by the presence of many eminent sons of Bengal like Rabindra Nath Tagore, Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Hirendra Nath Datta, Bepin Chandra Pal and Moulavi Leekat Hossain. A lengthy report of this meeting was published in the Bengalee on Nov. 18, 1905. It is unfortunate that the official account of the National Council of Education as presented in the Jubilee Number (1956, p. 4) has made a confusion regarding the conferment of the title of "Raja" on Subodh Chandra Mallik, which was originally bestowed on him not on the 17th November, 1905, but as early as 9th November. This rally of the 17th November was followed by many other meetings at the Field and Academy Club, Calcutta, and in various parts of Bengal.

FOUNDATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

The forces thus released in favour of a National University required to be properly mobilised into a concrete reality and the role of Satis Chandra Mukherjee, the founder-organiser of the Dawn Society (1902-1907), was most decisive in this. Constructive culture-promoter as he was, Satischandra "knew how to organise the mental and moral forces generated by the political situation of the day in favour of an independent educational system on national lines." Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who was in the very heart of the National Education Movement from the very beginning, has assessed Satischandra's role in it in the following words:

"From 14 November 1905 (the date of Chowdhury's Manifesto) to 14 August 1906 (the date of the formal inauguration of Bengal National College) the history of the national education movement is virtually the biograpy of Satis Mukherjee. It was almost exclusively by him that the burden of moulding the new ideology into a concrete pattern was shouldered. In regard to the courses of studies and pedagogic methods he held tête-a-têtes constantly with Ex-Judge Gooroo-
dass Banerjee, and occasionally with Professor Brojen Seal, Professor Ramendra Trivedi, and Poet Rabi Tagore. So far as finances were concerned, his chief pre-occupation was with Sj. Brojendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury of Gauripur (Mymensingh) or rather with the manager of his estates, the Sanskritist Manomohan Bhattacharya. Professor Ambika Ukil, the economist of Dacca and the founder of Hindusthan Co-operative Bank and Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Co. at Calcutta, was almost a constant companion of Bhattacharya in interviews with Mukerjee. As for the organisation of Committees and administrative organs Mukerjee was frequently exchanging views with Attorney Hiren Datta and sometimes with Barrister Abdul Rasul.  

The same picture has been presented to us by Sj. Hairat Chandra Chakladar and Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, both of whom maintain that Satischandra was the soul of the National Education Movement. Rabindra Nath Tagore in course of his speech before the Dawn Society on February 25, 1906 observed that the National Education Movement in Bengal had been in truth inspired by Satis Babu who was, according to him, one of the main props of the National Council of Education. Dr. Gooroo Dass Banerjee in course of his celebrated speech at the Town Hall meeting in connection with the formal inauguration of the Bengal National College and School at Calcutta (14th August 1906) indirectly referred to the special role that Satischandra was playing since the beginning of the National Education Movement. The truth is also corroborated by the Journal of the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur, Bengal (Special Issue, Dec. 1938, p. 31) when it records that "Sreejut Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Secretary, Dawn Society, was wholly identified with this movement from the very beginning and served as Honorary Principal, Superintendent and Professor as occasion demanded."

Again, the role of the Dawn Society at this stage has to be properly assessed. Long before the beginning of the National Education Movement in Bengal in course of the year 1905, Satischandra had directed his energies towards that end through the Dawn Society since July 1902. During July, 1902—July, 1905, about five hundred students came under the influence of the Dawn Society which had been imparting a kind of education nowhere found at that time. When at last the countrywide movement for National Education began since October-November 1905, the Dawn Society naturally became one of the most active centres of work. Unlike the Anti-Circular Society which had been functioning since early November 1905, the Dawn Society was primarily devoted to the mobilisation of the vague and chaotic passions for National Education into a concrete reality. As Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose observes: "While the Anti-Circular Society was established as a protest against bureaucratic high-handedness and meddlesomeness in the matter of education and as such rested on sentiment and passion, the efforts of the Dawn Society in this direction were based on clear intellectual reasoning and intended to meet a national demand for National Education. It eschewed mere sentiment and discarded passion and revealed earnest desire for a permanent solution of the problem." While the Anti-Circular Society kept the agitation for National Education going on, the Dawn Society undertook to implement the constructive part of the programme. Among the workers of the Dawn Society who played an important role in the National Education Movement are to be mentioned the names of Haran Chandra Chakladar, Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Kishori Mohan Gupta, Rabindra Narayan Ghose and Benoy Kumar Sarkar who devoted themselves whole-heartedly to the cause of education. It was these lieutenants of Satis Chandra Mukherjee who virtually "constituted the nucleus of the teaching staff" of the Bengal National College and School. "It was by affiliation with the Dawn Society's members and as friends of the Dawn Society," observes Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, "that some of the new members of the teaching corps of Bengal National
College got access into that staff. Every honorary member of the teaching staff was likewise a personal friend of Satis Mukherjee. It may be said that in a great measure the National Council of Education was for some time during the pioneering stages (1906-08) but the Dawn Society writ large."\(^{29}\) By giving birth to the National Council of Education in 1906, the Dawn Society committed a glorious *harakiri* and ceased to exist from 1907 as a separate entity.

To resume the main thread of the story, the Provisional Education Committee set up on 16th November 1905 (including such veteran educationists like Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Brojendra Nath Seal, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Nagendra Nath Ghose, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Khudiram Bose, Giris Chandra Bose and others) proceeded with its work of drawing up a provisional scheme which was completed and placed before the public for consideration on December 2, 1905\(^{30}\). This provisional scheme was considered on Dec. 10 by the Education Conference at its second meeting held at the Bengal Landholders' Association. The Conference on that day appointed a small Ways and Means Committee to draw up a detailed report on the schemes and courses of National Education. As reported in the *Bhandar* (*Agrahayan 1312 B.S. or December 1905*, p. 32), this Committee consisted of Rabindra Nath Tagore, Tarak Nath Palit, Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Hirendra Nath Datta, Narendra Nath Sen, Abdul Rasul, Subodh Chandra Mallik, Manomohan Bhattacharya and Nilratan Sircar, with the last named person as its Secretary. The omission of Gooroo Dass Banerjee's name from the list is, regrettably enough, a serious mistake. It is strange, nay, inconceivable, that an educationist of Dr. Gooroodass's stature should have been excluded from that Committee. On the contrary, we find a positive reference to Gooroo Dass Banerjee as a working member on the Ways and Means Committee in Motilal

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29. *Education for Industrialization*, p. 76.
30. The full text of the Report of the Provisional Education Committee is to be found in the N.C.E's *Calendar for 1906-1908* (Appendix A, pp. 3-16).
Ghose’s article published in the *Dawn Magazine* for March 1906.

Immediately after the formulation of the Report of the Provisional Education Committee (Dec. 2, 1905), various thinkers began to suggest schemes for consideration by the Ways and Means Committee. Dr. Gooroo Dass Banerjee had already set forth his ideas in his *A Few Thoughts on Education* (1904) which was widely read at that time. Satis Chandra Mukherjee published *A Scheme of National Collegiate Education for the Proposed National University for Bengal* in the January 1906 issue of the *Dawn Magazine*. In this scheme he advocated as the object and ideal of National Education “quickening of the national life of the people”, and suggested that the new system of education should have as its goal “not acquisition of learning so much as the development of a certain spirit, ideal, temper which should in the first instance be national as well as modern in its character.” Similarly, well-thought-out schemes were suggested by Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (*Bangadarshan: New Series, Agrahayan*, 1312 B.S. or November-December, 1905), Lalit Kumar Banerjee (*Bharati, Agrahayan* 1312 B.S. or Nov.-Dec., 1905), Ramananda Chatterjee (*Prabasi, Poush*, 1312 B.S. or December, 1905), Mrs. Annie Besant (*The Dawn Magazine*, January, 1906, Part II), and others.

While the schemes of National Education were being freely discussed by scholars in the various journals, the Ways and Means Committee worked most strenuously for several weeks together to complete its report amending the scheme of the earlier Provisional Committee in certain respects. The full Report of the Ways and Means Committee was considered at the third meeting of the Education Conference held on March 11, 1906 at the Bengal Landholders’ Association, with Satyendra Nath Tagore (retired I.C.S.) in the chair. There was “a large public attendance of invited gentlemen,” including Aurobindo Ghose who had recently come to Bengal from Baroda to study the political situation at first hand. Two

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31. See the issues of the *Dawn Magazine* for 1905-06.
important resolutions were passed by this Conference, one accepting the Report of the Ways and Means Committee (appointed on Dec. 10, 1905) and the other accepting the list of some 92 select names as forming the National Council of Education. The first resolution was proposed by Hirendra Nath Datta, seconded by the Maharaja of Mymensing, and supported by Surendra Nath Banerjea, Gooroo Dass Banerjee and Ashutosh Choudhury. The second resolution was proposed by Motilal Ghose and seconded by Surendra Nath Banerjea. Practically all the best and distinguished men of the country were enlisted as members of the National Council of Education. A complete list of these 92 names together with the full Report of the Ways and Means Committee is to be found in the *Dawn Magazine* (March 1906, pp. 104-112) and the *Calendar* of the N.C.E. for 1906-1908 (Appendix A, pp. 17-24). Altogether, the emergence of the N.C.E. marked the positive, constructive counterpart of Ashutosh Choudhury’s historic Manifesto of 14th November, 1905 regarding the boycott of the Calcutta University.

The name, object and constitution of the proposed National University as drawn up by the Ways and Means Committee formed the fundamental pivot of the entire fabric built up by the leaders of National Education. As stated in the Report:—

“Name:—The National Council of Education—*Jatiya Shiksha Parishad*.

The object of the Council is to impart Education—Literary as well as Scientific and Technical—on National Lines and exclusively under National Control, *not in opposition to, but standing apart from*, the existing systems of Primary, Secondary and University Education.”

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32. Haran Chandra Chakladar in his paper on “The National Council of Education, Bengal” (N.C.E.’s Jubilee Number, 1956, p. 63) has recorded that Satischandra was responsible for the incorporation of the clause “not in opposition to, but standing apart from” in the Report of the Ways and Means Committee. But Hirendra Nath Datta in his Bengali paper on “Sir Gooroodass in National Education” (Reminiscences, Speeches and Writings of Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Part I, 1927, p. 225) records that the invisible hand of Sir Gooroodass was to be seen behind this amendment. So far as we can judge,
Education on National Lines should imply among other things:—

1. (a) Imparting of Education, ordinarily through the medium of the Vernaculars, English being a compulsory subject.

(b) The preparation of suitable text-books, especially in the Vernaculars.

2. Promoting of Physical and Moral Education and Providing for denominational Religious Education out of funds specifically contributed for that purpose and inspiring students with a genuine love for, and a real desire to serve, their country.

Such Religious Education is not to include the enforcement of religious rites and practices.

3. Attaching a special importance to a knowledge of the country, its Literature, History and Philosophy and incorporating with the best Oriental ideals of life and thought the best assimilable ideals of the West.

4. Imparting of Scientific, Professional and Technical Education chiefly in those branches of Science, Arts and Industries which are best calculated to develop the material resources of the country, and to satisfy its pressing wants.

5. Inclusion in scientific education generally of a knowledge of the scientific truths embodied in oriental learning and in medical education specially of such scientific truths as are to be found in the Ayurvedic and Hakimi systems.

6. (a) Exacting of a high standard of Proficiency, and

(b) Enforcement of strict Discipline including paying proper regard to the religious sentiments and customs of the

we are inclined to think that Mr. Chakladar is in error in this particular instance; for Mr. Dutta's opinion is also corroborated by Benoy Kumar Sackar (Vide: Sir Gooroodass Centenary Commemoration Volume, 1948, p. 168) who considers the incorporation of the words "not in opposition to, but standing apart from" as a "valuable contribution of Banerjee" and observes further: "It is on the strength of the phrase 'not in opposition to' that Banerjee sought to counteract the unnecessarily hostile attitude of the Government and the state-directed University. But he was patriotic, radical or revolutionary enough to support the N.C.E. as an institution 'exclusively under national control'.”
different sections of the community in accordance with the best traditions of the country.

7. Completion of Secondary, or School Education with the 15th year (minimum) and commencement of College Education with the 16th year (minimum)."

The Report also made detailed recommendations about the management and constitution of the National Council which was to be thoroughly democratic and representative of the 'nation'. The following recommendations, among others, about the constitution of the Council, are to be specially noted.

1. The Council should consist of one President, one or more Vice-Presidents, two Secretaries and one Treasurer, as well as two classes of Members,—(a) Honorary Members (b) and Ordinary Members (whose number should not exceed 150 or fall short of 50). Members should be selected from among donors, distinguished scholars, Principals and Professors of educational institutions, specialists in different branches of study, persons distinguished for their public services, distinguished professional men, members of learned societies and graduates. It was also laid down that 'regard' should be given to the "adequate representation of the different sections of the community."

2. The first batch of members numbering 92 should be appointed at a conference, all subsequent appointments being made by the Council except the few ones by the big donors. The Council might also fill vacancies and add to its number (but so as not to exceed the maximum of 150) by the election of new or additional members at any meeting of the Council by a majority vote. "The first batch of 92 members should hold office for five years at the end of which period one-fifth of their number should go out by lottery every year and their places filled up by fresh appointments by the Council, or by the donors as the case may be till at the end of the ninth year the first batch should be replaced by members appointed by the Council." Details of these and other recommendations regarding the constitution of the Council will be found in the
BIRTH OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION

While almost all the great nationalist leaders of Bengal strongly felt in their heart of hearts the utter inadequacy of the prevailing system of English education, all were not, however, in favour of total boycotting of the Calcutta University. The existing system of education was everywhere condemned as all-too academic and all-too literary. The extreme group headed by Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Hiirendra Nath Datta, Ashutosh Choudhury, Subodh Chandra Mallik, Brojendra Kishore Roy Choudhury and others stood for complete educational autarchy and aspired after instituting the "three-dimensional system" of education,—Literary, Scientific and Technical combined,—on national lines and under national control. The moderate group headed by Tarak Nath Palit, Bhupendra Nath Basu, Nagendra Nath Ghose, Nilratan Sircar, Manindra Chandra Nandy and others wanted simply to supplement all-too literary education of the existing system by a regular arrangement for technical education under national management. At the time of the inauguration of the National Council (March 11, 1906), the two divergent views on the system of National Education became very sharp, leading to a consequent split in the nationalist camp. Tarak Nath Palit who had been very intimately connected with the proposed National Council of Education since November 16, 1905, and who had also acted as a working member both on the Provisional Education Committee (16th Nov. 1905) and the Ways and Means Committee (10th Dec. 1905) refused to give his assent to the "three-dimensional" scheme of studies of the National Council. Consequently, he was not included as a member in the list of 92 men forming the National Council of Education.

He at once undertook to organise an independent system of pure technical education. On the very day (June 1, 1906) when the National Council of Education (N.C.E.) was officially registered, a second organisation, rival to the N.C.E., was ushered into existence by Tarak Nath Palit and others. This institution was named the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education (S.P.T.E.). In sociological analysis, the N.C.E. represented the extreme or radical aspirations of the day (1905-06), while the S.P.T.E. embodied the moderatist views of educational reform. It should be added that Rashbehari Ghose, the President of the N.C.E., was also the President of the S.P.T.E., while many Bengali leaders were members of both the organisations. The former set up the Bengal National College and School (August 14, 1906) while the latter founded the Bengal Technical Institute (July 25, 1906).

**CURRICULUM OF THE S.P.T.E.**

The scheme of studies of the Bengal Technical Institute (controlled by the S.P.T.E.) was confined to technical education to be imparted in two stages: Intermediate and Secondary. In the Intermediate Department only practical training in such subjects as Fitting, Mechanical and Electrical, Dyeing, Carpentry, Lithography, Soap-making, Tanning, Electroplating was to be imparted. The original plan was to impart to the students also a theoretical training in all important subjects through the medium of the vernacular, but as this scheme did not work well, it had to be changed in favour of a purely practical course. Elementary lessons in Physics, Chemistry, English and Mathematics were also to be taught. The period of training in the Intermediate stage was to cover three years only. Students of school-going age with a fair knowledge of the Vernacular and with "such training as is imparted to students reading in the Matriculation Class or two or three classes below it" were eligible for admission.

34. A brief account of the Bengal Technical Institute is furnished by the *Dawn Magazine* (October 1909, Part III, pp. 101-104).
The next higher department was the Secondary in which the Entrance-passed or the Fifth Standard passed or students with equivalent qualifications were eligible for admission. The Engineering Course of the Secondary Stage included Mechanical and Electrical studies, while the Chemical Course comprised Ceramics, Dyeing, Soap-making, Tanning and Technological Chemistry. The training was to be both theoretical and practical. In the Engineering and Technological Chemistry Courses the period of training was four years. Higher Collegiate education was left out of the scheme for the present, as the authorities of the S.P.T.E. considered it beyond their means.

The Bengal Technical Institute contained, like the Bengal National College and School, a Manufactural Department where the students, previously equipped with theoretical and practical knowledge, were to manufacture articles and to undertake "repairs of motor cars, printing presses and other instruments and machines". This Department had got apparatus for sheet-metal manufacture and tin-printing in colours. Orders were also to be received for making bowls, plates, etc., out of aluminium, brass or other metals.

The Bengal Technical Institute started its career since July 25, 1906 in a rented house (secured at a little over Rs. 300/- per mensem) situated at 92, Upper Circular Road (where the University Science College now stands). On the teaching staff of this Institute were many brilliant Teachers and Professors, both Indian and European. The post of the Principal was adorned at first by Pramatha Nath Bose (1906-1908) and then by Sarat Kumar Datta from July, 1909 to July, 1910. It may be said that Mr. Datta was the first Indian who passed with the highest honours the Electrical Engineering Examination of the Technological University of Charlottenburg, the greatest of its kind in Europe at that time. He was thus an asset to the Bengal Technical Institute. Among the other members of the staff during this period were noticed J. K. Das-Gupta (Prof. of Mechanical Engineering), C. F. Boak (Engineer on the staff of Messrs. Martin & Co., Calcutta) and Manmatha Roy (Professor
of Electrical Engineering), Satya Sundar Deb (an expert trained in Japan, in charge of the Calcutta Pottery Works, Professor of Ceramics), J. R. Coulon (a French expert in Applied Chemistry, Professor of Tanning), G. C. Sen (Professor of Bleaching and Calico-printing), Sushil Chandra Chakravarty and Surendra Madhab Mullick (Professors of Physics and Mathematics), Jyotish Chandra Bose (Professor of Chemistry) and Krishna Chandra Sammaddar (Professor of Geology and Mineralogy). It is further to be noted that B. B. Ranade, Superintendent of Workshops, Madan Mohan Dutt, Teacher of Chemistry, and Mr. G. W. Davis, Teacher of Smithy and Fitting, having left the Institute, the vacancies were filled up by the appointment of two distinguished graduates from the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute of Bombay, Hriday Chandra Bose, L.M.E. and Ajit Mohan Ghosh, L.M.E.

In 1909 the roll strength of the Bengal Technical Institute was 124, of whom 36 belonged to the Intermediate Department and 88 to the Secondary.

**CURRICULUM OF THE N.C.E.**

Unlike the limited programme of the S.P.T.E., the curriculum of the N.C.E. was broad-based and comprehensive. Its scheme of studies was to be imparted in three stages: Primary (including a three years' course commencing from the 6th year of the student), Secondary (including a seven years' course commencing from the 9th year) and Collegiate (including a four years' course commencing from the 16th year).

In the Primary Stage, Literary and Scientific education was to be given in combination with rudimentary Technical education imparted by object-lessons and the kindergarten system. The boys were to be taught “the use of simple tools, clay-modelling, paper-cutting, wicker-work, and the preparation of simple models in cardboard.” Throughout the Primary Course the teaching was imparted orally as far as possible, without reference to text-books.

In the Secondary Stage also, Literary and Scientific education
was to go hand in hand with "such branches of Technical Education as may be necessary to prepare the student for his intended career in life." In this stage, workshop practice was introduced. Up to the Fifth Year of theSecondary Course or the Entrance or Matriculation Standard of the Indian Universities, all branches of Science, including Physics, Chemistry and Biology, were to be learnt with the aid of experiments and without text-books. In this manner Scientific and Technical education went on simultaneously with Literary education from the First Year of the Primary Stage up to the Fifth Year of the Secondary Stage or the Matriculation Standard of the Indian Universities. At the end of the Fifth Year, the student might take up either the Secondary Literary Course or the Secondary Scientific Course or the Secondary Technical Course. But each Course provided more or less for a mixed course of studies. The School Department of the N.C.E. came up to the Seventh Year Stage or the F.A. or Intermediate Standard of the Indian Universities.

After the completion of the Seventh Year of the Secondary Stage commenced the Collegiate or the Proficiency Stage as it was called. Specialisation of study was the rule at this stage and the students might take up either Literary or Scientific or Technical Course. There were provisions for further selections even within these selected groups. Let us now have a glimpse into the Schemes of Study as prescribed by the N.C.E.

**Schemes of Study**

**A. PRIMARY STAGE (extending over three years)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Year</th>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Scientific and Technical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arithmetic, Object-lessons and Drawing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Year</th>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Scientific and Technical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular Reader, Story-telling and Geography</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arithmetic, Object-lessons and Drawing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Scientific and Technical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD YEAR</strong></td>
<td>Vernacular Reader, Geography and English Alphabetical Primer</td>
<td>Arithmetic, General Laws of Health, Object-lessons and Drawing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. SECONDARY STAGE—LOWER (extending over five years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Scientific and Technical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FIRST YEAR</strong></td>
<td>Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian, Vernacular Prose and Poetry, English Reader (chiefly dealing with Indian things and thoughts), History and Geography (both in Vernacular)</td>
<td>Arithmetic, Object-lessons (comprising things economic, physiological and physical), Workshop Practice and Drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECOND YEAR</strong></td>
<td>Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian, Vernacular Prose and Poetry, English Reader, History (in Vernacular) and Geography (in Vernacular)</td>
<td>Arithmetic, Science, Workshop Practice and Drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD YEAR</strong></td>
<td>Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian, Vernacular Prose and Poetry, English, History (in Vernacular) and Geography (in Vernacular)</td>
<td>Mathematics, Science, Workshop Practice and Drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOURTH YEAR</strong></td>
<td>Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian, Vernacular Prose and Poetry, English, History and Geography (both in Vernacular)</td>
<td>Mathematics, Science, Workshop Practice and Drawing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fifth Year

Sanskrit or Arabic or Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Sanitary Science, Workshop Practice and Drawing

N.B. Up to the Fifth Year of the Secondary Course, all branches of Science were to be learnt with the aid of experiments and without text-books, and no written examinations should be held. Besides, the study of the French, German, Japanese and Pali languages as optional subjects was recommended.

B. Secondary Stage—Upper (extending over two years)

I. The Secondary Literary Course (extending over two years)

A. For study only. An Oriental vernacular, English, Logic and elementary Physics and Chemistry.

B. For study and examination—

1) An Oriental Classic, and

2) Any one of the following groups:—

(a) History and Economics

(b) Psychology and Ethics

(c) Pali, Hindi and either Marathi or Gujarati or Tamil or Telugu

(d) French and German

Candidates for the Seventh Standard Examination (corresponding to the F.A., or Intermediate Examination of the Indian Universities) and offering the Secondary Literary Course were required to write an essay in English and also an essay in a vernacular on one or more of the subjects prescribed for examination.

C. For Study only. Optional.

One or more of the commercial subjects, viz. Shorthand, Type-writing, Book-keeping, Banking, Insurance, Commercial Geography, Correspondence and Arithmetic.
II. The Secondary Scientific Course
(extend over two years)

A. For study only. An Oriental vernacular, English, Logic and elementary Economics.

B. For study and examination—
   (1) Physics and Chemistry (with laboratory work) and
   (2) Any one of the following groups:—
       (a) Mathematics, Drawing and Workshop Practice
       (b) Biology and Physiology (with laboratory work)
       (c) Geology and Biology (with laboratory work)
       (d) Agriculture and Biology (with practical work)

Candidates for the Seventh Standard Examination (corresponding to the F.A. or Intermediate Examination of the Indian Universities) and offering the Secondary Scientific Course were required to write an essay in English and also an essay in a vernacular on one or more of the subjects prescribed for examination.

III. The Secondary Technical Course
(extend over three years)

A. A general course of instruction in—
   (i) Physics,
   (ii) Chemistry,
   (iii) Mathematics,
   (iv) Drawing,
   and

B. A special course of instruction in—
   (i) Machine Drawing,
   (ii) Mechanics,
   (iii) Steam-engines, Boilers and Prime Movers,
   (iv) Hand and Machine Tools,
   (v) Pattern-making,
   (vi) Brass-moulding,
   (vii) Smithy,
   (viii) Turning,
   (ix) Fitting.
N.B. Apprenticeship Course:—“Students who have not passed any previous examination or passed through any course of studies may be admitted into the Technical Department as outside students for practical instruction in one or more of the arts and industries mentioned above or as many of them as may be provided for by the Council. They shall receive certificates of successful apprenticeship.”

C. COLLEGIATE STAGE (extending over four years)

I. Literary

(i) Linguistic

A. An Oriental Classical language and literature with an allied vernacular—Sanskrit or Pali, Arabic or Persian and Bengali or Assamese, Uriya, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, or Gujarati

B. English Language and Literature

C. Comparative Philology

(ii) Historical

Group I. History

A. An Introductory Course of Lectures on the importance of historical studies to the Indian students

B. History of the Civilisation of India

C. History of the Civilisation of Europe

D. History of the Civilisation of Greece and Rome

E. History of the Spread of Buddhism

F. History of the Spread of Christianity

G. History of the Spread of Mahomedanism

H. A study of the Period, 1557-1688

I. A study of the period, 1757-1857

J. A study of the histories of Japan, China and America during 1850-1900

K. A study of the following historical characters, their work and their times—

1. Washington

2. Bismarck
3. Victor Emmanuel, Mazzini and Garibaldi
4. Solyman the Magnificent
5. Mutshohito
6. Ferdinand and Isabella
7. Napoleon Bonaparte
8. Peter the Great
9. Frederick the Great
10. Chengiz Khan
11. Abraham Lincoln
12. Kosciusko

Group II. Economics

A. History of the Economic Condition of India during
   (i) Hindu times,
   (ii) Mahomedan times,
   (iii) The Company’s rule,
   (iv) Direct British rule.

B. An Elementary Course of Political Economy, analytical and descriptive, with special reference to India.

C. An advanced course of Political Economy to include discussion of economic writers and systems, methods of investigation of current topics (opinions not to be taught), history of Economic theories, etc.

Note.—It is desirable that students should have a knowledge of the French language and such knowledge should be insisted on as soon as practicable.

Group III. Political Science

A. Introduction to Political Science—Society and State and their mutual relations.

B. Study of the forms and methods of government, legislative and administrative, in India (including the Native States) under Hindu, Mahomedan and British rule.

C. Study of the typical forms of government in
   (i) England,
   (ii) France,
   (iii) Germany,
(iv) Switzerland,
(v) The United States,
(vi) Japan,
(vii) Turkey.

ID. History of the theories about (1) the origin, (2) the nature and (3) the ends of the State.

EE. Methods and instruments of Government—the Sovereignty of the State and its organs.

IF. (a) A general survey of recent political progress.

(b) Tendencies in modern International Relations as affected by Commerce and Labour.

(iii) Philosophical

1. Logic
2. Psychology
3. Ethics
4. Metaphysics
5. History of Philosophy
6. Natural and Comparative Religion
7. Indian Philosophical Systems:
   Group I—Hindu,
   or Group II—Muhammadan.

N.B. Candidates were expected to possess a good knowledge of Sanskrit or Arabic; and a knowledge of German was deemed desirable.

II. Scientific

1. Pure Mathematics (with Mixed Mathematics as a subsidiary subject)
   or
   Mixed Mathematics (with Pure Mathematics as a subsidiary subject).

2. Physics as principal subject with Chemistry and Mathematics as subsidiary subjects for study but not for examination.

3. Chemistry as principal subject with Physics and Mathematics as subsidiary subjects for study but not for examination.
III. Technical

1. Agriculture including Forestry
2. Manufacture including Mining
3. Commerce and Zemindary Management

N.B. The scheme for Higher or Collegiate Technical Course was not complete at the time of framing the N.C.E's Schemes of Study in 1906. "It," announced Sir Gooroodass in August, 1906, "would be settled after consultation with experts." A detailed scheme of studies for the Collegiate Course (Applied), consisting of Mechanical Engineering Course, Applied Chemistry Course and Scientific Pharmacy Course, was adopted by the N.C.E. for the National College session from August, 1908 and was published in almost all the dailies of Calcutta as well as in the August, 1908 issue of the Dawn Magazine. It is also to be found in the N.C.E's Calendar for 1906-08.

IV

1. Medicine
2. Engineering
3. Pedagogics
4. Law

Manufacturing Courses of Study in the
Bengal National College

I

COLLEGE MECHANICAL ENGINEERING COURSE (Four Years)

A. Mechanical Engineering:—

(a) Manufacturing and repairing of machines and tools &c. with drawing and designing—as principal subject.

(b) Manufacturing and repairing of Scientific apparatus in Physics including Electrical appliances, with drawing and designing—as subsidiary subject.

B. or Vice versa.

N.B. Only those students who have passed the 7th Standard Examination in the Secondary Scientific Course 2 (a)
of the Scheme of Studies prescribed by the National Council of Education will be eligible for admission to the College Mechanical Engineering Course and those who have not gone through the Secondary Technical Course shall have to complete that course in the first two years of their College Course.

The Secondary Scientific Course (a) aforesaid, includes Mathematics, Drawing, Workshop Practice, Physics and Chemistry (both with laboratory work). The Secondary Technical Course includes a special course of instruction in Machine Drawing, Mechanics, Steam-Engines, Boilers and Prime Movers, Hand and Machine tools, Pattern-making, Brass-moulding, Smithy, Turning and Fitting.

Those who take up (b) as their principal subject shall be required to go through such higher portions of Mathematics and theoretical and practical Physics as may be necessary.

II

College Applied Chemistry Course
(Four Years)

First Stage

(a) Full Course of Chemistry inorganic and organic (theoretical and experimental) including analysis, qualitative and quantitative.

(b) Manufacturing processes including the manufacture of substances of industrial importance—oxygen, chlorine, bleaching powder, hydrochloric, nitric and sulphuric acids, phosphorus, soda, soda products, pearl-ash, alkalis, plaster of Paris, quicklime, pencils, inks, matches, alloys and solders.

(c) Mechanical Engineering so far as it is necessary for chemical works.

Second Stage

(a) General principles of Agricultural, Commercial and Manufacturing Chemistry with demonstration.
Select methods of Analysis.

1. Qualitative and quantitative analysis of soils and manures.
2. Qualitative and quantitative analysis of food articles, natural waters and ordinary animal products.
3. Qualitative and quantitative analysis of minerals, (especially coal and iron), fuel, gas, oil, fats.
4. Qualitative and quantitative analysis of textile fabrics, sizing materials, bleaching stuffs, dye-stuffs.

(c) Manufacturing Processes:

1. Bleaching and dyeing
2. Soap and candle
3. Manure
4. Lac, indigo, ink
5. Paints, polishes, varnishes

N.B. Only those students who have passed the 7th Standard Examination in either Secondary Scientific 2 (a) or 2 (b) of the Schemes of Studies prescribed by the National Council of Education, Bengal will be eligible for admission to the College Applied Chemistry Course. The Secondary Scientific Course 2 (b) aforesaid includes Biology and Physiology (with laboratory work).

III

College Scientific Pharmaceutical Course
(Four Years)

(i) Medicine:

No general Scheme of medical study has been framed but the study of the following preliminary subjects is prescribed for Proficiency Examination in Scientific Pharmacy and as a preparation for the study of Medicine:

(a) Chemistry

Primary Stage:

(i) General—(inorganic and organic)—theoretical and experimental,—analysis both qualitative and quantitative.

Secondary Stage:

(i) Physiological—optional except for those who intend to study medicine.
(ii) Pharmaceutical

(b) Botany
   (i) General
   (ii) Pharmaceutical

(c) Materia Medica (Indian and European)
Optional except (d) Zoology (including Proto-
for those who zoology)
intend to study (e) Anatomy (comparative and
medicine human) with dissection

(f) Physiology

N.B. Only those students who have passed the 7th
Standard Examination in Secondary Scientific 2 (b) of the
Scheme of Studies prescribed by the National Council of Edu-
cation, Bengal, are eligible to the College Scientific Pharma-
cutical Course.

The above-mentioned courses were meant for the higher
Technical education according to which classes were opened in
the Bengal National College from August 15, 1908.

There was a clause in the National Council’s Memorandum
of Association which provided “for denominational religious
education out of funds specially contributed for that purpose:
Such education, however, is not to include the enforcement of
religious rites and practices.” Sj. Brojendra Kishore Roy
Choudhury, one of the foundation-donors, set apart by a Deed
of Endowment the annual sum of Rs. 2000 “for providing
religious education for Hindu boys”. In order to properly
utilise the sum “a scheme of religious education for Hindu
boys” was framed by a six-man select body of the Execu-
tive Committee consisting of Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Pandit
Panchanan Tarkaratna, Hirendra Nath Datta, Ray Jatindra
Nath Chowdhury, Manomohan Bhattacharya and Mohini
Mohan Chatterjee and was passed at a meeting of the National
Council held in November, 1908.

The scheme of religious education provided for both
theoretical and practical training to be imparted to the students
through their graduated courses of instruction, Primary,
Secondary and Collegiate. As the enforcement of religious rites and practices was not permitted by the constitution of the Council, the scheme under review insisted, besides theoretical education in Hindu religion, upon practical discipline to be taught "by the presentment of examples furnished by the lives of the great religious teachers and devotees". In the Primary stage of instruction this would be further supplemented by "short illustrative stories from the lives of Dhruva, Prahlad, Rama, Buddha, Chaitanya etc., relating to incidents that appeal forcibly to infant minds", and in the Secondary stage "by stories of great Brahmacharies, ideal house-holders, Sadhus, religious teachers etc., such as those of Bhishma, Janak, Ramchandra" and others. Besides, the conception of an all-powerful, all-pervading God, as the Ruler of the Universe, should also be impressed upon the minds of the pupils by the teacher.

The practical religious education in the Collegiate stage embraced not merely the study of the lives of great Indian religious teachers and devotees, but also of the accounts of great religious movements inaugurated by such men as Buddha, Sankara, Ramanuj, Chaitanya, Nanak, Tukaram and Kavir in different parts of India.

Corresponding to the different stages,—Primary, Secondary (including both the Fifth Standard and the Seventh Standard) and Collegiate—as envisaged by the N.C.E., there were to be held four Public Examinations, viz., (1) the Primary Examination after the completion of the Primary Course; (2) the Lower Secondary or the Fifth Standard Examination after the completion of the Fifth Year Course (corresponding to the Matriculation Examination of the Indian Universities); (3) the Upper Secondary or Seventh Standard Examination after the completion of the Seventh Year Course (corresponding to the Intermediate Examination of the Indian Universities); and finally (4) the Proficiency Examination after the completion of the College Course (corresponding to the B.A. Honours or M.A. Examination of the Indian Universities). A successful candidate in the Proficiency Examination would be entitled a Proficient in his department or subject. Sir Gooroodass announced in the
Town Hall meeting of 14th August, 1906 that after some years the Fifth Standard Examination would be dropped and there would be held only three Public Examinations.

After passing the Proficiency Examination students were entitled to carry on specialised study under competent guidance for a period of two years as research-scholars, "some of whom may be elected to the Fellowship to be instituted by the Council. Study for this further period should be of a thorough and comprehensive nature and confined to some one special branch of the subject selected by the student for the Proficiency examination and a diploma of High Proficiency in the special subject selected will be granted to the student after testing his qualification by thesis and research work or by examination as well." Thus the N.C.E. aimed at performing at different stages the functions of a modern University on national lines and exclusively under national control.

A few words should be said at this stage about the special features of the scheme of National Education as adopted by the N.C.E.

The fundamental ideal of the N.C.E.'s scheme was the "quickening of the national life of the people" as Satis Chandra Mukherjee observed or "the realisation of the national destiny" as Bipin Chandra Pal put it. On its liberal side, the scheme as a whole sought "to train students intellectually and morally so as to mould their character according to the highest national ideals; and on its technical side to train them so as to qualify them for developing the natural resources of the country and increasing its material wealth." It laid "just importance to the awakening of the powers of observation and thought by means of Object Lessons" and sought "to make education real

35. A detailed account of the Course of Studies and Schemes of Examinations of the N.C.E. is furnished by the National Council's Calendar for 1906-1908 (pp. 37-80 and Appendix C. pp. 9-13) and by the Dawn Magazine (March and July, 1908, Part III).


37. Vide: N.C.E.'s Calendar for 1906-1908 (pp. 80-81) or Dr Gooroo Dass Banerjee's Speech at the Town Hall meeting on August 14, 1906 as incorporated in the Calendar (Appendix B, pp. 11-12).
by insisting on the learner's acquiring a knowledge of things and thoughts and not merely words and sentences which are only their verbal expression". A very important feature was that it sought "to make education easy by imparting it through the medium of the learner's vernacular", such as Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, etc., English being a compulsory second language. The course of study was so arranged as to enable the students to learn in five years what they took under the Calcutta University's scheme at least seven years to learn. This saving of time was the result of imparting education through the vernacular and of elimination from the course of study unimportant and unnecessary details. A second feature was that arrangements were made for technical education in all classes up to the Fifth Standard of the Secondary Stage along with literary and scientific education on a compulsory basis, while provisions were made for specialisation in the Collegiate Course. The Intermediate Stage or the 6th and 7th Years of the Secondary Stage marked a transitional phase. The third feature was the systematic provision for the study of physical, natural or positive sciences along with liberal arts, culture and humanism. The fourth feature was its provision for moral and religious as well as physical education subject to certain conditions. The moral and religious education was, however, "not to include the enforcement of religious rites and practices", as was expressly stated in the Report of the Ways and Means Committee and in the Memorandum of Association of the National Council. A fifth and a most characteristic feature was the provision for researches into ancient Indian history, philosophy, economics, politics, arts and sciences as well as other aspects of culture. Equally noteworthy was the attempt to encourage the study of Hindi and Marathi languages as well as Pali, Persian and Sanskrit as sources for first-hand historical research. French and German also were to be taught as aids to the study of modern science and philosophy as well as European methods in the study of Indian culture. These items taken together constituted a revolutionary ideology for Young Bengal during 1905-1906 in the field of education.
From the foregoing lines it is patent on the surface that the sponsors and organisers of the N.C.E. did not try, as some well-known scholars want to have us believe, to reorganise the educational life of the nation on a "decaying and corrupt metaphysics" nor "on the basis of the most antiquated religion and religious superstitions". Neither did they try to effect a "revival in India of ancient times" (Nehru) nor did they condemn modern science and scientific knowledge of the west. If they were loud in their cry for the preservation of what was best in the historic traditions of the race, they were equally passionate in their zeal for the wide diffusion of modern scientific knowledge among their countrymen. They sought to establish national control over education and run it on national lines; they sought to impart education, as far as practicable under the circumstances, through the medium of the vernacular, English being retained as a compulsory second language; they sought to make provision for technical education as well as for the study of physical, natural or positive sciences along with liberal arts, culture and humanism; they sought to provide for researches into ancient Indian history, philosophy, economics, politics, arts and sciences as well as other aspects of culture; they sought to encourage the study of Hindi and Marathi languages as well as Pali, Persian and Sanskrit as sources for first hand historical research; and they sought to encourage the study of French and German as aids to the study of modern science and philosophy as well as European methods in the study of Indian culture. Finally, they also made provision for moral and religious education, in case special donations for the purpose were forthcoming, but then, "it was not to include the enforcement of religious rites and practices", as

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38. It is unfortunate that Hemchandra Kanungo's Bengali work on Revolutionary Attempts in Bengal (Calcutta, first edition, 1928, pp. 86-92), is an utter misrepresentation or perversion of a reality so far as National Education Movement of the Swadeshi days is concerned. Equally deplorable is R. Palme Dutt's India Today (second revised Indian edition, 1949, pp. 303-06) where the author indulges in many hasty and unwarrantable statements on the social and cultural outlook of the political "Extremists" or the "Nationalists" of the Swadeshi period. Equally faulty is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's contention on the point concerned in his Autobiography (pp. 23-4).
expressly stated in the Report of the Ways and Means Committee and in the Memorandum of Association of the National Council. Certainly the advocates of these ideals were not "champions of social reaction and superstition" (R. P. Dutt) on the cultural front. On the contrary, these ideals reflect the progressive and modernist outlook of the sponsors of National Education at the beginning of the century. They advocated, no doubt, the gospel of boycott even in the educational field, but educational boycott implied rejection of official control over education by the alien bureaucratic government, and not the boycott of modern science and culture of the West. A shrewd observer of the situation may reasonably ask the question: "If the leaders of the National Education Movement were not progressive in their outlook, what then progressive outlook meant in those days in education and culture?"

The National Council of Education that was organised in March, 1906 set up under it in Calcutta the Bengal National College and School (August, 1906), with Aurobindo Ghose as the first Principal and Satis Chandra Mukherjee as the first executive head or the Superintendent. At the Calcutta session of the Congress held in December, 1906, Hirendra Nath Datta, one of the main builders of the National Council of Education, moved a resolution in favour of National Education which was officially accepted by the Congress as an integral point in its

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39. P. Sitaramia devotes less than eight pages on the Swadeshi Movement in his official History of the Indian National Congress (First Edition, 1935), which contains more than one thousand pages. He has taken the trouble of writing only two sentences on National Education of that time, but each sentence bristles with mistakes. First, the parent organisation for National Education that was set up in Bengal in 1906 was named Jatiya Shiksha Parisad, and not Banga Jatiya Vidya Parisad. Secondly, it was set up not in accordance with the resolution of the Calcutta Congress on the subject (held in December, 1906); the truth is just the reverse. The Congress resolution on the subject was an effect of the National Council of Education that had been functioning since March, 1906. Thirdly, Jatiya Shiksha Parisad or the National Council of Education was set up not under the headship of Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, but under Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh. Fourthly, the first Principal of the National College at Calcutta was Aurobindo Ghose and not Satis Chandra Mukherjee who was its first Superintendent. Finally, the author of the official history of the Congress has confused the National Council of Education, the parent body, with the Bengal National College and School, that was set up under it at Calcutta in August, 1906. The same mistakes are glaringly retained by P. Sitaramia even in the second edition of the book (Vol. I, p. 69) published in 1946.
programme. The movement for National Education was not confined to Bengal alone, but was also in progress in other parts of India. In the growth and organisation of the National Education Movement nobody played a greater role than Satis Chandra Mukherjee of whom Aurobindo feelingly observed in course of his Bombay speech on the 19th January, 1908:

"I spoke to you the other day about National Education and I spoke of a man who had given his life to that work, the man who really organised the National College in Calcutta, and that man also is a disciple of a Sannyasin, that man also, though he lives in the world, lives like a Sannyasin."

The spirit of nationalism which led to the foundation of the Bengal National College inspired all its plans and programmes of study. It effected a marked transformation even in the character of the questions that were set at its Examinations or what was called the Fifth Standard and Seventh Standard Examinations corresponding to the Entrance and F.A. Examinations of the Indian Universities. This change was particularly noticed in the questions on History which laid emphasis upon its national aspects which were somewhat obscure in the extant books of English writers. A sample of the change may be cited in the following question in History: "When and in what form did England's connexion with India begin, and what is the nature of that connexion now?" This question was set in the Fifth Standard Examination of 1906 by Chandra Nath Bose and Aurobindo Ghose. Questions of a like nature were also set in subsequent years. The Government of India found flavour of sedition in such questions as well as in the resolutions and the text-books of the National Council. As Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji tells us: "A report to that effect was made by the Chief of the Criminal Investigation Department, Sir Charles Cleweland(?). The report was sent for consideration directly to the President of the National Council, Dr. Rashbehary Ghosh", who after consulting Gooroo Dass Banerjee and Satis Chandra

41. Sri Aurobindo's Speeches (Calcutta 1948, p. 15).
Mukherjee sent a reply in 1908 to the Government of India, denying any political motives behind the courses and programmes of study of the Council and himself promising to see that questions set in future were stripped of all excess of nationalist sentiment liable to be misinterpreted. Dr. Mookerji's story is corroborated by Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar, the Assistant Secretary of the National Council in those days⁴².

The early years of the movement

Growth of Leftism in Politics

The years following 1905 were a period of revolutionary enthusiasm and activities on all fronts of national life. The progress of the Swadeshi Movement went on unabated. The cry for Swaraj on the political plane was raised louder and louder in the air. Thanks to the energism of Bipin Chandra Pal, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya and Aurobindo Ghose, radicalism as a distinct and pronounced force was introduced into Bengal politics. The New India, the Sandhya and the Bande Mataram, edited respectively by these three giant leaders, were among the most powerful organs employed for the dissemination of radical political ideologies all over the country. So far as the mofussil areas were concerned, the names of Barisal Hitaiishi and Bikash, both being organs of Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal at that time, must be mentioned.

The New India, an English weekly, was started by Bipin Chandra Pal on August 12, 1901. Bipinchandra's role in fostering the spirit of the new nationalism which ultimately burst over the country in 1905 in the Swadeshi Movement was worthy of highest recognition. He had a new political philosophy as well as a message to deliver to the country, which he triumphantly preached through the columns of his weekly journal. The philosophy of the Nationalist Party in Bengal (i.e. the Extremists of 1905-06 in contradistinction to the Moderates of the time)—the philosophy which rejected the doctrine of the God-ordained mission of England in India and advocated the ideal of autonomy realizable only through an organised passive resistance—was in no small measure the work of the creative imagination and patriotic fire of the Editor of the New India. Bipinchandra was referred to by Aurobindo himself in course
of his Uttarpara Speech as “one of the mightiest prophets of Nationalism”. Bipinchandra was great not only as a thinker but also as a public orator. His maddening eloquence held the audience spell-bound in those days.

Yet, the New India, being an English weekly, could count as its readers only the English educated sections of our community. To the masses or the people its voice was inaudible. To supply that great need Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya came forward and established his evening Bengali daily, viz., the Sandhya, in 1904. His career was dramatic in the extreme. “In his early days he had played many a mad prank. He first fell in violent love with everything European—language, religion, manners, customs and all, and became a Christian. Indeed, his love took him to Europe—the very native jungles of his Christian brethren. But he came back a confirmed hater of everything European”. On his return from Europe he turned a thorough-going Hindu, resumed his sacred thread and became an ardent patriot and an uncompromising critic of British rule whose doings he criticised in his famous evening daily. His bitter and sarcastic comments on the English Government and the denationalised Indians were devoured with avidity by thousands of our countrymen in those stirring times.

As the Swadeshi Movement was progressing apace in 1906 the necessity of having an English daily, mirroring the ideals of the new Nationalists of Bengal before the whole of India, was felt more and more. Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose took the lead and the financial contributions of Haridas Halder and Subodh Chandra Mallick stood them in good stead. On the 6th of August 1906 the first issue of the Bande Mataram was brought out, with Bipinchandra as the Editor-in-Chief. The Bande Mataram was soon reorganised and “the first issue, after the reorganisation, made its appearance on 1st
November, 1906 from its new office, 2/1, Creek Row". On its editorial staff were not only Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose, but also Shyam Sundar Chakraborty, Hemendra Prasad Ghose and Bejoy Chandra Chatterjee. Some differences of opinion cropped up at this stage between Bipinchandra and Aurobindo, with the result that the former abjured editorial connection with the Bande Mataram, leaving the latter as the dominant factor in the milieu of the new Nationalist organ.

The Bande Mataram under Aurobindo's leadership opened a new chapter in the history of Indian nationalism. It told a mighty people reawakening after a great downfall that they had misspent half a century of unavailing effort in pursuing a policy of prayers and petitions. It exposed before the eyes of the countrymen the true colours of the despotic alien bureaucracy they were living under. It gave expression to the will of the people and sketched their ideals and aspirations with the greatest amount of fidelity. "Political freedom," declared Aurobindo, "is the life-breath of a nation; to attempt social reform, educational reform, industrial expansion, the moral improvement of the race without aiming first and foremost at political freedom, is the very height of ignorance and futility". And his prescription for the attainment of that goal was the adoption of "the old orthodox historical method of organised resistance to the existing form of Government". The first principle of "passive resistance" which the new school of Bengal politics advocated was, in the words of Aurobindo, "to make the administration under present conditions impossible by an organised refusal to do anything which shall help either the British commerce in the exploitation of the country or British officialdom in the administration of it,—unless and until the conditions are changed in the manner and to the extent demanded by the people." This attitude of organised

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3. H. P. Ghose's Aurobindo (Cal. 1949, p. 12). It is a very illuminating study, based on authentic records and the author's personal experiences, about that Prophet of Nationalism.

4. Vide Sri Aurobindo's Doctrine of Passive Resistance (Cal., 1948, p. 3) which is a collection of the author's several articles on the same subject originally published in the Bande Mataram in April, 1907.
refusal of co-operation with the English Government was summed up in the word 'Boycott', which was interpreted both by Bipinchandra and Aurobindo as implying economic boycott, educational boycott, judicial boycott, and last but not least boycott of executive administration. Evidently these great leaders and thinkers of the Swadeshi Movement were thus functioning as the genuine predecessors and spiritual fathers of the later Non-Co-operation Movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920.

Aurobindo also preached the cult of patriotism as the supreme religion and acknowledged Bankimchandra as the "inspirer and political guru" of the new spirit which was leading the nation to resurgence and independence. As early as 1894 Aurobindo observed in course of his serial articles on Bankimchandra that his three noble services to the Bengali race were to create "a language, a literature and a nation" and pointed out with prophetic accuracy that the future of the country lay with the generation created by Bankin. And in the midst of the Swadeshi Movement he acclaimed Bankim as a 'Rishi' who gave us the mantram of *Bande Mataram* or the religion of patriotism. What had been a dream or a wishful thinking in 1882 was transformed during 1905-06 into a dynamic doctrine of revolutionary Bengal.

"In fact between Aurobindo, Bipinchandra and Brahmabandhab," observes Dr. S. C. Roy, "they created a new Nationalist Movement and philosophy in the country to which Rabindranath supplied the genius of his poetic Muse. Before this there was certainly politics, but there was no ideal of composite nationalism, and it is the one special contribution of the Bengal school of political thinkers who made their..."

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5. In August, 1894 Aurobindo wrote: "Already we see the embryo of a new generation soon to be with us, whose imagination Bankim has caught and who care not for Keshab Chandra Sen and Kristo Das Pal, a generation national to a fault, loving Bengal and her new glories, and if not Hindus themselves, yet zealous for the honour of the ancient religion and hating all that makes war on it. With that generation the future lies and not with the Indian Unnational Congress or the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Already its vanguard is upon us." (*Bankin Chandra Chatterji*, Pondicherry, 1954, pp. 45-46).
In this assessment of creative leadership the name of Satischandra, the silent inspirer of Young Bengal, must be mentioned as a mighty feeder of Indian nationalism. Although never an extremist political leader like Bipinchandra or Aurobindo, yet Satischandra was an exponent of radical ideologies in the educational sphere and in the cultural realm. As a thinker his natural affiliations were more with Rabindranath than either with Bipinchandra or with Aurobindo for each of whom he had, however, an abiding respect. But the essence of nationalism which Satischandra had been preaching through the *Dawn* during all these years from 1904 was comparable in deeper spiritual quality with the spirit of nationalism as preached by Aurobindo in the *Bande Mataram*.

In the mofussil areas nobody during this period played a greater and more constructive role than Aswini Kumar Dutt, the uncrowned king of Backergunj. In the *leader* on “The Situation”, the *Telegraph* of Calcutta (June 28, 1906) condemned the irresponsible talks of many of the leaders of the time and highly appreciated in contrast what Aswini Kumar Dutt was doing silently in the countryside, and further observed: “Witness the predominant position of Srijut Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal. He controls the district, guides the people and he is their friend and philosopher. But there is one Aswinikumar and one Barisal.” Of Aswinikumar, Aurobindo also feelingly observed in the Jhalakati Conference held in June, 1909 in the same strain when he spoke: “Especially it is a cause of rejoicing to me to have that welcome in Barisal. When I come to this district, when I come to this soil of Backergunge which has been made sacred and ever memorable in the history of this country—I come to no ordinary place. When I come to Barisal, I come to the chosen temple of the Mother—I come to a sacred *pithasthan* of the national spirit—I come to the birth place and field of work of Aswini Kumar

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6. *Vide* Dr. S. C. Roy’s *The Story of My Times* (Cal., 1934, p. 73) which offers an interpretation of the economic, political and social development of India during the first three decades of the 20th century.
Dutt.” Such statements leave no doubt as to the unique position that Aswinikumar held in his own district and among the Nationalists of the time. He found his organs in two weeklies, viz., *Barisal Hitaishi*, edited by Durga Mohan Sen, and *Bikash*, edited by Priyanath Guha, both in their turn being inspired followers of Aswinikumar, and both the journals being directed to the propagation of the radical ideologies of Boycott and Swadeshi. Aswinikumar along with Bipinchandra and Aurobindo may be regarded in a sense the most powerful propagators of the cult of leftism in politics in the Swadeshi days. On the political plane each one of them was an extremist, advocating the doctrine of “passive resistance”, each in his own way and together they formed the spiritual backbone of the Nationalist Party in Bengal politics.

But even within the left camp further extremism developed by 1906 and it was taking the shape of terrorism. Of this new school in Bengal Aurobindo was in a sense the spiritual father whose influence on Bhupendranath and Barindra Kumar Ghose was unmistakable. Bhupendranath and Barindrakumar were upholders of the cult of triumph through terror. The visible embodiment of that revolutionary spirit was the *Yugantara*, a Bengali weekly, first published on the 15th of March, 1906. It openly and triumphantly preached the philosophy of militant nationalism and exhorted the people to shed their baseless fear of the British Government and to break the golden chains of foreign masters by direct action. Thus leftism, including its terroristic trends, became an active and pronounced force in Bengal politics in course of the year 1906.

With the growth of leftism in politics, the initiative of the Bengali Revolution (working since August 7, 1905) definitely passed from the hands of the older leaders like Surendra Nath Banerjea and Bhupendra Nath Basu into those of Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose who were constantly in alliance with Lala Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the

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7. From the report under the caption “Jhalakati Conference” published in the *Bengalee* on June 27, 1909.
8. The *Yugantara*, July 30, 1907 and the *Hitabadi*, Aug. 23, 1907.
two mighty exponents of radicalism in Western and Southern India. The Boycott-Swadeshi Movement was swiftly taking at their hands an unexpected turn. This new development was noticed with anxiety even by the foreigners. Andrew Carnegie who had got personal experience of Indian people at first hand sources, observed as early as June, 1906 that the ‘home-rule sentiment’ was in recent years growing rapidly and was continually strengthening in India. Speaking of Lord Kitchener’s activity in strengthening the British military position in India, this shrewd observer of Indian affairs commented thus: “If all were known, it is not Russian or any foreign attack that the military officials dread. It is the growing home-rule sentiment they consider dangerous to British control. It is against the people of India, not against the foreigner, that the legions are to be moved. It is within, not without, India that the wolf lurks.”

Again, Sir Henry Cotton in an excellent article on “The New Spirit in India” observed at about the same time: “There is now a party of Indian Nationalists who despair of constitutional agitation, and advocate the establishment of an absolutely free and independent form of national government. These men are the shadow of a cloud which casts itself over the future. A few years ago there was no prospect of the rise of such a party. They are the product of a policy of reaction, which has led to discontent and unrest and impatience of the British connexion with the country. The members of this party are in a minority at present. Their numbers are increasing, but they are not yet in a position of popular leaders. The recognised leaders of Indian thought and the original pioneers of the national movement, are still unaffected by these symptoms of alienation from the British Government. They are men of moderate views.”

Again, Valentine Chirol who had the privilege of acquiring first hand knowledge about the existing

9. The original article on “The Cry of Wolf” from the pen of Andrew Carnegie, written on June 10, 1906, was published in the Nineteenth Century and later reprinted in the Bande Mataram on Dec. 13, 1906.
Indian situation, also noticed this unexpected development of Indian politics and frankly confessed this when he wrote: “The question of Partition itself receded into the background, and the issue, until then successfully veiled and now openly raised, was not whether Bengal should be one unpartitioned province or two partitioned provinces under British rule, but whether British rule itself was to endure in Bengal or, for the matter of that, anywhere in India.”

In this background of 'storm and stress' the basis of National Education was laid broad and deep in the country. The activities of the National Council were quite in consonance with the general spirit of the Revolution working at that time.

During 1906-1910 the National Council of Education (N.C.E.) was a growing concern. Its work spread into three directions: first, to organise and develop a Model National College and School at Calcutta under its direct administration; secondly, to organise properly the National Schools already established in the mofussil areas and to found new National Schools at other places; and thirdly, to stimulate the spirit of National Education outside Bengal.

INAGURATION OF BENGAL NATIONAL COLLEGE AND SCHOOL
(CALCUTTA)

The first work of the N.C.E. after its formal inauguration (March 11, 1906) was the declaration of its intention to hold general and technical examinations in July next in pursuance of two resolutions adopted by the Council on March 31 and April 29, 1906. Some of the most distinguished scholars such as Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Rashbehari Ghose, Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Nagendra Nath Ghose, Aurobindo Ghose, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Nilratan Sircar, Dr. P. K. Roy, Hirendra Nath Datta, Moulvi Yusuf Khan Bahadur, Pramatha Nath Chaudhury undertook to set papers for these examinations. The question papers were so “framed

as to discourage cram and to test general knowledge and intelligence." There were altogether 729 candidates for these examinations which were held at Calcutta, Rangpur, Dacca, Comilla, Bankipore and Lahore. These examinations, however, were viewed with disfavour by many contemporaries at the time, as revealed in the writings of Jnanendra Lal Roy (Vide: Nabya-Bharat, Ashar 1313 B.S. or June-July 1906) and Ramananda Chatterjee (Prabasi, Jaistha 1313 B.S. or May, 1906). It is rather unfortunate that these preliminary examinations by way of Admission Tests as conducted by the N.C.E. should receive unmerited condemnation at their hands. These examinations were held simply to test the present qualifications of the candidates desirous of admission into the proposed Model National College and School to be set up in Calcutta as well as other National Schools already founded.

The next memorable work of the N.C.E. was the foundation of the Model National College and School at Calcutta, known as the Bengal National College and School. The inaugural ceremony was observed at a Town Hall meeting on the 14th August, 1906 at 5 P.M. under the Presidency of Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, the President of the Council. "In spite of the unostentatious way in which the ceremony had been advertised, and despite inclement weather the Hall was packed to its utmost capacity. The Hall was tastefully decorated, and bands of young men belonging to the Dawn Society, the Santan Samiti and similar other bodies, helped to keep order . . . All sections of the people were represented, and the enthusiasm they manifested during the proceedings proved the popularity of the movement." 13

The proceedings of the meeting opened with a brief but inspired speech of Dr. Ghose who observed: "Indeed I cannot imagine an occasion more solemn than that which has summoned us together in the historic hall. In saying this I am not using a mere phrase of courtesy, for we have assembled

12. N.C.E.'s Calendar for 1906-08, Appendix C, pp. 5-6.
13. Vide the N.C.E.'s Calendar for 1906-1908, Appendix B, and the Bengalee 15th August, 1906 for a full account of this memorable meeting.
together to celebrate the birth of the National Council of Education, an Institution on the successful working of which are staked the dearest and the best interests of the country. I cannot help remarking that the very sight of an assembly like the present makes the pulse beat faster and fills the most confirmed pessimists—elderly lawyers are always pessimists—with hopes for the regeneration of the country for which nature has done so much and men, I am sorry to add, so little.”

Next, Ashutosh Chaudhury, one of the Secretaries to the National Council of Education, read out certain letters and telegrams received from Jatindra Mohan Tagore, Peary Mohan Mukherjee, Surendra Nath Banerjea and Sister Nivedita, expressing their deep regret for their enforced absence from the meeting which was attended by practically all the leading men of the country, including distinguished Mahomedan gentlemen and some European scholars. Aurobindo Ghose who had been appointed the Principal of the Bengal National College graced the occasion by his presence along with other notables. Then Mr. Chaudhury read out the Report of the Council before the gathering.

Next, Dr. Gooroo Dass Banerjee delivered a learned and comprehensive address explaining the aims and objects and methods of the National Council. He observed: “It is work and not words that the public expect from us. The only useful purpose which words can serve at the present stage of our progress is to give the public an idea of our object and our plan of work, and to exhort our teachers and students to earnest exertion; and that is what I propose to do. An explanation of our aims and our methods may secure for us greater sympathy and support from our friends, and may serve to soften, if not to silence, unfriendly criticism.” It is well to remember that the aims and objects of the National Council were “sometimes misunderstood and misconstrued”, to quote the words of Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, by many of our countrymen and by the representatives of the ruling race. That is why Dr. Gooroo Dass Banerjee was required to explain anew the aims and
objects of the Council as stated in its Memorandum of Association. The fundamental object of the Council was “to impart Education, Literary and Scientific as well as Technical and Professional, on national lines and exclusively under national control, not in opposition to, but standing apart from, the existing system of Primary, Secondary and Collegiate Education, attaching special importance to a knowledge of the country, its literature, history and philosophy, and designed to incorporate with the best Oriental ideals of life and thought the best assimilable ideals of the West”.

While explaining the expression ‘Education on National Lines’, Dr. Banerjee tried to remove misconceptions about it. “It may be said,” he observed, “that though love of one’s own country and one’s own nation is laudable, yet education should not be limited by considerations of nationality, but should proceed upon a cosmopolitan basis. This may be true to a certain extent, and so far as it is true, the National Council accepts it by expressly providing for the incorporation of the best assimilable ideals of Western life and thought with our own. But though this assimilation of foreign ideals is desirable in the later stages of mental growth, in the earlier stages, such assimilation is not possible, and any attempt to force it on, will retard instead of accelerating the healthy development of the mind. Every student, when commencing his school education, brings, with him in addition to his outfit of language the importance of which should be separately considered, his stock of thoughts and sentiments, the gift of his nation, which the teacher, instead of ignoring and hastily displacing, should try to utilise and gradually improve. Want of due regard for this elementary principle is, I think, one of the main reasons why the existing system of English education in this country has failed to produce satisfactory results. Profiting by past experience, and proceeding on a priori grounds, the National Council has accordingly deemed it not only desirable but necessary to resolve upon imparting education on national lines, and attaching special importance to a knowledge of the country, its literature, its history and its philosophy.” Then Dr. Banerjee also explained
how ‘proficiency and discipline’ were intended to be promoted by the N.C.E., the necessity of a ‘denominational religious education’ and that of the ‘Vernaculars to be the medium of instruction’. He also pointed out how the N.C.E. intended to make provisions for the ‘encouragement of research and training of teachers’ and also the value the students would be acquiring from being trained under the Council’s scheme of studies.

This was followed by a brief speech in Urdu by Moulaavi Mohammad Yusuff who was then followed by Rabindra Nath Tagore who read a memorable Bengali paper entitled *Jatiya Vidyalaya* or National School, published originally in the *Bangadarshan* (New series, Bhadra, 1313 B.S. or August, 1906) and the *Bhandar* (Ashwin, 1313 B.S. or September, 1906). In course of his speech Rabindranath feelingly observed14:

“আমাদের দেশের একটি মূর্ত্তি এই হইয়াছে, শিক্ষা বল, ব্যাপ্তা বল, সম্প্রদায় বল, আমাদের উপর যে কিছু নির্ভর করিতেছে, একথা আমার এককম তুলিয়া-ছিলাম। অতএব এ সকল বিষয়ে আমাদের বোধ না বোধ দুই-ই প্রয়া সমান ছিল। আমরা জানি, দেশের সমস্ত মঙ্গল সাধনের দায়িত্ব গম্ভীরের; অতএব আমাদের অভাব কি আছে না আছে, তাহা বোধ দুই-ই কোনো কাজ অগ্রণী হইবার কোনো সম্ভাবনা নাই। এমনভাবে দায়িত্বরহিত আলোনিয়া পোনের ক্ষতি করে। ইহাতে পরের উপর নির্ভর আরো বাড়াইয়া তোলে।

মন্দীয় যে আমাদেরই কর্মক্ষেত্র এবং আমারই যে তাহার সর্বপ্রধান কর্মী, এমন কি, অন্য অন্যগুলিভর্পক্ষ যদিও আমাদের কর্মভার লাঘব করিবে, আমাদের সচেতন করিতে হইবে যেহেতু ঐ কর্ম করিবে, তজুই আমাদিগকে বৃদ্ধি করিয়া কাপুরুষ করিয়া তুলিবে—একথা যখন নিঃসংশয়ে দুর্বল, তখনই আমার আড্ডা বৃদ্ধিকার সময় হইবে।

বিদ্যাতার প্রসাদে আজ কেমন করিয়া সে পরিত্যাগ পাইয়াছি। আজ আমারা স্পষ্ট দেখিয়া পাইলাম, ইহাই ইচ্ছার ঐশ্বর্য, সমস্ত সত্তার গোড়াকা কথাটা ইহা। যুগ্ত নহে, তর্ক নহে, দৃষ্টান্ত-অনুভূতি হিসাব নহে, আজ বাঙালির মনে কোথা হইতে একটি ইচ্ছার বেগ উপাল্পতি হইল এবং পরবর্তী সমস্ত বাড়িবাড়ি, সমস্ত স্বশাসনের বিদ্রীষ্ট করিয়া অথবা পুণ্যক্ষে নানার আমাদের জাতীয় বিদ্যা-বিভাগ আমার গোপন করিয়া দেখা দিল। বাঙালীর হৃদয়ের ইচ্ছার বড়হোতাশন জালিয়া উঠিয়াছিল এবং সেই অপ্রিয়তা হইতে চর, হাতে করিয়া আজ দিবাপূর্ব্বে উঠিয়াছেন—আমাদের বহুদিনের শুদ্ধ আলোনিয়া বক্তর এইবার বুঝিবে।

14 The full text of R. N. Tagore’s speech was reproduced also in the *Dawn Magazine* (Sept.-Oct. issue, 1906, Part III, Bengali Portion).
Benoy Kumar Sarkar, an eye-witness to the historic Town Hall meeting of 14th August, 1906 describes Tagore’s paper read on that occasion as “a romantic outburst, so to say, or a string of jubilant odes in prose, as it were, on the consciousness of strength, on national self-realization, on the people’s Heavenly destined mission. In August, 1906 Tagore was holding forth as the author of Swadeshi Samaj, the paper read twice and published in July, 1904. In his political planning the Bengali people (Samaj) should carry on non-political and non-military activities without reference to the statal machinery. The people or the nation should remain indifferent to the Government.

“To the Town Hall meeting of 1906 he came evidently convinced that his previous message was being done into life. In the field of education his Bengali Samaj was appearing to achieve de-control, autonomy or independence of the administrative system. His expectation seemed to be fulfilled in another direction. Gooroo Dass Banerjee, whom in Swadeshi Samaj he had recommended as the President of his non-political Bengali republic, was found to be the life and soul of this independent national university. His idealism, therefore, knew no bounds.

“By the poet’s prose the audience was carried along on the wings of fine frenzy. The Town Hall was maddened into one solid human structure of life-devouring enthusiasm. It was revolution, personified, tingling, vitalized that Tagore and his
Young Bengal constituted on that August evening of 1906. The oratorical hypnotism was superb.”

Gooroo Dass Banerjee's English paper entitled *The National Council of Education, Bengal*, read on that occasion, which was a logical and objective pronouncement of the Council's objects and plan of work, “proved to be no less a chip of revolutionary Bengal.” “From top to bottom Banerjee's observations,” records Benoy Kumar Sarkar, “were direct hits hurled at the educational ideals, methods and practices of the preceding half-century. In his speech he did nothing but explain *ad seriatim*, like a seasoned lawyer, the important items of the *Memorandum of Association*. But every line, nay, every word went home to the audience as the bitter attack of the sexagenarian upon the Government and the University. His statements were moderate and modest. But to the people their 'meaning' was extremist, radical, revolutionary. This is but another illustration of the consequential or 'pragmatic' value of words or ideas.”

It was announced at this meeting by the President Dr. Rashbehari Ghose that besides the gifts of Brojendra Kishore Raychaudhuri (five lakhs) and Subodh Chandra Mallick (one lakh), the N.C.E. was able to receive further endowments from Maharaja Suryakanta Acharya Bahadur of Mymensingh who had offered to make over to the Council a landed property (worth two lakhs and a half) yielding an annual income of not less than Rs. 10,000/-. It was further announced that the Council was able to secure some handsome monthly subscriptions from several persons such as Gooroo Dass Banerjee (who offered to pay Rs. 50 per month for life), barrister Byomkesh Chakravarty (who offered to pay Rs. 250/- per month so long as he would practise his profession), the two Secretaries of the N.C.E., Ashutosh Chaudhuri and Hirendra Nath Datta (each promised to pay Rs. 250 per month, one for ten years and the other during

15. See B. K. Sarkar's paper on "Gooroo Dass Banerjee and the National Education Movement" incorporated in the *Sir Gooroodass Centenary Commemoration Volume* as published by the Calcutta University in 1948. It is the most brilliant paper thus far written on the National Education Movement in general and the place of Gooroodass as well as the Dawn Society in it in particular.
his professional life) as well as from several other persons. A full report of the inaugural ceremony of the Bengal National College and School was published in the *Bengalee* on the 15th August, 1906.

The Bengal National College and School started its working career from August 15 at a rented house at 191/1, Bowbazar Street, with Aurobindo Ghose as its first Principal and Satis Chandra Mukherjee as its first Executive Head or the Superintendent. Mr. J. C. Bagal’s assertion in his *Muktir Sandhane Bharat* (1st Edition, 1940, p. 274) to the effect that “Satis Chandra Mukherjee became the Principal of the National Council of Education” is an utterly confused statement. The same mistake is repeated by him in the second edition of the work (1945, p. 280). As the *Calendar* of the Council for 1906-1908 categorically states, the first President of the N.C.E. was Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, the first Secretaries were Ashutosh Chaudhuri and Hirendra Nath Datta, while the first Principal of the Bengal National College and School (set up by the N.C.E. as a parent-body) was Aurobindo Ghose and the first Superintendent was Satis Chandra Mukherjee. Aurobindo’s name proved a very valuable asset to the Bengal National College and added enormously to the prestige of the institution in the public eye. But as he soon became,—particularly since October 1906,—more and more involved in active politics and in the conduct of the famous *Bande Mataram*, he could not turn up regularly in the College whose life-force was, in fact, Satis Chandra Mukherjee, the silent inspirer of Young Bengal. Besides them, the following members were on the teaching staff as constituted in 1906: Dr. Arthur Sarat Roy, Pramatha Nath Mookerjee, Pandits Chandrakanta Nyayalankar, Durgacharan Sankhya Vedanta-tirtha and Mokshadacharan Samadhyayi, Radha Kumud Mookerji, Rabindra Narayan Ghose, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Kishori Mohan Gupta, Arabinda Prakash Ghose,

16. The relative role of Aurobindo and Satischandra has been critically discussed and assessed by the present writers in an article published in the *Itihash* (May, 1953), a Bengali quarterly, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. N. K. Sinha. It is also available as a separate pamphlet.
Prasanna Kumar Bose, Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan, Dharmendra Kosambi, Moulavi Mainuddin, Kshirode Prasad Vidyabinode, Dr. Indu Madhab Mallick, Jagadindu Roy, Dr. Bipin Behari Chakravarty, Manindra Nath Banerjee, B. B. Ranade and others. Regrettably enough, the name of Sj. Haran Chandra Chakladar has been omitted from the list of the members on the teaching staff in the N.C.E.'s Annual Report, 1906. That Mr. Chakladar was connected with the Bengal National College as a Lecturer from the very beginning is proved by the Prospectus of the Bengal National College and School as published in the Bengalee on August 16, 1906. The truth has been confirmed by our talks with Kishori Mohan Gupta and Radha Kumud Mookerji. Most of these scholars, be it noted, joined the national institution at great personal sacrifice and on mere subsistence allowance. Satischandra’s services were entirely honorary, but at the same time most devoted. Besides Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Kshirode Prasad Vidyabinode, Amulyacharan Vidyabhusan and Dr. Indu Madhab Mallick as well as Durgacharan Sankhya-Vedanta-tirtha (from 1907) rendered honorary services to the College.

In the teaching staff of the National College certain additions and alterations took place later on, the more important changes being the appointment of Baburao Paradkar (1907), Nagendra Nath Rakshit (1907), Sakharam Ganesh Deoskar (January, 1908) and Bhikshu Purnananda (January, 1908), and the resignation of Aurobindo Ghose (August 2, 1907) as well as of B. B. Ranade and V. K. Paranjpye (early 1908). It is well to record here that Aurobindo Ghose who had resigned from the office of the Principal of the Bengal National College and School on August 2, 1907 in connection with the Bande Mataram Case “rejoined in December (of the same year) in the capacity of Lecturer in History and Political Science, filling the Hem Chandra Mallik Chair created under the endowment of Srijukta

Sulbodh Chandra Mallik. Aurobindo adorned that Chair till May 2, 1908 when he was arrested along with many others in the wake of the Mazaffarpur Incident (April 30). On Aurobindo’s resignation from the post of Principalship on August 2, 1907, Satis Chandra Mukherjee “discharged the functions of Principal in addition to his duties as Superintendent”. He played his role in that dual capacity till December, 1908, when he tendered formal resignation to both posts, mostly on grounds of health as stated by Rai Bahadur Motilal Ganguli (nephew of Satischandra and a close associate of the latter throughout life) in his unpublished Smriti-Katha or Memoirs.

Thus equipped the Bengal National College and School started its work from August 15, 1906 in three broad channels: Literary, Scientific and Technical.

**THE LITERARY DEPARTMENT**

In the Literary Department, the subjects to which special attention was given were History, Philosophy and Literature. “In teaching their special subjects”, wrote the Secretaries of the N.C.E. in February 1908, “the Lecturers made special efforts to inspire the students with a love for the subjects taught and to create an atmosphere of research and original thought.” In accordance with the syllabuses adopted by the N.C.E., some of the Lecturers engaged themselves in research-work to prepare the groundwork for the text-books. Rabindra Narayan Ghose “was put in special charge of Indian History and Geography in the school classes up to the Fifth Standard”, while Radha Kumud Mookerji began to work at the subject of Indian Economics, a subject which had not hitherto been attempted to be taught in a systematic manner. No suitable text-books on these subjects were then available and the lecturers had to teach subjects to the boys without their aid and had to work at great disadvantage. This was true of most subjects, and hence the lecturers had to carry on, besides their normal teaching...

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work in the College, original researches into their own subject or subjects and to prepare the ground for suitable text-books in near future.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar made the most significant mark in the field in those days. Endowed with indefatigable energy, he devoted himself (since 1907) most strenuously to a study of Pedagogics which was included by the Council in its scheme of studies. Writing in February 1908, the Secretaries of the N.C.E. observed: "He (Benoy Kumar Sarkar) takes special pleasure in teaching boys of the lower forms and his suggestions for improvement in the methods of teaching are always helpful. He is preparing himself to write a teacher's hand-book for use in National Schools. The Committee look forward to the production of the teacher’s hand-book by Babu Benoy Kumar Sarkar with interest." Their expectation in this direction was more than fulfilled by young Benoykumar whose researches in Pedagogics and other aspects of culture were embodied in the following publications:

8. The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind, 84 pages, 1912.
9. Siksha-Sopan (Steps to a University), 64 pages, 1912.
10. Aitihashik Pravandha (Historical Essays), 125 pages, 1912.


These books, covering a wide variety of subjects, served the purposes of text-books in the National Council, and did a yeoman's service to the cause of education in general. As Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji has observed: "Benoy Kumar further contributed to the cause of National Education in the country and to Freedom's battle which thus first began in India, in Bengal, by his lectures, writings, pamphleteering, journalism and books of which the number is legion." Benoykumar introduced new pedagogic theories into the field of Bengali scholarship and developed the method of teaching a language, Indian or foreign, without grammar. His educational theories served, in the words of Brojendra Nath Seal, as a healthy and stimulating force in the Indian world during that time. While Benoykumar's researches were brought out as independent publications, the results of the researches conducted by Rabindra Narayan Ghose and Radha Kumud Mookerji as well as by Haran Chandra Chakladar were brought out almost regularly in the pages of the *Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* during 1906-13. Radha Kumud Mookerji's researches into the questions of fundamental unity of India and the extra-Indian growth of Indian civilization in ancient times were brought out as books during 1912-14. Both of these works were directly inspired by the National Council's scheme of studies.

Again, some of the lecturers began to work at particular periods or sub-periods of Indian History as given in the College curriculum. Sakharam Ganesh Deoskar (since January, 1908) was put in charge of the Maratha period of Indian History. He set himself to the work of translating into English and Bengali some unpublished Maratha chronicles as well as the recently discovered diaries of the Peshwas then available in the Maratha

original. Pandit Chandra Kanta Nyayalankar who taught the subject of ancient Hindu Political Science was making "a special study of Kamandakiya Nitisara, Sukraniti etc." Similarly, other lecturers were also working at their own special subjects which they were required to teach.

It was required by the Council's scheme of studies that "any one seeking to specialise either in History or Philosophy should be well grounded in one or other of the classical languages, viz. Sanskrit or Pali for Hindu students and Arabic or Persian for Mahomedan students". The College History students had to study the Buddhist period of Indian History, and that was taught in the classes from original Pali texts by Vikshu Purnananda, a distinguished Pali scholar. He knew English and Bengali and was making in 1907-08 original researches into the Buddhist period of Indian History. Other portions of Indian History were at that time being investigated by Pandit Durga Charan Vedanta Sankhyatirtha and Babu Panchanan Banerjee. The former was making a special study of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and was engaged in preparing a topical index of the Ramayana, while the latter was reading Rajatarangini (the history of Kashmir by Kalhana) in the original with the College History students.

In the Department of the Indian Philosophy, Pandit Kedarnath Sankhyatirtha was working at the detailed syllabuses of Indian Psychology and Indian Ethics prescribed for the Intermediate Course. Pandit Chandra Kanta Nyayalankar taught the subject of Nabya-Nyaya to the Philosophy students in the College. A specialist in the subject, the venerable Pandit was engaged in 1907 in preparing a useful text-book for the students on Hindu Logic. Dharmananda Kosambi, the great Pali scholar, was in charge of Buddhist Philosophy in the College Course.

It requires to be emphasised here that one of the groups of subjects prescribed for the Intermediate Course was Pali. Marathi was also taught to History students in the College Course. "It is expected," writes the Dawn Magazine in 1908, "that the students who are learning these languages will be able to assist and co-operate with their lecturers in research
work in Indian History so that in course of time it may be possible for the Council to build up a school of Indian History with the help of the college lecturers and of advanced students receiving special training under their guidance.” Thus it is clear from the foregoing accounts that in the National Council the subject of Indian History, particularly Ancient Indian History and Culture, was pursued with utmost passion and enthusiasm so much so that the lecturers of the Bengal National College during 1906-1910 may be justifiably considered as the builders of a regular school of Ancient Indian History and Culture in our country and the spiritual predecessors of the authors and organisers of the later Post-Graduate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University.

It was expected by the authorities of the National Council that the training given by the Bengal National College in its Literary Department would enable the students to pursue useful and independent careers in many promising departments such as (i) Indian Archaeology, (ii) Indian History and Geography, (iii) Indian Economics, (iv) Indian Vernacular Literature, (v) Indian Journalism, (vi) Teaching in National Schools and Colleges and (vii) Preparation of text-books in the Vernaculars22.

THE SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENT

In the Scientific and Technical Departments of the Bengal National College and School, a three-fold method of teaching was adopted. The object was to enable the students to find new and independent careers in life in the departments of arts and industry. As the Editor of the Dawn Magazine informs us: “The instruction imparted may be classed under three heads—(1) Theoretical, (2) Experimental, and (3) Manufacturing. Not only are principles explained orally and by means of experiments done in the class room by the lecturer, but in the labora-

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tories, students are required to perform the experiments themselves either under the direction of the teacher or independently as the case may be; and lastly, in the workshops, students are required to manufacture articles, implements, and apparatus having special reference to the teaching in the class or the laboratory. The workshops and laboratories could not be properly organised until July-August, 1907 when the Bengal National College and School was removed to premises Nos. 166 and 164 Bowbazar Street which provided a fair accommodation for the proper construction of the workshops and laboratories.

The Scientific Department was split into Physical, Chemical and Biological Sections. The Physical Section was equipped with two laboratories and a scientific workshop in course of the year 1907 and was under the supervision of Jagadindu Ray Lecturer in Physics, assisted by Haran Chandra Chakladar, then Assistant Superintendent of the College and School, and Naranarayan Biswas, Teacher of Science. One of these laboratories was intended for the use of the boys of the Primary and Lower Secondary Stages, while the other was meant for the use of students of the Upper Secondary and Collegiate Stages. Ramendra Sundar Trivedi was the Director of Scientific Studies, and in consultation with the Director a very large number of instruments and appliances was ordered from Europe and America. Within the six months from August, 1907 about Rs. 9000/- worth of apparatus had arrived in the College and in 1908 further instruments and appliances were purchased both locally and from foreign markets. Some apparatuses were also in the Technical Workshop and some others in the Scientific Workshop of the College. For the year 1908 a sum of Rs. 4000/- was budgetted for the purpose of purchases of scientific apparatus, Rs. 120/- for working expenses and Rs. 200/- for furniture and fittings. The Physical Laboratory of the higher order was thus being "further equipped for enabling lecturers

to undertake advanced work in any of the departments of Physics." Prof. Jagadindu Ray made some notable researches in Physics in course of the years 1906-08. It is reported in the *Dawn Magazine* (June 1909, Part III, p. 63) that some time in the early part of the year 1908, Prof. Ray "communicated to the *Societe Francaise de Physique* of Paris, a long and elaborate original thesis in Physical Optics consisting of several papers and containing a number of diagrams and illustrations." The thesis was accepted by the Society and published in its journal in February 1909. Prof. Ray was also elected a member of the above Society.

The Chemical Section had its own laboratory providing sufficient accommodation for 40 students working at the same time. It was provided with fittings and appliances of the latest pattern under the careful supervision of Manindra Nath Banerjee. The total value of the apparatus and appliances purchased in the Chemical Laboratory in course of the year 1907 was no less than Rs. 6000/-. Besides the above sum, about five hundred Rupees worth of metal appliances were furnished during that year by the Technical Workshop of the College. For the year 1908, Rs. 3000/- were budgetted for additional apparatus and stores and Rs. 1000/- for additional furniture and fittings.

The available space was divided into two portions—one half being allotted for the students of the Secondary Stage and the other half for those of the Collegiate Stage—the latter being furnished with a balance-room and a room for glass-blowing. Arrangements were also made "to fit up two rooms, one for photographic and the other for spectroscopic work". It is also to be noted that a small laboratory intended to train Primary boys and junior students in practical work was fitted up during 1907-08.

The Chemical Section was left in charge of Manindra Nath Banerjee (Lecturer in Chemistry) who in his teaching work was assisted by Haran Chandra Chakladar, Kshirode Prasad Vidyabinode and Naranarayan Biswas. At first there was no whole-time laboratory assistant, but in 1908
two laboratory assistants were provided for this Department by the Executive Committee of the N.C.E.

In the year 1907, the Biological Section was organised by the Lecturer-in-charge, Dr. Bepin Behari Chakravarty, l.m.s., under the guidance of Dr. S. B. Mitter, m.b., b.sc. (London) and Dr. Indu Madhab Mallick, m.a., m.d. The laboratory in this Section was furnished in course of 1907 with six microscopes, a human skeleton, and some anatomical models and specimens. Throughout 1907 it remained in its infancy and showed some mentionable progress only in course of 1908 when arrangements were made for teaching the subject of Urine Analysis. It was taught to the students of the seventh year class, who had taken up Biology and Physiology as subjects for study. "The rudiments of these subjects," records the N.C.E.'s Report for 1907, "are taught from the lowest classes up to the Fifth Standard to all boys. Those who take them up for the 6th and 7th Standards receive higher instruction." A fairly large number of students took up these subjects in 1907 and a large number was willing to take them in the following year. To meet the growing requirements of students of this class, further extension of the Biological Section became a necessity in 1908 when the urgency of providing a Dissection Room was keenly felt by the Executive Committee of the N.C.E. It is recorded in the N.C.E.'s Report for 1907 that the Biological Library was enriched in course of 1907-08 "by the addition of many new books and the Laboratory by the presentation of slides (about 300 in number) prepared by Dr. S. B. Mitter himself while in England". Dr. Hem Chandra Sen, m.d., helped the growth of the Laboratory by the gift of "a valuable collection of preserved Botanical specimens prepared by himself for his private laboratory". For the year 1908, a sum of Rs. 1500/- was budgetted for the further improvement of the Biological Section. The readers will find in the Dawn Magazine (Feb. 1908, Part I) an interesting account of how specimens were collected for the Biological Laboratory of the National College by Dr. Bepin Behari Chakravarty from different places with the help of the local people.
The Technical Department

The Technical Department of the Bengal National College and School was placed in charge of B. B. Ranade, L.M.E., who was appointed Superintendent in 1906. He organised before long a workshop of modest dimensions in the premises No. 192, Bowbazar Street, north of the College premises at 191/1, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. In 1907, the workshop was shifted to premises Nos. 166 and 164, Bowbazar Street, during the months of July and August. The Technical Department was strengthened now by the appointment as Lecturer in Electrical and Mechanical Engineering of Mr. V.K. Paranjpye (a passed Mechanical Engineer and a Licentiate in Electrical Engineering from the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay) and as Foreman Instructor of Nagendra Nath Rakshit (trained in the Jamalpur Workshops of the former East India Railway Company, then the biggest workshop in the whole of India). Under their able management the Technical Department showed rapid signs of improvement in course of the year 1907, and the institution as a whole was properly organised, thanks to the strenuous exertions of Satis Chandra Mukherjee, the Honorary Superintendent of the College, from August, 1906 and also acting as the Honorary Principal from August, 1907. In this connection special mention should be made of the services of Haran Chandra Chakladar who combined in himself the three-fold functions of Assistant Secretary (to the N.C.E.), Assistant Superintendent (to the Bengal National College and School) and Lecturer in the Scientific Department. It is interesting to note what Ashutosh Chaudhuri and Hirendra Nath Datta, the two Secretaries to the N.C.E., wrote in their Report, dated 1st February, 1908, of Haran Chandra Chakladar. "In the matter of organisation," observed they, "he has been the right-hand man of the Principal and Superintendent and the rapid advance which the College has been able to make in the matter of organisation in the course of a year and a half may be said to have been due mainly to the untiring energy and the skilled assistance of Babu Haran Chandra
Chakladar." Mr. Chakladar was a man of 'endless capacity for work'. "He," records the *Dawn Magazine* (Sept. 1908, Part III, p. 114), "is the Assistant Secretary of the National Council, the Assistant Superintendent of the College, and the Superintendent of the Technical Department. He enjoys the confidence of all his superiors both as an organiser and as a lecturer; and has distinguished himself by his self-sacrifice by leaving Government service where he was earning double his present pay. Under his able management, the Technical Department is bound to grow and prosper."

Unlike many other technical institutions of the time, the Technical Department of the Bengal National College and School had, besides a Teaching Section, a Manufacturing Section. The two Sections were separate as a rule and run independently of each other, although closest mutual touch was kept in order to be of real help to each other. Both these Sections were, however, "under the direct supervision and control of the Superintendent of the College" from the month of July, 1908 when Messrs Ranade and Paranjpye resigned and a new system of management was inaugurated and a fresh staff was appointed in the Technical Department.  

The Teaching Section of the Technical Department imparted education both theoretically ("by means of lectures on the various subjects connected with Mechanical Engineering") and practically ("by means of a course of practical work done by students in the several engineering workshops of the department—the carpenter's shop, the blacksmith's shop, the moulder's shop, and the machine shop"). Every student was also required to attend the lecture-classes in Physics and Chemistry and to do a course of practical work in the corresponding laboratories. Drawing, freehand and mechanical, and Mathematics up to the Seventh Standard of the Council, equivalent to the Intermediate Standard of the Indian Universities, were taught as compulsory subjects.

25. N. C. E.'s *Calendar* for 1906-1908 (Appendix C., p. 17).
The Manufacturing Section made from July, 1908 steady progress. Its engineering workshops had never been idle and about forty workmen had been 'working at high pressure'. Owing to heavy pressure of work, sometimes overtime, i.e., work beyond the regular eight hours, was also resorted to. This Section soon attracted the notice of business-firms and was able to draw orders from outside for execution. "The idea of combining practical education in the workshop with a training in manufacturing articles for the market for the students" of the Bengal National College was at the basis of the methods that were being adopted. This "combination of teaching—of practical teaching and a sort of factory work on a small scale", observed the Editor of the Dawn Magazine, "is a unique feature of this institution, as far as Indian educational institutions are concerned".

It is reported in the Dawn Magazine for January, 1909 that the normal hours of work for the Scientific group of students taking up Mechanical Engineering in the Upper School (sixth and seventh year or the Intermediate students) had been during the period from August, 1906 to October, 1908 from 11 A.M. to 4 P.M. But since November, 1908 the hours of work were extended for such students from 7 A.M. to 9 A.M., and from 11 A.M. to 5 P.M. The reasons for extending the hours of work may thus be explained. The College Department insisted upon a course of four years' work in each of its various sections, viz., in the Applied Chemistry, the Mechanical Engineering, the Scientific Pharmacy, the Philosophy, and the History Sections for which classes were opened,—'it not being optional with any to take up more than one of the above courses of study in the College, and no one can enter the College without having previously undergone a course of training in the 6th and 7th year classes of the Upper School corresponding to the Intermediate classes of the Indian Universities. Now many of our students after passing the Seventh Standard Examination (i.e., the Intermediate) have found it difficult, by reason of straitened circumstances, to enter upon a course of College studies for four years. In order, therefore, to exact a high
standard of proficiency from such students the number of hours of practical work in the laboratories and the workshops for the group of scientific students taking up the Engineering Course has necessarily to be extended in the interest of the students themselves." For those who took up the four years' Mechanical Engineering Course in the College, the hours of work were the same as for those for the 6th and 7th year students of the Upper School (or Intermediate), that is, from 7 A.M. to 9 A.M., and from 11 A.M. to 5 P.M.

**Execution of Outside Orders**

During August to December, 1908 at least 11 outside orders were executed by the Technical Department of the Bengal National College. They comprised—

1. Complete installation of the Sugar Mill of Babu Bhuban Mohan Pal Choudhury of Baghbazar, including the erection of the engine and sugar manufacturing machinery and also supplying a chimney, 60 feet high.

2. Complete installation of the whole plant of a Pencil Factory started by the Small Industries Development Co. at Tollygunge, including the erection of the engine and pencil-making machinery.

3. Repairing and replacing the parts of a 60-H.P. Engine at the Old Mill of Babu Prankumar Pal Choudhury. The Engine which had been erected only a year before by a European firm was found to be unworkable owing to various defects in erection. The following were the repairs done by the College:
   
   (a) The high-pressure and low-pressure cylinders had to be put in the same line.
   
   (b) The piston rods and the crankshafts had to be placed in proper position.
   
   (c) The spring working the governor was replaced.
   
   (d) One pair of brass bushes (4 plates in each) of the crankshaft were fitted with new white metal.

4. Repairing another 50-H.P. Engine at the same Oil Mill. Defect in the cylinder was removed and the crank-pin which had broken thrice was finally fitted up.
5. Repairing one Soorkey Mill Engine and the fan for the Iron Foundry of Shome and Sons of Rajabazar.

6. Supplying a chimney for the Jute Press of Messrs Kissen Lal Matilal of Salkia. The chimney was 60 feet high, 3 feet in diameter and of \( \frac{3}{2} \)" thick plates.

7. Supplying and erecting a chimney, 100 feet high, for the Soorkey Mill of Shaikh Monojuddin, Emambara Lane, Calcutta.

8. Repairing a pump belonging to a rice mill at Beliaghata.

9. Manufacturing a brass mould for the manufacture of glass phials.


11. Repairing medical and surgical instruments of Dr. Indu Madhab Mallick, M.A., M.D.

On the receipt of the scientific appliances worth over Rs. 250/- supplied by the Bengal National College to the Chemical Laboratory of the Ripon College, Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi observed on 20th September, 1908: "I am glad to be able to say that the articles were found to be of very good quality. In point of durability and cheapness they compare favourably with imported articles. Their high finish attracted the attention of one of the University Inspectors who visited the College towards the close of August last."

Again, Dr. Indu Madhab Mallick in course of his letter dated 4th December, 1908 communicated to the Superintendent of the Bengal National College thus: "These few lines are meant to convey to you, my best thanks, for the excellent repairs of some medical instruments, which the Technical Department of your Institution has done for me. These works have been all very neat, and just as I desired . . . I knew the truth long ago, that an intelligent and educated man, when he takes to manual work, can always carry out things to a greater degree of success and finish. But here I actually saw it demonstrated. This leads me to hail with high hopes, the new departure which the Bengal National College has made, namely, making manual training a part of literary and
scientific education. One more thing I wish to mention in this connection, and that is—that you may with benefit to yourself, as well as to those who may need to get their instruments repaired, make arrangements for undertaking such work. For scientific instruments and specially for delicate medical instruments, yours would be an excellent place for repairing, as I myself found by actual experience and as I can unhesitatingly recommend to colleagues in the profession.”

The quality of the produce of the Manufacturing Section of the Bengal National College was able to draw the admiring notice of many European specialists like Paul Bruhl, Professor, Physical Science, Civil Engineering College, Shibpur, Bengal. Having visited the Exhibition of articles turned out by the Bengal National College during the session of 1906 to 1907, Prof. Paul Bruhl communicated the following words to the Honorary Principal of the B.N. College:

“Dear Sir,

Having been present at the inaugural ceremony of the National Council of Education of Bengal, I was very pleased when I received your invitation to visit the Exhibition of articles manufactured in your College during the session of 1906 to 1907.

“I was particularly struck by the care which had been bestowed on the work. In the articles which come from a native source one very often observes a want of finish and a want of symmetry in design and execution, but the articles exhibited by you were not only of solid construction but they showed in general that finish which is proper to all first-class work. Some of the models indicated the exercise of great care and patience. . . .

“If you persevere in the work which you have commenced with such marked success, you cannot help becoming an important factor in the industrial development and regeneration of your great country.”

Outside orders were also executed by the Technical Department of the Bengal National College in the year 1909. The
following is the list of orders executed during the first quarter of that year\textsuperscript{27}:

1. Complete installation of an Engine Boiler and other machineries for cutting mud by the dredger in the Well Sinking Breach on the River Jhalmalia near Nattore, in the District of Rajshahi, which was undertaken by N. C. Mukherjee (contractor, Beadon Street, Calcutta), from the District Board of Rajshahi.

2. W. I. Gratings for the Court-house of Magura, District Jessore, ordered by the District Board of the place to N. C. Mukherjee, contractor.

3. Complete installation of a compound Engine Boiler with condenser supplied by Messrs Martin & Co. to Dutta & Co., Shambazar, which was sometime erected by some Indian firms but was found defective when examined by the Technical Department of the College.

4. Repair works of an Engine Boiler and Soorkey Mill of the same company.

5. Messrs Dutt & Co. have given the Technical Department the contract of the management of the Engine Boilers, mills and other machineries at their firms for which they will pay the fees of the engineers monthly.

6. One signboard with copper plate and brass letters supplied to the "India Press", Calcutta.


8. Repairing a Dynamo of the Ripon College, Calcutta.

9. One Engine was examined at the Zenana Mission, Baranagore.

10. Two Bell Crank-Levers for the Sodepur Jute Press, weight of the same being about one ton, were supplied to Sj. Bepin Behari Mitter of Beliaghata.

11. Planning and fitting of the Topolide with bottom slide of a big Lathe.

\textsuperscript{27} The *Dawn Magazine*, October 1909, Part III, pp. 105-06.
12. Repairing some surgical instruments of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Bengal.
13. Two garden benches supplied to Sj. Profulla Kumar Tagore.

The execution of these outside orders was so nicely carried out as to draw spontaneous appreciation from the customers. One such appreciative letter written by Chandra Kumar Mazumdar in early 1909 is quoted below:

"I sent a Foster’s Full Automatic Knitting machine to the Bengal National College Workshop for thorough repair. I had a doubt whether the machine would be repaired at all or not, for, other firms of machine repairers expressed their opinions that the broken parts of the machine could not be made in this country. But the College has repaired it in such a manner that it is now just like the indented one. At present, the broken parts are quite unrecognisable. It cost me only one-third of the amount that it would have cost me if sent to England for repair. The machine is working well as before."

Again, during the months of April to September, 1909 the following outside orders were executed by the Manufacturial Section of the Technical Department of the Bengal National College:

2. Complete installation of the Tollygunge Pencil Factory started by the Small Industries Development Company, Ltd., of Calcutta.
5. Thorough repairs of the Engine, Boiler, Pump, Span, Valve, main Shaft and sugar-making machineries of the Sugar

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Mills of Sj. Bhuban Mohan Paul Choudhury, Golabari. The repairing of this mill was undertaken by the Manufactural Section for the second time after a regular working of about eight months.

6. Erection of one Engine and the repair of another belonging to Messrs Dutt and Co. of Shambazar. The Engine that was to be erected was supplied by Messrs Martin and Co., Calcutta. All the joints of the Engine and Boiler were executed to the entire satisfaction of the proprietors. The most important thing in this connection was the joint between the Cylinder and the Boiler which was successfully executed. Of the other Engine, parts of the gun metal, bushes of the blocks and eccentrics were repaired.

7. Repairs of a knitting machine of Sj. Gopal Chandra Mitra. Cylinders, Dials, Cane Robbon Winders, etc., were manufactured or repaired as the case required.

8. Erection and repair of a Printing Machine belonging to the India Press, Entally. The machine was removed from Beadon Street to Entally. The defective and broken parts were repaired or replaced by new ones, as the case necessitated. An iron table with machine-planed cast-iron top, 3ft. x 2½ft. x 2ft. thick was also supplied to the Press.

9. Many cast-iron pulleys of different sizes were manufactured for and supplied to Sj. Bepin Behari Mitra, Proprietor of the Beliaghata Rice Mill.

10. Brass-made articles, such as door bolts of different sizes, altaraps and shash centres were manufactured to order and supplied to Mr. A. C. Chakerbutty and all the fitting and polishing work of brass doors and windows were satisfactorily done.

11. An order from the Civil Surgeon of Burdwan for the repair and polishing of the following surgical instruments was carried out: — (1) one Vaccinating Knife; (2) one Gun Lancet; (3) one Probe-pointed Bistowry; (4) one Symes Abcess Lancet; (5) one Scalpel; (6) one Dressing Forcep; (7) one Electric Battery.

12. Gun-metal, brass and cast-iron articles manufactured
for and supplied to the Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills, Serampore.

The above-mentioned Hydraulic Jute Press Engine of Messrs A. P. Kerr and Co. of Serajgunge, "which some European firms were reported to have been unable to repair, were finally and successfully repaired by the Manufactural Section of the College". Similarly, this Section repaired some of the more important parts of the machinery of an Ice Factory at Serajgunge to the complete satisfaction of its proprietors. It is worthwhile to mention here that the ice-manufacturing industry in Bengal at that time was confined "almost exclusively to European firms, who are naturally very jealous of Indian competition in the matter". The following letter was addressed by the authorities of the Ice Factory to the Bengal National College: "We are duly in receipt of our articles which we sent to your Factory (Workshops) for repair. The repairs of the machinery have been done very nicely. The work gives us every satisfaction and we desire you every success." It may be noted here in passing that like the Technical Department, the Scientific Department of the National College had also a Manufactural Section attached to it 'in which Physical instruments and appliances' were 'manufactured to order' (Vide: The Dawn Magazine, Oct., 1909, Part I and January 1910, Part I). A large number of outside orders was also received by the College authorities in the last quarter of the year 1909. It is evident from all these contemporary reports that the Manufacturing Sections of the National College became increasingly popular with the people in course of the years 1908-1909.

EXHIBITIONS UNDER THE N.C.E.

The articles, implements and apparatus manufactured in the laboratories and workshops of the Bengal National College were occasionally placed before the public for exhibition in order to stimulate their interest in the country-made goods, a thing which had been very dear to the Dawn Society through-
out its historical existence (1902-07). An Exhibition of such items, about one hundred and thirty in number, was held for many days in 1908 during the month of January, from the 2nd to the 19th, as we learn from the *Dawn Magazine* of February, 1908, I. The Exhibits were mainly of the following descriptions:

1. Apparatus for Physics
2. Apparatus and appliances for Chemistry
3. Freehand Drawing and Painting
4. Cardboard work such as drawing models, medicine cases, etc.
5. Furniture work such as folding tables, almirahs, etc.
6. Drawing appliances such as drawing boards, set squares, T-squares, compass, etc.
7. Cutlery
8. Engineering wooden patterns such as cranks, brackets, etc., and appliances such as callipers, steel squares, hammers, chisels, drills, tongs, anvils, turning tools, bolts, cleaners, trowels for moulding, etc.
9. Miscellaneous things such as candle-stands, inkstands, picture-frames, penholders, office stationery case, gardening tools, swadeshi lamps of an improved design, etc.

"The Science Exhibits," wrote Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerji in 1908, "presented some very striking features. The apparatus for Physics were mostly adaptations and improvements and in some cases they showed original design. There was particularly an apparatus for research work in higher optics which is constructed in France after the design of the Lecturer in Physics of the College," Jagadindu Ray. Similarly, the Chemical Exhibits also presented the following novel and interesting features:

1. Utilisation of by-products formerly allowed to run to waste for the production of chemicals for laboratory use, *e.g.*, Zinc Sulphate, which is a by-product in the preparation of Hydrogen.
2. Accumulation of the preparations of students for laboratory use which were not thrown away, *viz.*, Nitric Acid,
Bleaching Powder, Hydrochloric Acid, Sulphuric Acid, Silicic Acid, Sal-ammoniac, Common Salt, etc.

(3) The use of Indian raw produce for the preparation of chemicals for laboratory use, viz., Potash Carbonate from plantain leaves, Caustic Potash from crude Potash obtained from leaves of plants, etc.

(4) Utilisation of broken glass materials for making useful apparatus.

It was reported in the *Dawn Magazine* for February, 1908 that the majority of visitors were impressed by the quality of the exhibits and there was a unanimity of opinion regarding the success of the Exhibition as a whole. And one should remember that these exhibits were turned out by an infant institution just above a year old. The Exhibition extorted very favourable notices from even the Anglo-Indian papers. It also pleased and attracted foreigners even. This is evident from the observations of Prof. Paul Bruhl (whose opinion has already been quoted) and Sir Charles Allen. Sir Charles Allen, Chairman, Calcutta Municipal Corporation, wrote on 26th January, 1908 to Gooroo Dass Banerjee: "What I saw was sufficient to show me that your countrymen have a special gift for applied science, and I sincerely hope that the young men trained at the College may succeed in carving out useful careers for themselves. I should think a beginning might be made for them in the great railway workshops, such as Jamalpur, and I hope they will get a fair start there. If I get any opportunity of assisting them to get employment there, or elsewhere, I shall always be glad to do what I can."

The Exhibition was kept on for about three weeks and the "number of visitors was estimated at about 10 thousand" representing different sections of the community and "including distinguished members of the landed aristocracy, of the legal profession, of the medical profession, distinguished merchants, engineers, high Government officials, both Indian and European, and Principals and Professors of both Government and private colleges". The visitors also comprised a very large number of students from different schools and
colleges of Calcutta. Visitors to the Exhibition were also allowed opportunities of inspecting the Physical, Chemical and Biological Laboratories and also the Workshops. The statements and reports that were published in contemporary journals like the Bengalee, the Amrita Bazar Patrika, the Englishman and the Statesman speak eloquently of the grand success that marked the Exhibition. The Bengalee observed: “The Exhibition is an eye-opener. It reveals the immense possibilities that lie before our people, under careful scientific instruction and guidance... Bengali teachers of Science, instructing Bengali students and workmen, have turned out these delicate instruments at a cost which is often one-half of what is incurred to import them from Europe. Some of these instruments are of the utmost delicacy requiring considerable skill in the construction and accurate scientific knowledge in the direction. Here is a triumph of Swadeshism, full of immense potentialities.” The contemporary Amrita Bazar Patrika expressed the same satisfaction with the Exhibition when it recorded: “No one has come away from a visit to the Exhibition of articles, implements, apparatus, etc., turned out during 1907 in the workshops and laboratories of the institution without feeling assured of its future. The display, modest as it is, clearly shows the capacity to take pains and the ingenuity to devise, which is latent in the race and which but needs fostering care and opportunity to come to the surface. It is literally marvellous to see the scanty materials and insufficient instruments with the aid of which delicate and complicated scientific apparatus have been manufactured by the students and teachers at a remarkably small cost” (The Dawn Magazine, Feb., 1908, III, pp. 34-36).

Nor was this appreciation confined to the Bengali nationalist papers alone. Even the Anglo-Indian conservative journal like the Englishman wrote of this Exhibition thus: “The students showed a good record of work during the past year and there are about 350 students at present in the Institution, which certainly opens up many channels that are neglected by other Institutions, that are affiliated to the University and reap
Government grants. Many useful and interesting articles, implements, apparatus and scientific instruments were made by the students themselves during the past year. In no case is any of the articles manufactured at the College more costly than those produced abroad. In some cases the difference is less than one hundred per cent. If these articles are found to be in no way inferior to those made in Europe, the College should make a name for itself. Each individual student seems fired with a determination to do his best, and this ambition is of great assistance to the teachers.” Again, of this Exhibition the Statesman made the following observations: “Side by side with the ‘Swadeshi’ products were specimens of English manufacture, and the difference was very slight and sometimes indeed the balance lay with the Indian... Altogether the National College appears to be on the way to providing an excellent education by excellent methods.”

The Second Annual Exhibition of the National Council of Education was held in course of February and March, 1909. Numerous articles, implements and apparatus turned out during the year 1908 in the workshops and laboratories of the Bengal National College and several other institutions affiliated to the N.C.E. in the various districts of Bengal were placed on exhibition. A complete ‘List of Exhibits’ was published in the Dawn Magazine for April, 1909 (Part III, pp. 30-42). Part I of that list contains a descriptive account of the various things supplied by the Bengal National College itself (with their serial number, the name of the Department supplying them, the name of exhibits, the number of quantity, their price, etc., indicated against each item). From that account we learn that the tools and appliances of 79 types and works of carpentry of 35 kinds were supplied by the Technical Department of the College, while the Biological Department supplied 32 types of exhibits, the Physical Department 26 types, the Chemical Department 67 types and the Drawing Department 46 types. Altogether as many as 285 kinds of exhibits were collected from the various Departments of the College and presented to the public. Besides, articles, implements and
apparatus turned out during the year 1908 by the National institutions affiliated to the N.C.E. were also exhibited, as recorded in Part II of the ‘List of Exhibits’. Exhibits numbering 2 were supplied each by the national schools at Majpara (Dacca District), Dacca and Santipur. From Noakhali came 5 exhibits, while Rangpur supplying 11 exhibits, Chandpur and Pabna each supplying 13 exhibits, Malda and Jessore each supplying 16 exhibits, Mymensingh 23, Kishoreganj 36 and Comilla 60. Altogether exhibits from mofussil national institutions totalled 192. Evidently the Exhibition was an impressive show.

The Exhibition was opened by Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar on the 23rd of February, 1909. The elite of the town representing the diverse sections of the Indian community graced the occasion with their presence. Proceedings began with the recital of a Sanskrit poem composed by Pandit Chandra Kanta Nyayalankar, then the Principal of the College, by the two young students of that institution. The poem described the purposes of the institution in a befitting manner. "Then followed a very highly inspiring song specially composed for the occasion by Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, which sought in a metaphorical way to impress upon the hearers the idea that India, rich with and enamoured of the knowledge of the ethical and spiritual world, had once discarded the knowledge of material things, which, however, was taken up by the Westerners and which now enriched them; but she has now taken it up, for knowledge of matter and of spirit are both indispensable. The song thus gave an idea of the underlying principle involved in the comprehensive system of education adopted by the National Council of Education, which incorporated the best assimilable ideals of the West into the best assimilable ideals of the East. Thus, the song inspiring in itself and sung by the members of the Sangit Samaj, the well-known aristocratic singing association of Calcutta, kept the audience spell-bound for the time being."

Then Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi delivered an impassioned speech, expressing his keen appreciation of the valuable work that the different institutions under the National Council had been silently doing, and at the end of his presidential speech declared the Exhibition open. The Exhibition, thus opened on 23rd February, continued throughout the next month. Thousands of visitors were attracted to see this grand Exhibition. Even European visitors were moved to admiration for the splendid success the Exhibition had attained. In course of a letter dated 3rd March, 1909, addressed to Devaprasad Sarvadhikary (then Hony. Secretary, National Council of Education), Mr. W. H. Everett, Professor of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering, Government Engineering College, Shibpur, observed: "As you have asked me to comment on the Exhibition of Work recently held at the Bengal National College, I wish to say first of all that I thought the display very creditable to all concerned. The College appears to be a truly patriotic and useful institution." The same appreciation was recorded by Dr. S. K. Mullick, M.D., C.M. (Edin), Dean of the National Medical College, Calcutta, who communicated in a letter, dated 24th February, 1909, the following words to Satis Chandra Mukherjee, late Honorary Principal and Superintendent, Bengal National College:

"My Dear Satis Baboo,

I am sorry I did not see you last night at the Exhibition of the National College. It was a day of great triumph for your disinterested labours in the cause of education. The articles exhibited were marvels of neatness of execution and the variety was quite bewildering. Of other sections I leave more competent authorities to speak but perhaps I may be privileged to say a word of the microscopes turned out of your workshops. I tested them and found them in design and execution as good as anything I have used manufactured by British and German makers. Your boys have inaugurated a new era in the production of scientific instruments in India and I see no reason why we should not be a self-sufficing nation even in regard to these

Speaking of the Exhibition, the Anglo-Indian daily, the Statesman in its issue of March 25, 1909, editorially expressed highest satisfaction at the progress of the Technical Department of the Bengal National College in a long article under the title of "Bengal National College: An Interesting Exhibition". It commented thus:

"The acquisition of some manual craft," said Emerson, "and the practice of some form of manual labour are essential elements of culture", and those words of the essayist might well serve as a permanent motto for the Bengal National College. A glance at the many products of the school, which are now on view in Bowbazar Street under the auspices of the National Council of Education, recalls to memory the published opinions not only of Emerson, but of Charles Kingsley, and Ruskin and Sir Swire Smith and other prominent advocates of technical education, for the visitor to the workshop and to the exhibition cannot fail to appreciate utilitarian and common-sense nature of the curriculum as opposed to what Lord Brougham defined as "bread and butter education". So long as a man's first and greatest interest is his means of existence the training which best helps him to maintain himself should have his first care, and this is evidently the guiding principle of the Council.

The National College and School was opened in August, 1906, in Bowbazar Street, with a mixed course of studies divided into two channels—(1) a literary and (2) a scientific and technical alternative. In other words, technical training and workshop practice are grafted on a system of general education. In the primary stage tuition is imparted by object-lessons and the kindergarten system, the younger boys being taught the use of simple tools, clay-modelling, paper-cutting, wicker-work and the construction of models in cardboard. In this manner the training of the intellect goes on simultaneously with the exercise of the hands and the senses. In the secondary stage workshop practice is introduced, coupled with scientific instruc-
tion. Elementary science (physics, chemistry and biology) is taught, and at the end of the fifth year of the secondary stage the student may take either (1) the secondary literary course, or (2) the secondary science course, or (3) the secondary technical course.

The exhibits now being displayed are the outcome, for the most part, of this secondary stage of the curriculum, and it would be difficult to find a better method of emphasising the benefits which the pupils are bound to derive in after-life from the work thus performed. The Technical Department of the display consists of tools and mechanical appliances, woodwork and articles in brass, ranging from garden seats and letter-copying presses to punkha wheels, candle-stands, composing-sticks and microscopes. In the Biological Department, there are the skeletons of sundry quadrupeds, a dog, a deer and a panther, preserved and otherwise chemically prepared by the students; a dissected lobster and a dissected frog; the alimentary canal of a peacock in spirits of wine; dissected parts of a snake, a monkey, and crocodile, besides botanical specimens too numerous to mention. In the Physical Department the science of gravitation is exemplified by physical balances, nicely adjusted to a hair's weight, made of the finest metal, and the mechanical engineer and the scientist will doubtless find an immense amount of interest in the spherometers, screw gauges, vibrating spirals, trigonometrical models, projection harmonographs, micrometer scales, to say nothing of the steam-jacket and rods of different materials made for measuring the co-efficiency of linear expansion.

In the Chemical Department the visitor is shown a lecture balance, sensitive to less than one centigramme, and it is instructive to learn that while the same article is indented from foreign countries at not less than Rs. 100 the price of this particular instrument is quoted at Rs. 10. This surely is swadeshi with a vengeance. Then again there is the old-fashioned oil lamp, still in daily use in most Bengali homes, side by side with an up-to-date production of the school, a demonstration in organic chemistry which tells its own story.
There are also, in this section, a variety of glass apparatus made by the students; chemicals prepared in the laboratory, and a collection of mineral products.

The local catalogue concludes with an exhibition of pencil and crayon drawings, and the visitor is then conducted to a supplementary display contributed by other institutions affiliated to the Council. These mofussil schools show strong individuality in certain directions, and it may be presumed that the output from the workshops is influenced to some extent by the staple trades of the districts. Thus, as examples, the Jessore National School sends clay models and iron implements of carpentry; Santipur is represented chiefly by furniture; the Rangpur school is especially distinguished for its ivory work; various wooden articles come from Jalpaiguri; exhibits from Chandpur consist almost entirely of charcoal drawings; Mymensing sends teak-wood boxes, cane-covered sticks, bamboo-punkhas, folding-chairs and cane strips; the Pabna pupils exhibit cardboard productions; and Malda is chiefly responsible for towels, twills and bed-sheets. Maps and plans and engineering surveys are characteristic features of the exhibits from Kishoregunj and the display from Comilla is noticeable on account of its crayon and water-colour drawings. An interesting exhibit is sent from the Majpara National School, Dacca, a cricket bat excellently made by one of the younger scholars and the maps on glass from Jalpaiguri are also of interest.

Such then, are, some of the results of the technical training imparted by the professors of the Bengal National Council of Education, and as object-lessons they are important. For the most part they are also of a practical value, and as nearly all of them have a price the exhibition is a commercial as well as an educational venture. In the workshops of the College, too, the visitor has the opportunity of seeing the students at their labours, and the business practicability of the school is here attested by the repairs now in course of operation in respect to sundry articles, including a sewing machine and a cooking stove, which have been deposited with the school.
authorities for the purpose. It is one of the intentions of the institution to beat down existing caste prejudices against manual labour, and it is interesting, in this connection, to observe a high-caste Brahmin in the Smithy's shop toiling at a boring cutter and a polishing lathe. The felicity of labour seems to be the keynote of the system in vogue in the workshops, and there, as well as in the exhibition itself, one is reminded still more forcibly of opinions expressed by educational reformers, when Ruskin for instance contends that the training which makes men happiest in themselves also makes them most serviceable to others. 'I believe,' he said, 'that what is most honourable to know is also most profitable to learn; and the science which is the highest power to possess, is also the best exercise to acquire.'" (The whole article was reprinted in the *Dawn Magazine*, May, 1909, Part I, pp. 83-85).

Again in 1910, many important instruments and apparatus were placed on exhibition not in the premises of the Bengal National College but outside Calcutta. In connection with the Bengal Literary Conference held at Bhagalpur on the 14th and 15th February "a very interesting and unique Exhibition was held of photographs of various places of archaeological, antiquarian and historical interest, Buddhistic relics, geological specimens, Sanskrit, Arabic, Bengali, Hindi and Persian manuscripts, Ayurvedic medicines and scientific apparatus and instruments. The exhibits of the Scientific Section included many important instruments and apparatus (some 38 in number) turned out by the Scientific and Technical Workshops and the Chemical Laboratory of the Bengal National College, Calcutta. They were lent by the College authorities in response to an invitation from the conveners of the Conference. The more important of the exhibits were:—(1) Glass Apparatus manufactured in the Chemical Laboratory of the College, which included an Erdmen's Float, graduated Burettes and other graduated tubes; (2) Physical Science Apparatus turned out by the College Scientific Workshop, including a Mirror Galvanometer (designed by Sj. Jagadindu Ray, the gifted professor of Physics of the College), a Potentiometer,
some Calorimeters, a Spherometer, a Photometer, a Screw-gauge and other apparatus for practical work in the Physical Laboratory; (3) a number of Microscopes turned out by the Technical Department of the College”. Jagadindu Ray, the Professor of Physics and Superintendent of the College, and Manindra Nath Banerjee, Lecturer in Chemistry, Bengal National College, who were specially deputed by the Executive Committee attended the Conference and explained to the visitors at the Exhibition the construction and working of the instruments and apparatus. Besides Jagadindu Ray and Manindra Nath Banerjee, two other members of the College staff, namely, Radha Kumud Mookerji, Lecturer in Economics, and Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Lecturer in History and English, also attended the Conference as delegates of the National Council of Education.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS OF BENGAL

The activities of the National Council were not confined to Calcutta alone, but spread over the mofussil areas of Bengal. Excepting the Rangpur National School (8th Nov., 1905) and the Dacca National School (Dec., 1905), all the National Schools founded in Bengal were directly influenced, nay, brought into existence under the impact of the N.C.E. A select list of the schools founded up to December, 1907 is furnished below:

* Rangpur National School (8th Nov., 1905)
* Dacca " " (Dec., 1905)
* Dinajpur " " (10th April, 1906)
* Chandpur " " (26th " " )
* Mymensingh " " (30th " " )
* Comilla " " (June, 1906)
* Kishoregunge " " (1st August, 1906)
* Magura " " (28th Nov., 1906)
* Majpara (Dacca) " " (1st April, 1907)


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Up to December, 1907, the number of Secondary National Schools was about twenty, of which ten (denoted in the above list by prefixed asterisk marks) were affiliated to the N.C.E. and had been receiving monthly grants varying from Rs. 40-125/-, and five more at Jalpaiguri, Noakhali, Jessore, Kamargram (Faridpur) and Sylhet were recommended for affiliation. It should be noted here that among the schools mentioned in the above list, the first two were the Seventh Standard Schools and the rest excepting those at Malda and Santipur were the Fifth Standard Schools before the end of the year 1907. In addition to these Secondary National Schools, there were in existence a number of Primary National Schools, of which one, viz., the Bara-Bashalia (Mymensingh) Primary National School had already been affiliated and another, viz., the Dhap Free Primary National School (Rangpur) had been recommended for affiliation up till December, 1907. By April 1908 the number of schools affiliated to the N.C.E. went up to seventeen.

The progress of the National Education Movement continued unchecked during the year 1908. The subject of National Education which was recognised in 1906 by the Indian National Congress “as one of the main planks in its platform received a further impetus” in the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Pabna, with Rabindra Nath Tagore in the chair, in the second week of February, 1908. As pointed out by the Dawn Magazine (April, 1908, Part III, pp. 57-61), “The resolution on

The subject adopted by this year's Conference has been a considerable advance upon those adopted at the previous years' Conferences by the addition of the phrase 'to establish and maintain National Schools throughout the country' in the following wording of the resolution:—That in the opinion of this Conference steps should be taken for promoting a system of education, literary, scientific and technical, suited to the requirements of the country on national lines, under national control and to establish and maintain national schools throughout the country.”

The above resolution was moved by Aurobindo Ghose of the Bengal National College in a 'short but inspiring speech'. He said that “National Education was a work which had already been accomplished and was already visible in a concrete shape to the eyes of the people. There was the Bengal National College at Calcutta and there were about 25 Secondary National Schools at work in the mofussil under the direction of the National Council of Education. There were besides some three hundred primary National Schools all seeking the aid of the Council, which in its turn should be more liberally supported by the whole of Bengal in order to enable it to do its sacred work. The National Schools will train and send out workers who will devote themselves completely to the service of the country and raise her once more to the old position of glory which she once occupied in the scale of nations.” The resolution was seconded by Becharam Lahiri. It was further supported by Subodh Chandra Mallick whom Rabindranath "introduced to the audience by saying that he was the great man whose munificent gift of a lac of rupees was the golden foundation on which the National Council of Education has been built and whom the people of Bengal has invested with the chosen title of Raja for his heroic act of sacrifice". This admiring reference by the President of the Conference created a great sensation in the audience who stood up to honour "that patriot of a new type who has established by self-sacrifice his claims to popular homage". Public spirit at Pabna which was well-nigh dead was
'considerably roused' by this the Bengal Provincial Conference which met there.

In view of the growing interest of the public in the question of National Education the need for a separate Conference to deal exclusively with the subject of the 'New Learning' was more and more felt. "Such a Conference was accordingly organised in connection with the Bengal Provincial Conference at Pabna by those delegates who were actually engaged in the promotion of National Education in the country of whom there were many at the time at Pabna." The Conference was held on the 13th of February and was attended by about ten thousand men including all the delegates. Anath Bandhu Guha, the leader of the Mymensing Bar, was voted to the Chair. In a short but inspiring speech Manoranjan Guha Thakurta, one of the founders of the National School at Giridhi, made an impassioned appeal for the support of the various national schools already in existence in Bengal both with men and money. Rabindra Nath Tagore, the President of the Provincial Conference, also delivered a stirring speech. "He said he did not think it was at all necessary to discuss the necessity of National Education: the control and direction by foreigners of education in India was a most unnatural phenomenon not to be met with elsewhere, and could not have been the duty of the alien rulers if society in India were a living and healthy organism, self-sufficient, exerting itself for its own good and promoting its ends by its own means as it did of yore. Now that the people of Bengal had just asserted their right, and recognised their duty of providing for public instruction by their own efforts and means and had already given a proof of their earnestness by establishing on a firm footing the National Council of Education, there was hardly any necessity of going in for any other education that is not under national control. It is the fulfilment of the needs of the country that is the aim and end of National Education in India which it will realise by building up true sons of the country who will make her service an absorbing life-work and not a mere leisure-hour business taken up as a variety, who away from titles, without
any hope of reward or recognition, will quietly organise the villages, the real seat of the country’s strength and lay there the foundation of the India to be.” But the main speech of the day was that of Hirendra Nath Datta, one of the Secretaries of the National Council of Education, who advanced a powerful plea for the wider adoption of the Scheme of National Education in India.

This National Education Conference was soon followed by the District Conference (Pabna) which worked a change in the moral atmosphere for which no one was prepared. From the contemporary reports as published in the *Bande Mataram* we learn that “Srijukta Shyamasundar Chakravarty spoke in the language of inspiration with humour, eloquence, pathos and genuine passion which held the audience spell-bound from the beginning. He was followed by Srijukta Radha Kumud Mookerji in a quiet speech full of practical good sense and by Srijukta Aurobindo Ghose who pointed out that the University system was defective in its aims and methods intended only to serve the purposes of the Government, not the requirements of the country. It turned out machines for administrative and professional work, not men. The National system of Education was intended to create a nation. It must produce men with all their faculties trained, full of patriotism, and mentally, morally, physically, the equals of the men of any other nation.” As soon as Aurobindo had finished his speech, a local pleader Dinanath Biswas leaped to the platform and promised on the spot a donation of Rs. 500/-, a monthly subscription of Rs. 5/-, and two of his own children as aids to the foundation of the National School there. “This magnificent offer was the beginning of a flood of similar offers, until the subscriptions swelled to the handsome sum of Rs. 2,700/-”, and that was the beginning of the Pabna National School which was organised before long.32 Thus National Education was spreading apace in the various mofussil towns of Bengal and that was a remarkable sign of the times.

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In course of the year 1908 a few more Secondary Schools such as at Chittagong, Pabna, Kaligram (Dist. Malda), Jadupur (Malda), Dharampur (Malda), Habiganj (Sylhet), Arambagh (Hooghli) and Sanihati (Dacca) were brought into being. Of these the National School at Chittagong was closely associated with the revered memory of Jatra Mohan Sen, father of Deshapriya Jatindra Mohan Sen. Most of these schools had a fairly equipped library, together with a small laboratory and a workshop attached to them. “Expert blacksmiths and carpenters are in many schools appointed to teach the boys, and in some places prominence is given to the teaching of local industries to the learners.”

As days rolled on, it was increasingly felt that financial stringency had been a handicap to the proper organisation of the newly-started National Schools, both secondary and primary, and therefore the question of grants-in-aid by the N.C.E. to these Schools cropped up. For this purpose a small Sub-committee, consisting of the four members of the Executive Committee of the National Council, namely, Hirendra Nath Datta, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Manmohan Bhattacharya and Satish Chandra Mukherjee, was formed. The Report of the Sub-committee, as accepted by the N.C.E., made the following recommendation with regard to grants-in-aid to the National Schools. “The following grants-in-aid be sanctioned for the current year (1908) to be paid by quarterly instalments with a direction that the same be applied by grantees towards the equipment of their Scientific and Technical Departments, provided that should any of them find it indispensable to apply such grants to other purposes, they should do so only after obtaining the previous sanction of the Executive Committee.” This shows that the National Council laid main stress on “the development of the Scientific and Technical Departments” which were “the vital parts of a National School” and not, as in the previous year, on the general organisation and administration of the National

Schools. It needs be emphasised that the N.C.E. made it obligatory upon each school under it to have a three-dimensional system of education, literary in combination with scientific and technical, from the Primary up to the Fifth Standard stage and attached greater importance to the last two aspects which marked the National Schools under the N.C.E. off from the existing University-controlled schools.

For the year 1908, the National Council sanctioned Rs. 12,000/- for grants-in-aid to National Schools, of which Rs. 11,000/- was meant for Secondary Schools. Of them Dacca got Rs. 720/-, Dinajpur Rs. 600/-, Comilla Rs. 600/-, Chandpur Rs. 600/-, Magura Rs. 300/-, Pabna Rs. 660/-, Jalpaiguri Rs. 600/-, Giridhi Rs. 300/-, Kamagram Rs. 300/-, Santipur Rs. 300/-, Rangpur Rs. 720/-, Kishoregunge Rs. 600/-, Khulna Rs. 600/-, Majpara Rs. 300/-, Jessore Rs. 600/-, Noakhali Rs. 600/-, Rajshahi Rs. 600/-, Sylhet Rs. 600/- and Malda Rs. 500/- as annual grants during 1908, covering a total of Rs. 10,100/- and the balance was also recommended to be spent as grants-in-aid. The remaining Rs. 1000/- was set apart for Primary and Intermediate National Schools teaching up to the Secondary First and Second Year Standards of the Council "which last roughly correspond to the Middle Vernacular and Middle English Schools under the Education Department of the Government of Bengal".24 It should be mentioned here that with the growth of Fifth Standard National Schools, there was a rapid expansion of primary education on the lines envisaged by the N.C.E. By the end of 1908, there was a very large number of Primary National Schools all over Bengal, of which "some 150 schools (primary and intermediate) applied to be affiliated to the National Council and also for grants-in-aid." Of these "twenty-seven schools, some teaching up to the Lower Primary standard, some up to the Upper Primary standard and some up to the Intermediate (Secondary First and Second Years) standard are in receipt of aid from the Council. Of these

24. The *Dawn Magazine*, June, 1908, Part III, pp. 84-86. For financial position of National Schools under the N.C.E., see the *Dawn Magazine*, Sept., 1909, Part III, pp. 93-95.
twenty-seven schools, ten belong to the Backergunge District, five to the District of Tipperah, three to the District of Faridpur, two to each of the Districts of Mymensingh, Dacca and Pabna, and one to each of the Districts of Chittagong, Hooghly and Khulna. The grants to these schools range from Rs. 13/- to Rs. 175/- for the year 1908; while between these two limits are grants of Rs. 16/-, 18/-, 20/-, 30/-, 40/-, and 120/-, for the same year. Financial aid was granted only to those Primary and Intermediate Schools where there were arrangements, even though in rudimentary form, for Scientific and Technical training as prescribed by the N.C.E.

With this rapid increase of National Schools, the need for proper inspection of them for the sake of uniformity and centralisation was increasingly felt. In the absence of an Inspector, the task was taken up and performed at least occasionally, if not regularly, by the members of the National Council and those of the teaching corps of the Bengal National College. According to the N.C.E.'s Calendar, the Superintendent Satis Chandra Mukherjee, accompanied by his lieutenant Radha Kumud Mukherjee, inspected in 1907 the affiliated schools at Rangpur, Dinajpur, Comilla, Chandpur, Dacca and Mymensingh. They also visited the National Schools at Jalpaiguri and Noakhali which were affiliated soon. Another member of the Executive Committee went to Barisal in June, 1907 in connection with the proposed National School there. Another member visited the Malda National School in February, 1908. In view of the growing number of National Schools, the Executive Committee for 1908 sanctioned the appointment of an Inspector of National Schools. But this proposal could not be carried out for various reasons. But the work of inspection of National Schools went on as before. Hirendra Nath Datta and Manomohan Bhattacharya paid a joint visit to the Schools at Dacca and Mymensingh, while Haran Chandra Chakladar went to inspect the Chandpur National School.

These steps were but aids to the National Council's policy of

centralisation in administration which was also sought to be retained by the issue of common directive by the N.C.E. from time to time. In the face of mounting governmental repression and political arrests and prosecutions in 1908, the N.C.E. authorities in apprehension of repressive blows from the government had to issue a circular letter to the various National Schools under it for their general guidance and behaviour. The truth is borne out, among others, by the following circular letter addressed by the Secretaries of the N.C.E. to the Secretaries of all National Schools "in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Executive Committee at a meeting held on the 17th December, 1908": —

"Dear Sir,

Having regard to the objects of the National Council of Education as set forth in its Memorandum of Association which include the enforcement of discipline in accordance with the best traditions of the country the necessity for which is emphasised by recent legislation which is mainly directed against Samities or Associations of a certain class, it is very undesirable that any educational institution, particularly National Schools affiliated to the Council, should be associated or have any connection with any Samities or Associations other than those which are purely literary.

We are directed by the Executive Committee of the National Council to request the authorities of your School to give the Committee an assurance that your School does not associate nor has it any connection with any Samities or Associations other than those which are purely literary and that, it is in fact, as we believe it to be, a bona fide educational institution.

The above assurance should reach our hands as early as possible because the Committee will have to take it into consideration in recommending any grant-in-aid to your School for 1909.

You should also impress upon the students of your School the undesirability of their belonging to any Society or Association without the approval of your Executive Committee and
should they so belong without such approval, you should, in
the enforcement of strict discipline, take such notice of their
conduct as may be necessary.

Yours faithfully,
A. Chaudhuri
H. N. Datta
Hony. Secretaries
(National Council of Education)’

It should be noted that in compliance with the requirements
of this Circular the Secretaries of affiliated National Schools
sent in due course “formal declarations in writing accepting
the terms mentioned in the Circular as one of the conditions
of continuance of affiliation to the Council”. Such instructions
embodying general policy or line of action were issued by the
N.C.E. from time to time.

MALDA DISTRICT COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

A few words should be observed at this stage about the
Malda District Council of Education or Malda Jatiya
Shiksha Samiti which was established on June 6, 1907 by
Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in collaboration with Bepin Behari
Ghose, (Pleader) as the Secretary, Radhesh Chandra Seth
(Pleader) and Moulvi Md. Nur Bux (Muktear) as the Vice-
Presidents and Prankrishna Bhaduri (Pleader) as the President.
The Jatiya Shiksha Samiti was a district organisation working
along the lines laid down by the N.C.E., although not formally
affiliated to it up till December, 1909, as evidenced by the
Dawn Magazine. It was thus a daughter Council of the N.C.E.,
both being expressions of the forward march of the National
Education Movement. The Malda Council was an entirely
representative body of the whole district of Malda—45 strong,
comprising the representatives of the municipalities and the
different sections of the district town itself.

37. The Dawn Magazine, March, 1909, Part III, pp. 21-22, and June, 1909,
Part III, pp. 60-61.
The *Shiksha Samiti* devoted its major energies to the dissemination of National Education in the rural areas. The December, 1909 issue of the *Dawn Magazine* informs us that "there are five rural National schools in the district, in which the masses are receiving instruction. They are: (1) The Sahapur Primary School (teaching up to the Primary Second Year), (2) Kutupur Night School (Ditto), (3) Dharampur National School (teaching up to the Secondary Second Year), (4) Jadupur National School (Ditto) and (5) Paranpur National School (Ditto). Besides, there is a Fifth Standard (Entrance) National School in the village of Kaligram (in the district) and a Night School attached to the Malda National School in the lower classes of which students belonging to the lower classes are also admitted and trained". The Kaligram National School in the district of Malda was founded in 1908 as a Third Standard School of the Secondary stage and during 1912-13 it continued to work as a Third Standard School. It may be that in 1909 it was raised to the Fifth Standard in which capacity it could not function for a long time.38

Apart from these Primary and Secondary Schools teaching up to the Second and Third Standards, there were two Fifth Standard Schools, one at Malda (founded in 1907) and the other at Sanihati (Dacca, founded in 1907-08), which were controlled by the District Council of Malda. From an article on *The National Council of Education and the National School at Malda in Bengal* by Benoy Kumar Sarkar under the pen-name of "A Voice from Malda" (The *Dawn Magazine*, August, 1907) we come to know the details of the organisation, administration, sources of income, etc., of the Malda National School. That these two Schools at Malda and Sanihati had been very successful is amply borne out by the statements of those who knew them during the Swadeshi days. Mr. J. N. Roy, Bar-at-Law, a nominated member of the Executive Committee of the N.C.E., went to visit the Malda National School on February 25, 1908. In a statement he observed that "I should

not at all be surprised if this school turns out to be one of the best we have." This opinion of Mr. Roy is fully corroborated by Radha Kumud Mookerjee who had been a Lecturer of the Bengal National College at Calcutta and who had a first-hand knowledge about the Schools at Malda and Sanihati. He writes: "Benoy Kumar took the lead in the extension of National Education Movement to the districts. The two national schools which he founded by his personal efforts and organising ability at Malda and his ancestral place at the village of Sanihati in Vikrampur, were models of such schools, combining literary education with manual training like the latter-day Basic Schools".

It should be stressed here that, while the major energies of the National Council of Bengal were directed to the moulding and improvement of the character of the secondary and higher education of the people, the chief attention of the Malda Jatiya Siksha Samiti was focussed on the organisation and improvement of primary education of the masses. The District Council of Malda thus struck a more democratic note and "may be said to be pioneer in this field of action" (The Dawn Magazine, December, 1909, Part III, p. 125).

Although chiefly concerned with the propagation of education among the masses, the Malda District Council carried on its work on the lines envisaged by the N.C.E. With the multiplication of National Schools and the expansion of their activities, the Malda District Council began to increasingly feel the necessity of centralisation, and consequently, in accordance with a resolution passed by the Council (March, 1908) it held its first annual Public Examination of the Primary Schools up to the Primary Third Year Classes at the District town Malda in May, 1908. The total number of students appearing in the Examination was 37, coming as they did from six different National Schools, viz., Kaligram (7), Jadupur (8), Malatipur (5), Paranpur (6), Dharampur (10) and the Night School attached

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40. Vide: Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji’s Foreword to Benoy Kumar Sarkar (A Study) By Haridas Mukherjee, Cal., 1953, p. IX.
to the Malda National School (1). Of the examinees all but one came out successful of whom 15 candidates were placed in the Upper, 14 in the Middle and 7 in the Lower Divisions.\(^1\) By the year 1911 the District Council of Malda held annually two Public Examinations at the Primary. Fourth. Year and Secondary Second Year Standards on the results of which it offered certificates, prizes and monthly scholarships for higher education.\(^2\) The number of schools, including the two Fifth Standard Schools, controlled by the *Malda Jatiya Shiksha Samiti*, was eleven, as stated in the National Council's *Report for 1913*. From 1914, the year of the First World War, some of these institutions began to be closed down while some others survived.

An important limb of the Malda District Council was its Literary Research Department attached to the Council almost from the very beginning. With it were associated Vidhu Sekhar Sastri, Radhesh Chandra Seth, Bepin Behari Ghose, Pramatha Nath Mukherjee, Radha Kumud Mookerji, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Atul Chandra Gupta, Nalini Ranjan Pandit, Haridas Palit, Radha Kamal Mukherjee, Narendra Nath Law and many others. It was constantly in touch with the advice of almost all the scholars and educationists of the time, such as Brajendra Nath Seal, Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Hirendra Nath Datta and Rabindra Nath Tagore. As stated in the N.C.E.'s *Report for 1911*, "The Literary Research Department has been able to bring out several publications of historical, linguistic and educational importance. An account of the work done during the last five years in this section has been published separately in Bengali. Systematic attempts are being made to promote research and original investigations, and scholars and fellows have been appointed to carry on research throughout the year." From a contemporary account published in the *Collegian* (1913), an all-India journal of education, we come to learn that many publications of historical, linguistic and educational

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42. The N.C.E.'s *Report for 1911*. 
importance were brought out by the Literary Research Department of the Malda District Council by 1912. It is by the Malda Jatiya Shiksha Samiti that Haridas Palit's anthropological work on 'Adhyer Gambhira' was published in 1912, and in the words of the Collegian, this work "as a history of one of the most important socio-religious institutions of Bengal, opened up an altogether new field for Indian research scholars." Be it noted that Mr. Palit was an indefatigable collector of manuscripts, traditions and folk-songs and that his book on Gambhira was an original contribution to the study of Bengal's folk-lore and folk-culture. He was discovered by Benoy Kumar Sarkar and appointed as a permanent researcher in the Literary Research Department of the Malda District Council of Education. It may be here incidentally noted that Benoykumar's famous book on the "Folk Element in Hindu Culture" was largely based on Mr. Palit's work, and experts maintain that these were pioneering works in the field.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar gave impetus to the National Education Movement in another way. In order to provide some of the young men with training in modern arts, industries and sciences, he secured substantial donations from some of his friends and out of the fund thus created were sent more than a dozen scholars who were "associated with the District Council of National Education, Malda, as teachers or otherwise" to the American Universities. These scholars on their return to the country were gainfully employed in diverse professions, firms, factories and colleges, and played an important role in the industrial development of the country.

**National Education outside Bengal**

The ideal of National Education became a sort of an all-India commodity in the hectic days of the Swadeshi Movement. It was accepted as an integral part of the four-point
national ideology by the Congress at its Calcutta Session of December, 1906. Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta, Secretary to the N.C.E., in moving the resolution made a passionate appeal to the Congress leaders to undertake the task of education as initiated by the National Council of Bengal. The resolution on the subject which was unanimously adopted runs thus: "That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls and organise a system of education—Literary, Scientific and Technical—suited to the requirements of the country, on national lines and under national control." In moving the resolution Hirendra Nath Datta observed: "Mr. President, brother delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have often thought that Swadeshism was a goddess with more than one face like the Roman Janus who has descended in our midst for the regeneration of India and by the worship of whom we would attain to what our venerable President has called 'swaraj', that is, self-government, a word which has given trouble to the old hysterical woman who presides in Hare Street. This 'swaraj' or self-government is the only remedy in which alone lie our hope and strength and our greatness. The goddess is a three-faced goddess. The one face or aspect of the goddess is political, the second face is industrial, and last, and not the least, is the educational." He observed that our countrymen had "not yet fully realised the importance of education as a factor in the life of a nation. If we have fully recognised that education plays a most important part in national regeneration we think this resolution hardly needs any moving and seconding at all." He then quotes the words of a great modern writer who said: "Give me the training of the youths of the nation, and I do not care who governs the country." Mr. Datta said, "That is exactly the position I would take up."

Mr. Datta then quotes two significant statements of Rev. Father Lafont and Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, both of whom

were intimately acquainted with the system of education in
India. "First of all let me place before you one testimony
which I hope to be considered unimpeachable. Rev. Father
Lafont, who has a right to speak with authority on the educa-
tion of the youths of this country, at a recent meeting when
speaking about University education, repeated what he had
said some years ago, when giving evidence before the Educa-
tion Commission. He said: 'The system of University educa-
tion in this country is a huge sham.' Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee,
one of the most sedate and conscientious of our public men,
sometime Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who
from his long training at the Bar and the Bench, has learned
to weigh every word before he utters it, said:—'The existing
system of English education has failed to produce satisfactory
results and the time for changing the method has certainly
arrived.' I am content to rest my case here. After many years
of earnest study and thought and after I had enjoyed all the
sweets and bitters of the present University education, I make
bold to say that the system of education has proved absolutely
a failure. It is the inevitable result of the unnatural and
denational system of education that obtains in this country.
... The time has come for change. We have made a humble
beginning in Bengal. We have established a National Council
of Education for imparting education, literary, scientific and
technical, on national lines and exclusively under national
control. Our distinguished countryman, Dr. Rash Behari
Ghose, is the president of the Council. The Council has already
been able to secure endowments to the total value of ten lakhs
of rupees. It has also been able to secure a yearly income of fifty
thousand rupees. We have established a college and school on
national lines in Calcutta. With other cities in Bengal, eastern
and western, where have also been opened national schools, we
have now over 2000 youths. This is a humble beginning. But it is
a good beginning. I don't say that our friends in the sister
provinces should follow our lead. They must solve their own
educational problem. But they should bear in mind that they
should not rely on foreign help. They must remember that a
nation is made up of youths." "Trust not your education to aliens. In native souls and native hands the only hopes of succour rest,"—with these words Hirendra Nath Datta concluded his speech and moved the afore-mentioned resolution which was unanimously accepted on the Congress platform.43

The idea of National Education was propagating itself mainly through conferences, both Provincial and District. It also found powerful exponents outside Bengal in men like Tilak and Lajpat Rai. At the Second District Conference held at Satara in the Bombay Presidency in the third week of March, 1908 a resolution on the subject of National Education was unanimously passed. At about the same time was held the District Conference at Poona in which a strongly worded resolution in favour of National Education was adopted. "Bal Gangadhar Tilak made a very stirring speech in moving the resolution. He spoke of National Education as the only means of the elevation of the new generation and generating in them sublime aspirations and genuine patriotism of a superior type. He hoped that at no distant date National Education would find strong advocates in all parts of the country and among all communities." The resolution was supported by Prof. Limaye of the Fergusson College who commented that "the only object of education must be regeneration of the country"44.

Like Tilak, Lalaji also addressed himself most enthusiastically to the propagation of the ideal of National Education and both found in Satischandra a kindred spirit in the educational field. During the period from 1906 to 1909 National Education was progressing beyond the borders of Bengal. Outside Bengal the National Education Movement was kept alive in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras as well as in the Province of Berar. By the middle of 1909, the Bombay

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43. The Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1906 was held for four days from the 26th to 29th December. In the leading editorial on "The Results of the Congress" the Bande Mataram in its issue of 30th December, 1906 presented a very nice summary of the results of the recent Congress and also an analysis of the new spirit of nationalism that was strenuously working in the country.

Presidency could boast of two Secondary National Schools, besides a number of Primary ones. Of the two Secondary Schools the more important was the Samartha Vidyalaya of Talegaon Dabhada in the Poona District. As reported in the February, 1909 issue of the *Dawn Magazine* (Part III, pp. 9-11), "The School, though not affiliated to the National Council of Education till now, sends students every year to appear in the Fifth Standard (corresponding to Matriculation) examination held by the Council. The scheme of studies adopted by the institution is the same as that followed by the schools of the same grade under the National Council, only with slight differences. As for example, in the fifth year class of the school a general knowledge of history of Greece and Rome is imparted to the students by certain lectures and without any reference to text-books, which is not the case with Fifth Standard Schools under the Council." A Report in Marathi of the Secretary to the School was published in the *Kesari* of 18th August, 1908 and on the basis of that Report a short account of that institution was presented in the *Dawn Magazine* in February, 1909.

The other Secondary School was the Maharashtra Vidyalaya, Poona. Originally founded in June, 1891 under the name of "New Preparatory Classes", the School was renamed in early 1903 as Maharashtra Vidyalaya and developed into a full-fledged National School at the beginning of 1908 when the syllabus of the Vidyalaya was prescribed anew on the lines laid down by the N.C.E., Bengal. Arrangements were made to coach students for the Fifth and Seventh Standard Examinations of the National Council. In the Seventh Standard of the N.C.E. provision was made at first in this Vidyalaya for the Secondary Literary Course only, and the Managing Board were trying their best to incorporate also the Secondary Technical Course in the curriculum of the School. The Vidyalaya was managed by an able staff of teachers, two of whom were graduates of the Bombay University and three were specialists in the subjects.

The schemes of studies were so framed as to combine literary
education with scientific and technical, and to end in a six years' course. In the first year class no book was introduced while English was taught in a story-telling way. Grammar was taught orally, along with the study of the reading books. Lives of great men of India and abroad were taught in a story-telling way from Marathi books in the lower classes while a general knowledge of the history of Maharashtra was imparted to the students up to the fourth class from Marathi historical works. In the fifth year class history of England was taught, while a broad account of the histories of Greece and Rome was presented to the students of the higher classes by some fixed lectures. The boys were also required to read select passages from Sanskrit literature like the Mahabharata and Raghuvansa. Botany, Physics and Chemistry, both theoretical and practical, were also imparted to the students. Along with literary and scientific subjects, the students were also taught fine arts such as drawing, singing as well as technical subjects such as weaving and carpentry.

The number of students on the roll at the end of the year 1907 had been 75, while in January, 1908 it rose to 96. "In order to place the students under their own supervision for the whole of the twenty-four hours, and to try to identify them wholly with the institution and to direct their special attention to physical education the authorities of the School have laid down that every student must reside in the School Boarding-house." Accordingly the institution became a residential one and there were 96 students in the Boarding-house in January, 1908. There were eight teachers on the staff and the library of the School had about 1000 books by the end of 1908.

The average daily attendance of students in the year 1908 was 125 and in the following year it showed signs of increase. The Maharashtra Vidyalaya, it may be recalled, was also recognised in 1908 as one of the centres for holding the different examinations of the N.C.E. In the Fifth Standard Examination held in June, 1908 “17 external students passed, of which 7 came from the Maharashtra Vidyalaya of Poona and 3 from the Vidyaigriha of Amraoti in Berar. These two are National
institutions but are not yet affiliated to the National Council of Education.” 47

In the Province of Berar also was established the Yeotmal National School at Yeotmal, the District town. Established towards the end of 1906 through the patriotic efforts of a few gentlemen of the Yeotmal district, the School, writes the Dawn in July, 1909, “is most unique in character, being the only institution in the district solely financed and controlled by the people of the same locality.” In the first year of its existence, the students had to pay the school-fees, but from the second year, they were being imparted free education. In March 1909, the number of students on the roll was as high as 248 and showed signs of further increase in the months following.

The course of instruction extended over a period of eleven years and comprised a course of Primary and Secondary Education. In combination with literary subjects, students were “also taught drawing, painting and clay-modelling”. They were also instructed in technical subjects, especially in the hand industries of the locality. Provision was also made for the physical training of the students. It may also be noted that by way of social work, on August 1, 1908, an Anathasrama or the home for the helpless was started under the auspices of the Yeotmal National School to provide education for the poor and helpless boys of the agricultural class.

Next, in Andhra Desa, that is, the Northern Circars of the Madras Presidency, was established the Andhra National Council of Education under the name of Andhra Jatheeya Vidya Parishad at Masulipatam. Influenced by the ideas and activities of the N.C.E., Bengal, the townsmen of Masulipatam on November 17, 1907 resolved at a public meeting upon the establishment of a National College for imparting education,—Literary, Scientific and Technical,—on national lines and under national control. An Executive Committee of thirteen members was then set up to devise ways and means to form an “Andhra National Council of Education” and to found an

47. The Dawn Magazine, July, 1908, Part III, p. 94.
Andhra National University in the Madras Presidency. After a year and a half's persevering efforts, the scheme was brought within easy reach of completion.

In January, 1908 was started the Secondary National School at Rajahmundry. The numerical strength of the School was about 200 in December, 1908 and further increased in the following year.

The *Dawn Magazine* of July, 1909 informs us that the Rajahmundry National School taught at the time up to the Fifth Standard Class of the Scheme of the National Council of Education, though the authorities of the institution had a desire to raise it to the Seventh Standard in future. The courses of study were almost identical with those of the National Council of Bengal, with only such minor differences as were necessitated by the local condition and considerations of the vernacular literature of the Presidency. Though run on national lines and under national control, the institution was not yet intended to be affiliated to the N.C.E., Bengal.

A further step in the direction of National Education was taken in 1909 when the Model National College was opened at Masulipatam on 1st July by the Andhra National Council of Education. This Model National College was named the *Andhra Jatheeya Kala Shala*. By January, 1910 its buildings and the fitting up of machinery in the workshop were almost completed and it was expected that "regular work will begin from the present or the next month (February, 1910)".

By this time the authorities of the Andhra National Council of Education spent nearly Rs. 11000/- on the College buildings, and Rs. 10000/- on machinery for the College workshop. Among the principal donors were a local firm, the Swadeshi Industrial Provident Company of Masulipatam, which had donated Rs. 7000/-, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Krishnaswamy Iyer of the Madras High Court who had subscribed Rs. 1000/- and Mr. Seethamraju Kondalarayudu Garu, a resident of Ellore, who had willed away to the *Kala Shala* 70 acres of wet

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land in the Kistna District which was worth over Rs. 40,000/-. Among its chief organisers and promoters may be named Subramania Iyer, Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswami Row, K. Hanumantha Rao and B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

Its chief organisers and promoters had always been regular readers and active supporters of the *Dawn Magazine* which published in details the ideas and schemes as well as progress and prospects of National Education Movement. During 1906-1910 the N.C.E. was functioning as a healthy and stimulating force in India and gave a powerful fillip to the movement for National Education in diverse parts of this sub-continent. The schemes of studies adopted by the Andhra National Council of Education made "manual and scientific training an integral part of liberal education" and were therefore in line with those of the N.C.E., Bengal.

Thus, the impact of the N.C.E. on the National Education Movement in Andhra Desa was direct and obvious. The truth is borne out by the welcome address which Rashbehari Ghose, the President of the N.C.E., received from about 200 citizens of Rajahmundry while proceeding to Madras via that station to attend the Madras Congress. The people of Rajahmundry observed in course of their welcome address: "We highly appreciate the noble work you have done for the progress of the motherland. The support you have given to the Swadeshi Movement by establishing the "Bande Mataram" Match Factory . . . and above all, the material and intellectual help you gave to the cause of National Education as President of the National Council of Education, Calcutta, all these are worthy of the highest praise. We may, in passing, here mention that our town Rajahmundry has the honour of opening the first National School in Southern India, having at present nearly 200 students on its rolls and imparting education,—literary, scientific and technical—on national lines and under national control".49

The United Provinces also were slowly being awakened to

the necessity of National Education. As reported in the *Dawn Magazine* (June, 1908, Part III, p. 79), "The first National School is going to be started at Allahabad and is to be called the Ajodhyanath National High School after the name of that great public man of the Province, the late Pandit Ajodhyanath." A Provincial Committee with A. P. Ghazipoori was also formed to take steps for the establishment of the National School. According to the scheme of studies published by the Committee, there would be opened at present six classes and "the scheme of studies to be adopted will be that of the Bengal National Council of Education to which this school will be affiliated and necessary modifications will be introduced into the curriculum according to the needs and tastes of the Province as far as the literary subjects are concerned. The technical subjects that will be taught in the school will be toy-making, carpentry, tailoring, weaving and cap-making."

It may also be noted here that at the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Dhulia the resolution on National Education was unanimously passed. The interest taken in National Education by the people of Bombay was further manifest in their financial contributions by charity shows to the funds of the National Council of Education, Bengal. It is reported in the *Dawn Magazine* (April, 1908, Part III., p. 55) that Aurobindo Ghose placed at the disposal of the Council the sum of Rs. 378-8-1½p. "put in his hands at Bombay by the Maharashtra Natak Mandali and Patankar Sangit Mandali which organised benefit performances in aid of the National Council of Education, Bengal".

**PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS OF THE N.C.E.**

As noted before, the N.C.E. held its first Public Examination in July, 1906 which was in the nature of an Admission Test in General and Technical Courses in pursuance of two resolutions adopted by the Council on March 31 and April 29, 1906 respectively. The first resolution decided that two Public Examinations of the Fifth and the Seventh Standard—equivalent respectively to the Matriculation and Intermediate in Arts
standard of the Indian Universities—would be held in the
second week of July, 1906.

A. The Fifth Standard Examination for 1906

The Fifth Standard Examination was taken in the following
subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>No. of Papers</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Full Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. One of the following</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Oriental languages:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic;</td>
<td>2 papers</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with an allied vernacular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Second language</td>
<td>2 papers</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(English)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mathematics</td>
<td>2 papers</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. History and Geography</td>
<td>2 papers</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

B. The Seventh Standard Examination for 1906

The Seventh Standard Examination was taken in the follow-
ing subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>No. of Papers</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Full Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. One of the following</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriental languages:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic;</td>
<td>2 papers</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with an allied vernacular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Second language</td>
<td>2 papers</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(English)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mathematics</td>
<td>2 papers</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Physics or Chemistry</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. History or Logic</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In subject (i) in both the Examinations Bengali and Hindi were the only recognised vernaculars allied to Sanskrit, and Urdu was the only recognised vernacular allied to Persian or Arabic. In order to pass the Examinations a candidate was required to obtain at least 30 per cent. of the full marks in each subject, but in the oriental languages he must obtain at least 30 per cent. of the marks in each paper for a pass.

The following gentlemen were appointed to set papers for the two General Examinations.

1. (a) Sanskrit ... Babu Golap Chandra Shastri, M.A., B.L.
   Babu Kunja Lal Nag, M.A.
   (b) Arabic ... Moulvi Mohammed Yusuf Khan Baha-
       dur, M.A., B.L.
   (c) Persian ... Mr. Syed Zahiruddin Ahmad, B.A.,
       Bar-at-Law.
   (d) Bengali ... Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore
   (e) Hindi ... Pandit Umapati Datta Pandeya, B.A.
   (f) Urdu ... Mr. Syed Zahiruddin Ahmad, B.A.,
       Bar-at-Law.

2. English ... Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, C.I.E., M.A., D.L.
   Mr. N. N. Ghose, F.R.S.L., Bar-at-Law.
   Babu Satis Chandra Mukerji, M.A., B.L.

   Mr. A Chaudhuri, M.A. (Cal.), B.A.,
       (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law.
   Babu Gauri Sankar De, M.A.

4. History ... Babu Chandra Nath Bose, M.A., B.L.
   Mr. Aurobinda Ghose, B.A. (Cantab.).
   Mr. P. Chaudhuri, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

5. Physics and Chemistry ... Babu Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, M.A.
   Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D.

6. Logic ... Dr. P. K. Roy, D.Sc.
   Babu Hirendra Nath Datta, M.A., B.L.

In accordance with the second resolution two Public Technical Examinations were held, one in the Primary Technical
Course and the other in the Secondary Technical Course in the third week of July, 1906. It is to be noted here that these were special Examinations held by the Council for boys reading in the Amin and Overseer classes attached to the Rangpur and Mymensingh National Schools.  

A. Primary Technical Examination for 1906

For the Primary Technical Examination prescribed by the N.C.E. there were the following subjects:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>No. of Papers</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Full Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mathematics</td>
<td>2 papers</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Drawing</td>
<td>(a) 1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Examination of exercises in drawing done in class</td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Surveying</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Elementary Engineering</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Estimating</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Workshop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter's shop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith's shop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Secondary Technical Examination for 1906

For the Secondary Technical Examination prescribed by the N.C.E. there were the following subjects:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>No. of Papers</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Full Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mathematics</td>
<td>3 papers</td>
<td>3 hours each</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Drawing</td>
<td>(a) 1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Examination of exercises in drawing done in class</td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE MOVEMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>No. of Papers</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Full Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Surveying</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Engineering</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Estimating</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Workshop</td>
<td>Carpenter's shop to be fixed by the examiner</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blacksmith's shop do.</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the year 1906 there was no Examination in subjects 2(b) and 6.

Paper-setters of the Technical Examinations for 1906

1. Mathematics ... Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Kt., M.A., D.L.
2. Drawing and Surveying ... Babu Gagan Chandra Biswas, B.C.E.
Babu Haripada Ghosal, B.C.E.
3. Engineering and Estimating ... Babu Netai Govind Chowdhury, B.C.E.
Babu Haripada Ghosal, B.C.E.
4. Workshop ... Babu Prasanna Coomar Sen, L.C.E.

The Examinations of the year 1906 were held at Calcutta, Rangpur, Dacca, Comilla, Bankipore and Lahore centres.

Results of the First Public Examination, 1906

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Divn.</th>
<th>Second Divn.</th>
<th>Third Divn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Standard Exam.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Standard Exam.</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Tech. Exam.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Tech. Exam.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, a total of 411 candidates out of 729 came out successful in the Admission Test organised by the National Council of Education in July, 1906.
After the completion of its first year's activities the second Public Examination was held under the auspices of the N.C.E. in July, 1907. Like the previous year four Examinations were taken this year too, two General and two Technical.

Results of the Second Public Examination, 1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examination</th>
<th>First Divn</th>
<th>Second Divn</th>
<th>Third Divn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Standard Examination</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Standard Examination</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Technical Examination</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Technical Examination</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus a total of 100 students passed successfully in the second Public Examination under the N.C.E. The Examinations were held in Calcutta, Bankipore, Comilla, Dacca, Rangpur, Lahore and Amraoti centres. It may be noted in this connection that external students, i.e., those who did not study in the Bengal National College or Schools established by or affiliated or admitted to the Council, were permitted to sit in these Examinations (excepting in the Proficiency Examination which was not yet held) organised by the N.C.E.

The Courses of this year's Examinations were almost similar to those of the previous year. The only changes mentionable were, first, the incorporation of Marathi as a recognised vernacular along with Bengali, Hindi and Urdu in the General (5th and 7th standards) Examinations. And secondly, in the Seventh Standard Examination the candidates were examined, besides in an Oriental language and in English, in Logic also as a compulsory subject (one paper with 50 as full marks) and any two of the subjects, History, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry (one paper each with 50 as full marks).

The third Public Examination of the N.C.E. was held in June, 1908. In the first two years, 1906 and 1907, the courses for the Fifth and Seventh Standard Examinations were very much akin to those of the corresponding official University Examina-
tions as the candidates who appeared in these examinations mostly came from the outside schools and colleges and had not yet received a comprehensive training according to the schemes of studies of the N.C.E. But in 1908 the Council was able to conduct its third Public Examination mostly according to the syllabus prescribed by the N.C.E. This year students trained in the Bengal National College and School and also in the Schools affiliated to the National Council were sent up and therefore the number of external students was much less than in the previous years. Besides, an important addition to this year's Examination was the inclusion of the Seventh Standard Scientific group, apart from the Seventh Standard (Literary) and Fifth Standard Examinations and the Secondary and Primary Technical Examinations as in the previous years.

The course for the Seventh Standard Examination, 1908:

**Literary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>No. of Papers</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Full Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. An Oriental Classic—Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Text and Grammar—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Translation and composition—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Any one of the following groups, A, B, and C—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. History and Economics—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) History—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Principles of Economics—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Indian Economics (Descriptive and Historical)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>No. of Papers</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Full Marks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Psychology and Ethics—</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Psychology (Eastern System)—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Psychology (Western System)—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Ethics (Eastern and Western Systems)—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Pali, Hindi and Marathi—</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Pali—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Hindi—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Marathi—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Written</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Oral</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Candidates whose vernacular was Marathi had to take up Bengali]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Essay</strong>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) In English</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) In Vernacular</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Scientific**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>No. of Papers</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Full Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Physics and Chemistry—</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Physics—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Theoretical</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Practical</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Chemistry—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Theoretical</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Practical</td>
<td>1 paper</td>
<td>3 hours</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Any one of the following groups A and B—

A. (i) Mathematics — 2 papers 3 hours each 100
   (ii) Drawing — 1 paper 3 hours 50
   (including exercises done in class)
   (iii) Mechanics & Steam Engine — 1 paper 3 hours 50

(iv) Workshop Practice—
   (a) Carpenter's shop — 1 paper 6 hours 50
   (b) Blacksmith's shop — 1 paper 6 hours 50

B. (i) Biology—
   (a) Zoology—
      Theoretical — 1 paper 3 hours 50
      Practical — 1 paper 3 hours 50
   (b) Botany—
      Theoretical — 1 paper 3 hours 50
      Practical — 1 paper 3 hours 50
   (ii) Physiology—
      Theoretical — 1 paper 3 hours 50
      Practical — 1 paper 3 hours 50

3. Essay—
   (i) English — 1 paper 3 hours 50
   (ii) Vernacular — 1 paper 3 hours 50

[Oral Examination formed a part of practical Examination in all subjects including Workshop Practice.]
for those students who read in the *Amin* and Overseer classes attached to the Rangpur and Mymensingh National Schools.

**Results of the Third Public Examination, 1908**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Divn.</th>
<th>Second Divn.</th>
<th>Third Divn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Standard (Literary)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Standard (Scientific)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Standard Examination</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Technical Examination</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Technical Examination</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, a total of 124 candidates successfully came out from the third Public Examination. There were 4 external students in the Seventh Standard—2 Literary and 2 Scientific—and 17 in the Fifth Standard Examinations. Among the Fifth Standard external students, 7 came from the *Maharashtra Vidyalaya* of Poona and 3 from the *Vidyaigriha* of Amraoti in Berar. These two were National Institutions, but were not yet affiliated to the N.C.E. The impact of National Education outside Bengal was thus patent on the surface.5

The fourth Public Examination of the National Council of Education was held in June, 1909. This year's Examinations also, as in 1908, were in accordance with the curriculum of the N.C.E. Altogether five examinations were taken in the Seventh Standard, Literary and Scientific, Fifth Standard and the Secondary and Primary Technical courses. It may be observed here that although Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Sanitary Science and Workshop Practice were taught in the Fifth Standard classes according to the schemes of study adopted by the N.C.E., there was no Examination as yet taken in these subjects. The Fifth Standard Examination was still limited to its Literary course.

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51. The *Dawn Magazine*, July, 1908, p. 94.
Results of the Fourth Public Examination, 1909

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examination Type</th>
<th>First Divn.</th>
<th>Second Divn.</th>
<th>Third Divn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Standard (Literary)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Standard (Scientific)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Standard Examination</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Technical Examination</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Technical Examination</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, a total of 89 candidates out of 163 examinees passed in the fourth Public Examination of the N.C.E., 1909. Of the total successful candidates in the Seventh Standard Literary Course, 4 were from the Bengal National College, 2 from Dacca National School and 3 External. In the Seventh Standard Scientific Course all the 9 successful candidates appeared from the Bengal National College. Of the total successful students in the Fifth Standard Examination, 8 belonged to Rangpur National School, 4 to Habiganj, 4 to Kishoreganj, 2 to Sylhet, 1 to Khulna, 3 to Chandpur, 1 to Maldah, 3 to Dinajpur, 1 to Noakhali, 2 to Comilla, 1 to Dacca, 1 to Sonarang, 2 to Yeotmal, 3 to Amraoti and 11 to other schools.

In the Secondary Technical Examination all the successful candidates were from Rangpur National School, while in the Primary Technical Examination 12 belonged to Rangpur, 6 to Mymensingh and 1 was External. Besides Calcutta (the only centre for the 7th Standard Examination), the other centres of Examinations were Dacca, Rangpur, Comilla, Sylhet, Amraoti and Poona.52

No Proficiency Examination was held during 1906-09. This was due to the fact that external students were unfit to sit for the Proficiency Examination and students, who after passing

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the Seventh Standard Examination in 1906 joined the Bengal National College, did not as yet complete the four years' course in the Proficiency class.

The Public Examinations organised by the N.C.E. had certain special features:—

(a) Not too many subjects were examined at a time.

(b) For all subjects except the language papers, students were allowed to write answers in any of the four recognised vernaculars, viz., Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and Marathi and even in language papers writing in the mother-tongue was permitted in the primary stages of instruction.

(c) Students could also use any character such as that of Bengali, Devanagri, Gujarati and the others; and the Pali paper could also be written in the Roman character.

(d) As the students' knowledge could not be tested by written examination alone, there was provision for oral (in literary subjects) and practical (in scientific and technical subjects) tests in the Seventh Standard Examination.

In short, every attempt was taken to test the examinees' real and practical knowledge and to guard against cramming. 53

Prizes, medals, certificates and scholarships were given to the successful candidates on the strength of their results in the examinations. For scholarships and stipends the Council spent Rs. 2159 in 1907 and Rs. 3600 in 1908.

NATIONAL COUNCIL EXTENSION LECTURES

An important feature in the system of work in the Bengal National College was the provision for what may be called Extension Lectures. In addition to regular lectures delivered by the teaching staff in the classes, the National Council provided for occasional Extension Lectures on different subjects by the Directors of Studies of the College and eminent educationists. These occasional lectures were always open to the general public. During the years 1906-08, a series of such addresses were delivered by Mohini Mohan Chatterjee,

Rabindra Nath Tagore and R. C. Bonnerjee respectively on (1) *Study of History*, (2) *Comparative Literature* and (3) *English Literature*. Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur also delivered some lectures on various Indian and allied subjects in the premises of the Bengal National College. Such lectures, apart from the knowledge it imparted, provided also a variety to the students and the staff and also presented an opportunity to the public to get in touch with the intellectual currents generated in the National Council. These Extension Lectures were often reported in the contemporary journals. As for instance, Mohini Mohan Chatterjee's Extension Lectures on *Study of History* were published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (February 8, 1907) under the name of "History as a Science".

The Extension Lectures were continued in the year 1909 also. The month of August of that year was specially remarkable for a series of such lectures delivered by Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur (one lecture on *India Abroad*), Dr. Gooroo Dass Banerjee (two lectures, one on *Mathematics* with special reference to Indian Mathematics, the first of a series, and the second on *Ethics*, also the first of a series), Hirendra Nath Datta (one lecture on the *Upanishads*, the first of a series) and Dr. Coomarswamy (two lectures, one on *National Education* and the second on *Indian Art*).

Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur in course of his lecture (delivered on the 17th August) "referred to the Buddhist influence in Egypt and China about the early centuries of the Christian era. He then mentioned the staple food of the different peoples of Asia, and spoke at great length about the mode of living of the Tibetans and the Mongolians as well as of their past history... and attempted to establish, especially from the fact that barley grows abundantly in Tibet and that is also mentioned in the Rig Veda as the staple food of the Aryans,—rather novel proposition that the original home of the Aryans was probably the table-land of Tibet and the neighbourhood." With reference to the last point a member of the College staff made the suggestion that "the lecturer's theory was completely different from that advanced by
Mr. B. G. Tilak", the author of that monumental work, *Arctic Home in the Vedas*.

Gooroo Dass Banerjee opened his first discourse on *Mathematics* on the 23rd of August. In that preliminary speech, the learned lecturer "began by explaining the reason of his first taking up Mathematics and not Ethics" and pointed out the practical value of Mathematics and the means by which the subject could be made easy. He then discussed the antiquity of Indian Mathematics and traced its origin as far back as the Rig-Vedic times and threw in bold relief the contrast of the two cultures, Indian and European, one predominantly religious and the other essentially secular. He concluded his speech by stating that "the hopes of Indians lay in an all-round culture". Again on the 27th of August, Gooroo Dass Banerjee delivered his first lecture on *Ethics* and emphasised in that preliminary lecture the need for moral training. He divided the subject of moral training into two parts, viz., (a) Knowledge of moral principles "which go to help us in forming correct judgments" and (b) the practice of moral virtues, without which a mere knowledge of moral principles would be "meaningless". It need be added that lectures on both these subjects, *Mathematics* and *Ethics*, were continued by Gooroodass for a considerable length of time afterwards.

Hirendra Nath Datta delivered his first speech on the *Upanishads* on the 28th of August. He first defined the meaning of the term *Upanishad* which, according to him, was *Brahmavidya* and then referred to the culture of the *Upanishads* in the West and even among the Mahomedans. "During the life-time of Emperor Shahjahan, his son Dara had some of the *Upanishads* translated into Persian. These were retranslated into Latin, from which the West was for the first time acquainted with the *Upanishads*". After these preliminary observations, the learned lecturer spoke with considerable wealth of detail on *The Place of the Upanishads in Vedic Literature*.

Lastly, Dr. Coomarswamy delivered his Extension Lecture on *National Education* on the 18th of August, 1909 at the
Bengal National College, with Rabindra Nath Tagore in the chair. The President in introducing the lecturer spoke in Bengali as follows: “The lecturer of the evening is a well-known personage. He has gained a wide knowledge of the fine arts not only of India, but of all European countries, so much so that he has hardly any equal in this field. He is honoured even by the specialists of Europe. He visited those countries of Europe where the new movement in favour of a reformed national education has been inaugurated, and has made a careful study of the methods adopted there. So he is in a position to counsel us as to how we should impart national education here”.

Dr. Coomarswamy then delivered a most illuminating and instructive address lasting for over an hour. “He first criticised the system of University education in India on the score of such education ignoring the traditional culture of the land and of its being modelled on the lines of the ancient English University system and so originating at a time when none of the modern vital movements in European education was so much as even heard of. He then spoke about the national system of education followed in several European countries, laying special stress on the system of education adopted in that little but advanced country, Denmark and on the marvellous results accruing from the system followed; and remarked that for a system of education to be truly national, the history and the traditions of the country must be given the first place in the curriculum of its studies. He next referred to the Scheme of Studies of the National Council of Education, Bengal. He had carefully gone through it and the one thing which impressed him in it was its note of independence, the fundamental characteristic of any system of education which aspired to be national. But, unfortunately there was also observable in the Scheme as at present drawn up, a conspicuous lack of true Indianness in some very important respects. Thus the omission of Indian Art and Music from the curriculum was very unfortunate considering the part they have played in the old educational systems of this land and the extent to which they have helped
in the formation of Indian national character. He concluded by saying that Nationalism was religion and that its great essential like that of every religion was faith, faith in the capacity and the destiny of the nation." Among the gentlemen present on this occasion were noticed Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, Abdul Rasul, Dr. S. K. Mallick, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Khudiram Bose (Principal, Central College), Lalit Kumar Banerjee, Ardhendu Coomar Ganguly and B. C. Chatterjee.

Almost all of these gentlemen were also present in the Bengal National College on the 20th August when Dr. Coomarswamy delivered another speech on Indian Art. Among the newcomers at that meeting the name of Abanindra Nath Tagore (then Vice-Principal of the Calcutta Art School) deserves special mention. Dr. Coomarswamy demonstrated the subject of Indian Art by means of magic lantern slides. He traced in course of his speech the development of Indian Art from the third century B.C. and exhibited the changes that marked the different epochs of Indian Art by appropriate illustrations of Indian Sculpture and Indian Painting, revealing at the same time the nature and import of the diverse phases of Indian Art. He also referred to the "revival of Indian National Art in Bengal under the leadership of Babu Abanindra Nath Tagore of the Tagore family of Calcutta" and expressed his satisfaction at the recent growth of national consciousness which was animating every field of the people's activity, including Indian Art. A synoptic account of this and other Extension Lectures of the National Council for 1909 has been recorded in the pages of the Dawn Magazine (November, 1909, Part III, pp. 109-114). Extension Lectures were also instituted as a regular feature of the programme of work of the N.C.E. in the years following 1909.

SOCIAL GATHERINGS AND CEREMONIES

The monotony of routine-work in the Bengal National College was occasionally broken by social functions and ceremonies. The industrial and scientific exhibitions twice held
by the N.C.E. in course of 1908-1909, besides providing entertainments to the public, also broke the tedium of strenuous work of the National College. Apart from this, other functions of a variegated character also marked the programme of work of the N.C.E. First of all we may refer to the Foundation-Day Celebration of the National Council of Education. The 11th of March "which saw the birth of an independent educational movement exclusively under national control" must be reckoned as a red-letter day in the annals of our freedom struggle, for on that day in 1906 was inaugurated the National Council of Education in the rooms of the Bengal Landholders' Association. Hence the Foundation-Day Celebration was an important annual function in the milieu of the N.C.E.

The second anniversary of the Foundation-Day of the National Council was held in the evening of 11th March, 1908 "in a most brilliant fashion" in the premises of the Bengal National College. The function was graced by the presence of "a brilliant array of distinguished guests," including many Europeans like Dr. Arthur Schuster, F.R.S., D.Sc., Prof. Paul Bruhl of the Sibpur Engineering College and Professor Cunningham of the Presidency College. A fairly large number of members of the Council was also present including Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Brojendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury, Bipin Chandra Pal (who had been released from prison only two days before), Dr. P. K. Ray, Gaganendra Nath Tagore, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Motilal Ghose, Ashutosh Chaudhury and Hirendra Nath Datta. "The whole College was very tastefully decorated and ablaze with lights. There were quite a variety of entertainments for the guests," such as the College Exhibition of articles, implements and apparatus turned by the Scientific and Technical Departments, demonstrations in the Physical Science Laboratory of the College, the working of a Rontgen Ray apparatus (with the aid of which the bones of the hand could be seen through the muscles and the skin) by Prof. Jagadindu Roy, and the working of an arrangement in wireless telegraphy by Prof. Paranjpye. "Srijukta Haran Chandra Chakladar, another Professor of Science, was engaged
in giving in another part of the College building a Magic Lantern Exhibition of a series of very interesting, nicely drawn and graphic views of Indian life and landscape, and Indian architectural and other historic monuments; and the whole of the proceedings were enlivened with songs and music; while light refreshments were served to the honourable guests by the College students." During midday a sumptuous feast was arranged, and the students and teachers partook of a hearty dinner. "But what made the dinner specially interesting was the hospitality extended to Srijut Bipin Chandra Pal—who after a prolonged course of gaol-diet was afraid to partake of the dishes to the extent he should otherwise have liked; for as he wittily remarked 'a bellyful was a windfall' in gaol." Thus, from morning till night the celebrations of the Foundation-Day of the Council went on merrily in the Bengal National College.

Such celebrations of the Commemoration Day of the Council were also held in 1909\(^5\), of course with variations in detailed programme. A special attraction of this year's function was the presence of Professor Ramamurti Naidu, India's Strongest Man, who delivered a very interesting speech on physical education in Hindi. An English version of this speech has been preserved for posterity in the Dawn Magazine (May, 1909, Part III, pp. 45-48). In course of his lecture Professor Ramamurti observed what the students required was "a strong body and a strong mind," and while yielding to none "in his reverence for the sacred cause of national education," he further commented what the students would do "if their physique failed notwithstanding their whole-hearted devotion and sacrifice." At the end of his speech, he volunteered the gift of a benefit performance in aid of the Bengal National College Funds, and the offer was heartily cheered by the audience. Pandit Sakharan Ganesh Deoskar, Lecturer of the College, then gave a fine speech in Hindi and observed that "Physical education formed a part of the curriculum of the N.C.E." and that the Bengal

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54. The Dawn Magazine, April, 1908, Part III, pp. 61-62.
National College enjoyed "an annual grant of Rs. 600 to be spent on the physical education of the students."

The "benefit performance" in aid of the funds of the College, as promised by Professor Ramamurti on 11th March, was duly held on 27th March, 1909. Everybody present was moved to admiration by the brilliant physical feats demonstrated by that physical culturist. The National College authorities also "received about Rs. 700/- being only a part of the whole profits", according to a previous arrangement made with Professor Ramamurti.

Again, year after year the celebrations of the Foundation-Day of the Bengal National College were held on the 14th of August, for on that auspicious date this national institution was ushered into existence. The fourth celebration of the Foundation-Day was successfully held on the 14th of August, 1909 in the premises of the College. The whole day was observed as a holiday. Musical performances and speeches and refreshments marked the function. Among the speakers were noticed Pandit Chandra Kanta Nyayalankar, then the Principal of the College, Sakharam Ganesh Deoskar, Gooroo Dass Banerjee and Hirendra Nath Datta\(^5\). Dr. Banerjee, while explaining the "importance of combining literary culture with training in the technical arts," emphasised that he did not hold the view, as some of our countrymen advocated then, that "there was no need for keeping up a Literary Department in the College and that the whole energy of the institution should be devoted to the imparting of technical education."

"A one-sided development of the technical arts and of commercialism," observed Banerjee further, "would tend to plunge our country into that same mire of materialism from which the West is struggling in vain to escape. The Western nations have, indeed, achieved a wonderful degree of material prosperity, but, have they got happiness and peace of mind? Therefore it is that the College sought to check the materialistic tendency that might be generated by the preponderance of...

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technical studies, by counterbalancing these with courses in history, literature, philosophy and other higher branches of culture.” Hirendra Nath Datta explained in his speech the difference between this institution and other institutions and observed that the essential difference consisted “not in the organization nor even in the matter of the curriculum, but in the spirit in which the students, teachers and promoters approached their respective tasks.” And that differentiating spirit was the spirit of service to the Motherland.

The holding of the Annual Prize Day Meetings was another colourful ceremony in the life of the National College. For the award of medal and certificates to the deserving candidates and for the distribution of prizes to the meritorious students of the Bengal National College and School a public meeting befitting the occasion was held in the College premises on 9th April, 1908, with Rashbehari Ghose in the chair. Among those present were noticed some European ladies belonging to the Theosophical Society and two European gentlemen, one of whom being Mr. James, the Principal of the Presidency College and the other being Prof. Paul Bruhl of the Sibpur Engineering College.

Ashutosh Chaudhury, one of the Secretaries of the N.C.E., in course of a brief speech made a statement of progress done by the Council during the last two years. He pointed out that “we have succeeded in getting 20 affiliated institutions in different parts of Bengal, consisting of 4,000 students. The Bengal National College itself was started with a very small number of boys but now it got 450 boys.”

The President then distributed the medals and certificates to the successful candidates of the last Seventh and Fifth Standard Examinations, and then gave away the prizes to the meritorious students of the College. The total number of prizes distributed was 55 in all, the value of which was estimated at Rs. 400. Musical performances, athletic display, exhibition of magic lantern slides, presenting “vivid views of Indian life and landscape and of Indian architectural and historical monuments”, the exhibition of the miracles of the Rontgen Ray
apparatus and of many biological specimens made the func-
tion colourful and interesting from first to last^57.

Besides these annual commemorative functions, there were
held in course of 1907-1909 several other ceremonies, of which
the one held in August, 1907 in connection with the retirement
of Aurobindo Ghose from the post of Principalship of the
College was most touching. Many writers have recorded in
their accounts that Aurobindo resigned his post of Principal-
ship "for private reasons", but that is an inadequate, nay, a
false representation of the reality. Aurobindo tendered his
resignation to the post of the Principal, not on "private" but
on political grounds. On the 22nd of August, 1907 the students
and teachers of the National College assembled in a meeting
and "expressed their heartfelt appreciation of the eminent
qualities as a teacher, of Srijut Aurobindo Ghose, their late
beloved Principal, and recorded their deep regret at his
resignation on the 2nd of August, 1907, of the high office
which he had filled with such conspicuous ability and at so
much personal sacrifice to himself during the first year of the
existence of the College. They also expressed their heartfelt
sympathy with him in his present troubles in connection with
his prosecution on the alleged charge of editing and publish-
ing certain seditious articles in the Bande Mataram"^58. It was
also resolved at this meeting that a photograph of their late
beloved Principal be taken to be hung up in the College hall.

58. Hemendra Prasad Ghose records in his authoritative Bengali book
"Congress" (3rd edition, 1928, p. 205) that on June 8, 1907 the Government
issued a letter to the Editor of the Bande Mataram, "warning him for using
language which is a direct incentive to violence and lawlessness." This was
followed by press prosecutions which began from July, 1907 and the first
Governmental attack was made on the Jugantar (vide the Bengalee and the
Amrita Bazar Patrika, July 25, 1907). Apprehending his involvement in a case
in very near future as the Editor of the Bande Mataram and lest the National
College should suffer on that account, Aurobindo abjured his connection
with the Bengal National College by formally resigning from his post of the
Principal on 2nd August, 1907. On the 16th of that month, on hearing that
a warrant had been issued for his arrest for having reproduced "translations
of articles for which Jugantar was prosecuted, and also for having edited
and published an article entitled 'India for Indians' in the Dak edition of
Bande Mataram on the 28th July," Aurobindo out of his own accord went
to the Detective Police Office for surrendering himself. He was, however,
released on bail (vide the Bande Mataram, August, 19, 1907).
“Accordingly the next day Srijukta Aurobindo Ghose”, records the *Dawn Magazine* (Sept., 1907), “was invited to come over to the College premises to be photographed. When the boys of the College and School came up to their beloved Principal one by one, bowed at his feet and garlanded him, it was a sight for the gods to see! This touching manifestation of the feeling roused in the hearts of the boys at this sudden shock of parting with their beloved Principal under such peculiar circumstances, brought tears to the eyes of all present, as it revealed the true inwardness and sanctity of the bond of relationship that binds the pupil to his teacher.” After the photographs (one alone of Aurobindo with garlands hanging round his neck and the other a group photo comprising one and all present) were taken, Aurobindo was treated by the boys to “a sumptuous lunch in the Hindu style.” On being requested by the teachers on behalf of the boys to hear from him, Aurobindo delivered a soul-stirring address in a voice choked with emotion. In course of his short speech he observed: “In the meeting you held yesterday I see that you expressed sympathy with me in what you call my present troubles. I don’t know whether I should call them troubles at all, for the experience that I am going to undergo was long foreseen as inevitable in the discharge of the mission that I have taken up from my childhood, and I am approaching it without regret. What I want to be assured of is not so much that you feel sympathy for me in my troubles but that you have sympathy for the cause in serving which I have to undergo what you call my troubles. . . .

“The only piece of advice that I can give you now is—carry out the work, the mission, for which this College was created.

59. In Sri Aurobindo’s book entitled *Speeches* (Cal., 1948, pp. 1-5), this speech has been incorporated under the name of “Advice to National College Students”. The publishers in recording in that book (p. 1) that the speech concerned was delivered by Aurobindo on Aug. 22, 1907 have committed a slight chronological mistake. The speech was actually delivered on the following day.

It is well to place on record here that this speech was taken down *verbatim* by Prof. Rabindra Narayan Ghose of the Bengal National College, and it is to him that the posterity is indebted for a very faithful reproduction of the speech which was also sanctioned as authoritative by Aurobindo himself, as Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerji and Sj. Satish Chandra Guha inform us.
I have no doubt that all of you have realised by this time what this mission means. When we established this College, and left other occupations, other chances of life, to devote our lives to this institution, we did so because we hoped to see in it the foundation, the nucleus, of a nation, of the new India which is to begin its career after this night of sorrow and trouble, on that day of glory and greatness when India will work for the world. . . . There are times in a nation's history when Providence places before it one work, one aim, to which everything else, however high and noble in itself, has to be sacrificed. Such a time has now arrived for our motherland when nothing is dearer than her service, when everything else is to be directed to that end. . . . Work that she may prosper. Suffer that she may rejoice. All is contained in that one single advice".  

Another interesting and successful social gathering of the College was held in September, 1907 "in order to celebrate the happy event of the acquittal of Srijut Aurobindo Ghose in the Bande Mataram Case—an event in which the College was specially interested." 61 As Aurobindo was acquitted on September 23 (as Hemendra Prasad Ghose informs us in his Bengali book on Congress, pp. 208-209), this social gathering of the students and teachers of the College took place sometime in the fourth week of that month. It may be noted here incidentally that prior to this social reunion another gathering of the students and teachers took place in connection with the acquittal of the accused in the famous Comilla Shooting Case.

Again, it may be here recorded that until the prohibitive orders issued by the authorities of the N.C.E. in 1909 the teachers and students of the Bengal National College and School used to celebrate the annual anniversary of the Boycott-Swadeshi Movement on August 7. On such an occasion in 1907 they met in the College premises in the morning, "all bare-footed and with only a chaddar on their body", and then marching in a

60. See the article entitled "An Interesting Ceremony at the Bengal National College" as published in the Dawn Magazine, Sept., 1907, Part III, pp. 5-7.
procession and having a bath in the Ganges they returned to the College where they started amidst shouts of *Bande Mataram* a fund, called the *Jatiya Shiksha Bhandar*, for the promotion of the cause of National Education in Bengal. On the spot some Rs. 600 were offered and collected. Under the auspices of this National Fund contributions in kind were collected in subsequent months by the students by means of *Mushti Bhiksha* from door to door.

In 1909 took place a notable social gathering which was the union of women members of the families of the staff of the National College and School on the occasion of a visit to the N.C.E.'s Exhibition held during February and March of the year. A detailed account of this notable event was presented in the pages of the *Dawn Magazine* (May, 1909, Part III, pp. 51-54). "It was known," records the *Dawn Magazine*, "that there was a natural curiosity among the ladies of the families of the staff to visit the Exhibition so much talked of by the general public and also by such of the male members of the families as had come to pay a visit to it. It was also thought that it would help the cause of the education to which their male relatives were devoting as much of their time and energies at a great sacrifice—if, taking advantage of the occasion of the Exhibition, they were given an opportunity to mix with each other by organising a social gathering in the premises of the College. A proposal regarding the feasibility of such a social gathering was placed before the whole staff by Sj. Satis Chandra Mukherji, the late Honorary Principal and Superintendent of the College." The proposal was enthusiastically accepted at a meeting of the lecturers and teachers of the College and School, presided over by Principal Chandra Kanta Nyayalankar, and the 28th of March, 1909, Sunday, was fixed for the purpose. Accordingly, a leaflet (printed in Bengali) to the effect was circulated among the ladies of the members of the staff, and to the appeal some 70 ladies responded. "Sj. Satis Chandra Mukerji bore all the expenses including conveyance-

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The entire management for the entertainment of the ladies was placed in the hands of Umasbai Sakharam Deoskarin (wife of Sakharam Ganesh Deoskar, Lecturer in Indian History of the College), assisted by the wife of Bepin Behary Chakravarty (Lecturer in Biology), by the sisters of Nagendra Nath Rakshit (the Mechanical Engineer) and by the wife of Nerode Bhusan Bose of the Executive Staff of the College. On the day fixed the ladies and girls arrived at about six in the evening. Mrs. Deoskarin, who had been on the previous day to the Exhibition and thereby had acquired full knowledge of everything connected with it, took charge of the ladies who were first shown round the Exhibition rooms and given opportunities of making acquaintance with one another. "Then they met together in the second storey of the building specially reserved for them, where they partook of light refreshments served by the ladies-in-charge. This was followed by an Exhibition of pictures of old Indian towns, palaces, forts, temples and places of religious sanctity by means of magic-lantern slides". The magic-lantern slides were projected on the screen by Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar, and Prof. Rabindra Narayan Ghose explained to the audience the important facts and events connected with those pictures. These demonstrations were followed by some astronomical demonstrations with revolving slides which were explained by Prof. Kishori Mohan Gupta. Musical performances also marked the ceremony which was a "splendid success". Satis Chandra Mukherjee was present throughout the function which ended at about 10:45 p.m.

The educational experiments of the N.C.E., although humble and modest at the beginning, presented a striking dissimilarity with the official system of education in the country. One of the proofs of the widespread interest in National Education that
was stimulated in the country was the number and variety of visitors to the Bengal National College and School at Calcutta. Since the inauguration of the Bengal National College in August, 1906, there had been many visitors to the institution hailing from different parts of the country and representing men of all possible classes. "Members of the landed aristocracy, of the legal and medical professions, of the mercantile community, educationists, journalists, professors of both Government and private Colleges, and high Government officials have all been visitors to the institution in order to satisfy themselves as to the distinctive features of the national system of education which justify it and separate it from the official system."  

Rashbehari Ghose, the President of the National Council, paid a personal visit to the institution in July, 1906, before it was formally opened, on the occasion of the holding of the first Public Examination by the Council. The next distinguished visitor to the College was Lala Lajpat Rai. He came to Calcutta in December, 1906 in connection with the session of the Indian National Congress and paid a visit to the College where he stayed for about three hours, discussing the problems and prospects connected with National Education. In the same month Bal Gangadhar Tilak, another delegate to the Calcutta Congress, paid a visit to the institution and stayed there for over four hours. The simplicity of his dress and manners struck every one present there. From a brief note prepared by Radha Kumud Mookerji at that time as published in the *Dawn Magazine* (February, 1909, Part III, pp. 32-33) we come to know that "He (Tilak) first took his seat in the Library room where he talked to the Secretary Srijut Hirendra Nath Datta on the aims and methods of national education, the necessity of enforcing a high standard of efficiency which is its own reward and is bound to compel recognition, and the paramount need of a leader with self-sacrificing devotion and personality who might be the Apostle of the New Learning seeing to the spread of the whole movement just as Mrs. Besant was of the Central Hindu Col-

lege." Then he came to the students to whom he spoke on their "duties in the National College," and his advice to the teaching staff was "to keep the College clear of the party politics."

Next may be mentioned the visits of Mr. Madgarkar, I.C.S., District Judge, Bombay Presidency. In the beginning of the year 1907 he paid several visits to this institution. "He was present in an informal conference" held in the College rooms and "went through the Scheme of Studies adopted by the National Council with care and attention, specially the syllabus for History. He seemed to like very much the method of teaching History adopted by the College, which is introduced to the Lower School forms by means of story-telling and biographies, thus seeking to create in young learners the warmth of a personal interest in the subject."

Next came Dr. Gooroo Dass Banerjee on an inspection of the College. As a member of the Executive Committee of the N.C.E., he had to be necessarily "busy looking after the general interests and policy of the Council", still he paid occasional visits to the College "to see for himself its actual working. Towards the middle of the year 1907 he visited the College and examined the lower forms of the School in almost all the subjects of the curriculum." On a later day he met the teachers of the College and discussed the principles and methods of teaching and read before them a "short but comprehensive essay" in Bengali on Education, which was soon printed in the form of a pamphlet, the copies of which were "distributed free to all the teachers of the Bengal National College in Calcutta and to the Head Masters of the National Schools in Mofussil."

In 1907 the National College was also visited by Nirmal Haider, Esqr., D.T.S., Punjab, of Cooper's Hill Engineering College, England, and by Atul Chandra Chatterjee, I.C.S. (United Provinces). The latter paid a visit to the College "in connection with his special work he was deputed to perform by the Government, about the industrial improvement of the United

64. Vide: The Dawn Magazine, August, 1908, Part III, pp. 103-105 for the list of visitors to the Bengal National College in 1907.
Provinces”. The College was also visited by Jadunath Sarkar, then Professor of the Patna College. He “carefully went through the Scheme of Studies adopted by the Council for the higher Collegiate of Proficiency course, specially in History, and was greatly impressed with its high standard, which he said he hardly expected in an institution independent of the University. He regretted he did not visit the institution earlier and not at all the stages of its development.”

Next, the institution was visited by that distinguished Labour leader of England,* Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., in the month of September, 1907. He was received at the College by Gooroo Dass Banerjee and by the Superintendent Satis Chandra Mukherjee. With them as also with some of the Professors, Mr. Hardie went round the College. “Sir Gooroodass explained to him in the course of his conversation the aims and methods of teaching adopted by the College and referred to the devotion and self-sacrifice of the men who were helping to build it up. Whereupon Mr. Keir Hardie remarked that after all self-sacrifice was the only road to greatness and even real happiness which does not depend upon solid material wealth.” He was then treated to a “sumptuous course of refreshment in a genuinely Swadeshi style consisting mainly of all Indian fruits that were then available.” He was then shown some of the things that were turned out by the Technical Department of the College. “He then bade farewell amid loud shouts of Bande Mataram, which he returned with a bow.” About the same time Ho Tsao-hsiang, First Secretary to H. E. Chang Nin-tang, Imperial Chinese High Commissioner to Tibet and India, visited the College and expressed his delight at the “extraordinary progress” made by it in course of a year.

In the following year also many distinguished visitors were attracted by the work of the Bengal National College. The name of Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar comes first in the list, who paid a visit to the institution in the very beginning of the year 1908. A small Exhibition of articles and implements turned out by the various Departments of the College “was got up with a view to enable the Maharaja to have
within a short time an idea of the work that was being done by the Institution then only a little over a year old.” The Exhibition was then thrown open to the public. As a mark of appreciation of the work of the College, he made the offer of an annual contribution of Rs. 2000 to the funds of the College, which was thankfully accepted by the N.C.E.

Next came Mr. H. R. James, Principal of the Presidency College, Calcutta, along with Mr. Griffith of the Indian Educational Service to pay a visit to the College and stayed there for about three hours (January, 1908). He inspected the College Library which consisted of a select literature on various subjects, including those valuable books presented to the College as personal gifts both by Aurobindo Ghose and Satis Chandra Mukherjee. He also expressed his approval of “the Council’s making manual training a part of general liberal education” as well as of the adoption of the Indian vernaculars as the medium of instruction. He carefully examined the quality of each exhibit, then went to the Exhibition Hall and expressed satisfaction over the quality of the things turned out by the College. Three months later, he again came to the College on the occasion of the Annual Prize and Certificate Distribution Ceremony of the National Council held on 9th April, 1908. He was so much pleased with the work of the Council that he made an eulogistic reference to it in course of his Address on University Reform in Bengal at the East India Association, London, on June 11, 1908. He observed: “Two sights that I have recently seen have greatly impressed me (the one referring to the volunteers marching to welcome a popular hero: Italics ours). . . . The other was the gathering at the prize-giving of the National Council of Education, so great a multitude, so unanimous, so dignified, so enthusiastic. This is an organization which is wholly the creation of educated Bengalis, and it shows an earnestness of purpose and a zeal for education in the best sense which merits praise and sympathy. What impressed me in each case was the latent power, and the capacity for self-discipline, action and order. The signs, as I read them, are signs of great hope, if only the capacities revealed are wisely encouraged and rightly guided. We must
welcome the new capacities, and seek to turn them to the public good."

Among others who paid visits to the National College in course of the year 1908, the name of Dr. A. Schuster, Professor, Manchester University and a great physicist of international reputation, deserves special mention. "He particularly approved of the idea of reduction of the importance of examinations in the Council's scheme of studies" and felt convinced of the soundness of the lines on which the N.C.E.'s general work was carried. Besides Dr. Schuster, Sir Charles Allen, Chairman, Calcutta Municipal Corporation, and Mr. J. G. Cumming, Commissioner, Presidency Division, also visited the College in January and March, 1908, respectively. In a letter dated January 26, 1908 Mr. Allen wrote to Gooroo Dass Bannerjee thus: "Had I anticipated that there was so much of interest to see there, I should have gone there earlier, in any case." Mr. Cumming also was very much impressed by the Technical Department of the Bengal National College and referred to it in his Report on "Technical and Industrial Instruction in Bengal" as an "important private institution".

THE N.C.E. THROUGH CONTEMPORARY EYES

Thus with the march of time, the importance of National Education received recognition from different quarters, both in Bengal and outside her frontiers. The Government Report on "Technical and Industrial Instruction in Bengal, 1888-1908" as prepared by Mr. J. G. Cumming, i.c.s. and published in the Government Calcutta Gazette on August 26, 1908, highly spoke of the Scheme of Studies of the N.C.E. and the soundness of the methods employed. The Scheme of Studies of the N.C.E. was also warmly approved in the Reports of the Annual Industrial Conferences held in India during 1906-09. Nor was this appreciation confined to our countrymen alone. The Indian Daily

66. Ibid, Sept., 1908, Part III, pp. 115-117 for the list of visitors to the National College during 1908.
News of Calcutta, an Anglo-Indian organ, in its issue of April 2, 1909 published an appreciation of the work done by the National Council under the title of “National Education”. It observed: “The career of such a unique institution coming into being and seeking to exist independent of State aid was watched with keen interest by all friends of Bengal as an experimental test of the people in guiding and conducting their own affairs specially in matters educational. The report of two years’ work of the Council in the shape of a calendar is now before the public and the latter’s verdict will be that the Council has fully justified itself.”

The relative superiority of the “National Education methods” over the “existing educational systems in India” was the subject-matter of discussion in that influential organ of English public opinion, viz., the Statist which made the following observations: “When once a boy matriculates at an Indian University he has to pursue all his studies in the English language. It seems to us nothing more mistaken could possibly be laid down. In the first place, it is impossible that a boy who speaks at home a different language and no doubt has pursued most of his studies hitherto in that language should be able to pursue the higher studies in a foreign language. Moreover, to compel a boy to give up his own language when he enters a University is to put a stigma upon that language, as if it were incapable of being used in the higher regions of study. Over and above this, it cuts off the boy more or less from his national traditions. An attempt is made to turn him into an Englishman and of course it fails. But he is introduced into an entirely new world of ideas which are presented to him in foreign and recently acquired language. Thereby continuity with the past is severed and the boy becomes neither English nor Indian . . . Possibly the experiment might have been less injurious if the high place given to English Literature had been balanced by a well-chosen course of scientific study and by technical and commercial education. But the founders of the English system have been so much

under the dominion of the ideas pervading the two older universities at home that they can see nothing good in anything else. They have tried to transplant the atmosphere of Oxford and Cambridge to India and they have failed utterly... Unless the Indian Government can be induced to see that its whole policy in regard to education is based upon false principles, the mischief that we see in India will continue.” Commenting on these lines, the Editor of the *Dawn Magazine* observed that “the several ideas thrown out by the *Statist*—a representative organ of English public opinion, are identically the ideas which have been sought to be realized in the curriculum and methods of teaching pursued in the Bengal National Schools. We have hopes that the Government will after a time come to realize that the National Council’s system is after all the better system—better in the sense that it is better adapted to meet the requirements of the Indian populations and of the existing situation in India.”

It is interesting to observe how with the march of time “the idea of associating scientific and technical with literary instruction”, which was one of the fundamental objects of the National Council of Education, Bengal, was securing during 1906-09, an increasing number of votaries even from the most unexpected quarters. In a “Note on Industrial Development”, read at the official Industrial Conference held at Ootacamund in the Madras Presidency in 1908, Mr. F. G. E. Spring, Chairman of the Madras Harbour Trust, strongly insisted on “the necessity of a three-dimensional education, i.e., literary, scientific and technical combined, in the High Schools in India”. He called this system of education by the name of the *New Education* in his *Note* submitted to the Government of Madras. He observed: “I want the Government to launch out on a very extensive development of the *New Education in India* at any cost in reason. I do not say that the educational system now practically universally in use in India—i.e., a purely literary (two-dimensional) system of education was not all right enough when it was first introduced

half a century ago. But from my point of view the educational authorities made a great error in their failure to recognise, several years ago, perhaps ten, perhaps twenty years ago, that the time had fairly arrived when the supply of fairly well-educated young Indians for the needs of the Public Service was safely assured, and might be left to take care of itself; and that to go on turning out far more of them, equipped in the sealed pattern manner, than could possibly find any sort of employment, instead of devising an alternative system of education better adapted to the altered conditions of the country, was a bad mistake under the circumstances.” In the opinion of Mr. Spring, the education imparted in the High Schools should up to certain stage be such as the students can later on adopt either a literary or a technical career, and must be of such a character as “to afford to the better classes at least the chance of discovering any latent taste that may be in them, undeveloped only for lack of opportunity, in the direction of industrial production”. He coined two phrases to distinguish purely literary education from such education as combines literary with scientific and technical instruction. These phrases were “two-dimensional” education (meaning the first type of education) and “three-dimensional” education (meaning the second type of education). He maintained that the days of the “two-dimensional” education were gone and those of the “three-dimensional system” or of the New Education had come. He defended his position in his Note by observing that the “two-dimensional” education “is conducted with the aid of the eye and the ear, whether by the aid of black marks in the plane of the paper, or by the voice of the teacher,” while in the “three-dimensional” system “the sense of touch is added to those of seeing and hearing, ideas being conveyed to the mind of the learner by the practical handling, shaping, breaking, analysing and measuring of materials.”

All these ideas were expressed by Mr. Spring not only in his Note on Industrial Development to the Madras Government,

but also in a paper read by him at a meeting of the East India Association (London) on January 27, 1909. The matter was further considered at a meeting of the same Association on March 22, 1909, with Lord Reay in the chair. Lord Reay made the following observations:

"He believed we should soon see India following the example so well set by Scotland, by adding technical and scientific training to the traditional literary education, and that a wonderful development of Indian resources would ensue. He had nothing to say against literary education, but it should not stand in the way of scientific culture. In Great Britain there was now an adequate recognition of the importance of scientific and technical training. When once public opinion was awakened to immense loss which resulted from the neglect of technical study, they would see their Indian fellow subjects claiming and rightly claiming their proper share of scientific and technical development. There was nothing in the intellectual construction of the Indian mind which stood in the way of participation in the industrial progress of the country."

Commenting on the aforementioned suggestions of Mr. Spring which were considered at several meetings both in India and England during 1908-1909, Satis Chandra Mukherjee made the following editorial comments in the August, 1909 issue of the *Dawn Magazine*:

"Those who are familiar with the scheme of studies framed by the National Council of Education, Bengal, for the Primary and Secondary course of National Schools affiliated to the Council will find that Mr. Spring's ideas have been anticipated by the Bengal leaders as represented by the National Council; and that what is needed is not the discovery of a new scheme of syllabus (for the scheme in all its details has already been formulated, published and is being carried out in a humble way in some twenty or more National Schools), but to find out more funds for giving effect to it in a more substantial manner than what has been found possible by the Council. For Mr. Spring himself recognises that 'the New Education'—the three dimensional system is 'more costly than the old'—the literary, two-
dimensional system,—'though, it is admitted, it cannot but bear fruit a hundredfold'. It is unfortunate in view of the admitted facts of the case, that the Bengali community are not yet sufficiently alive to the needs of the three-dimensional system, or the National Council of Education with its two dozen National Schools might have shown some more striking results during the short course of its existence."

THE MERGER OF 1910

Compared with the swift advance of the activities of the National Council of Education, the progress of work carried on by the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education looked very modest during the period of 1906-1910. The Bengal Technical Institute set up by the S.P.T.E. on July 25, 1906 was wholly concerned with technical education and it happened to be the only institution run by the S.P.T.E. While the activities of the N.C.E. spread over the whole province of undivided Bengal, nay even beyond, those of the S.P.T.E. were confined to Calcutta alone. The S.P.T.E. failed to draw to itself an increasing number of supporters because of its extremely limited programme and moderatist ideals. The moderatist ideals of the S.P.T.E. failed to cast that fascination over the countrymen during 1906-1910 when the spirit of revolution, not reform, had seized the minds of men. In this perspective, the tangible victory of the N.C.E. was much more impressive. The reasons are not far to seek.

First, the N.C.E. was fortunate enough to have on its side a sincere and strenuous idealist-organiser like Satis Chandra Mukherjee whose personal role in the upbuilding of the National Council of Education in its initial stages was undoubtedly greater than anybody else’s. He had at his command a number of brilliant and enthusiastic lieutenants like Haran Chandra Chakladar, Radha Kumud Mookerji, Rabindra Narayan Ghose, Kishori Mohan Gupta and Benoy Kumar Sarkar who carried the messages of the N.C.E. to the nooks and corners of Bengal. The Dawn Magazine, edited by Satischandra, was likewise
employed for that purpose. The N.C.E. during 1906-1910 found in Mukherjee's journal a true organ of its own. The *Dawn Magazine* during that period operated as an effectual mouthpiece of resurgent nationalism of India in general, and of National Education in particular. "Hardly anybody has by character and strenuous exertions been a greater inspirer of Young Bengal than Satis Mukherjee" at the beginning of the present century.

Secondly, the association of Aurobindo Ghosh, than whom there was "nobody a greater idealist and epoch-maker in politics" in those days, with the Bengal National College and School was another mighty contributing factor to the N.C.E.'s early popularity and success. His glamour as a scholar and a patriot, his utter self-sacrifice and devotion to the country's cause, his impassioned preaching of the doctrine of patriotism as the supreme religion contributed in no mean measure to the enhancement of the Council's dignity in the eye of the nation.

Next is to be mentioned the harmonious leadership of men like Dr. Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, Hirendra Nath Datta, Ashutosh Chaudhury who were like pillars of the National Council of Education.

Fourthly, the relative financial stability has to be noted. The N.C.E. was fortunate enough to obtain from the very beginning a permanent fund and an endowed property. The total endowments of the Council amounted to 8½ lakhs of rupees. These were the endowments created by Subodh Chandra Mallik.

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70. Aurobindo wrote in the *Bande Mataram* daily in 1907:

"Love has a place in politics, but it is the love of one's countrymen, for the glory, greatness and happiness of the race, the divine ananda of self-immolation for one's fellows, the ecstasy of relieving their sufferings, the joy of seeing one's blood flow for country and freedom, the bliss of union in death with the fathers of the race. The feeling of almost physical delight in the touch of the mother-soil, of the winds that blow from Indian seas, of the rivers that stream from Indian hills, in the hearing of Indian speech, music, poetry, in the familiar sights, sounds, habits, dress, manners of our Indian life, this is the physical root of that love. The pride in our past, the pain of our present, the passion for the future are its trunk and branches. Self-sacrifice and self-forgetfulness, great service, high endurance for the country are its fruit. And the sap which keeps it alive is the realization of the Motherhood of God in the country, the vision of the Mother, the knowledge of the Mother, the perpetual contemplation, adoration and service of the Mother."
Brojendra Kishore Roychoudhury and Suryakanta Acharja Choudhury. This was the N.C.E.’s financial position at the beginning of its working career in 1906. The S.P.T.E., on the other hand, even in 1909 had “no permanent fund, no endowed property”. It is reported in the *Dawn Magazine* (Oct., 1909, Part III, pp. 103-104) that the “principal income of the Institute is derived from donations and monthly and yearly subscriptions from its patrons, members and sympathisers. The Institute has as yet no permanent fund, no endowed property. But one of its members has made provision of leaving property worth about ten lakhs of rupees in the hands of the Society. Subscriptions range from Rs. 20 to Rs. 1500 per month. Donations worth about Rs. 70,000 have already been realised. Rs. 1,11,839 have as yet been spent in the erection of workshops and purchase of machinery and other appliances and Rs. 27,380 on establishment account. The recurrent expenses are on an average Rs. 3000 a month.” This was the up-to-date picture of the S.P.T.E.’s financial position, according to the same source.

Last but not least is to be mentioned the fact that the spirit of the N.C.E., radical as it was, was more in consonance with the deeper spirit of the Bengali Revolution of 1905 than the spirit of the S.P.T.E. which was an expression of the moderatist forces of the time.

Yet on the whole, the activities of the N.C.E. together with the S.P.T.E. formed a glorious chapter of modern Bengali history. “In the department of Technical Education”, observed the *Dawn Magazine* (Sept., 1909, Part I), “the Technical side of the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute, both started in Calcutta in 1906, are the only two organizations under Indian management and Indian control, which aim at imparting higher Technical instruction on modern lines. Excepting the avowedly few technical institutions started by or with the aid of Government, the vast body of schools and colleges affiliated to the local Universities in the different provinces provide only for a general or literary education which is fitted to turn out men who can only be useful in working the administrative machinery by which the
Government of the vast country is carried on." That being the case, the steps taken by the N.C.E. and the S.P.T.E., for although necessarily modest at the beginning, constitute an epoch-making landmark in the history of our education and in the development of the industrial spirit in our country. They marked the beginning of the movement for nationalisation of education to be taken up by the Indians on a larger scale in the stormy days of the Non-violent Non-co-operation Movement. The demand for National Education which became an integral point in Gandhi's programme of Non-co-operation was a continuation and intensification of the demand of the 'Ideas of 1905'. Ideologically considered, the authors and sponsors of the Swadeshi Movement were thus in this sphere, as in many others, the spiritual fathers of the Non-co-operation Movement, and deserve by their own right the recognition of being pioneers in the field.

The four years between 1906 and 1910 were a period of tug-of-war between the N.C.E. and the S.P.T.E. round "the question of the proper attitudes of the nation towards the Government's Department of Public Instruction and the Calcutta University". The National Council aspired after functioning as a full-fledged University, "capable eventually of replacing the Calcutta University in due course," and at the same time promoting technical education of all grades through schools and colleges. The Society for the Promotion of Technical Education had no such ambitious programme, but "wanted simply to function as a body for the imparting of industrial education such as had been ignored by the Calcutta University and the Department of Public Instruction." "The divergence of views," observes Benoy Kumar Sarkar, "between the National Council and the Society was indeed profound. The N.C.E. could not afford to remain a mere institution for the promotion of mistrification, pure and simple. Liberal arts, culture, humanism, etc., were also to be promoted. Besides, its scheme of mistrification was of higher order and more scientific or theoretical than that of the Society... This polarity of views conveniently boiled itself down into the antithesis: nationalism vs. materialism,
and culture vs. crude mistrification." In spite of these differences, there was much that was common between the two institutions, both of which were the outcome of resurgent nationalism and both of which were patriotic to the core. "The question of amalgamation between them," wrote Satis Chandra Mukherjee in July, 1910, "had been engaging the attention of the well-wishers of both institutions ever since they were brought into being. But there were difficulties in the way which so long stood in the way of amalgamation. It was expected, however, that the amalgamation would take place sooner or later, for as everybody knows, there is not much available surplus energy, either in the shape of men or of money, in the land, and it only required the lesson of experience extending over 3 to 4 years to bring about the much-needed rapprochement".\(^1\)

Benoy Kumar Sarkar is, however, more explicit on the point. He observes: "In spite of its thorough-going bread-and-butter philosophy and pure materialism or crude mistrification Bengal Technical Institute failed to attract an adequate number of scholars for industrial education. Nor were the patriotism, national idealism, Swadeshi-swaraj philosophy, and mistrification-cum-culture and science ideology of the Bengali revolution, effective urges for Young Bengal to flock to Bengal National College for education, literary, scientific as well as technical. The status quo embodied in the Department of Public Instruction and the University was too powerful. The Bastille of medievalism, anti-nationalism, non-scientific and non-technical literarism could not be subverted. And so the tug-of-war between the two wings of nationalists, moderate and extremist, came by degrees to a close. Each had found its own measure as well as that of the other."

The tug-of-war was ended in 1910 by the merging of the S.P.T.E. into the N.C.E. on condition that the Arts and Pure Science Department under it should be called the Bengal

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\(^{71}\) B. K. Sarkar’s *Education for Industrialization* (Calcutta, 1946, pp. 94-100).

\(^{72}\) See Satischandra’s article on “The National Council of Education, Bengal: An Important Amalgamation” (as published originally in the *Dawn Magazine* for July, 1910, Part III) in the *Appendices*. 
National College and the Technical and Applied Science Department under it be called the Bengal Technical Institute to be separately managed by two Committees under the National Council of Education. The amalgamation, therefore, meant that henceforth the S.P.T.E. ceased to exist as an independent body and that the Technical and Applied Science Departments of the Bengal National College also ceased to function as separate sections of the National College. The merger of the two institutions took place on May 25, 1910 when the National Council’s office was shifted to 92 Upper Circular Road where the S. P. T. E. had been hitherto situated. The institution under the control of the N. C. E. was now called Bengal National College and Technical Institute.

“With the cessation of hostilities,” observed Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, “the National Council scored a formal triumph over its rival, the Society, in regard to the question of ideals. But it was a glorious harakiri that the Society committed. For in the course of a few years, be it said at once, Bengal National College found itself with empty benches and automatically ceased to exist. By 1916-17 not a student cared to come for a literary and scientific instruction along national lines. The institution that endured and survived is the institution of alleged materialism, or bread-and-butter (dal-bhat) philosophy, Bengal Technical Institute. The Society for the Promotion of Technical Education was therefore justified by nemesis.”

The reasons for the ultimate reverses in the fate of the National Council of Education may be summed up at this stage. The National Education Movement of which the N. C. E. was an extreme expression, was political in the first instance, and educational next. It flourished only in the hectic days of the Swadeshi Movement. As soon as the first flushes of enthusiasm for political struggle subsided, there was a corresponding flagging of the emotional urge for National Education. The years 1907-10 were a period of intense governmental repression. Not only new Press Acts were passed (1908 and 1910) for gagging the Indian Press, not only prosecution of Indian journals was rigorously continued, but also the Seditious Meetings Bill was
passed (Nov., 1907), putting severe restrictions on the holding of public meetings, and political associations were disbanded by the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908. Political arrests of a large number of men became a regular item for the "crime of nationalism", ostensibly in the name of safety of the British Indian Empire. Deportation of national leaders was resorted to by the Government under the old-fashioned Regulation III of 1818 which dispensed with "the inconvenient formality of a charge and the still more inconvenient necessity of producing evidence." Side by side with repression, the Government also prepared plans for the conciliation of Indians and to rally to the Government the Moderates by the grant of constitutional concessions as culminating in the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. The India Government's double policy of repression and conciliation during 1906-1911 culminating in the annulment of the Bengal Partition at the Delhi Durbar (Dec., 1911) demoralised the political morale of the people. Its adverse reactions on the fortunes of the N.C.E. were direct and obvious. In this background of repression and governmental tyranny, the N.C.E. could not maintain its early revolutionary fire. Apprehending dangers from official quarters, the leaders of the N.C.E. during 1908-1910, as seasoned real-politikers, had to tone down their spirit of boycott with the authorities. The Secretaries of the N.C.E. issued during 1908 circulars to the National Schools in the various districts of Bengal, asking them not to associate themselves with "non-literary bodies" and not even to participate in the Boycott-Swadeshi meetings of August 7. This changed attitude of the N.C.E.'s authorities was a mark of their moderatist climb-down from their original spirit of independence which had inspired the N.C.E. in its early days.

Thirdly, the scepticism of the students and the guardians as to the future prospects of National Education damped the spirit of the movement. Dr. S. C. Roy who had passed through the fire of the youth movement of those days and himself a scholar of the National Council, thus writes in his The Story of my Times (Calcutta 1934, pp. 114-115 and 118-119): "True, the students who had come to these schools and colleges knew and
were prepared to forego chances of the security of Government service and service under the European merchants in the country, but they did not know, at the same time, what they would do after they had come out of their educational institutions. The insecurity of the future for the students of the national schools coupled with the unprovoked oppression of the police, gradually induced our students to fall out of the scheme of national education and quietly and clandestinely almost go back to the Government services or service in merchant offices.”

Again, the public attitude to the scholars of the National Schools and the College was in many cases one of contemptuous negligence. Again, Dr. S. C. Roy painfully records: “They would not recognize them as educated and sometimes would even deny them the privileges of educated men. This was also very greatly instrumental in ultimately detracting from the attractions of the National Schools and Colleges and national education. This fundamentally prejudiced psychological atmosphere was what we found it so difficult to fight.”

Among other factors of importance may be noted the Council’s growing financial stringency in proportion to the broadening of its field of activity. Satis Chandra Mukherjee drew attention to this aspect in August, 1909 when he wrote in the Dawn Magazine that “what is needed is not the discovery of a new scheme of syllabus—but to find out more funds for giving effect to the N.C.E.’s three-dimensional scheme of education in a more substantial manner than what has been found possible by the Council.” Apart from the broadening of its field of work, the N.C.E.’s scheme itself, ‘three-dimensional’ as it was, combining literary education in association with scientific and technical,—was more costly than ordinary literary or general education. Besides, the enforced retirement of Aurobindo Ghose (first as Principal from the College in August, 1907 and then as Lecturer in History and Politics in 1908) and Satis Chandra Mukherjee deprived the N.C.E. of its two central pillars and personalities. Aurobindo retired from the College mainly due to political troubles, and Satischandra retired from
the field mostly on grounds of ill-health and also due to a sharp conflict of opinions with some leaders of the Council. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, while visiting the National College, warned everybody there to keep the College clear of party-politics; but party-politics made its appearance in the Council and in the Model College in due course. It is no use sentimentalising over an affair which is human, all-too-human. Moreover, we must not fail to appreciate the significance of the dismal fact that in course of the twelve months from July, 1909 to June, 1910 "more than a dozen Professors and other officers" resigned their posts in the Bengal National College, and these large-scale "resignations of men of high character and superior attainments" definitely weakened the national institution by 1910.

Nor should we miss to note the strength of the status quo as embodied in the Calcutta University and the Department of Public Instruction. Finally, the constructive role of Ashutosh Mukherjee for the modernisation and rejuvenation of University education along national lines deserves to be emphasised. Although formally Ashutosh Mukherjee, as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University during 1907-14, stood on the side of the status quo and the official system of education, yet he was patriotic and far-sighted enough to see the writings on the wall. "Indeed, the ideas of 1905 succeeded in conquering Mukherjee and remaking his total personality in the most constructive manner conceivable. Government-man as he was at the time, he captured the educational revolution itself within his powerful clutches and commanded it to transform and reconstruct the Calcutta University." Among other things as marking the N.C.E.'s impact on the official University may be mentioned the growing recognition of the dignity of the mother-tongue, the widening in the conception of functions of a University, the organisation of the Post-Graduate Department, the emphasis on study of things Indian, necessity of linguistic studies, Indian and foreign, the cultivation of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and the promotion of researches in various arts and sciences under the auspices of the University itself. Without much exaggeration it can be asserted that during his
Vice-Chancellorship (1907-14) the Calcutta University was growing into "whatever the N.C.E. wanted to be between 1905 and 1910", so far as the literary and scientific education was concerned. But the justification for the Technical Department of the National Council persisted and even persists to this day. The Technical Department of the N.C.E. has then grown through gradual stages. The Jadavpur College of Engineering and Technology, which has recently grown into the Jadavpur University, is the offspring of the N.C.E. and bears on it the impress of the glorious Swadeshi Days.
PART TWO

THE DAWN AND THE DAWN SOCIETY
Chapter I

Life-Sketch of Satis Chandra Mukherjee
(1865-1948)

The First Phase (1865-92)

The Positivist Influence

Satis Chandra Mukherjee was one of the chief architects of the Swadeshi Movement of 1905 and a mighty prophet of Indian Nationalism at the dawn of the present century. He was born on June 5, 1865, at the Bandipur village in the Hooghly district.¹ He was thus one year junior to Brajendra Nath Seal (1864-1938), two years junior to Vivekananda (1863-1902) and four years junior to Rabindra Nath Tagore (1861-1941) and Prafulla Chandra Ray (1861-1944). He was a contemporary also of Asutosh Mukherjee (1864-1925), Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (1864-1919), Dines Chandra Sen (1866-1939), Swami Abheda-nanda (1866-1939), Hirendra Nath Datta (1867-1942) and Ramananda Chatterjee (1865-1943). All these great sons of Bengal were brought up under the same social and cultural conditions; but each reacted to the environment in his own way and developed his individuality. A monistic “societal interpretation” in the fashion of Durkheim (1858-1917), the French sociologist, will fail to explain the plurality of personalities under more or less similar social conditions.

Satischandra’s father Krishna Nath Mukherjee was a pronounced Positivist, a follower of the new Positivist school of thought inspired by Auguste Comte (1798-1857). The impact of

¹ The late Rai Bahadur Matilal Ganguli in his unpublished Smriti-Katha records 5th June, 1865 as the date of his maternal uncle Satischandra’s birth. It is also corroborated by Krishnadas Sinha Roy, one of the most intimate life-long associates of Satischandra. The dates of Satischandra’s birth and death as recorded in the Golden Jubilee Number of the N.C.E. (1956, pp. 90-91) are incorrect.
Comtist ideologies of secularism, atheism, social service and religion of humanity on Bengali thought and imagination was powerful in the 19th century. Justice Dwaraka Nath Mitra (1833-1874), one of the greatest legal luminaries that India has seen, was one of the earliest torch-bearers of Comte’s ideology in Bengal. Comte was introduced to the Indian scholars in 1865 with John Stuart Mill’s famous publication on Comte and Positivism in the same year. Dwarakanath was specially attracted to the new thought. Prompted by the ardent desire to read Comte’s works in the French original, he vigorously prosecuted the study of French after he had become a Judge in 1867. Thanks to his strenuous exertions, he acquired in course of a year sufficient French to read Comte in the original. He not only translated into English the Analytical Geometry of Comte, but also kept up intimate correspondence with Richard Congreve and other Positivists. Sir Henry Cotton has observed in his Indian and Home Memories (London, 1911, p. 122):

“He was probably the ablest Indian Judge who has ever sat on the Bench of a High Court in India. He became a Positivist, and taught himself French in order to read the works of Comte in the original, and so acquired a breadth of culture which influenced his whole life. He maintained an active correspondence with Dr. Congreve in London, and visited Mrs. Congreve when she was staying with us in Calcutta, a few days before his lamented death.”

Satischandra’s father Krishnanath was a class-mate and a most intimate friend of Justice Dwarka Nath Mitra. He was appointed a translator in the Calcutta High Court through the friendly assistance of Dwarakanath, and his official work consisted in translating legal documents from Oriya into English. Influenced by his friend, Krishnanath soon became a follower of the Positivist school of thought and in his old age he also took pains to learn French and read Comte’s works in the original. He had been on intimate terms with many pronounced Positivists of the time, including Sir Henry Cotton, Jogendra

Chandra Ghose, Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya and Romesh Chandra Mitter. Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya informs us that long after the death of Justice Dwaraka Nath Mitra (1873), a Positivist Club was set up in Calcutta in the house of a relative of Nilmoni Kumar, his pupil, in the Taltala area, and he tells us further that among its important Bengali members Krishna Nath Mukherjee was one. The essence of the matter is that in the 'seventies and 'eighties of the last century there developed in Bengal a veritable movement in favour of Positivism, of which Bankimchandra was the loudest exponent. His Bangadarshan (published since 1872), Ananda Math (1882) and Dharma-Tattva (1888) breathe the spirit of Comtism. By virtue of his family connections Satischandra in his early life naturally came under the influence of Positivism which remained an important ingredient in his moral and intellectual make-up until his spiritual initiation at the hands of Prabhupada Vijaya Krishna Goswami in 1893. An atheist was then changed into a religious devotee. But even then the influence of Positivism was not wholly renounced. His religious mind rejected only the atheistic aspect of Positivism, retaining at the same time the Positivist ideal of social service and religion of humanity. After initiation, his loyalty to these ideals became even deeper under the influence of his Sad-Guru.

The Student Days

Satischandra's boyhood was spent in Calcutta which was then as now the centre of many progressive movements in public life, social, cultural and political. He was a student of the South Suburban School, Bhowanipur, Calcutta, which produced many brilliant scholars including Asutosh Mukherjee who was his class-mate between 1875-79. No less a person than Pandit Shivnath Satish (1847-1919) was then the Headmaster of that

3. Matilal Ganguli's unpublished Smriti-Katha records that Henry Cotton and Jogendra Chandra Ghose were in the habit of meeting Krishnanath at his Bhowanipur residence from time to time.

institution. He was one of the great thinkers of that age with his influence writ large on the religious life of the community. His burning idealism infected those who came in touch with him and it is very likely that Satischandra was influenced by this scholar-patriot to a certain extent. It may be remembered that this was also the period of the activities of the Hindu Mela (1867-1880) and the literary outpourings of Bankimchandra through Bangadarshan (since 1872), the declining influence of Keshabchandra and the growing assertion of the national spirit.

Having passed the Entrance Examination in 1879, Satischandra along with Asutosh entered the Presidency College where he found Vivekananda (then Narendra Nath Datta) to be his class-mate in the First Year Arts Class just for a few months in course of the year 1880. Here Satischandra became intimate with Narendranath and remained so even when the latter took a transfer and got admitted into the General Assembly's Institution (now the Scottish Church College) where Brajendranath Seal was senior to Narendranath only by one year. It was through Narendranath that Satischandra was introduced to Brajendranath with whom his friendship was life-long. At the Presidency College, Satischandra came into contact with eminent scholars like Prof. Charles H. Tawney, the famous linguist and Prof. William Booth, the well-known Mathematician. In 1886 he passed the M.A. Examination in English. The study


6. Speaking of the general conditions of the country during his boyhood, Rabindra Nath Tagore has observed in his celebrated paper on "The Religion of An Artist": "There was yet another movement started about this time called the National. It was not fully political, but it began to give voice to the mind of our people trying to assert their own personality... The national movement was started to proclaim that we must not be indiscriminate in our rejection of the past. This was not a reactionary movement but a revolutionary one, because it set out with a great courage to deny and to oppose all pride in mere borrowings" (Vide: Contemporary Indian Philosophy, London, 1936).

7. For this bit of information regarding Narendranath's study in the Presidency College, we are indebted to Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta who records in his work on Swami Vivekananda Patriot-Prophet (Cal., 1954, p. 153) that Narendranath joined the Presidency College in 1880 as a student of the F.A. class. "But as he contracted malarial fever in the second year, his percentage of class attendance fell short. He was not allowed to appear in the F.A. Examination. The General Assembly's Institution accepted him and sent him up for final examination."
of philosophy was in his college days a passion with him and with years he developed a serene philosophical outlook on life—always arguing and self-criticising, amenable to sweet reasonableness, inquisitive to know truth and never prone to dogmatism.

Satischandra's early life and youth witnessed the growth and maturity of romanticism and nationalism in our literature, culture and politics. The patriotic and nationalistic atmosphere in which he grew into manhood set its stamp on his mind. Surendra Nath Banerjea's imprisonment in the heated days of the Ilbert Bill agitation was followed by spontaneous students' demonstrations in Calcutta (1883). Satischandra along with Asutosh attended the students' procession leading to the High Court of Calcutta at the time of his memorable trial. It should be remembered that the Ilbert Bill agitation was a landmark in our national history and assumed the dimensions of a sort of a national movement against the alien government. Wilfrid Blunt, who was present in Calcutta at that time, observed that "there was a moment when it was doubtful whether popular indignation would not vent itself in more than words."

Again, the year 1883 is also important in the history of Bengal Renaissance in another way. In that year a series of learned lectures was delivered by Pandit Sasadhar Tarkachudamani on the six systems of Hindu philosophy at the Albert Hall of Calcutta with Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in the chair, and these lectures made a deep impression on many youths of the time. Satischandra regularly went to attend these lectures and had afterwards discussions on them with Narendranath and others. From this time religious impulses were developing in Satis

8. Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta says in his work on *Swami Vivekananda* (p. 160) that these lectures on Hinduism by Sasadhar Tarkachudamani did not influence the people, including Vivekananda. But there are evidences to show that these philosophical discourses did influence many young intellectuals of the time, including Abhedananda and Satischandra. In his autobiographical sketch published in *Contemporary Indian Philosophy* (London, 1936), Swami Abhedananda categorically states that he heard the lectures of Panditji whose scholarly eloquence "aroused" his "interest in the study of Western philosophies of ancient and modern Europe." Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar has informed us that he heard from Satischandra that the latter together with some of his friends, including Narendranath, was influenced by Panditji's philosophical discourses.
Chandra, and religion and Ramkrishna often came up for consideration in his talks with Narendranath. But even at this stage Satischandra could not wholly cast off the influence of Positivism. That is why we find that although he was a very intimate friend of Narendranath who had fallen by that time under the magnetic influence of Sri Ramkrishna, Satischandra showed no urge for spiritual initiation. But slowly and steadily changes were coming over his mind and he was passing through a period of transition. In spite of his Positivism, he often became now enthusiastic in religious men and matters and sometimes went to pay visits to religious men. But it is doubtful whether he ever met Sri Ramkrishna Paramhansa in north Calcutta where he had been ailing from cancer. But this is certain that after the Holy Saint of Dakshineswar had left his mortal frame in 1886, his young devoted disciples like Naren (Vivekananda), Kali (Abhedananda) and Sarat (Saradananda) set up a monastic order at Baranagar at the end of the year. Satischandra frequently went to the Baranagar Math and also went to the annual death anniversary commemoration of Sri Ramkrishna at Dakshineswar for several years. These facts indicate that the early hold of Positivism on Satischandra was slowly breaking down.

As a Teacher and a Vakil

After passing the M.A. Examination in 1886, Satischandra was able to impress an accomplished judge of men like Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar who appointed him as a teacher of his own institution, then known as the Metropolitan Institution. Next, Satischandra was appointed by Brajendranath Seal as a Lecturer in History and Economics in the Berhampore College (now known as the Krishnanath College) where he worked only for a few months in course of the year 1887. At the

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9. Matilal Ganguli’s unpublished Smriti-Katha written in Bengali, and Mahendra Nath Datta’s Bengali biographical study on Vivekananda (Vol. II, pp. 47-49) record Satischandra’s frequent contacts with the followers of Ramkrishna in the ‘eighties and early ‘nineties of the last century. Mr. Datta has recorded that Satischandra’s contacts with Ramkrishna’s followers at the Alambazar Math during 1891-92 were the most intimate conceivable.
very beginning of 1888, he, however, left the Berhampore College under the persuasion of his father and his father's friend Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, and came over to Calcutta to study Law in which he obtained the B.L. degree in 1890. He enrolled himself as a Vakil of the High Court and practised for a short period of three years (1890-92). Even during this short period he made his mark in the profession and drew the admiring notice of Rashbehari Ghose, the leading lawyer of the time. Among his comrades in the legal profession were Asutosh Mukherjee and Hemendra Nath Mitra, the public prosecutor, with both of whom his early friendship continued till their deaths. Satischandra was particularly noted for his remarkable honesty and integrity among the practitioners at the Court. But the profession he pursued hardly fitted in with his idealistic and sensitive temper. Then occurred an unfortunate incident and he gave up the profession once for all.

The story runs thus: On a particular occasion he got from a client Rupees one hundred for reviewing the case at the High Court against his victorious opponent represented by Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh. The opponent happened to be a Brahmin who cursed Satischandra and lamented that he had been befooled and cheated by his client who had committed a forgery. Mukherjee was struck dumb. Perhaps he was convinced of the veracity of the Brahmin's utterance. He enquired personally deep into the matter and found the allegation to be correct. This unpleasant incident was directly responsible for his abandonment of the legal profession. The money which he had received for reviewing the case from his client became a most contemptible object. As it was ill-gotten, he loathed the idea of having it. The whole amount, according to the report of Girija Sankar Ghar Shastri as published in the Mandir (Oct.-Nov., 1951), was thrown into the waters of the Ganges. This is, however, expressly contradicted by the narration of Bhavendranath Majumdar as published in the Mandir (Feb.-March, 1952). Majumdar informs his readers that on personal enquiry about the truth of that story he was told by Satischandra himself at Benares that the popular story was not a fact. Prof. Haran
Chandra Chakladar is of opinion that the said money was not perhaps thrown into the Ganges on that particular occasion, although he saw many times Satischandra throwing money into the waters of a tank. It may be that this particular 'tainted' amount was returned to the client whose dishonest case he was not going to uphold any longer. Be that as it may, with this ended Satischandra's career as a Vakil. He turned over a new leaf in his life and took to education as the chosen field of activity.

Already he had shown his ability as a teacher and had taught (1888-90) several brilliant students like Kiran Chandra Dey who later on became the Commissioner of Chittagong Division. As Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji informs us, K. C. Dey was the earliest of the pupils trained by Satischandra Mukherjee. He passed the B.A. Examination in 1890 with First-class Honours in English, Mathematics and Physics, standing first in the last two subjects. Matilal Ganguli informs us further that after his graduation Satischandra arranged his pupil's marriage with the daughter of Nilmoni Mitra, Zemindar of Bandipur, his native village, and thus secured for his pupil financial facilities for his visit to England for appearing in the I.C.S. Examination. Kiran Chandra Dey's class-mate Jyoti Bhusan Bhaduri was also another distinguished pupil of Satischandra and became later the Principal of the Krishnagar Government College. He later on contributed scientific articles to the *Dawn* edited by Satis Chandra Mukherjee. Another distinguished pupil of Satischandra was Atul Chandra Chatterjee who stood first in the First Class in English in the B.A. Examination in 1892 and who later stood first in the I.C.S. Examination. Atulchandra's valuable articles on history and politics were later published in the *Dawn* by Satischandra to whom the former paid his last visit during 1945-46 at Benares. He also kept up since then from London an occasional correspondence with his old teacher.

THE SECOND PHASE (1893-1913)

The Spiritual Initiation

The second phase of Satischandra’s life begins with his contact with Prabhupada Vijaya Krishna Goswami (1841-99) who gave him spiritual initiation on September 27, 1893. Although a Positivist in early life, Satischandra began unconsciously to move away from it later on. Spiritual doubts and questionings frequently disturbed him in the late ’eighties of the last century. He had already heard much of Sri Ramkrishna’s religion and philosophy from Narendranath Datta, his class-mate, as well as from Mahendranath Gupta (later author of Ramkrishna-Kathamrita) with whom he lived jointly in a house at Jhamapukur Lane during the period when he practised law (1890-92). It was at this stage that important parts of Ramkrishna-Kathamrita were written by Mahendranath and read out to Satischandra who took a keen interest in them on account of their homeliness and direct appeal. It was in this background of mental development that one afternoon Satischandra was introduced to Sri Sri Vijaya Krishna Goswami towards the end of 1891 at his Masjidbari residence in north Calcutta. Goswami was a towering spiritual figure of Bengal at that time and had been functioning for some time past as a dynamic social force and had already drawn to himself a band of devoted and enthusiastic admirers and followers.12 The sweet words that fell from his lips made a deep impression on Satischandra’s mind. For hours together he sat spell-bound before Goswami on the very first day of his meeting and returned home long after dusk. It was a memorable meeting the significance of which will be unfolded afterwards. After this initial

12. It is unfortunate that in several recent works bearing on the nineteenth century Bengal Renaissance the dynamic role of Sri Vijaya Krishna Goswami has been completely ignored and many of the pioneering steps in social radicalism the credit for which rightfully belongs to him have been wrongly attributed to Keshab Chandra Sen. Bankubehari Kar’s biography of Mahatma Vijayakrishna (Dacca, 1910), Bipin Chandra Pal’s Pravartak Vijayakrishna (Cal. 1934) and Girija Sankar Roychoudhury’s brochure on Prabhupada Vijayakrishna (Cal. 1951) present an objective account of Sri Vijayakrishna’s important role in the history of the Bengal Renaissance in the 19th century.
contact weeks and months rolled on, and nothing outwardly significant occurred in Satischandra's life. It was almost two years after his first meeting with Goswami (Nov.-Dec., 1891) that he was spiritually initiated at the former's hands through the instrumentality of Manoranjan Guha-Thakurta.

As regards the date of Satischandra's spiritual initiation vagueness and confusion still prevail in many quarters. Sri Kuladananda Brahmachari in his book entitled “Sri Sri Sad-Guru-Sanga” (Vol. III) records that Mukherjee first came in contact with Goswami in November-December, 1891 and that the former was initiated one year after this, that is, in November-December, 1892. The fixation of his initiation-date in November-December, 1892 is, however, by no means correct. The actual date is September 27, 1893 as recorded by Mukherjee himself in a letter written from Benares on May 30, 1940 to his nephew Haradhan Banerjee then living in Calcutta.

On September 26, 1893, at 11 P.M. when Mukherjee was about to retire to bed, Manoranjan Guha-Thakurta, a disciple of Goswami, called on him to his utter surprise with the message of Goswami that Mukherjee would be initiated at 10 A.M. next day. The peculiar psychological reaction to this unexpected news as well as the ultimate initiation at the fixed hour has been vividly recorded by Satischandra thus:

“This high yogi (Goswami) had sent a messenger, who was a disciple of his, to tell me that I should be initiated at 10 A.M. the next day positively, although I had not approached him for the initiation, nor had I the least intention to get initiated by him. It was wholly an act of grace on his part to extend this offer to me. When I received the message at 11 P.M. the previous day, I felt greatly distressed; for my idea was that I must not take on myself the responsibility of the decision as regards the initiation. But under the circumstances I felt that I must make the choice one way or the other. I could not reject the offer because that involved an act of responsibility, specially in rela-

13. In course of that letter Satischandra recorded: "1893 সনে সেপ্টেম্বর ২৭ অমি দীর্ঘ সপ্তাহ পাই। প্রায় ৪৭ বৎসর হইতে গেল। প্রায় ৪৭ বৎসর হইতে গেল। এখন বয়স ৭৫ পার হইলাম।"
tion with a great person like my Guru who was reputed to be a Siddha Purush (an adept) and who had distinguished disciples whom I knew. Nor could I accept the invitation because that meant acceptance of the responsibility in the matter. In this deep distress of the soul I looked up to God earnestly for help as to what to do in the circumstances. It was midnight when I fell asleep.

"As the clock in my room struck one, I heard a voice telling me in my dream not to be so arrogant as no decision had to be taken by me, the whole responsibility was with the Guru and not with me; for if he was a true Guru, he must be able to take me to God; and could he not then drag me to his place, a distance of three miles, whether I was willing or unwilling? So I was eased in my mind and went back to sleep. But the next morning when I woke I was in a dazed condition as if I had been under a stupor, so much so that although I tried I could not recover my mental powers for the time being. I mechanically went through the usual morning duties and when the messenger called at 8 A.M. to take me I almost mechanically accompanied him, for my thinking power had not returned even then.

"We reached the Guru's place just as it struck 10 A.M. having been delayed on the way. That very instant the Guru rose and led me into a smaller room inside where were seated some other people, already initiated. I was asked to be seated on a particular seat in front of the Guru about five feet from him. I was still under the stupor and could not raise my eyes from the ground and looked vacantly at his feet. The Guru sat silent with eyes closed and in deep meditation (Samadhi). This continued for some fifteen or twenty minutes or more. During this period I had strange experiences within myself although I was still under the old stupor. With my eyes closed, I distinctly saw that within myself a beam of light was slowly moving up the spinal column and after reaching very high up, it moved down slowly to the seat. This up and down movement of the white beam of light replaced itself more and more rapidly during the time of the Guru's Samadhi. As the process was going on, I
felt the world of matter fast disappearing and then gradually the world of mind also vanishing. As these two worlds disappeared I felt intense joy supervening, so much so that when only the feeling of 'I' remained the joy was almost at its height. I wished that this 'I' feeling should also disappear in order that I may lose myself in the ocean of joy. But instead the movement of the light slowed down gradually. In this process of gradual slowing down I felt the world of mind reappearing and after a time the world of matter also reappeared till at last I felt that the beam of light was no longer inside me and my eyes opened. The stupor had gone and I saw face to face my Guru sitting up and looking at me.

"I came afterwards to know that this was the process of the transmission of divine energy (Sakti Sanchalan) into the disciple, which was intended to rouse the dormant Kundalini of the disciple. When the Guru was out of Samadhi he told me that his own Guru was present at the ceremony (in a finer body of course) and that it was under his instructions that I was receiving the initiation. Then he gave me the Mantra to recite saying that the invisible Guru present gave it. It was not whispered into my ear as is ordinarily done on such occasions. Everybody present could hear the Mantra given. Then he explained to me the full meaning of the Mantra in detail and told me that whenever the Mantra was recited, its meaning should be borne in mind. After that he taught me a particular form of breath-control (Pranayam) which was special to this form of Sadhana or spiritual exercise." \(^{14}\)

The spiritual initiation was a turning point in the life of Satischandra whose unconscious and wandering religious hankering now received a central point and positive direction. Already through long years of self-criticism and religious living, Mukherjee had developed in him a kind of spiritual outlook which was after initiation fashioned into a more persistent attitude. The inward change at once showed forth in outward

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14. Mukherjee's own account of his initiation has been reproduced in full in Rai Bahadur Panda Baijnath's article on "Initiation by a Hindu Mystic,"—published in *The Theosophist*, January, 1934.
activities. Mukherjee decided to remain a life-long bachelor for services to the country. In spite of his father’s (Krishnanath Mukherjee’s) repeated attempts—persuasions and threats—to get his son married, Satischandra stuck to his silent decision not to marry and get entangled in worldly affairs. This event created for some time a good deal of bitterness between father and son, which was, however, eased through the influence of Sri Vijaya Krishna Goswami.

For some time in course of 1893-94 Mukherjee felt a strong fascination for the life of a Sannyasin and Vivekananda’s ideal added stimulus to it. It was Goswami’s influence and advice that prevented him from travelling that path. His Guru advised him to dedicate his life to the building up of the youth of the country on proper lines. Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar who had the opportunity of knowing Satischandra ever since 1894 has recorded that on his retirement from the High Court “Satis Babu was bent upon leading the life of a recluse, devoted entirely to Yogic practices and spiritual culture. But Sri Vijayakrishna did not allow him to follow that course. Instead, he was asked not to do any Yogic practice at all, but devote himself wholly to the education of the youth of the country. He was told that his mission in life was to propagate Education, and that he would be used as an instrument for the introduction of a new system of Education in the country. When Satis Babu asked what was he to do to prepare himself for the fulfilment of the mission, Sri Vijayakrishna said that it was not required of him to adopt any special course of discipline at all. One thing indispensable was that he should be thoroughly unselfish and disinterested in purpose, and should never do anything for the sake of lucre. Right ideas would come to him from within when the time was ripe and the occasion manifested itself.”

Several years afterwards he was advised by his Guru to live on Akash-Vritti (sole dependence on God for material necessities) and not to follow any occupation as a means of livelihood. This supreme vow he took as early as 1897 and loyally discharged

its spiritual obligations till his death in 1948. In course of a letter written from Benares, dated 30th May 1940, Satischandra spoke of himself thus:

“তিনি আমাকে আকাশবর্তী দিয়া গেছেন ১৮৯৭ সনে। আকাশবর্তী মানে নিজে কিছুই উপার্জন করিয়ে তারিখে পারিয়ে না, কাহারও নিকট কিছু করা করিয়ে পারিয়ে না, কাহারও নিকট আমার উপস্থিত হইলে জনাইতে পারিয়ে না, কাহারও নিকট কিছু ভিক্ষা করিয়া লইতে পারিয়ে না। অতএব ভদ্রলোকের মত দোষলা বাতাইতে চাকর বাকর রাখিয়া জীবন কাটাইতে হইবে। আমার উপর এই প্রকার আকাশবর্তী তুম দিয়া গেছেন এবং ১৮৯৭ সনে যখন তিনি ‘পুরীতে যাইবার জন্য কলিকাতা তাল করিয়া যায়, তখন তিনি পনরায় আমাকে ঐসব কথা নিজুভূতে বলিয়া যায়। ইহা হইতে দৃঢ়তে পারিয়ে আমার আবহ্যা কিছু না। আমি বেন দাড়ি হারিয়া আকাশে বালিয়েছি—I am suspended in mid-air. দাড়ি তিনি হারিয়া আছেন সত্য কিছু সর্বদাই আমার দাড়ি বাচাই তাহার প্রতি—তাহার কৃষ্ণর প্রতি, তাহার সদার প্রতি। এইজন্য জীবন কাটা হইতেছে। ১৮৯৭—১৯৪০ এড়ানি এই আকাশবর্তীর উপর দাড়িয়া আছি বেলে কিছু নিজের কোন শান্ত নাই। নিজের যাঁদ শান্ত থাকি তবে ঐত ভয় হইত না।”

Satischandra’s selfless service and utter sacrifice in the cause of the country have few parallels in our history. A unique feature of his character was complete indifference to popularity and publicity which he shunned like poison. In his case virtue was its own reward and patriotism the supreme religion. “He,” records Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, “was really a devotee of God as Nara-Narayan. But this did not mean that he spent himself completely in a life of external activity and social service. He had an inner life of subjectivity, meditation and communion with God—a life of Yoga or conjunction of the individual soul with the Oversoul under the constant influence and never-failing inspiration of his Sad-Guru Sri Sri Vijaya Krishna Goswami of supremely sacred memory. It was like a bird which is upborne in its heavenly flight on its two wings of introspection and objectivity, of inner life joined to disinterested social service in outer life.”

After initiation Satischandra worked as a teacher of English in the South Suburban School with which he was connected during 1893-1897. At this stage he wrote *A Guide to Rowe’s Hints, Bain’s Grammar etc.*, which was specially designed for Entrance candidates of the Indian Universities. The first three editions of this book were published by S. C. Auddy, book-seller
and publisher, 58, Wellington Street, Calcutta. The book had a very brisk sale and Dr. R. K. Mookerji informs us that it was an excellent and popular guide to learn English at that time. It may be noted in this connection that since its fourth edition towards the end of 1897, its publication was transferred to Kedarnath Bose, publisher, 64, Akhil Mistry Lane. At the time of the fifth edition in May, 1899, Satischandra had to sell the copyright of this book to Kedarnath Bose for Rs. 1000/- in order to repay the loan of the same amount incurred by him a few days back for carrying out his Guru's injunction from Puri\(^{16}\).

The period from 1895 to 1913 was the most creative and fruitful period of Satischandra's life. He achieved in this period four notable things the value of which is only being now faintly understood. These works comprised the foundation of the *Bhagavat Chatuspathi* (1895), the establishment of the *Dawn* (1897), the organisation of the Dawn Society (1902) and the inauguration of the National Council of Education (1906). Each of these items requires detailed study.

*The Bhagavat Chatuspathi* (1895)

The *Bhagavat Chatuspathi* was the first specimen of Satischandra's creative imagination and organising ability, and was in a sense the precursor of the historic Dawn Society (1902). It was organised by him on the initiative of Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter in 1895, under the headship of that distinguished Sanskritist Pandit Durgacharan Sankhya-Vedanta-Tirtha. It was located in a house of Sir R. C. Mitter at the Puddopukur Road, South Calcutta. Satischandra was its Honorary Secretary while Romeshchandra was its Treasurer till his death in 1899. As regards the collection of funds and subscriptions, the responsibility lay with Satischandra who had to strain every nerve to meet the expenses of the institute. He was the life and soul

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of the Chatuspathi in its initial stages, although officially it was run in the name of Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter.

(i) Specific Causes of its Foundation

The specific considerations behind the foundation of the Chatuspathi have been set forth in an illuminating article on "The Dawn and the Bhagavat Chatuspathi", published by the Editor of the Dawn in the February, 1898 issue of the journal. The first consideration of Satischandra behind the foundation of the Bhagavat Chatuspathi was the sense of utter inadequacy or failure of the system of University education such as it obtained in India at that moment. It had failed to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the nation. It had also failed to equip the students with industrial and technical training which was urgently needed for Indian economic development.

The backwardness of India, both cultural and economic, was brought home more clearly by an enquiry into the systems of education prevailing in the Western countries. On enquiry it was found that Germany stood at the vanguard of every department of education and the secret of her success lay in the fact that "she encourages a system of education in which, original work, far more than any mere examination is the passport to honours, emoluments, position. And such original work by the students is found possible when they are thrown in the midst of teachers who devote the greater portion of their time themselves to original work." The same ideal was followed in the ancient Indian Tols and Chatuspathis where teachers sought to impart education with a living sense of idealism, more by example than by precept.

The drawbacks of the present system of University education and the ideals of the ancient Indian Tols were powerful considerations with the founders of the Bhagavat Chatuspathi. Though modelled on the ideals of the ancient Tols, the Bhagavat Chatuspathi was endowed with a larger programme. Not only spiritual knowledge would be disseminated as in the ancient Tols, but also constructive attempts were to be made, un-
like the ancient Tols, to stimulate other lines of activity such as the industrial to answer to the modern requirements of the country. But certainly, the secular activity was to be subordinated to the spiritual and religious training. With this ideal in view the Bhagavat Chatuspathi was set up by Satis Chandra Mukherjee and others in 1895. It should be noted further that the importance of studying Western sciences and philosophies was also recognised by the founders of the Chatuspathi.

(ii) Features of the Chatuspathi

The Chatuspathi was intended to be a Free Hindu Public Religious Institution which offered facilities to all willing persons to study Hindu philosophies and Shastras in their Sanskrit originals. A most striking feature was that education was imparted free of charge. Pandit Durga Charan Sankhya-Vedantatirtha was appointed the Acharya or teacher in charge of that academy. He was a veteran scholar with a great reputation behind him. As an Acharya he was ever unflagging in his enthusiasm and strove his best to kindle in the learners a genuine love for the ancient Indian Shastras and Darsanas.

The Chatuspathi was open also to all outsiders—all learners (whether trained on Western lines or on orthodox Hindu models)—for studies in Indian philosophies.

Again, the Chatuspathi was intended to be a residential institute for studies. The primary object was “the regulation of the daily life and habits of the scholar under a system of Hindu discipline according to the orthodox plan of Gurugrihabasa or residence with the Guru at his Asrama and under his complete control”. For lack of funds this object could not be given effect to for the first few years since 1895, but before the century closed the Chatuspathi emerged also as a residential academy with Pandit Durgacharan as the Acharya.

Two classes of scholars studied at the Chatuspathi: those who intended to become teachers in Hindu religion and philosophical learning and others who studied merely for the sake of their own spiritual culture. During the first year there were thirteen
students of both classes and the subjects of study were Sankhya (Tatva Kaumudi), Vedanta (Srimad-Bhagavat-Gita and Brahma Sutras with Sankara's Commentary) and Nyaya (Bhasha-pariccheda). In the second year the number of students of both the classes increased to twenty. The subjects studied were Sankhya (Sankhya Darsana, Tatva Kaumudi and Sankhyasara), Vedanta (Srimad-Bhagavat-Gita and Brahma-Sutras with the commentary of Sankara Swarajya-Siddhih, Pancadasi, Vedanta-Sara), Nyaya (Bhasha-pariccheda, Muktavali), Smriti (Manusamhita, Tithitatva) and Itihasa (Valmiki Ramayanam). Thus gradually the number of students increased and the courses of studies were enlarged to meet the growing and varying needs of the scholars.

At first the Chatuspathi had no organ of its own, but since 1897 the Dawn was published as its mouthpiece.

(iii) Some Students of the Chatuspathi

Among the non-residential students of the Chatuspathi in its early years, the name of Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter deserves special mention. He was "one of the most distinguished and devoted pupils" of the Chatuspathi where in his old age he began the study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy with all zeal and earnestness. At first a rationalist and an inspired follower of Comte, "he had seceded from his adherence to the philosophy of Positivism in his later years, because, as he thought, the revered Founder of that philosophy took only a half-view of man's nature; because, as he thought, Auguste Comte had sought to minimise the hold which spiritual aspirations exercise on man and his conduct. But he was equally at variance with the religionist who left humanity out of account in order to walk in the footsteps of an exclusive God-head." It was because of this mental evolution that after his retirement from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court he addressed his mind most enthusiastically to the study of Shastric lore in the Sanskrit original. Of him Satischandra writes: "Hence it is that at the advanced age of fifty, when life's work had been done,
he began the study of Sanskrit whose literature, he thought, contained the results of higher research, in no amateurist fashion, but a resolute, unflinching sort of way, with his dictionary and his grammar before him and the notes on lessons from his Pandit to be committed to memory, even as a student with his youthful zeal anxious to learn the niceties of ancient grammatical lore.”

Another non-residential student of the Chatuspathi was Matilal Ganguli, a nephew of Satischandra, who studied Hindu Shastras with Pandit Durgacharan at this Chatuspathi. He later on became important officer—sometime the Treasurer—in the Currency Department of India Government. It may be further added that Benoy Kumar Sarkar too learnt Sanskrit at this Tol at the feet of the same venerable Pandit Durgacharan during the Swadeshi days.

Among the early residential scholars of the Chatuspathi were Haran Chandra Chakladar (historian and anthropologist), Akshay Kumar Shastri (Professor of Sanskrit, Vidyasagar College, Calcutta), Jadunath Sankhyatirtha (who later became a renowned Kaviraj in East Bengal) and Rohini Kumar Sankhyatirtha (who later became a reputed Pandit of the Faridpur district).

Altogether, the Bhagavat Chatuspathi furnished a great stimulus to the studies of Hindu religion and philosophy as well as Sanskrit literature in general. Beginning its work in 1895, it faithfully discharged its duties for years to come.

* * *

The ‘Dawn’ (1897)

The second memorable work of Satischandra was the foundation of an English journal, viz., the Dawn (1897) which was ably edited by him down to 1913. To this we shall address ourselves in a separate chapter.

The third achievement of Satischandra was the establishment of the Dawn Society in 1902. It continued its memorable role in national life down to the beginning of 1907 after which it became defunct. This also will be discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter.

* * *

The National Council of Education (1906)

The fourth, and in a sense the greatest, achievement of Satischandra was the inauguration of the National Education Movement in 1905 and the organisation of the National Council of Education in the following year. National Education was an integral part of the wider Swadeshi Movement, and in this particular phase Satischandra was the central figure, just as on the political front Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose were the chief architects. The highly significant role that Satischandra played in the educational movement of that time has already been dealt with in Part I of this work and will be further discussed in a later chapter on the Dawn Society.

As a Contributor to the 'Bande Mataram'

In the Swadeshi period, Satischandra's activity was not confined to the National Council of Education alone. It is perhaps not known to many that in those days Satischandra's hand was sometimes silently at work even in the political field. A spiritual brother of Bipin Chandra Pal, and a colleague and collaborator of Aurobindo Ghose in National Education, Satischandra was closely connected, although unofficially, with the famous English daily Bande Mataram, and sometimes wrote editorial articles in that journal unsigned. Satischandra Guha, the Editor of the Indiana and ex-Curator of Santiniketan Kala-Bhavan (who was life-long connected with Satischandra since the Swadeshi days) informs the present writers that during
Aurobindo's repeated absence from Calcutta between December, 1906 and April, 1907, Satischandra wrote several editorials for the Bande Mataram and submitted them to Shyamsundar Chakravarty of the editorial board for publication. He tells us further that at least on one occasion, he had placed one of Satischandra's articles directly at the hands of Aurobindo himself, who was then residing at Raja Subodh Chandra Mallick's residence at the Wellington Square.

Hemendra Prasad Ghose who was on the editorial staff of the Bande Mataram corroborates the truth of this contention when he records: "The late Satits Chandra Mukherjee was intimately connected with Aurobindo not only in educational but also in political matters. He found in Aurobindo a 'kindred spirit' to further the cause of Nationalism. Aurobindo was fastidious about editorial or after-editorial articles in the Bande Mataram and was chary to recommend articles except those written by Bepin Chandra Pal, Shyamsundar Chakravarty, Bijoy Chandra Chatterjee (who, however, seldom sent contributions) and myself. But an exception was made in the case of Satis Babu who contributed a few articles. I remember one of a series of articles on 'The New Spirit' written by Aurobindo was Satis Babu's contribution. Satis Babu, moreover, often pointed out lapses in the news columns of the Bande Mataram and objected to the heading given to a news item "Armenian Horrors" as he believed that India would achieve independence through suffering." Aurobindo also expressed similar views in the Bande Mataram when he observed: "The new politics, therefore, while it favours passive resistance, does not include meek submission to illegal outrage under that term; it has no intention of overstressing the passivity at the expense of the resistance. Nor is inclined to be hysterical over a few dozen of broken heads or exalt so simple a matter as a bloody coxcomb into the crown of martyrdom. This sort of hysterical exaggeration was too common in the early days of the movement when everyone who got his crown cracked in a street affray with the police was encouraged to lift up his broken head before the world and cry out, 'This is the head of a martyr.' The new politics is a
serious doctrine and not, like the old, a thing of shows and political theatricals; it demands real sufferings from its adherents,—imprisonment, worldly ruin, death itself, before it can allow him to assume the rank of a martyr for his country.”

It may be observed in passing that Aurobindo was arrested in May, 1908 in connection with the Muraripukur Garden Bomb discovery, and he faced a trial at the court when Satischandra had to go there for giving his evidence regarding certain writings of Aurobindo.

Turning again to the National Education Movement, it is only just and relevant here to observe that Satischandra remained connected with the Bengal National College in an active manner up till December, 1908 when he tendered resignation to his office. For the next five years, he addressed himself wholeheartedly to the Dawn Magazine which ran on till November, 1913, after which date its publication was suspended. Here ends the second phase of Satischandra’s life.

THE LAST PHASE (1914-48)

The Life at Benares (1914-22)

The third phase of Satischandra’s life begins in 1914 with his settling down at Benares. The rest of his life was spent at this place, of course, with a temporary break during 1922-27 when he was again in Calcutta.

In early 1914, Satischandra, ill and broken in health through long years of most strenuous exertions, left Calcutta (Shibpur) for Benares along with his beloved pupil Krishnadas Sinha Roy (alias Debendranath Sinha Roy) as his personal companion. Soon he was joined at Benares by another devoted pupil, Satis Chandra Guha, the former manager of the Dawn Magazine during 1907-1913. In Benares Satischandra first settled down in

19. The article on Satischandra and Aurobindo as published by the present writers in the Itihas quarterly (May, 1953), edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. N. K. Sinha, may be consulted for details.
a house at the Trilochanghat near the station, then at the house of Tarakishore Roy Choudhury (once a Vakil, Calcutta High Court, and later widely known as Santadas Babaji) in House-Catara; and finally at 47 Tehrinim. It was at the last address that the Benares life of Satischandra was mostly spent.

The Benares phase of Satischandra’s life witnessed his retirement from the strains of public activity and his whole-hearted devotion to religious Sadhana. But it will be a mistake to think that he became intellectually inactive during this period. In 1916 was founded the Benares Hindu University by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya20 and many a Bengali scholar of repute joined the teaching staff of the University, including Jadunath Sarkar, Shyamacharan Dey and Jaygopal Banerjee. These scholars, along with Professors H. L. Chablani (Economics) and H. B. Malkani (English), and J. B. Kripalani (History) frequently called on Satischandra and held discourses on numerous topics. Sir Jadunath Sarkar who had been in Benares from August, 1917 to June, 1919 came to be at this stage very intimately associated with Satischandra whom he met almost every evening at his residence at Tehrinim21. In fact, Satischandra became at Benares virtually the nucleus of a cultural association and many men of light and leading were attracted by him, including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Babu Siva Prosad Gupta, Dr. Bhagavan Das, Acharya Narendra Deva and Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj. It was here at Benares that J. B. Kripalani (then Professor of History and later Congress President and now a Praja-Socialist leader) picked up an intimacy with Satischandra and his inner circle, including Krishnadas. Krishnadas informs us that Satischandra made a gift of his personal library to Prof. J. B. Kripalani and helped the latter in the organisation of the Benares Khadi Samity or the Gandhi Asram of which Mr. Kripalani was the official director. Sj. Satis

20. The story of the origin of this University and the role of Malaviya in that connection has been discussed at length in the famous book "Madan Mohan Malaviya’s Speeches and Writings" (pp. 26-30 and 269-285) published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras in 1919.
21. In a written statement in Bengali dated 13.11.52 Sir J. N. Sarkar has informed us of his contacts with Satischandra since the Swadeshi days, particularly at Benares.
Chandra Guha informs us that it is to Kripalani as the Secretary to the Gandhi Asram that Satischandra "made over his valuable library including news-clippings and necessary furniture."

Contacts with Gandhiji

During 1919-20 commenced the Gandhi period of Indian politics. In 1918 Gandhiji appeared on the Indian scene, and in the next year decided on the Non-co-operation Programme in order to remedy the Punjab wrongs and the brutalities of the Jalianwala Bagh Massacre. That was also the year of the beginning of the Khilafat Movement born out of Muslim indignation at Turkey's dismemberment at Versailles. Gandhiji allied himself with the Khilafat Movement and thereby sought to strengthen his hold on the Indian Muslims. In 1920, he officially launched the Non-co-operation Movement and described the British government of India as the "Rule of Satan".

Gandhiji's doctrine of Non-violent Non-co-operation made a special appeal to Satischandra whose spiritual Guru Vijaya Krishna Goswami had once told him: "Our freedom will not come by violence." A silent worker for the country's cause, Satischandra himself in the Swadeshi days had stood for peaceful methods for serving Mother India. It is on this account that he could not make a common cause with Aurobindo in politics during the Swadeshi period, although he had a very high regard for the latter's genius, self-sacrifice and patriotism. In this mental background the gospel of Ahimsa in politics had a fascinating appeal to Satischandra who now became an exponent of Gandhiji's doctrines. He did his best at this stage to popularise the philosophy of non-violence by writing articles and poems for the press. Some of these writings were published in the Young India. Of these writings the one entitled "The Secret of Bapu" was very important. It was written by him under the nickname "By a Lover of Bapu". It may be remembered in this connection that hardly any writings of Satischandra of this period, as of the Swadeshi period, were signed by him.22 He held the view

that service should be offered to Mother India in a silent and unostentatious manner without caring for name or publicity which is derogatory to the very spirit of service. He usually published articles unsigned on the consideration that he must not encourage his own publicity which he shunned like poison. Gandhiji held, on the other hand, a different opinion. In his view all writings should be signed, and signed articles meant that the writer has the moral courage to face all responsibility for his writings. Krishnadas, sometime Private Secretary to Gandhiji at this stage, informs the present writers that Satischandra and Gandhiji had much debate and discussion on this point, but each eventually stuck to his own principle.

In this period, some of the devoted disciples of Satischandra also became exponents of Gandhiji’s doctrine of *Ahimsa*. One of them was Krishnadas who wrote a few articles in support of Non-co-operation which were published in the editorial columns of the *Independent*, then edited by Matilal Nehru. These writings drew the notice of J. B. Kripalani who was a great admirer of Satischandra. It was through Kripalani that Krishnadas was introduced to Gandhiji who expressed his eagerness to harness Krishnadas’s services to his cause, particularly in editing *Young India* at Ahmedabad. Gandhiji even wrote a letter to Satischandra, seeking the latter’s permission and consent to spare Krishnadas for his work. Without caring for his own personal inconvenience, Satischandra gladly permitted Krishnadas to serve Gandhiji’s cause. Krishnadas worked as Private Secretary to Gandhiji during the stormy days of 1921-22. From August, 1921 to March, 1922 Krishnadas travelled the whole of India as a personal Secretary to Gandhiji in the hectic days of the Non-co-operation Movement, and wrote countless letters to Satischandra at Benares, describing the details of every day’s work. These letters were carefully preserved by Satischandra and later revised and published in a book form under his encouragement. The book was entitled *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*. Krishnadas, the author of that book in two volumes (Vol. I, Calcutta, 1924; Vol. II, Digwara, Bihar, 1927), records in his *Introduction*: “Fortunately, he (Satis Babu) had preserved all
my letters with great care, and it was at his instance and under his encouragement, and mainly with the help of those letters, that this book has been written." The book offers an inside view of the Indian Non-co-operation Movement of 1921-22, and writing of the original work in two volumes, Gandhiji observed: "The volumes are the only narrative we have of the seven months with which Krishnadas deals" (Young India, Dec. 26, 1929). Later, an abridged edition of the original volumes was prepared and published by Richard B. Gregg.

On the 10th of March, 1922, Gandhiji was arrested at Sabarmati and the editorial charge of Young India virtually devolved on Krishnadas and Satischandra for some time. In his letter to Krishnadas dated March 12, 1922 from the Sabarmati gaol, Gandhiji wrote with reference to Young India thus: "Unless it is too much for you all articles must finally pass through your hands. I have several names as Editor: Satis Babu, Rajgopalachari, you, Swaib Kaka, Devdas. It would be better now if Satis Babu gave you the permission to sign articles". Krishnadas informs the present writers that Shuaib Quareshi (who later became the High Commissioner of Pakistan for Delhi) was soon officially charged with the editorship of Young India, but the brunt of the problem had to be faced by him. It was at Krishnadas's personal request that Satischandra consented to come down from Benares to Savarmati to help his pupil in the proper management and publication of the journal. Thus he became unofficially connected with Young India. For two months only he was at Savarmati, but during this brief period he made his mark as the unofficial editor of Young India. During these two months he was the chief contributor to Gandhiji's organ. But before long he fell seriously ill and left Savarmati for Calcutta along with Krishnadas.

Back to Calcutta (1922-27)

For the next five years—from the middle of 1922 to the beginning of 1927—Satischandra spent his days in Calcutta. His

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regular Calcutta address during this period was at 110, Hazra Road, Bhowanipur, which was the residence of his nephew Rai Bahadur Matilal Ganguli. During this period he spent many days at the Garden House of his class-mate and Gurubhai Hemendra Nath Mitra at 86/B, Monoharpukur Road, and for a few days in the Dutta family at 79 Bechu Chatterjee Street. Besides, he stayed along with Krishnadas for several months in the Dutta family of Jaynagar-Majilpur in 24 Parganas of Bengal. But, for the most part he lived in Calcutta. During this period scholars and patriots occasionally came to meet him. Shyam Sundar Chakravarty, one of the editors of that historic Bande Mataram journal of the Swadeshi days, was then the editor of the Servant and frequently visited Satischandra for whose scholarship he had deep respect. On Shyamsundar’s request Satischandra contributed at this stage many articles to the Servant, among which his writings on “Ideas behind Passive Resistance,” “Vedantic Point of Economics,” “Towards Non-co-operation,” “Changers and No-changers” deserve special notice.24 Rai Bahadur Matilal Ganguli records in his unpublished Smriti-Katha that during 1922-26 Satischandra sometimes even wrote “leaders” for the Servant. Incidentally it may be noticed that in May, 1923 was published his long English poem on “Song of Swaraj” in the Ahmedabad journal Tomorrow, then edited by A. T. Gidwani. Again, it was in this period that he revised and corrected Krishnadas’s letters on Gandhi, previously written to him by the latter, and rendered them worthy of publication in book form.

Finally Leaves Calcutta (1927)

Early in 1927 Satischandra, along with Krishnadas, finally left Calcutta. He came first to Giridih where he spent one month, and then came to Darbhanga where another pupil, Satis Chandra Guha, was then working as the Librarian, Darbhanga Raj. At Darbhanga Satischandra lived over two years, leaving that place

24. The authors are indebted for this piece of information to Satischandra Guha, Editor of the Indiana, Benares, who has supplied us with valuable materials for the life-story of Satis Chandra Mukherjee.
for Patna on April 26, 1930, as soon as his pupil, Mr. Guha, was appointed to a responsible post in Bihar Vidyapith, run by the two renowned Bihari leaders, Brajakishore Prasad and Rajendra Prasad. Babu Rajendra Prasad was an old, devoted student of Satischandra in the Dawn Society. Rajendra Prasad gave a hearty welcome to his teacher who was requested to put up at the Bihar Vidyapith, Patna, and sanctify it by his inspiring presence. From a letter of Satischandra, not yet published, we learn that he was promise-bound to Rajendra Prasad as early as 1924 that he would visit the latter's village home at Zeradai (in the Chapra District) where he spent about a month in January, 1930. We learn further from that letter that it was at Rajendra Prasad's personal request that Satischandra had to write an article for the Gandhi Number of the Danish magazine, the Nye Veje or The New Road edited by Mr. Axel Pille. The magazine was published from Denmark and circulated largely among the youth and people interested in the Peace Movement. Satischandra contributed a paper bearing the caption "Mahatma Gandhi and Religion" whose Danish version was published in the October, 1929 issue of that magazine. In that article he described Gandhiji as "a colossus" and "as a dynamic personality in the realm of action." Speaking of his religion, the writer observed: "The thing which distinguishes Gandhi from everybody else including professors and teachers of religion, is that he makes no distinction of religion as a thing apart from life. Whence it follows that from his point of view, the secular and the religious in life must not remain separated and contradistinguished one from another; but that, on the contrary, religion must permeate, pervade and transform life and its varied activities. Thus Gandhi would spiritualise the politics, education, commerce, social life and the economic and industrial activities of a country; and thus inform each with a high common purpose and make of them a unity expressing itself in a manifold diversity. If, then, the unifying factor of religion be given the go-by

and a wall of separation be put up between the secular and the religious in life, then, according to Gandhi, religion is made to abdicate its high position, is relegated to a back seat and ceases to perform its true function, the function for which it exists."

Elsewhere he observed: "Therefore Gandhi's religion is the religion of strength. But it is no borrowed strength of militarism such as the military nations of the West are proud of. For, it is not the strength that comes from the possession of power, or of external weapons of aggression, or accumulated territories, or accumulated man-power. But it is such strength as man has by native right, such strength in fact as transcends all physical might and to which physical might must owe allegiance and have to render obedience.

"The point to remember is Gandhi's eternal insistence on the cardinal spiritual fact that man is no weakling but a perpetual reservoir of strength which has got only to be tapped, and that the sources of that strength constitute man's essential being. It is this strength which is the vital thing in him; while everything else in Gandhi's eyes is subsidiary or may even pass irrelevant."

The original English article was later published on Rajendra Prasad's initiative in the Hindusthan Review for February, 1930 over the writer's signature. It was soon reprinted in the Searchlight of Patna and also in the Sunday Bombay Chronicle under a changed caption, "Mahatmaji's Battle for Freedom".

While residing at the Bihar Vidyapith, Satischandra undertook another literary work, the revision of a lengthy article on "Non-violence vs. Violence" written by Rajendra Prasad, which the author intended to get published in a booklet form. In the midst of such literary work Satischandra spent over two months at the Vidyapith (April-June, 1930). Then he came over to Benares and settled down there for the rest of his life (1930-48).

*The Last Days at Benares (1930-48)*

At Benares Satischandra first put up sometime at the residence of Dr. Narayan Das Mukherjee at Tripura-Vairav and
then permanently at 47 Tehrinim. Here he lived the life of a true devotee of God, spending most of his time in religious discourses. All other activities were more and more subordinated to religion and strenuous pursuit of spiritual life. In an article on “Bara Babu”27, which meant Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Sadhu Sadananda, a Vaishnava Sadhu, German by birth, formerly known as E. G. Schulze, has drawn a pen-picture of Satischandra's life at Benares. Sadhu Sadananda met Satischandra or “Bara Babu” as he was often called by his devoted pupils, sometimes in 1937 through Prof. K. P. S. Malani of the Benares Hindu University, and was deeply impressed by the child-like simplicity and the spiritual depth of his soul. In his own experiences, he found Satischandra to be a real Sadhu or Mahatma, although without any “external show or mark of sectarian designation” or the “appearance of the so-called ascetic and Sadhu”. In Satischandra's scheme of spirituality, writes Sadananda further, “There was no Asram, no disciple, no Gaddi”. What was most remarkable about him was his earnest and sincere desire to help the needy under all circumstances. “Man-to-man talk, direct approach, no show, no eye-wash, no pretention” was the singular feature of his character. Although simple like a child, yet there was “no trace of inefficiency under the guise of mysticism in him”, as Sadananda records from his experience.

In the closing years of Satischandra’s life, he became more and more absorbed in a life of introspection, and religion became the predominant feature even of his outward career. All else became subordinate. Prof. K. P. S. Malani who was very intimate with Satischandra since 1935 records28: “Satish Babu spent the evening of his life in Benares as a spiritual recluse living on Akash Vritti, which was the vow he had receievd from his Gurudev. About his external life there is little or nothing to report as he did not engage in any external activity. About his internal life, though I had a glimpse of it, I am not competent to discuss it except to say that he was an advanced

27. Sadhu Sadananda: Bara Babu (Kalyana-Kalpataru, June, 1948).
Bhakta who had attained spiritual realization of a high order.” The same picture of Satischandra’s closing phase of life has been communicated to us through letters by Haran Chandra Chakladar and Satis Chandra Guha as well as by Probhat Chandra Daw, another close associate of Satischandra since 1941. Prof. Malani has in his possession many unpublished writings of Satischandra on religious and spiritual matters in the form of catechism, but he regrets that “Bara Babu told me specially that these were not meant for publication”. Probhat Chandra Daw also informs us in a letter dated 26th Nov., 1952, Benares, that it is not possible for him to give us any materials about Satis Babu’s life except stating the fact that Bara Babu categorically asked his intimate associates not to keep any diary or record and not to write anything about him. These statements throw much light on the inner life of Satischandra.

Although deeply absorbed in a life of introspection and subjectivity, Satischandra even in the evening of his life had not effected a complete withdrawal from the objective world. His unpublished letters clearly suggest that even though he could rise to soaring heights of spiritual life, his feet were firmly rooted in the soil below. In 1939 in the days of the Gandhi-Bose controversy on Indian politics, he is found to be taking a keen interest in the matter. But his approach was that of a non-partisan academician who could look at the matter with calm and dispassionateness and hence his reflections on the issue concerned had a significance all its own. In the Gandhi-Bose controversy, his stand was pro-Gandhi as revealed in the letter that he wrote to Phanindra Narayan Datta of Jaynagar-Majilpur on March 28, 1939. Interrogated by his pupil, Phanindranarayan, whether Gandhiji was anti-Bengali or not, Satischandra communicated the following reply:

“No provincialism.

“We are attributing provincialism to him because we are Bengalis and Subhas is a Bengali.

“Mahatmaji has decided the matter from a different angle, which we as Bengalis find it difficult to appreciate.
“And all this because we are steeped in Bengali provincialism”.

Again, during the stormy days of 1946-47, Satischandra took a keen interest in the political developments that shook the country on the eve and after the Great Partition. During Gandhiji's Noakhali tour, he had many exchanges of letters with the former, as Krishnadas tells us. In course of his extensive tour in Noakhali, East Bengal, when Mahatma Gandhi was trying to work out a solution of the Hindu-Muslim tension by his doctrine of *Ahimsa* or non-violence, many in the country doubted the soundness of Gandhiji's doctrine as a working programme. In a lengthy letter addressed to Sitikanta Jha, a teacher of the Behar Khadi Samity and a devoted follower of Gandhiji, Satischandra attempted a thread-bare analysis of Gandhiji's doctrine of *Ahimsa* in the background of the Congress-League politics. In that letter he offered an analysis of the "political idealism" of the Muslim leaders from the Aga Khan to Jinnah, the evolution of Muslim politics from "Separate Electorate" to the "Two-nation Theory", the "political idealistic forces" leading to the birth of Pakistan and of the Congress policy throughout the period. As for the practicability of Gandhiji's principle of non-violence in the midst of violence, Satischandra observed that a non-violent war, as prescribed by the Mahatma, was quite acceptable from the standpoint of "logicality", but constituted as the human mind is, such "transformation of the heart of the opposing side" on a scale was a distant dream. Excepting these letters, nothing regarding Satischandra's outward activities, is known to us at present. He left his mortal frame at Benares on April 18, 1948 and the news was flashed in the Calcutta dailies such as the *Hindusthan Standard* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 20th April. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in an article written on that occasion observed:

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29. This letter of Satischandra, written in Bengali but containing frequent English expressions, was published by us in the monthly *Viswa-vani* (Chaitra, 1359 or April, 1953), an organ of the Ramkrishna Vedanta Math founded by Swami Abhedananda.
"He was one of the makers of the Bengali Revolution (1905-14) and a father of the Indian freedom movement. In him the Indian people has lost an epoch-making pioneer as much of constructive social work as of researches and investigations into economics, politics, sociology and culture-history."30

CHAPTER II

THE DAWN (1897-1913)

THE FOUNDATION: OBJECT OR POLICY

The foundation of the journal, the Dawn, in 1897 by Satis Chandra Mukherjee was one of the greatest achievements of his creative mind. Towards the close of the nineteenth century the sentiments in favour of Indian nationalism were slowly gathering strength. The historic successes of Vivekananda at the Chicago Parliament of Religions (1893) as well as his cult of Sakti Yoga gave tremendous impetus to our nascent nationalism, by restoring our self-confidence and stimulating pride in our ancient heritage. With him Hinduism was born anew as a dynamic religion. A momentous effect of that Parliament of Religions was the forceful opening up of a new chapter in the cultural intercourse between the East and the West. A proper interpretation of the moral and spiritual values of the East, particularly of India, in the light of modern science and culture, became urgent and imperative. The foundation of religio-philosophical journals like the Prabuddha Bharata, the Brahmavadin, the Dawn and the Udbodhan (1895-98) was precisely the outcome of this new necessity. They were at once an effect of, and a contributing factor to, our new-born nationalism.

Originally, the Dawn was published as an organ of the Bhagavat Chatuspathi, but later it became an organ of the Dawn Society and still later, an organ of the Swadeshi Movement or resurgent Indian Nationalism. The journal was founded by Satis Chandra Mukherjee in 1897 in collaboration with his friend Ajayhari Banerjee who inspired the former to undertake such a work\(^1\). Two other persons were also connected with the establishment of the magazine and they were Raj

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\(^1\) Vide: Rai Bahadur Matilal Ganguli's unpublished Smriti-Katha in Bengali.
Kumar Banerjee, Professor of Physics in the Bangabashi College, and Manmatha Nath Pal, a pleader in the Alipore Court. These men were the Joint-Editors of the journal in the initial stage. The contact of Ajayhari Banerjee with this magazine was, however, very brief, for soon after its inception he became a Sannyasin disciple of Swami Vivekananda and undertook other responsibilities as required by the Swamiji. In that new role, he became known as Swami Swarupananda and later edited for years together the Prabuddha Bharat, an organ of the Ramkrishna Order. Thus Satischandra had to shoulder the chief responsibility of editing the Dawn practically throughout its long career of sixteen years (March, 1897-Nov., 1913).

The Dawn was a monthly magazine intended to be a vehicle of higher Eastern and Western culture, particularly religion, philosophy and science. Its object or policy was stated in the following terms: "We believe that whatever seeks and tends to raise human thought and life to a higher level than where they are, has in it the very truth of all religions. But as each individual stands at a fixed point in his stage of spirit-progress (and thought-progress) which is different from the rest, the same fixed code of spirit-discipline (and thought-discipline) will not apply for all. Hence the need of covering the whole field of human activity within the fold of an all-embracing religion. This spirit of universalism, the very breath of all progress upwards, is not inconsistent with, but is highly co-operative towards, a special study of systems of thought and belief which is equally necessary to a special evolution of each individual spirit. Each race, therefore, should cultivate this double line of progress; and as Hindus we propose, in this paper, to make a special study of Hindu life, thought and faith, in a spirit of appreciation, while remaining fully alive

2. On the death of Rajam Aiyar, the first Editor of the Prabuddha Bharat, in June, 1898, Swami Swarupananda assumed the editorial charge of that journal at the instance of Swami Vivekananda from March, 1899 till his death in June, 1906. Swami Saradananda's article on "Swami Swarupananda" as published in the Probasi (Falgun, 1313 or February, 1907) may be consulted for further details.
to the usefulness and the necessity of the existence of all other systems, secular or religious, Eastern or Western”3. The spirit or policy of the journal was thus cosmopolitan and all-embracing. The journal carried as its motto a famous utterance of Sankaracharya which means in English: “That which is ever-permanent in one mode of being is the Truth”.

THE FIRST PHASE (1897-1904)

Several well-marked phases are easily discernible in the evolution of the Dawn. The first issue of the Dawn was published for March, 1897 and the initial phase of the journal continued up till July, 1904. During this period, the office of the journal was successively at the following addresses in Calcutta: (i) 44, Lansdowne Road (March, 1897 to December, 1898); (ii) 3, Puddopukur Road (June, 1899 to February, 1902) and (iii) 79, Puddopukur Road (March, 1902 to July, 1904).

The Dawn in its first phase was distinguished by higher religious and philosophical writings. It also occasionally contained articles on science, history, economics and sociology as well as critical papers on education. Among the chief contributors in this period may be counted such names as Mrs. Annie Besant, Swami Abhedananda, Mahendra Nath Gupta (author of Ramakrishna Kathamrita), Nishikanta Chatterjee, Ramaprasad Chanda, Durgacharan Vedanta-Sankhyatirtha, Mahendra Lal Sarkar, Nagendra Nath Ghose, Jyoti Bhusan Bhaduri, Jadunath Sarkar, Brajendra Nath Seal, Satis Chandra Vidyabhushan, Rajendranath Vidyabhushan, Pramathanath Tarkabhushan, Hirendra Nath Datta, Bepin Chandra Pal, Sister Nivedita, Atul Chandra Chatterjee, Kiran Chandra Dey, Haran Chandra Chakladar, Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Rabindra Narayan Ghose, Sir George Birdwood, Coulson Turnbull, W. A. Rodman, A. A. MacDonnel and E. B. Havell. Among these names one will encounter some of the greatest thinkers of the time. The subjects discussed were as varied as conceivable,

3. The Dawn, March-May, 1897.
though the predominant bias was for philosophical writings. Satis Chandra Mukherjee as the Editor-in-Chief regularly contributed serious and thoughtful articles on philosophy, religion and education, although these writings were, generally speaking, published unsigned.

*Spiritual Propaganda*

The *Dawn* in its first phase propagated, among other things, India's moral and spiritual values. The methodology was comparative, and India was thrown in bold relief in the perspective of the Western countries. Attention was frequently drawn to the distinctive spiritual character of the Indian civilisation. Satischandra eloquently preached before his countrymen that India has a spiritual mission to fulfil. This was in consonance with the spirit of the teachings of Vivekananda and Abhedananda, the two monks of the Ramkrishna Order, who were propagating Vedanta and Indian culture in the West during the same period*. Again, like Ramkrishna's standard-bearers, Satischandra was a staunch believer in the idea of brotherhood of man and a powerful advocate of understanding and collaboration between the East and the West. His over-mastering desire was to promote the birth of a new and synthetic culture out of the fusion of differing, nay opposing, local and regional elements. Consequently, Satischandra employed the *Dawn* as a vehicle for the diffusion of such ideas as concerned both the national and the universal. And in this he functioned as a worthy continuator of the glorious tradition from Rammohun to Ramkrishna5. He perpetually sought to make his countrymen alive to the needs of the modern age and to foster in them that patriotic spirit which was respectful of the best heritage of the land. This was the first and foremost contribution of Satischandra through the *Dawn* during this period (March, 1897 to July, 1904).

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Articles on Science

Again, the *Dawn* in its first phase sought to drive home to the readers the truths and triumphs of modern science. The Editor himself occasionally contributed articles under this head, while as a rule, he reprinted scientific articles from the English and American journals. Original articles from the pen of well-known scientists and scientific scholars such as Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, Principal Jyotibhushan Bhaduri, Dr. W. R. C. Latson, m.d. (New York) were also published in the pages of the *Dawn*.

Papers on History, Sociology and Economics

The *Dawn* was also responsible for publication of many historical, sociological and economic writings during this period. Dr. Nishikanta Chatterjee's English rendering of "The Mystic Story of Peter Schlemihl by Adelbert von Chamisso" from the original German was serially published in the *Dawn* during 1899-1900. The same author's "Leaves from an Unpublished Diary: some Reminiscences of England (1882)" also appeared in this journal. The Editor himself made several historical contributions to the magazine, and also published scholarly papers from Ramaprasad Chanda, Haraprasad Shastri, Jadunath Sarkar, Annie Besant, Sister Nivedita, Bulloram Mullick, Pramatha Nath Tarkabhusan, Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan, Atul Chandra Chatterjee and many others. The *Dawn* also contained in its first phase many serious articles on economic and sociological problems, and a good few of them were contributed by the Editor himself.

Papers on Educational Problems

Last but not the least important were the articles on education and the varied problems associated with it. Under this head nobody wielded a more powerful pen than the Editor himself. His articles on "The Fate of All Our Instructions" (Feb., 1900), "The System of Classification of Boys in Indian Schools: A Scheme of Reform" (Jan-Feb., 1901), "On Education and
Examination” (March, May and July, 1901) were valuable contributions to the science of education. But by far the most important was his paper on “An Examination into the Present System of Education in India and a Scheme of Reform”, published in three consecutive issues of the magazine (April-June, 1902). It was written in the background of the work and investigation of the Indian Universities’ Commission of 1902. It discussed practically all the aspects of University education as then prevailed in our country and also offered constructive schemes of reform. It was complete in 62 pages of the Royal size of the magazine and constituted a landmark, as it were, in the history of educational reforms in India. Among other contributors on the problem of education in this period may be mentioned the names of Atul Chandra Chatterjee, Prof. B. Mack Dresden and Sister Nivedita. Thoughts on education from Sir George Birdwood, Dr. Paul Carus, Mrs. Annie Besant and Prof. Max Muller were also presented to the readers.

Break in the Publication

The Dawn was at first published as a monthly journal almost regularly on the completion of every month. But after the twenty second issue (December, 1898), there was an unexpected delay in its publication for five months (January-May, 1899). The sole reason for this delay was the severe illness of the Editor, and the magazine, lest it should lose in quality in Satischandra’s absence, was not published for that period. From a circular letter issued in March, 1899 over the signature of the Honorary Manager, Tinkari Mukherjee, we learn the following fact: “The Dawn being the property of the Bhagavat Chatuspathi, a Free Hindu Public Religious Institution conducted under the direction of Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, Kt., the authorities of the said institution have decided that it would be in the interest of the magazine (having regard to the high-class character which it has always sought to maintain) that

6. Tinkari Mukherjee was the younger brother of Satischandra Mukherjee, the elder brother being Bidhubhusan Mukherjee.
its publication be suspended during the period of illness of the Editor". The Editor regained his health by May, 1899 and the Dawn resumed its career from the month of June with renewed energy and zeal. Every issue of the magazine bore the unmistakable impress of a great mind working behind, the stamp of Satischandra's ability and erudition. No thought of personal glory, no desire for reward animated him who worked as Editor out of love, being urged by idealism, "from pure patriotic motives at a personal sacrifice". The proceeds of the Dawn were entirely devoted to the support of the Bhagavat Chatuspathi (founded in 1895) for the benefit of young students. From June, 1899 to July, 1904 the magazine was published every month without any break. Sreejut Haran Chandra Chakladar was associated with this phase of the journal as a junior assistant to Satis Chandra Mukherjee at whose hands his literary career was then being moulded.

Circulation of the 'Dawn'

We learn from Prof. Chakladar that at first about 300 copies of the magazine were printed every month. But every year the number increased and the area of its circulation widened until by 1902-03 the Dawn began to exert a great influence on the educated classes. Since August, 1900 the magazine was also "subscribed for by the Government of Bengal in the Education Department for all Government Colleges". Its circulation was not confined to the borders of Bengal or even India alone. Its subscribers were also drawn, although on a modest scale, from beyond the seas. It secured also several eminent contributors from England, Germany and the U.S.A.

Within less than a year of its first appearance in March, 1897, the journal made a deep impression on contemporary Bengali thought. It created a stir among the intellectuals of the time on account of its high quality and standard as well

7. The Dawn: Editor's Acknowledgements (June, 1899).
8. Such a statement was displayed by the Dawn on the top of the cover of each issue from August, 1900 to July, 1904.
as the seriousness and originality of most of its contributions. Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter (offg. Chief Justice of Bengal) wrote on April 12, 1898: "I have been a regular reader of the Dawn since its first appearance. The analytical power, evinced in expounding abstruse thoughts, is of a superior order. It is a valuable addition to journalistic literature in our country". Asutosh Mukherjee, then a member of the Syndicate, Calcutta University, and a Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, wrote on April 16, 1898: "I am a subscriber to the Dawn and have been a regular reader of its pages. What has struck me most about it is that it does so much original work. It is an altogether new thing of its kind in India and deserves for its originality to be encouraged in every possible way by the Government in its Education Department, by other educational authorities, and by the more thinking portion of our community." Similarly, high opinions about the character and quality of the Dawn were expressed by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, then Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta (Sept. 24, 1897), Chandra Nath Bose, then a Bengali Translator to the Government of Bengal (March 11, 1898), Rai Pramada Das Mitra Bahadur, the distinguished Sanskrit scholar of Benares (May 28, 1898) and other competent judges. The Dawn also attracted the notice of scholars and journalists beyond the seas as early as the year 1898. On August 20 of that year The Leeds Times of England, a well-known weekly of that time, published a leading editorial under the title of "Our Influence in India". The Dawn was spoken of in that article as a "unique production" and was cited as an argument for proving the beneficial effects of British rule in India. Speaking of the Dawn, the writer in The Leeds Times observed: "To us it stands as a visible sign of the effects of our rule in India." He observed further that there were none "prepared to defend the way in which we took possession of that great empire; but being in possession, we can find arguments why we should remain so. The great question to settle the matter is whether our rule has been beneficial to the people of India or not. A great many people protest that we have
made no impression whatsoever on the people of the country; that we are an alien governing class ruling by fear.” He observed further that the *Dawn* “falsifies all this. It shows that our tenancy of India has had an effect on the native mind. We have not made an Englishman of him—he would be a fool who expected we ever could—but we have enlarged his horizon, put fresh worlds of thought within his grasp, and he in his turn has eagerly availed himself of them and by fusion with his old ideas is evolving a new type, highly educated, naturally gifted, and purely local. This is a result of which we have some reason to be proud.” The *Dawn* also rose high by that time in the estimation of some American scholars. As time went on, the quality of the journal was more and more improved under the all-absorbing personal care of Satis Chandra Mukherjee. At the turn of the century it succeeded in firmly establishing itself in the world of Indian journalism. Commercial motives were entirely lacking in its set-up. The only thing that was always sought to be maintained was the standard of the journal whose writings, almost one and all, were the result of deep thinking.

**THE SECOND PHASE OF THE *Dawn* (1904-1907)**

The *Dawn* in its first phase had been an organ of the *Bhagavat Chatuspathi* (founded in 1895). Its second phase commenced in September, 1904 when it ceased to be an organ of the *Chatuspathi* and became the mouthpiece of the Dawn Society (founded in July, 1902). During the two years from July, 1902 to July, 1904, the Society and the journal had separate offices and management till they were linked up and fused into one organic whole. The Dawn Society found at last its mouthpiece in the old *Dawn* which in its new series (since Sept., 1904) was renamed as *The Dawn and Dawn Society’s Magazine* being “an Organ of the Dawn Society Educational Movement”. The Dawn Society effectively functioned up till the middle part of the year 1906, after which it gradually became defunct by August, 1907.

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But even after its dissolution, the magazine continued to be published under its new name *viz.*, *The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* up till November, 1913. Evidently, the *Dawn Magazine* did not function as an organ of the Dawn Society alone for the entire period from 1904 to 1913. As a true and effective mouthpiece of the Dawn Society, the magazine worked for about three years only from September, 1904 to August, 1907; and this period represents the second phase of the *Dawn*.

The magazine in its second phase comprised the first three volumes of the new series (Sep., 1904 to July, 1905, Sept., 1905 to July, 1906 and Sept., 1906 to Aug., 1907). A special characteristic of the new series was that the *Dawn* now became a bi-monthly magazine, being issued every two months and containing 48 pages of reading matter (Royal size). As a bi-monthly magazine its career continued from Sept., 1904 to July, 1906. During this period the office of the Dawn Society and that of the *Dawn Magazine* were located in the same premises at 22, Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta. In August, 1906 the Dawn Society was removed from its old address to 19 1/1, Bowbazar Street in the house of the Bengal National College, and the first issue of the third volume of the *Dawn Magazine* for September, 1906 was consequently published from its new address when the journal was again changed into a monthly magazine.

*The Indiana*

The *Dawn* in its second phase introduced several new features such as *Indiana, Topics for Discussion* and *Students' Section*. The slogan of the magazine became at this stage: "To love the country one must know the country." As the Editor himself put it: "At the present day we, Indians, have hardly any real or extensive knowledge about India, its people and its princes. We know almost nothing of the actual condition of the teeming masses in the different provinces, of their social manners and customs, their languages, means of livelihood, religion, education, or general character. And where there
prevails this widespread ignorance about each other's concerns in a community, it is idle to expect that there should be any effective bond of sympathy or unity, among its members. All our present unity is because of our living under a common administration, which, however, in our case is not a growth from within but a structure imposed from without. Hence this sort of life requires to be strengthened by a strong internal unifying force such as is likely to grow among us from a more intimate acquaintance with each other's actual wants and conditions in life." It was, therefore, intended by the Editor that the Indiana portion should be devoted to articles on things Indian and its people in the different provinces, in the varied circumstances of their lives. Thus the Indiana portion received top priority and became the first part of the magazine in the new series. It remained a permanent feature of the journal down to November, 1913. During Sept., 1904 to Aug., 1907 this portion discussed such topics as "The Land We Live In", "The People of India", "Hindu Practices in the Punjab", "The Bengal Village", "Cities and Towns of India", "India's Trading Classes", "Muhammadan Population of Bengal", "Maharashtra Brahmans", "Social Life in Gujrat", "Hindu Peoples of Western India", "Sindhi Mussalmans", "The Parsees of India", "The Jainas of India", "The Baniya in the Punjab", "Bengalis in Tibet", "A Class of Bengal Artizans", "Darkest India" (about the hilltribes and aboriginal races), "Territories of Our Indian Princes", "Old Buildings in India", "Marathi and Other Vernaculars of Western India", "Principal Languages of Modern India", and so on. Haran Chandra Chakladar was a regular writer in this section of the magazine in its second phase to which Radha Kumud Mookerji and Rabindra Narayan Ghose also occasionally contributed papers. Mr. Chakladar's serial papers on "Bengali as Spoken by the Bengalis" (Sept., 1904-Jan., 1906) and his article on "Fifty Years Ago: The Woes of a Class of Bengal Peasantry under European Indigo-Planters" (July, 1905) were illuminating pieces of research-work. Many

stimulating articles from the able pen of the Editor himself were also published during this period in this section.

**Topics for Discussion**

Apart from *Indiana*, there was another very important section, *viz.*, **Topics for Discussion**. This was the second part of the *Dawn Magazine* and included “short paragraphs on important national subjects, not political”, which were presented to readers as *Matters for Discussion*. We learn from Mr. Chakladar that this section usually contained the thoughts of Satis Chandra Mukherjee, but not infrequently extracts from the writings of other scholars, both Indian and foreign, were presented to the readers for debate and discussion. This section had the great merit of focussing the readers’ attention on the more important aspects of our national life. Among the numerous topics presented under this section we may mention only a few such as “Who is to Lift our Artizan Classes?”, “A People that Has Learned to Live Without a Country” (the Jewish People), “Caste in England”, “The Question of Indian National Feeling”, “Indian Vernaculars and Indian Patriotism”, “The Illiterate Majority in India”. As these topics were meant for discussion among the readers, it was considered necessary by the Editor that the readers also should be given the chance of expressing themselves on these issues through the pages of this section of the magazine. The opinions of the readers were invited by the Editor in the following terms: “We should therefore be glad to find room for short paragraphs on the same or similar subjects, written in elucidation or in refutation of points advanced by us. Short paragraphs on independent topics, coming within the scope of this Part may also be sent to us for publication and will be gratefully received and acknowledged”.

Again, another change was noticeable in the contents of thought under this section since November, 1906 when “subjects of national interest” began also to include “current political topics” for the

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The Students' Section

The third section of the Dawn in its second phase was what may be called in the absence of a better name, the Students' Section, which contained at first the writings of the Recognised Members of the Dawn Society in its two Weekly Classes. The English portion of this section contained writings of the Society's Members in the General Training Class, while the Bengali portion published writings of Members in the Society's Moral and Religious Training Class. These two portions jointly made up the third part of the magazine or the Students' Section. It remained a regular feature of the Dawn Magazine throughout its second phase (Sept., 1904 to Aug., 1907). In this section writings of the Recognised Readers of the magazine also soon found a prominent place, besides the extracts from the writings of the Recognised Members of the Society. The readers who would show a keen interest in the Indiana section of the magazine and would offer "such materials and informations at his disposal (derived directly from personal observation and knowledge or through books or other sources) as would throw special light on the articles treated in the Indiana portion; or would otherwise tend to make such articles fuller, more interesting, or more instructive" were treated as Recognised Readers. These Recognised Readers need not necessarily be subscribers or students or pay any fees to the Society to

be recognised as such. They were also entitled to submit “an independent contribution” to the Indiana portion and were eligible, like the Recognised Members, for the Dawn Society's prizes, medals and certificates. The first three volumes of the new series of the Dawn are replete with writings both Bengali and English from the pen of the Recognised Readers. Thus they dealt with Chingleput (Madras), Kathiawar (Bombay), Bhavnagar (Bombay), Baroda, Dakore (Gujrat), Ahmedabad, Puri, Udaipur, Hardwar, Nasik, Bhubaneswar, Sarnath, Nellore (near the Eastern Ghats), Shahabad (Bihar), the Himalayas, Tamluk, Pulipakkam (a Madras Village), Mahabalipuram, as well as with the condition of the masses in Bengali villages, life in an East Bengal Mussalman village and the condition of peasantry near Calcutta and many other topics of a like nature. These writings of the Recognised Readers, supplying as they did first-hand information about Indian life in its varied aspects—geography, economy, social polity, religion and so forth—were considered extremely valuable and were, therefore, given greater and greater prominence than the writings of the Recognised Members in the Dawn Magazine since the second volume of the new series (Sept., 1905 to July, 1906). Among the Recognised Readers the more prominent were H. H. Maniar, Rajendra Prasad, Bhutnath Ghose, Bhanusankar Manshankar Mehta, Jogendra Mohan Chakravarty, Jayada Prasanna Dutta, D. Krishna Row, Popatal Govindlal Shah, Shrish Chandra De, Haripada Ghosal, Ganapati Roy, C. Srinivasan, C. S. Annamalai, S. K. Chary and Ram Chandra Pandit. Incidentally it may be observed that Rajendra Prasad, then a student of the Presidency College, was an enthusiastic writer in this section of the Dawn during 1905-06. Like many others, he was at once a Recognised Member of the Dawn Society and a Recognised Reader of the Dawn Magazine.

This third part of the magazine in its English portion was featured by another new addition, viz., the Students' Column from September, 1905. In a letter written to the Editor, Mr. B. M. Mehta, one of the Recognised Readers, sent a proposal for the introduction of a “Letter-Box” in the journal “for
questions to be put as well as to be solved by students only”, questions relating to India in the main, as “the youths of our country are really in want of a knowledge of India and its people, which your Magazine undoubtedly supplies”. In the July 1905 issue, three questions from Mr. Mehta were published by the Editor who invited students to offer answers. The Editor in the same issue exhorted the students throughout India (whether subscribers or not) to utilise the magazine as a common medium for their exchange of thoughts and views\. The Editor’s call was at once responded to from diverse parts of India by students who began to take a keen interest in this new section. Accordingly, a Students’ Column was opened as a regular feature of Part III of the magazine since September, 1905. The students throughout the country were invited to suggest important and useful questions for discussion among themselves and to provide answers themselves to the same. The main object behind it was to enable the Indian students to come nearer to one another through the medium of the magazine and to increase their knowledge of one another and of the country. Maximum freedom was allowed to the students in the matter of framing questions, but the Editor reserved the right of disallowing questions which in his opinion were “of a purely abstract nature” or “of a technical character” or would not serve “any practical or useful purpose”. Among those who participated in this Students’ Column during 1904-07 the names of Popatlal Govindlal Shah (Ahmedabad), Bhabani Charan Mitra (Patna), Rajendra Prasad (Saran, Behar), Kripashankar Prabhashankar Acharya (Kathiawar), H. H. Maniar (Kathiawar), Hari Raghubhunth Bhagvat (Poona), Haripada Ghosal (Tamluk, Bengal), Rabindra Narayan Ghose, Kishori Mohan Gupta, Upendra Nath Ghoshal, Surendra Nath Das Gupta (Calcutta), G. Krishan Potti (Trivendrum), Venka Swami Rao (Chittoor, Madras Presidency), G. Kunjen Pillai (Travancore) and Satis Chandra Guha (Barisal, Bengal) may be picked out as the more important.

These student correspondents played an important role in the *Dawn Magazine* during 1905-07. Apart from putting questions and answering them in the *Students' Column* of the magazine, they sometimes offered constructive suggestions to the Editor who, generally speaking, carried them out after consulting the opinions of other readers on the points proposed. In a letter to the Editor, Popatlal Gobindlal Shah, a prominent Recognised Reader, made a proposal for the introduction of the Devanagari script for the Bengali portion of Part III of the magazine. He observed that "I am told that the Bengali is a language chiefly composed of Sanskrit words, and so, if written in Devanagari it can be understood by a person who has a knowledge of Sanskrit". His contention was that if the Bengali portion of the magazine were printed in Devanagari script, "greater number of persons will be able to read it" and the Editor's "noble object of spreading knowledge will be better fulfilled". Just at that very time another Recognised Reader, T. M. Tripathi, informed the Editor that "the Bengali portion of the Dawn Society's Magazine becomes useless—a sealed book—to many readers in other parts of the country, chiefly because it is printed in Bengali letters", and further pointed out that if the "Nagari letters" were used instead, many of the non-Bengalis would be "able to read and understand the articles". The advisability of this suggestion made by two non-Bengali readers of the magazine was further strengthened by Rajendra Prasad who, in a long letter addressed to the Editor, strongly pleaded for the introduction of Devanagari script for the Bengali writings in the *Dawn Magazine* in the following words: "I think it is admitted on all hands that if ever there is to be a common script for all India, it cannot be other than the Devanagari script. The Dawn Society, I think, ought not confine its benefit to the students of Bengal. As the only institution of its kind we naturally expect much from it. The usefulness of the Magazine will, I can assure you, be greatly enhanced for those who do not know Bengali characters—e.g., Beharis.

Maharathis, Guzaratis, Madrasis, etc. The Dawn Society is a unique institution and is doing a service to the community for which it cannot be too grateful to you. If you adopt my humble suggestion, you would make a departure which would be hailed all over the country with delight, and I doubt not that the usefulness of the Magazine as a propagator of the Bengali Language (as distinguished from the Bengali script) all over India, will be largely increased. May I not expect that the Dawn Society will be the leader in this respect as it has been in many other respects, and the readers of the Magazine be ready to sacrifice a little sentiment if they can do such service to the country thereby?".17

It need be emphasised here that there was going on in Bengal at that time a movement "for uniform alphabet for Indian languages", under the guidance and inspiration of Justice Sarada Charan Mitra. On July 11, 1905 at a public meeting at the Grand Theatre, Calcutta, it was resolved under Justice Mitra's chairmanship "to start an association which would go by the name of Devanagri-Vistar-Parisad including in it the leading men of the various communities of the Indian Empire". It was further proposed that the "Parisad will start a monthly paper, named the "Devanagri" which will be conducted in five different languages, viz., Bengali, Guzrati, Hindi, Marathi and Tailangi—all written in the Devanagari character. This movement for uniform script, which was inaugurated in Bengal by Justice Sarada Charan Mitra, soon found able supporters in distinguished men like Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Nagendra Nath Ghose and Narendra Nath Sen. It was in 1906 that Eka-Lipi-Vistara Parishad or the Society for a Uniform Script in India was established by Mr. Mitra in Calcutta (85, Grey Street), with himself as the Secretary, with the object of promoting "the adoption of a common alphabet, preferably the Devanagari alphabet, for all the Indian vernaculars". The Society had also "an ably edited organ" of its own in the Devanagar which was

printed in the Devanagari script and contained articles in several Indian vernaculars\textsuperscript{19}.

In this background the suggestions of the non-Bengali readers of the \textit{Dawn Magazine} regarding the introduction of the Devanagari character for the Bengali writings of the magazine naturally carried great weight with the Editor. Consequently, since January, 1907 the Bengali portion of the magazine began to be written and printed in Devanagari script. This courageous lead of the \textit{Dawn}, "a journal aiming at unification", was warmly appreciated by the non-Bengalis in whose eyes the importance of Bengali had suddenly gone very high since the outburst of the Swadeshi Movement. As Bengal was then at the vanguard of Indian nationalism, Bengali was considered abroad as the best embodiment of the new spirit. In a letter to the Editor, the \textit{Dawn Magazine}, Popatlal Govindlal Shah gave a frank utterance to this sentiment in stating that "Bengal has now infused a spirit of National self-consciousness into its neighbours; it is respected throughout India as the mother of all, supplying them with national food. Men are at present anxious to learn your language, as the truer and surer indicator of what and how you think and feel"\textsuperscript{20}. Thus the \textit{Dawn} in its second phase became an all-Indian influence and went a long way in moulding the nationalistic or patriotic temper in our countrymen, specially among the student community.

During the same period, the \textit{Dawn Magazine} rendered several other notable services to the country. Sociological and economic studies and investigations were vigorously promoted through the pages of the magazine. Well-written articles bearing on these problems found frequent publication in the journal and nobody played a greater role in this than the indefatigable Editor himself. Economic conditions of India, both rural and urban, specially Indian trade, industry, banking, commerce, agriculture and population were almost regularly discussed in the magazine in a spirit of scientific enquiry. The analysis of Census Reports was an important part of such

\textsuperscript{19} The \textit{Dawn Magazine}, June, 1910, Part III, pp. 57-58.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid: January, 1907, Part III, p. 32.
discussions. Thus the readers became used to “objective, quantitative and statistical conceptions” of economic movement and morphology. So far as Bengal is concerned, Satis Chandra Mukherjee functioned as one of the early Gurus of economic researches during the first decade of the present century. “Another inspiring figure of this period for Bengal in economic practice rather than in theory, however, was Ambika Charan Ukil". Public attention to this important aspect of Satischandra’s literary activity has been repeatedly drawn by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in his various works, both English and Bengali.

**Creative Journalism**

In fairness to Satis Chandra Mukherjee, it must be recorded that he was not content with merely running a first-class periodical; he went a step further in addressing himself to the self-chosen task of training up a band of young enthusiastic writers who would carry forward the spirit and tradition of the *Dawn*. In this regard he faithfully followed the idealistic tradition of Akshay Kumar Datta, the Editor of *Tattva-bodhini Patrika*, and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the Editor of *Banga-Darshan*, both belonging to the nineteenth century. His name will go down in history as one of the best journalists and creative thinkers of Bengal along with Iswar Chandra Gupta (1812-1859), Akshay Kumar Datta (1820-86) and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94). Journalism was with him, as with the other three, a mission, not a profession. “It is as pupils and colleagues of Mukherjee”, records Benoy Kumar Sarkar, “that Haran Chandra Chakladar, Radha Kumud Mookerji, Rabindra Narayan Ghose, the present author and others made their debut in sociological, economical and historical investigations. Because of family and friendly relationships Radha Kamal Mukherjee also has to be linked up with the Dawn Society Group”.

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22. B. K. Sarkar’s *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937, p. 663).
The third phase of the \textit{Dawn} began since September, 1907 and comprised the next six volumes of the new series (Sept., 1907 to Oct., 1908; Jan. to Dec., 1909; Jan. to Dec., 1910; Jan. to Dec., 1911; Jan. to Dec., 1912 and Jan. to Nov., 1913). The magazine had already been changed into a monthly since September, 1906 and it remained so up till the last and final issue of the journal. The only four months in which the magazine was not published during the period from 1907-1913 were November-December, 1907 and November-December, 1908. The office addresses of the journal during this period were in order of sequence: (i) 166, Bowbazar Street (June, 1907 to Oct., 1909), (ii) 12, Lall Bazar Street (Nov., 1909 to April, 1911) and (iii) 8/2, Hastings Street, Calcutta (May, 1911 to November, 1913).

The \textit{Dawn} in its third phase ceased to be an organ of the Dawn Society, for the Society itself was dissolved by August, 1907. It now developed into a full-fledged organ of Indian Nationalism in its broadest sense. The cultural and economic aspects of this nationalism, in which Satis Chandra Mukherjee was chiefly interested, naturally received greater prominence than anything else. During 1907-1913 the \textit{Dawn Magazine} served as a mighty mouthpiece of the Swadeshi Movement in general, and of the National Education and allied movements in particular. In brief, the surging ideals of Indian Nationalism were sketched and expressed in the magazine with the greatest amount of fidelity. From January, 1907 every issue of the magazine carried on the top of its first page the following question and answer:

\textbf{QUESTION}

"How can Indian students increase their love for their country?"

\textbf{ANSWER}

"(a) By increasing their stock of knowledge of India and Indians."
(b) By learning to act together for some common purposes useful to their country.

(c) By helping their countrymen in creating a demand for their manufactures.

(d) By helping the cause of education on national lines."

But we should be careful to note that, notwithstanding this predominant patriotic bias, the *Dawn Magazine* was never allowed to be an organ of demagogic propaganda. Its national outlook and intellectual aristocracy (and a certain aloofness from militancy?) were retained undiminished, even increased, in the concluding phase of its life. In his outrageously frank statement of his own stand in the article entitled “The Personality of Our King-Emperor” (January, 1912), Satischandra had the rare courage of speaking things which might sound strange to many minds in days of bitter anti-British excitement and militant Indian nationalism. In that article, he gave a keen analysis of the distinctive elements of the character of His Majesty George V who had in his heart, in the opinion of the writer, “the supreme ambition of identifying himself unreservedly with India and her myriad-voiced populations”. Satischandra did not wholly share the current idea of the time that “reasons of policy weighed with His Imperial Majesty to come back” to India so soon after his first sojourn in this land (the first visit to India was undertaken by him as the Prince of Wales in the winter of 1905-06 and the second as King-Emperor George V in December, 1911). In a like manner, he refused to accept the popular argument that the King-Emperor had come to India “to cement the ties of attachment between India and the United Kingdom, and therefore, in pursuance of a deep-laid scheme” or a “mission of high politics”. Another current explanation was that as Bengal had to be pacified and united, it was deemed expedient that “His Imperial Majesty should be in our midst to break the gladsome news of the annulment of the ill-fated Partition to his sorrowing subjects”. Satischandra’s mind refused to accept all these and other surmises as supplying “the mainsprings” of His Majesty’s revisit to India within such a short interval (1906-11) and “to hold an assemblage in order to make known in
Person” to his Indian subjects of his “succession to the Imperial Crown of India”. “Our own belief, however,” wrote Satis Chandra on that occasion, “is that above and beyond all these policies of State, there was a predominating human side to the transaction which claims our pre-eminent attention as having supplied the strongest motive to the King to traverse long distances at a time when His Majesty’s presence at Home was of such supreme moment from the political point of view. . . The desire to be of signal service to India, India whose greatness and majesty has captivated his heart—the desire to know India more fully and deeply in order that her wishes and aspirations may be better understood and more thoroughly grasped, . . . such, in brief, represents the higher impelling forces which have almost involuntarily and so soon brought our beloved and illustrious Sovereign back again amongst his Indian People. . . We say, therefore, the impulse to revisit India was no part of a preconcerted plan inspired by State-policy, although there could be no reasonable doubt that State-policy has gained immensely by this epoch-making Imperial visit”.

_Some Old Features Continued_

The _Dawn_ in its third phase (Sept., 1907 to Nov., 1913) continued to be divided, as in its second phase, into three parts. The first and second parts were devoted, as before, to _Indiana_ and _Topics for Discussion_, but a change was noticeable so far as the third part of the magazine was concerned. Since the fourth volume of the new series (Sept., 1907 to Oct., 1908) this part ceased to be a Students’ Section in the true sense of the term and came to be devoted to the cause of National Education. Detailed notes and news as well as critical essays on the progress and prospects of National Education became the principal subject for discussion in this section from January, 1908 to April, 1910. From May, 1910 to November, 1913 this section or the third part of the magazine was devoted, besides National Education, to other educational movements in the various provinces

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of the country, grouped under the general head, viz., "Indian Educational and Allied Movements". Under this head sometimes very important and lengthy articles were published such as "Movement for Education of the Depressed Classes and of the Masses Generally" (Jan. to May, Aug. to Nov., 1910), "Educational Organisations conducted along Orthodox Lines: the Modern Brahmacharyasrama Movement" (June to July, 1910), "The Swadeshi Education Movement in Ceylon: An Object-Lesson for India" (Jan., Feb., April, 1911), "Ideals behind the Moslem University Movement (Aug. to Oct., 1911), "Beginnings of a Great Educational Departure: the Proposed University at Dacca" (March, 1912), "The Proposed University of Aligarh: Position of the Government of India" (Sept., 1912) etc.

Alongside these writings on Indian Educational Movements, which absorbed the greater portion of Part III of the Dawn Magazine in its third phase, the Students' Column also continued to function from July, 1908 to November, 1913. But unlike the Students' Column of the previous phase, this Column in the third phase was no longer intended to be a platform for exchange of views or for throwing questions and answers or for important correspondence among the student community of India. It was now reserved for the publication of writings from the student contributors throughout India who were entitled to send their articles on social, educational, literary, cultural and archaeological, religious, descriptive and industrial aspects of Indian life. This section was, however, accorded a subordinate position in the third Part of the magazine in its last and final phase.

The second part of the magazine was devoted, as before, to Topics for Discussion which included the views of distinguished men on current topics like the Swadeshi Movement and National Education as well as Indian art, architecture and general culture. During Sept., 1907 to Nov., 1913, the views of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Lala Lajpat Rai, C. F. Andrews, Hirendra Nath Datta, M. E. Sadler, H. H. Asquith, P. C. Ray, E. B.

Havell, R. N. Mudhalkar, Harold Cox, Ramsay Macdonald, Sister Nivedita, Khawja Salimullah, F. G. E. Spring, to mention only a few, were presented to the readers for discussion among themselves. The Editor also presented his thoughts and views in this portion from time to time. Sometimes lengthy articles also were published in this section in the closing years of the Dawn Magazine, e.g., “Crying Need for a Movement in favour of the Artizan Classes” (Oct.-Dec., 1910 and Feb., 1911), “The Influence of European Civilization on Indian Arts and Crafts (Jan., Mar., May, 1911) etc.

Researches in Ancient Indian History and Culture

But by far the most important part of the magazine in its third phase was the Indiana portion which was devoted to a discussion of things Indian in a regular and systematic manner. Economic and sociological studies were continued in this phase as in the previous one, but nothing commanded greater attention at this the last phase of the Dawn than historical researches and investigations. It is not generally known that Satis Chandra Mukherjee was one of the most serious researchers in Indian history, ancient, medieval and modern. His historical papers published in the Dawn Magazine were numerous. But the most important paper that he contributed to the magazine in its third phase was entitled “Swadeshi India or India without Christian Influences” which may well serve as a model of historical research even fifty years after. There was a prevailing opinion among the Christian missionaries and the Christian people that “everything that is worth having in India has been derived from English rule”, and that among the most potent causes of the opening of the Indian mind were reckoned “Christian Teachings”, “Christian philanthropy” and “the action of the Christian Government” or, in brief, “Christian influences”. Again, in Lux Christi, An Outline Study of India, A Twilight Land by C. A. Wilson, published by Messrs Macmillan & Co., it was stated: “It should be borne in mind that the mighty systems of paganism in India whether Hindu, Buddhist or
Muhomedan are alike destitute of all those fruits of Christianity which we often term charitable, philanthropic, benevolent. It was to meet the above insinuation in general and the above missionary opinion in particular, that the challenging monograph was written by Satischandra. It was powerfully conceived and boldly executed. The paper was published in no less than sixteen issues of the journal from July, 1909 to October, 1911 and altogether covered 123 pages of the magazine, Royal size. In this documentary paper the Editor of the journal clearly and forcibly demonstrated the greatness of India with special reference to her charitable, philanthropic and benevolent organisations such as hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages or asylums for the leper, the blind and the deaf in India from the 3rd century B.C. to the 18th century A.D., that is, before the Christian influences were operative in India. The paper constituted a crushing reply to the wild allegation or insinuation of some Christian writers.

Himself a great researcher and powerful writer, Satis Chandra Mukherjee also inspired his pupils to carry on intensive studies and investigations into historical subjects. According to Benoy Kumar Sarkar, it was Satischandra who first conceived the importance of historical research about "Greater India", used the students of the Dawn Society to such categories of thought and inspired them to carry on investigations into the extra-Indian developments of Indian civilisation. Under his inspiring guidance, his pupil, Satis Chandra Guha, wrote an article on "The Stirring Story of a Great Swadeshi Industry: India as a Maritime Power" (Aug., 1908) under the nickname of "Sehangal". As a Professor of History in the Bengal National College at that time, Radha Kumud Mookerji naturally began to devote himself more systematically to such discussions. Important chapters of his later valuable work, viz., "The History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity" (London, 1912) were being written out in this mental background and published in the Modern Review in course of the years 1909-10. Benoy Kumar

Sarkar has observed in the *Baithake* that it was in this book of Radha Kumud Mookerji that one encounters for the first time the use of “Greater India” as a historical category.

In Satischandra’s imagination the unity of India in the midst of her diversity was a fundamental reality and he inspired his pupil Radha Kumud Mookerji to produce the paper on “The Wonderful Unity of India: A Deeper View” (January, 1909). The writer of this paper emphasised on the strength of ample facts and figures the fundamental unity of India in the midst of her immensity and variety, and that unity, argued the author, was not wholly the product of British rule, but had a proud heritage behind it. This historical paper was a valuable contribution to Indian nationalism, and was subsequently published as a brochure entitled “The Fundamental Unity of India” (London, 1914), with an Introduction by Ramsay Macdonald.

Haran Chandra Chakladar was also a very keen researcher in Ancient Indian History and during the period of 1910-13 enriched the *Dawn Magazine* by his scholarly historical writings. His papers on “Maritime Activity and Enterprise in Ancient India: Intercourse and Trade by Sea with China” (May-Aug., 1910, Feb., May, Aug.-Sept. 1911, Feb.-March, 1912) and “Ship-Building and Maritime Activity in Bengal” (Sept.-Oct., 1910, Mar.-April, 1911 and Sept., 1912) were outstanding contributions. These articles attracted at that time the serious notice of many Indian scholars and patriots. In a leading editorial article the *Indian Mirror*, edited by Narendra Nath Sen, observed on June 5, 1910: “We specially commend to the notice of our readers the series of articles which have been appearing in the *Dawn and Dawn Society’s Magazine* on the ‘Maritime Activity and Enterprise in Ancient India’, etc. The second instalment, reproduced in our issue of Thursday last (i.e., June 2, 1910), is the most interesting and valuable of the series. The writer, Babu Haran Chandra Chakladar, M.A., deserves much credit for his laborious researches, and the Indian public ought to be deeply grateful to him for giving it the result of his labours. We wish all graduates of the Calcutta University could take a leaf out of the book of this enterprising writer, and direct their attention to useful
antiquarian researches which are likely to bring into view the lost and forgotten chapters of Indian History.” In a like manner the second serial paper (i.e., on “Ship-Building and Maritime Activity in Bengal”) drew the notice of Prof. Vidhushekar Sastri whose controversy with Mr. Chakladar illustrates the kind of reaction that the latter produced on contemporary Bengali scholarship. Altogether, the historical writings of Radha Kumud Mookerji and Haran Chandra Chakladar did a sort of a pioneering work in these phases of Indian civilisation and opened up many forgotten chapters of Indian history before the educated classes.

Another brilliant pupil of Satischandra was Rabindra Naranjan Ghose who also contributed many critical and historical papers to the Dawn Magazine in its third phase. Among his papers the more important were those on “India's Literary Wealth: A Connected Story of Her Libraries from the very Earliest Times Downwards” (April-June, 1909, Jan. and April, 1910), “Indian Nationalism and Indian Art” (May, 1910), “Indian Civilisation and Indian Nationalism” (Dec., 1910) and “The Civilisation of Northern India: A Contribution to the Study of Hindu-Moslem Relations” (May-July, Oct., Dec., 1911). These writings bear eloquent testimony to the author's deep study and careful thinking and constitute valuable contributions to Indian historical scholarship as well as to Indian nationalism. Again, in 1912 was published his illuminating article on “Interpretation of Indian Art in the Light of Indian Literary Records” (April-May) which at once drew the admiring notice of an eminent critic like E. B. Havell?

It behoves us to mention here the name of Benoy Kumar Sarkar who later became a prolific writer on varied aspects of world culture. He was also an earnest researcher in those days and he has frankly confessed his indebtedness to Satis Chandra Mukherjee. During 1907-13 his researches were carried on in Pedagogics as embodied in Siksha-Vijnaner Bhumika (1910) or Introduction to the Science of Education (1913). A fine speci-

27. The Dawn Magazine, June 1912.
men of his historical research was embodied in his "The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind" (London, 1912). In this work, the author attempted "to survey, not historically but according to the philosophico-comparative method, the phenomena of civilisation and point out the laws or generalisations that may be deduced out of the facts of universal history" and emphasised the vital necessity of including "the whole of human life" within the broad sweep of historical study. Although none of these writings appeared in the Dawn Magazine, yet each one of them was inspired by the milieu of the National Council of Education in which Satischandra's personality was a dominant factor. It may be noted incidentally that during this period of the third phase of the Dawn, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Radha Kumud Mookerji and Rabindra Narayan Ghose had been putting up for sometime in the same house with Satischandra and under the latter's personal supervision.

PAPERS ON INDIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Another aspect of Satischandra's creative journalism was connected with the movement for a "better appreciation and better recognition of Indian Art both at the hands of the people and the Government", which was conspicuously noticeable after the formal declaration of His Majesty George V at the Coronation Durbar (Dec. 12, 1911) that Delhi was to be the new metropolis of the Indian Empire. The Government of India had hitherto been "quite unsympathetic to Indian art-traditions" and advocated, generally speaking, the European style of architecture in the construction of official buildings in this country. When the question of the construction of the Victoria Memorial Hall was considered in 1901 by the India Government headed by Lord Curzon, "the utmost concession to Indian sentiment that was paid" was that the great building, intended to be the "Taj of the Twentieth Century", should be constructed of "Indian marble", but the design and plan of this architectural monument were to be in the "European Style". And the argument that was produced by Curzon why the Indian style of
architecture should not be preferred to the European was that "Calcutta was a European city and an Indian style would be inappropriate for the building".

This utterance of Curzon was however an expression of the old doctrine of British policy which insisted on the "paramount need of British associations for the metropolis of the Indian Empire". That the political capital of India could ever become connected with a city like Delhi which was wholly Indian in atmosphere, in memories and surroundings, had hitherto been "foreign to British conception of things". His Majesty George V's declaration at the Coronation Durbar (Dec. 12, 1911) that "from this time forth, Delhi shall be the capital of our Indian Empire" was, therefore, looked upon by many people in this country and abroad as marking a new "departure from the traditions of the British Government" and/or "complete dislocation of settled official habits", to use the very words of Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State for India. High hopes were raised in many quarters regarding the possibility of reviving and developing the best traditions of the native Indian Art through the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. His Imperial Majesty on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the new capital sounded a note of caution when he said (Dec. 15, 1911): "It is my desire that the planning and designing of the public buildings to be erected will be considered with the greatest deliberation and care, so that the new creation may be in every way worthy of this ancient and beautiful city". Earlier in another speech on January 30, 1906 the same authority, while in India as the Prince of Wales, had expressed himself in feeling terms in favour of the Indian craftsmen and artisans: "The Princess of Wales and myself have greatly admired their work at various places on our journey, and I am heartily in favour of any movement that may either tend to improve the handicrafts of India or raise the social position of the artisan" who formed in his view, "one of the most deserving and most important classes of the Indian People". Satischandra made effective use of such statements in his appeal to the Executive in this country to give effect to the declared intentions of His Majesty,
which meant in the circumstances the amelioration of the degraded lot of the Indian craftsman and artisan who, broadly speaking, represented “the creative genius” of the country. He, therefore, pointed out that “the new architectural works that were to be raised at Delhi will give an opportunity to the Government to carry out one of the earnest wishes of the King-Emperor,—namely, ‘to show sympathy with the artisans of India’—if instead of the European style of designing, the Indian style be adopted at Delhi in connexion with the new buildings”.

This vital point was also emphasised with great force even by some leading men of England at that time, including Ramsay Macdonald and E. B. Havell. Mr. Macdonald in a letter to the London Daily Chronicle expressed his great anxiety for the proper preservation of Indian architectural beauty and tradition, and gave the following warning: “As a political move, the removal of the capital to Delhi may be good or it may be bad, but it is to be hoped that the very greatest efforts will be made to prevent the destruction of the architectural beauty and the historical feeling of the place by those ugly erections in which the British Government in India appear to delight to do its work... Our white-washed barrack-rooms are still cheek-by-jowl with some of the finest pieces of Shah Jahan architecture”. Mr. Havell also came out with a timely letter of warning in the London Times (Dec. 22, 1911), bitterly criticising the “Philistine indifference” of the Public Works Department of the Indian Government “to the interests of art”, and strongly advocating a revision of the Government’s architectural policy as well as the adoption of the Indian style of architecture in connection with the proposed buildings at Delhi.

Thus the Dawn Magazine in its final phase (1912-13) began to function as a mighty vehicle for the propagation of Indian art-ideals and architectural traditions. Every issue of the journal from January, 1912 was devoted to lengthy discussions of surpassing interest, bearing on Indian art-traditions. The Editor remained in constant touch with such leading authorities on Indian art and architecture as Mr. E. B. Havell, Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy and Major J. B. Keith whose thoughts on the
subject were frequently published in the journal. He himself made several outstanding contributions on the same subject during 1912-13. In fact the object of the Editor was at this stage to create a sort of a regular movement in favour of Indian art and architecture and to press upon the Government the supreme importance of "the adoption of an Indian style of architecture in the new creations at Delhi" and of "the continuation and maintenance of Indian tradition of workmanship". In a lengthy article on "Indian Craftsman and the New Delhi" published in the two consecutive issues of the *Dawn Magazine* (May-June, 1911), Satischandra's contention was that "having regard to the anarchy and chaos which has characterised the arts generally and architecture in particular in England, or for the matter of that in the whole of the West, during the last two or three centuries, it would be in the highest degree desirable from every point of view, for the Government of this country to seek to profit by the traditions of craftsmanship still existing in India, and to initiate a line of progress which would be of the greatest help not only to India, but also to Europe, distracted, as she is, through the loss of a consecutive artistic tradition."

Such regular and systematic writings of the *Dawn Magazine* on the subject of Indian art and architecture created a sort of a stir in India as well as abroad. In a letter to the Editor of that journal, dated Switzerland, 24th September, 1912, Major J. B. Keith observed: "You have commenced a work with which I am in entire sympathy, and for the success of which I devoutly pray. My idea has always been that if the people of India really took up the cause of their old and beautiful arts the battle would be more than half won". Mr. Keith was one of the staunchest advocates of Indian art and architecture and had espoused the cause of the 'Native Architect' of India as early as 1894 in his brochure on "A Plea for an Oriental and Subject Race". In another letter dated December 10, 1912, he condemned "the proposal to prepare buildings for the

Government in the European Renaissance Style of Architecture” as “a projected act of vandalism, the worst I have known in India”. He wrote further in that letter: “My devout hope is that Government will reconsider this before it is too late, for it is deceived on the subject. And I hope every lover of a beautiful, traditional and living art such as we have in India will enter a righteous protestation. No other country that I am aware of in the East has a traditional Art, nor in the West either. It would be a flagrant injustice to the Native Architect and to my old friends, the mason and craftsmen, and a fine illustration of the extent to which Europeanisation is being carried.” Thus the movement in favour of a better recognition of Indian art and architecture by the Government of India acquired such importance that on January 22, 1913, an influential journal like the London Morning Post in a leading article advocated the claims of indigenous architecture of India in the contemplated constructions at Delhi, and observed that “there does still exist in India, despite official influence and the assiduous discouragement of the Public Works Department, a living tradition of art and craftsmanship”. The same influential journal again on June 28, 1913 published another long editorial which was a “remarkable defence of the claims of indigenous Indian craftsmanship” with special reference to the building of New Delhi. Next on July 21, 1913 Mr. F. O. Oertel, a distinguished officer of the Public Works Department, critically discussed at a meeting of the East India Association, London, the suitability of Indian architecture for modern requirements and emphatically observed: “I have now completely come round to the view that salvation for India lies in the adoption of some form of Oriental architecture which has grown up in the country, and is most suited to its climatic and other conditions”. His statements are a pointer to the fact that even the Public Works Department, which had been hitherto specially unsympathetic to the claims of indigenous

art and architecture, could not escape the influence of the new thought-movement in which Satis Chandra Mukherjee, in collaboration with Havell and Keith, played such an important part.

PAPERS ON HARMONIUM IN INDIAN MUSIC

Again, during 1910-12, Satis Chandra Mukherjee promoted the cause of Indian Music by himself writing critical articles on the said theme and by publishing writings of Fox Strangways, A. K. Coomarswamy and others on Indian Music. In an article on "The Place of the Harmonium in Our Homes" Mukandi Lal, one of the student correspondents of the Dawn Magazine, deprecated the popular use of European instruments like harmonium, gramophone etc. in Indian music. In the writer's view, such use meant "the establishment of machinery to the exclusion of man", destroying the sweet melodies of the musician. This article before long provoked criticism from the pen of Mr. C. Tirumalayya Naidu, a well-known Madrasi writer on musical subjects, who wrote an article in defence on the use of harmonium under the same title: "The Harmonium in Our Homes." At this stage the Editor of the Dawn Magazine came forward with his own views on the subject. The main points raised by Mukandi Lal, i.e. the unsuitability of the use of (tempered) "keyed instruments" like the harmonium, organ and piano and the suitability of the "stringed instruments" like the violin or the Vina in Indian music—found favour with the Editor who quoted extracts from authorities on music, Indian and European, in support of this view. The controversy between Mukandi Lal and Mr. Naidu with notes from the Editor of the Dawn stimulated such a keen interest among the reputed experts on Indian music as to evoke articles from the pen of Mr. Fox Strangways and Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy on the subject. Mr. Strangways, an European musical expert and also an authority on Indian music, expressed his views in a long letter written to the Editor of the Dawn which was published

33. The Dawn Magazine, March, 1911.
in the July, 1911 issue of the magazine. Conscious of the vital limitations and imperfections of the use of harmoniums in Indian music, Mr. Strangways, in view of the portability, durability and popularity of the harmonium in India, advocated an improved type of harmoniums, fitted with extra keys, to serve the special needs of Indian music. In the concluding paragraph he observed: "Indian music has been undoubtedly the most highly developed melodic system in the world; but it is perishing. Well, that is the appointed law, and death may be only another form of life. It does not seem certain that contact with the West and the changes that must bring need be detrimental to the music of the East, if it will absorb what is good and make it its own, not take it blindly without questioning. The only other course is to reject in toto such things as the Harmonium and try to reconstitute itself on the old lines." The unsuitability of harmoniums in Indian music was, however, stressed point by point by Dr. Coomarswamy in an article published in the July, 1911 issue of The Dawn, in which the writer thus concludes: "I do not think there is anything to be said for the harmonium as a musical instrument. There can be little doubt that its increasing popularity amongst the middle classes is making more and more difficult the task of preserving existing Indian music, and equally more difficult, the necessary and right kind of change and development without which there would inevitably be, not merely stagnation, but degeneration." The harm produced by the use of foreign instruments like the harmonium or piano in Indian music was

34. A. H. Fox Strangways in his book on "The Music of Hindostan" (Oxford, 1914, pp. 163-164) was more emphatic in his opinions against the use of harmonium in Indian music whose grace-notes would be lost with the application of that foreign instrument. His observations were as follows: "Hence the serious menace to Indian music of the harmonium, which has penetrated already to the remotest parts of India. It dominates the theatre, and desolates the hearth; and before long it will, if it does not already, desecrate the temple. Besides its deadening effect on a living art, it falsifies it by being out of tune with itself. This is a grave defect, though its gravity can be exaggerated; it could also be lessened by a revised tuning. A worse fault is that it is a borrowed instrument constructed originally to minister to the less noble kind of music of other lands. It has taken a century to invent and perfect the pianoforte; if she must have the fatal facility of a keyed instrument, India could well spare a century or two for inventing something that should do justice to her music."
stressed by Mr. Albert Grau, an Associate of the "All-India Academy of Music" at Bombay, in course of his two letters dated 12.9.1912 and 14.10.1912, respectively addressed to the Secretary, Poona Gayan Samaj, and the Editor of the Dawn. In both these letters he asked the Indians to keep their music "as pure as possible from foreign influences". Thus it is evident that in the controversy about the use of "keyed instruments" in Indian music at the beginning of this century Satischandra as the Editor of the Dawn played an important role, first by publishing considered opinions of musical experts on the subject, and secondly, by focussing people's attention on the theme by his lengthy and dispassionate editorial comments.

**THE DAWN THROUGH CONTEMPORARY EYES**

Thus the *Dawn* in its third and final phase was remarkable in its thought-contents and in its effective influence on the country. Late in 1908 Satis Chandra Mukherjee had withdrawn from the Bengal National College and addressed himself wholeheartedly to the editing and publishing of his magazine. Krishnadas Sinha Roy, one of his pupils (who later became for sometime the Private Secretary of Gandhi), was chosen as his personal assistant and remained connected with the despatching section of the magazine, while Satis Chandra Guha, another pupil (who later edited a bibliographical journal, viz, the *Indiana*, from Benares and became the Curator of Santineketan Kala-Bhavan), was appointed the Manager of the journal. They remained connected with the *Dawn Magazine* throughout its third phase (Sept. 1907-Nov. 1913), and according to them, no less than 2000 copies of the *Dawn* were sold every month during this period. In 1912-13 its circulation further increased and there were about 2500 subscribers of the magazine. The late Rai Bahadur Matilal Ganguli (who became an important

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35. The *Dawn Magazine*, Oct. and Dec., 1912, Part III.
36. Swami Prajnanananda, the noted musical expert and author of *Sangit O Sanskriti* (Music and Culture) and *Rag O Rup* (Melody and Form), considers the articles on Indian music in the *Dawn Magazine* as extremely valuable in the history of modern Indian music.
The Dawn

officer in the India Government's Finance Department and was in the Currency Office a colleague of C. V. Raman, later on the world renowned scientist) records in his unpublished "Smriti-Katha" that in those days leading men in the various provinces of India were regular subscribers of the Dawn, including Matilal Nehru. He states further that the copies of the Dawn for each issue were also regularly sent to the Manchester Guardian and other foreign journals and that even some of the Englishmen became the subscribers of the magazine. When George V re-visited India in 1911 in connection with the Coronation Durbar, the complete set of the Dawn Magazine for the years 1910-1911 was presented to the Emperor through Col. Wigram, then acting as Assistant Private Secretary and later becoming the Private Secretary to His Majesty. Mr. Wigram, in a letter to Mr. Ganguli, spoke of the Dawn Magazine in high terms.

In conclusion it is proper to observe that the Dawn in its various phases from 1897 to 1913 operated as a powerful organ of Indian Nationalism. Few Indian journals of that time played such a significant role in stimulating our national consciousness, and hardly any other magazine identified itself so fully and completely with the higher intellectual aspects of the national movement as the Dawn. Three contemporary appraisals are quoted below:

(i) "As far as we are aware, this is the only journal that strenuously sets itself to enlighten its readers throughout the vast peninsula of the customs, traditions, geography and archaeology of other provinces and other peoples. To us its section styled 'INDIANA' is always of special interest. More of India's past greatness and present possibilities are to be learnt in it than in the pages of other specially historical and economical journals" (The Mysore Review, March, 1909).

(ii) "A man who knows nothing about India, and cares still less for her, is sure to become a zealous patriot if he is an Indian, or an ardent admiring lover if he is a foreigner, even after perusing one issue of this ably conducted Magazine" (The South Indian Mail, August 9, 1909).
(iii) "The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine distinctly belongs to that class of periodical literature which may be regarded as a mental and moral asset to the younger generation. Unpretentious in appearance, chaste and dignified in style and brimful of the most valuable information, it is doing an enormous service to the educated portion of the Indian community. If anybody wants to have an accurate idea of genuine Swadeshi activities in different parts of India, he has only to procure a copy of the Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine and to pore over its contents" (The Indian Mirror, June 5, 1910).
The Dawn Society of Calcutta fills an important place in the history of Indian Nationalism. It was founded in July, 1902 in the city of Calcutta, the home of so many cultural movements, by Satis Chandra Mukherjee who was at once a dreamer and a practical organiser capable of creating institutions on new lines.¹

Towards the close of the 19th century the limitations of the system of University education in our country became glaring to all thinking minds. It was increasingly felt that the ushering in of the new age ultimately depended upon a new system of education. "It is man-making education all round," said Vivekananda in 1897, "that we want." His doctrine of creative manhood was a soul-inspiring force for Young India at that time. The pioneering work in the field of educational reconstruction was undertaken by Mrs. Annie Besant who founded the central Hindu College at Benares in 1899(?). But the movement struck its roots deeply in the soil of Bengal where it blossomed into many institutions of national education. Education in those days was "over-literary, all-too-academic, unscientific and un-industrial." Its defects lay, in the words of Aurobindo, in "its calculated poverty and insufficiency, its anti-national character, its subordination to the Government and the use made of that subordination for the discouragement of patriotism and the inculcation of loyalty." Nor was this all. Even worse than this was the fact that education was received by the students as passive instruments and cultivated through cramming.

¹ That the Dawn Society was founded in July, 1902 is clearly mentioned in the "Abstract of the Accounts of the Dawn Society" during 1902-05 as published in the Dawn Magazine (July, 1905, Part IV, p. 1).
This fundamental limitation of the prevailing University education drew the forcible notice of even the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, who in his capacity as the Chancellor observed (Convocation Speech, February 15, 1902): "The great fault of education as pursued in this country is that knowledge is cultivated by the memory instead of by the mind, and that aids to the memory are mistaken for implements of the mind." He further stated that "education is a very different thing from instruction" and that "knowledge is not collection of neatly-assorted facts like the specimens in glass-cases in a museum . . . What you have to do is not to stuff the mind of your pupil with the mere thoughts of others, excellent as they may be, but to teach him to use his own. One correct generalisation drawn with his own brain is worth a library full of secondhand knowledge."

This Convocation Speech of Lord Curzon at once attracted the attention of Satis Chandra Mukherjee in whose judgment it contained "ample materials for serious reflection and a guide in the direction of strenuous effort". It set him to seriously consider how to work out a solution of the educational problem. Already he had felt keenly that education to be natural and fruitful must be rooted in the soil and be a transmitter of the race-tradition. He expressed himself in a lengthy paper entitled, "An Examination into the Present System of University Education in India and a Scheme of Reform," which was a veritable charter of educational reconstruction. It was complete in 62 pages of the Royal size of the Dawn and published in three consecutive issues, April to June, 1902. This article was written by Satischandra in the light of Lord Curzon's Convocation Speech and in the background of the work and investigations of the Indian Universities' Commission to which it had originally been submitted for careful consideration as an independent brochure. Here he made a most careful and systematic study of all the relevant questions connected with University education and suggested a scheme of reform. A mere enumeration of the sub-sections under which he analysed the

2. The Dawn, March, 1902, pp. 227-34.
problems of education gives the reader an adequately fair idea of the comprehensiveness of his treatment. The sub-sections were the following: The University and the College: How they are Related; University-Examiner and College-Teacher; Qualifications of the Recognised College-Teacher; The Whole Case for University Reform in India; Course of High-Standard Teaching by the University Recognised College-Teacher; Conditions of Work for the University-Recognised College-Teacher; Fallacies and Objections; Conditions of Training under a Recognised Teacher; 'The Qualifying Certificate'; The Tutorial System; 'Previous Course of Instruction' for Honour Candidates; Some General Principles; 'Previous Course of Instruction' for Honour Candidates: the Scheme continued; 'Previous Course of Instruction' for Honour Candidates: University Examination in History; Qualifications of the B.A. Degree Candidate; and Supplemental Rules for the Entrance and F.A. Examinations.

Next, in June, 1902 the Report of the Indian Universities' Commission together with the Note of Dissent by Gooroo Dass Banerjee was published, drawing in its train bitter criticism as well as constructive comments both from the Indian Press and platform. As Benoy Kumar Sarkar records: "When the Universities' Commission Report was published in 1902, the most uncompromising criticism was offered by Mukherjee through the medium of these two dailies (referring to the Bengalee and the Amrita Bazar Patrika) and always in cooperation with Gooroodass Banerjee". Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar informs the present writers that many articles of Satis Babu were published editorially at that time in the Bengalee and the Amrita Bazar Patrika. Internal evidences of the Dawn also corroborate this point. Among other celebrities offering then criticism and constructive suggestions on the Government's educational policy, the more important were Rabindra Nath Tagore, Brajendra Nath Seal, Matilal Ghose, Surendra Nath Banerjea, Narendra Nath Sen, Ramananda

Chatterjee, Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, Heramba Chandra Moitra, Jagadish Chandra Bose and Mohit Chandra Sen. The cry for an overhauling of the whole system of University education became loud in the air. Satischandra did not rest content with a mere theoretical discussion of the educational problem, but decided to take some tangible steps in the realm of action. The precise outcome of this venture was the foundation of the Dawn Society which derived its name from the title of the journal, the *Dawn*, published and edited by Satischandra himself from 1897. The inaugural meeting was held before a large gathering in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution, now called the Vidyasagar College, under the chairmanship of Justice Gooroo Dass Banerjee*.

**LOCATION**

The Dawn Society was located in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution where two rooms in the second storey were lent by the College authorities “for the exclusive use of the Society” and two lecture-halls, each fitted to provide sitting room for over 200 students, were also lent to the Society “for use in the mornings and in the evenings” for the purpose of Society’s Weekly Classes, Public Meetings and so on*.

The Society had as its permanent President Nagendra Nath Ghose, the Principal of the Metropolitan Institution, and Editor, the *Indian Nation*, while Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Editor of the *Dawn*, was its General Secretary*.

Mr. Ghose was a distinguished educationist of that time and enjoyed great reputation for his mastery of English, both as a writer and speaker. His whole-hearted support to Satischandra in his novel experiment on education through the Dawn Society was no mean factor in the upbuilding and organisation of that institution.

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AIMS AND OBJECTS

Ideologically, the programme of the Dawn Society was much larger than that of the older institution, the Bhagavat Chatuspathi which Satischandra had founded as early as 1895. While the older institution was set up on orthodox Hindu lines but allied to the doctrine of industrial training, and intended to be a residential academy, the Society was brought into being to supplement the admitted deficiencies of the system of University education.

In the first place, the Dawn Society sought to impart religious and moral instruction to the college students. This kind of instruction was not given at that time in any college under the University. The sponsors of the Society consequently thought it desirable to undertake this responsibility upon their shoulders. Character-building thus became the most important item in the ideology of the Dawn Society.

Secondly, the Society sought to supplement even the ordinary academic education imparted in the various colleges. Nagendra Nath Ghose observes that "the literary education which is given in our colleges is imparted in a way which is not always desirable; at any rate, it is received by the students in a way which is not always desirable, and that we may describe as entire passivity on the part of the students". It was, therefore, intended by the organisers of the Dawn Society that under it the students should be trained in a manner as to enable them to function as self-conscious agents in the classes. The students were to be trained "in the methods of assimilating knowledge, of digesting knowledge, of writing out the substance of what they hear, and of discussing the subjects on which they have heard lectures". Such a method was hardly pursued in literary education in any college of the time, whether private or government.

But the fundamental ideal that inspired this double line of action was to train up the students as patriots and workers for

the country's cause. Intense nationalism was the basis and foundation of the Society.

SYSTEM OF WORK AND TRAINING

(a) The Two Weekly Classes

The Dawn Society's programme of work included from its inception the holding of its two weekly classes—one called the General Training Class, and the other the Moral and Religious Training Class. The former was held every Sunday from 4:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. under Satis Chandra Mukherjee, the General Secretary, who lectured in English*. Speeches were delivered on a variety of topics, including Indian religion, philosophy, literature, history, arts and industries. Discussions were usually conducted on a comparative basis; Eastern ideals and institutions were thrown in bold relief side by side. But whatever might be the subject for discussion, Satischandra laid in course of his lectures a permanent stress on moral and spiritual values as central to a good, creative life. In course of his animated talks he analysed the things of national interests and indirectly preached and promoted the cult of service for the Motherland. A zealous patriot and an "inspired fanatic" of Vivekananda brand, he threw himself heart and soul into the task of moulding the lives of our youngmen. With him 'patriotism', 'self-sacrifice' and 'duty' were some of the constant watchwords, and the pupils of the Society often unconsciously imbibed that spirit from their teacher whose idealism was infectious as it were.

The Moral and Religious Training Class was held every Friday from 5:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. under Pandit Nilkantha Goswami who lectured in Bengali on the Gita. His expositions were marked by a limpid lucidity and were calculated to inspire the minds of the youthful members with the spirit of self-sacrifice and duty. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar who was an old member of the Dawn Society observed in this connection:

*The Dawn, September, 1903, p. 63.
“The expositions of Pandit Nilkantha Goswami were extremely sweet in their appeal and their spirit entered right into our heart of hearts. Every day the same ideal was preached in different ways and that was—'body is nothing, soul is nothing, death is nothing; the only thing that counts in life is duty for its own sake or the categorical imperative of the Gita'”. Thus both the classes of the Society were utilised for effecting a moral and intellectual transformation of the youthful minds. The regular holding of these classes was thus the first feature in the Society's system of work and training.

(b) The Attempts at Assimilation

The second feature of the Society's system of work was that both in the Moral and Religious Training Class and in the General Training Class proper steps were taken to encourage the students to assimilate the ideas disseminated in the classes. They were required regularly to write out the substance of what they had heard and to discuss what they had already been taught. They were provided with certain Exercise Books, free of charges, immediately after lectures to take down notes and later to write down the substance of them in those Books called the Record-Books. The Record Books being the property of the Society, they had to be properly issued by the Literary Secretary and returned to the same officer within two days of issue. The General Secretary of the Society then looked over the Record-Books, guided the members in their preparation and submitted the same to the Permanent President (N. N. Ghose) for occasional inspection. Extracts from these Books were also published in 1903 in the Dawn Society's Calendar for 1902-03 and later in the Dawn Magazine since September, 1904. Of the quality of these writings suffice it to record what “a
competent judge” like Mr. N. N. Ghose observed in July, 1904 in a public meeting presided over by Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee: “I have looked over several Record-Books of this year and of previous years and I can say from long experience as a teacher that these exercises are by no means such as any ordinary student may be able to turn out, without special preparation. When we give such questions to our college classes, they either reproduce what we have told them, or what they would find in the meaning book. They cannot give the substance in such a well-digested form. They simply depend upon their memory and thus not only spoil their intellect by disuse and misuse, but also considerably reduce their chance of success even in the University Examinations.” Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee also subscribed on that occasion from his personal experience to the truth of Mr. Ghose’s observations. “To his testimony,” said Banerjee, “I may add my humble testimony not at first hand as his, but not quite second-hand either, for I myself have gone, through curiosity, through some of the records of the work, and I see that they reflect credit not only upon those who have performed these exercises, but also on those who assisted and helped and trained them up in performing these. But if you want even better testimony than that, you can have it in your own testimony,—you may go through these exercises and you will find every word of what my friend, Mr. Ghose, has said, fully borne out”12.

(c) Discussion Classes

The third feature of the Society’s educational scheme was the holding of Discussion Classes among members themselves. From time to time on a class day the students present were divided into small groups (usually groups of ten). Each group was provided with its own member-Chairman appointed by the General Secretary who put to the whole body certain questions arising out of the lectures delivered. The members of each group were then asked to discuss among themselves

informally. Each member had to make a note in his Record Book of the discussions held in his own group, while the President of each group was to submit an official report to the General Secretary. The plan of work under this head was not fully carried out during the first six months of the Society's career. But after 1903 it was regularly given effect to. These Discussion Classes constituted the most important part in the system of the Society's training in which individual initiative and freedom of thought were given a free play. The students of the Society were even required from time to time to prepare questions for the Discussion Classes. The question papers were framed by them on the basis of certain lectures delivered in the two Weekly Classes, and discussions were then held by them on the basis of those question-papers after they had been approved by the General Secretary. These question-papers were also printed. A concrete illustration is offered below.

At a committee meeting of the student members held on August 23, 1904, twenty separate question-papers were framed by twenty members. Next, at a second meeting (Aug. 25) a final paper on the basis of these question-papers was prepared by a sub-committee of thirteen students including Ganapati Ray, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Rabindra Narayan Ghose and Rajendra Prasad. This was then revised and issued by the General Secretary on September 4, 1904. Such questions were also issued from time to time in the following year. A few interesting samples of such questions as prepared by the members of the Dawn Society and discussed in the Society's Discussion Classes are given below:

1. (a) A person is tempted to steal something belonging to a neighbour. Here is a "discord" between his selfish interest and the interest of the neighbour. How could this "discord" be removed?

(b) We do not feel any particular pleasure in enjoying the common air, the sunshine and such other things, as, however important to us in life, are accessible to all alike. Why?

(c) Do the above illustrations suggest to you any idea as to the true source of “discord” in life, between man and man, between family and family, or between community and community?

II. (a) The sight of a beautiful woman rouses in the mind a desire for enjoyment; but the sight of our mother fills us with a reverent calm. What makes the difference?

(b) Bring out the precise distinction between the “beautiful” (मधुर) and the “good” (मजल) from the above contrast.

(c) Hence contrast the effects produced on a man’s mind by the contemplation of and homage paid to the ‘मजल’ or the good, as distinguished from the ‘मधुर’ or the beautiful in man, Nature and the world.

(d) Do you suggest that one way of curbing a growing desire for enjoyment would be the contemplation of the “good”? If so, explain the reason or the necessity of your seeking to check such desire.14

III. Is there anything common to the two civilisations—European and Indian—which may be said to be characteristic of both?

IV. (a) Give accurately the meaning of “Work”. What is the popular sense of the term?

(b) Show how the idea of education involves the idea of work. Hence explain the phrase,—“Education through work”. Deduce therefrom that ‘to be instructed is not necessarily to be educated’.

(c) In what manner does ‘education through work’ affect the inner character of the man?

V. (a) Show that a system of cramming and a system of education through work are diametrically opposed. What are the worst effects of a system of cram?

(b) How does ‘cramming’ affect the moral character of the person crammed?

VI. (a) What is the true function of an intellectual class in a community?

(b) What is the effect of the want of education through work among that class?

(c) How does the want of such education affect the entire Society?\(^\text{15}\)

VII. What sort of an ideal do the student community generally have at present? Many students are found to have some ideal which gradually fades away as they advance in life. What is this due to?

VIII. (a) Prove that self-realisation means self-sacrifice.

(b) If the real self of man be his higher self, and self-improvement means the realisation of that self, show that there can be no reasonable ground for feeling pride at self-improvement and that the idea of gain is not implied in it\(^\text{16}\).

From these select samples of Discussion Class questions as prepared by representative committees of Student Members one can have a glimpse into the spirit of the moral and intellectual discipline of the Dawn Society.

(d) Conversation Classes

The fourth feature was the holding of what was called the Conversation Classes which were not confined to students alone. The first meeting of these classes for the fourth session of the Society (first session—July, 1902 to 15th June, 1903; second session—16th June, 1903 to 15th June, 1904; third session—16th June, 1904 to 15th June, 1905) was held in June, 1905. “Visitors were invited to be present and take part in the proceedings”. The whole body of students and members present were divided into separate groups by the Secretary for the purpose of the Conversation-Class meeting for the particular day. “Each group chose its own president by the votes of a majority”. The members of each group had the “liberty to choose their subjects.” The Secretary of the Society had, however, “the power of suggesting one or more subjects which may or may not be accepted by the members of a group.” In all these respects, the Conversation

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Classes of the Dawn Society were different from its Discussion Classes. Another difference between the two Classes lay in the adoption in the Conversation Class of the principle of voting for the determination of the majority as well as the minority opinion. But there were also certain similarities. As in the Discussion Class, so in the Conversation Class also each member of a group was required to enter the substance of the conversation in his "Record Book", each group to separately record in writing the decision of the majority and of the minority on the points discussed, and the President of each group (or any other member of the group specially selected by the Secretary) was to submit to him an account of the proceedings in writing. The Group II of the above-mentioned Conversation Class included the following members: (1) Siddheswar Haldar (in the Chair), (2) Ganapati Roy, (3) Amulya Ratan Chakravarty, (4) Dwijesh Chandra Roy, (5) Benoy Kumar Sarkar, (6) Hara Prasanna Chakravarty, (7) Jatindra Nath Mukherjee and (8) Srish Chandra De. The report of this group indicates clearly how the management of these Conversation Classes was carried on by the students in a thoroughly democratic manner, freedom of speech and freedom of choice of subjects being its characteristic elements. Satischandra sought by means of these Classes to stimulate free thinking among the members and to build up their intellectual life on proper foundations.

(e) Administration

The fifth feature of the scheme of work of the Dawn Society was "to vest the entire administration of the Society (except in the department of the Teaching) in the body of Recognised Members—or the Recognised Section of the Society", which was the Executive Committee, also called the Business Section of the Society. It conducted "the entire affairs of the Society under the supervision of the General Secretary". It sat every Sunday from 5-30 P.M. to 6-30 P.M. under an elected Chairman assisted by other office-bearers. The General Secretary

as the Treasurer of the Dawn Society Fund was one of the members of the Executive Committee and as Treasurer he had the power of submitting resolutions and discussing matters before that Committee but had no power to vote on any measures. As General Secretary, however, he had the vetoing power. In case of any material conflict, final orders lay with the Permanent President.

(f) Social Meetings

The sixth feature of the Society's scheme of education was the holding of Social Gatherings of Members. Apart from General Social Gatherings of Members for the purpose of talking freely and cultivating friendship with one another, there were held occasionally Introduction Meetings presided over by the General Secretary. In these meetings a new member was generally introduced by any other member present who knew the former. The spokesman told the meeting all that he knew of the member's qualifications in the varied relations of his life. Then it was the duty of the selected officers of the Executive Committee "to take down notes of the spokesman's speech and to embody the same in a short paper" which was "then pasted to a paste-board" and was "open to inspection by any member of the Society". Thus, the Social Gatherings of the Dawn Society were important means of increasing knowledge of one another and of fostering solidarity of feelings among the Society's members.

(g) Elections for Awards

The seventh feature was the attempt of the Dawn Society to train its young members "in discovering the best men in their own body on whom their corporate choice should fall as most worthy" to receive the Society's prizes, honours and rewards. The worthy candidates were chosen by election, by the votes of the members themselves. Elections were held separately for the determination of prize-winners and scholarship-winners. The voters were invariably members of the Society "who were able to satisfy conditions of work and
“attendance” as laid down in the Society’s Rules. They were divided into three classes with varying powers:—“one vote of a voter, Class I, being equivalent to two votes of voters, Class II, and to four votes of voters, Class III”\(^\text{19}\). Elections were held separately for separate prizes and scholarships. The voting was in every case secret, and the evils of canvassing and undue influence were guarded against. The first elections of the Dawn Society were held late in the year 1902 under the presidency of Hirendra Nath Datta and at that time the voters included the first two classes only, the third category being a later addition. Since then elections for prizes and scholarships were annually held. The Society’s Annual Elections for 1905 were held on February 25, 1906. The number of voters for those elections were altogether 60 (Class I=20 plus Class II=15 plus Class III=25). Four separate elections were held in the following order:

(a) Dawn Society Scholarship Election  
(b) Dawn Society General Prizes Election  
(c) Hon’ble Mr. Justice Ashutosh Mukherjee’s Special Prizes Election  
(d) Dawn Society’s Competition Gold Medal Election

In the Scholarships Election, the winners were (1) Srish Chandra De (16 votes) and (2) Rajendra Prasad (15 votes) who were respectively awarded stipend of Rs. 5/- and Rs. 4/- per month for one year. The winners in the General Prizes Election were respectively: (1) Jatindra Narayan Ghose (74 votes), (2) Ganapati Roy (71 votes), (3) Kishori Mohan Gupta (71 votes) and (4) Rabindra Narayan Ghose (69 votes)\(^\text{20}\). In the Ashutosh Mukerjee’s Special Prizes Election the winners were: (1) Jatindra Narayan Ghose and (2) Ganapati Roy. Finally, in the Competition Gold Medal Election the winner was Kishori Mohan Gupta (29 votes).

At the Scholarships Election “only the first class members” were “eligible to compete and to give votes”. Similarly, “only

\(^{19}\) The *Dawn Magazine*, March, 1906, Part IV, p. 1.  
\(^{20}\) Jatindra Narayan Ghose was the elder brother of Rabindra Narayan Ghose.
first and second class members” were “eligible to compete at the General Prizes Election; while members of all (three) classes” were “eligible to give votes at the General Prizes Election, and to compete and give votes at the Competition Medal Election”. Again, “only Honours men” (i.e., those who have obtained Honour mark “H” for any kind of special qualification) were “eligible to compete and give votes” at the Ashutosh Mukherjee’s Special Prizes Election. Scholarship winners were, however, “eligible for Special Prizes, but ineligible for the Society’s General Prizes.” The Society’s Elections for 1905 were carried on strictly in accordance with the published rules of the Society21.

(h) Interviews with Elders

The eighth feature of the Society’s system of training was the arrangement for “interview between selected groups of members of the Dawn Society and their elders.” Thus in course of the first term ending on December 4, 1902, two such interviews were arranged. On one occasion twelve representative members of the Society were received by Justice Gooroo Dass Banerjee at his residence. Mr. Kishori Mohan Gupta who was one of the earliest members of the Dawn Society had been a party to that delegation. He informs us that Gooroodass Babu presented to each member of that deputation a copy of the Gita and gave them instructions of a practical kind. Justice Banerjee at that time communicated in a letter to Satischandra his profound joy and satisfaction with the interview he had with the Dawn students and expressed his ardent desire “to meet other members from time to time”. On another occasion fifteen representative members of the Society were cordially received by that distinguished educationist, Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose, who was also the Permanent President of the Dawn Society. During the very first session of its life (1902-03), the Society also arranged for interviews of groups of members with Rabindra Nath Tagore, Hirendra Nath Datta, Jagadish Chandra Bose and Hem

Chandra Mallick at their residences. The General Secretary of the Society not only arranged such interviews with distinguished men, but also himself led the students' delegation in very many instances. Thus the Dawn Society provided the students with the unique opportunity of cultivating personal contacts with the great men of our country. And nothing is more ennobling and morally elevating for the moulding of the life of youngmen than such personal touch with great minds and characters.

(i) Readings

The ninth feature of the Society's system of training consisted in the reading of select books and magazines, both English and Vernacular. All "light literature" and "political newspapers" were ordinarily excluded; but "important cuttings from newspapers" were sometimes kept. The Library remained open every evening for one hour and the books and magazines were mostly lent. By September, 1903 the Library contained 1,200 volumes of books (no books of fiction) and a large collection of magazines.

SOME EXTERNAL LECTURERS

(a) GOOROO DASS BANERJEE

The lecturers of the Dawn Society were drawn from diverse sources. Satischandra himself was the permanent lecturer in the Society's General Training Class, but from time to time distinguished persons were also invited to deliver lectures before the members of the Society. Among them may be noticed Rabindra Nath Tagore, Nagendra Nath Ghose, Durga Charan Vedanta-Sankhya-Tirtha, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya and Sister Nivedita who "were associated with Mukherjee as the 'brains trust', as it were, of the Dawn Society". The connection of Gooroo Dass Banerjee, the doyen of Indian educationists, with the Society was the most affectionate and

23. Ibid: Sept., 1903, p. 64.
intimate conceivable. It was under his presidency that the Dawn Society was brought into being at a public meeting in the Metropolitan Institution in July, 1902, and again it was he who presided over the two Annual Prize Distribution Ceremonies of the Society held in the Calcutta University Institute during 1904-05. The chief reason for this warm collaboration of Gooroodass with Satischandra may be sought in the very fact that the former’s ideas on education were, to a large extent, embodied and materialised in the Dawn Society. In fact, Banerjee’s sympathies for the Society knew no bounds.

(b) RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar observes that the spiritual contact of the Dawn Society with Rabindra Nath Tagore also was of an intimate character. He had himself accompanied many times Satischandra, along with Radhakumud and Rabindranarayan, to the Tagore Salon and held discourses with the Poet on various things in the epoch of the Dawn Society (1902-07). The Poet had found in Satischandra a kindred spirit and in the Dawn Society a large measure of fulfilment of his own ideals on education. Consequently, he became its active patron and collaborator. We are told by Satis Chandra Guha of Benares, the Ex-curator, Santineketan Kala Bhavan, that Rabindranath at one time made a monthly donation of Rupees 10 to the Dawn Society in appreciation of its valuable work. The Poet also encouraged the Dawn students sometimes by his personal presence and charming speeches. In course of the years 1905-06 he delivered several lectures at the Dawn Society on national movements. The substance of these speeches is recorded in the pages of the Dawn and Dawn Society’s Magazine (March and July, 1906, Part III). His speech on the “Swadeshi Movement” as delivered before the Society on February 25, 1906 is an illuminating piece of literature on the period concerned and throws high light not only on the changing character of the Swadeshi

Movement in general, but also on the evolution of the Poet's mind in particular. In that lecture Rabindranath laid special stress on the need for patient toil and sustained sacrifice for the country in that supreme hour of the nation's life. He urged in strong terms both the students and the public not to fritter away their patriotic zeal in mere exciting utterances, but to concentrate more and more on some constructive programme as the Dawn Society had been doing silently and unostentatiously for a pretty long time. Spectacular things are often born in a moment of passion and excitement, but they are often found to be withering away for the lack of sustained nutriment from the soil. So, the Poet pointed out with all the emphasis at his command that for the building up of new institutions on a permanent basis, what is required, above everything else, is the spirit of patient sacrifice and silent suffering for the cherished ideals.

With the outbreak of the Swadeshi Movement which was tantamount to a revolution in India's political thought and technique, commenced a brilliant period of soul-stirring national songs by Rabindranath, in which he gave an undying expression to the religion of patriotism. As we learn from Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Radha Kumud Mookerji, the Dawn students, along with others, were daily taught musical lessons on the national songs of Tagore for sometime in the Swadeshi period under the guidance of Ajit Chakravarty in the Hall of the Metropolitan Institution. Rabindranath himself had sung several national songs at a special meeting of the Dawn Society summoned earlier, perhaps in September or October, 1905.

(c) DINESH CHANDRA SEN

Another inspiring lecturer of the Dawn Society was Dinesh Chandra Sen, the celebrated author of the History of Bengali

25. We got this speech of Rabindranath reprinted in the Ananda Bazar Patrika (Nov. 1, 1953) and in the Itihas quarterly (Nov., 1953), and to the Editors of these journals we offer our gratitude for their kind collaboration.
Language and Literature. An intense nationalist, Dineshchandra spoke on several occasions before the Society’s members. His lectures were calculated to generate in the youngmen a love for Bengali culture and literature and to deepen the historic race-consciousness of the Bengalis. His lectures on the “Educational Problems” as well as on the “Hindu Society in the Ramayana” were published in the *Dawn Magazine* for January and March, 1905. In the former lecture, he discussed the educational problems that confronted the country after the passage of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, stressing the futility of putting any hope in the Government-controlled University education, and making a powerful plea at the same time for the urgency of establishing a National University. In this as well as in other lectures he strongly advocated the cult of self-help which was also the undeclared motto of the Dawn Society. His speech on the “Influence of Vaishnavism and other Religions on Bengali Literature” was published in the *Dawn Magazine* in July, 1906.

(d) BRAHMABANDHAB UPADHYAYA

Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, the stormy petrel of the Swadeshi Movement, was also a stimulating force in the moral and intellectual pattern of the Dawn Society. He delivered his first speech in the Society’s General Training Class sometime in 1904. He analysed in that speech the Eastern culture as compared with the Western, and observed in conclusion that the Hindu religion recognised both the temporal and the spiritual in man and the Indian ideal was but a synthesis of the two. This speech of Brahmabandhab made a deep impression on the youthful audience and one can recapture its spiritual impact on the Society’s members from the observations of Benoy Kumar Sarkar as recorded in the *Baithake*. Another speech delivered by Brahmabandhab on the “Social Ideals of the Hindus” was published in the *Dawn Magazine* in August, 1907. During this period he had been editing that powerful evening daily known as *Sandhya* which triumphantly preached the doctrine of militant nationalism.
It may be noted here that the contact of the Dawn students with Brahmabandhab was even more intimate than this. About June, 1905 Brahmabandhab and Satischandra jointly started a mess, with Radhakumud, Rabindranarayan and Benoykumar as boarders, in the famous building at 16, Cornwallis Street. Brahmabandhab became the Steward of that mess in which Mokshada Charan Shyamadhyai joined later as a boarder. This mess was located in a portion of the first floor of that historic structure which had on its ground floor the celebrated Field and Academy Club, "the Green Room of the Bengali Revolution" of 1905. It was here in this mess under the joint spiritual guardianship of Brahmabandhab and Satischandra that the three devoted Dawn students forming the inner circle of Mukherjee spent months together in the stormy days of the Swadeshi Movement up till June, 1906. Although formally and outwardly the "mess" and the "club" were two different entities, yet personal contacts between the members of these two circles, each great in its own way, were regular and constant.

SISTER NIVEDITA

Another thrilling character that made her mark on the Dawn Society was Sister Nivedita who, under Vivekananda's personal influence, had embraced Hinduism as her religion and India as her sacred homeland. A woman of sharp imagination and intellect, she had the rare understanding of, and insight into, the Indian mind. She identified herself completely with that spirit of resurgent nationalism which burst over Bengal, nay, India, in 1905. She was known to the Dawn students even before her physical appearance in that Society through her analytical writings in the *Dawn*. From 1902 to 1904 she contributed the following papers to that journal: (i) A Study of Indian Caste (Dec., 1902 and Jan., 1903), (ii) Christian Missionary Animadversions on the Position of Women in India (Feb. and May, 1903), (iii) Experiences of Contemporary Maratha and of Parsi Life (Jan., 1904), (iv) The Educational Problems in India (Feb., 1904), and (v) Technical Education in America and Japan (May, 1904).
These writings, although objective and analytical, were nonetheless patriotic through and through.

Nivedita delivered her first speech in the Dawn Society on the subject of “Nationality”, the substance of which was faithfully reported in the Dawn Magazine in November, 1904. In that speech she pointed out clearly and forcibly that “there can be no nationality in a country where the people are always flying at each other’s throats for differences of opinion and sentiment”, and so long as these things continue it must be admitted that the society concerned “has not yet learnt the first lesson of nation-building”. She opined that the Indians were at present merely struggling for a “national life” which was yet to be born in India. Again, in course of 1905, she delivered two other lectures which were reported in the July and September issues of the year of the Dawn Magazine. On one occasion, she spoke on “Indian National Ideals” when she advised the students “to love the soil and water we live in”, “to realise the highest ideal each in his own way”, and “to share in the whole life of humanity—national or international”. On the other occasion, she spoke on the “Family or Country” (August 20, 1905). In that speech she observed: “In India hitherto the highest ideal of moral excellence has been the sacrifice of the individual self and happiness to the well-being of the family”. But that ideal must be forsaken in this new age, the country must be put before the family. “That family ideal is no longer sufficient to nourish and sustain us and has become inadequate to the larger purposes and problems of the country and the nation which are the problems of the present. India has now to equip herself for a new contest, has now to grapple with new problems affecting her as a whole, and not, as of yore the separate, individual family; and this new step has to be taken, if progress is to be sought and stagnation checked.

“Which has the greater claim upon our lives, the family or the country? The decision lies in favour of the latter, and it

27. A Bengali translation of this speech of Nivedita was published by Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghose in the monthly Basumati for Agrahayan, 1359 or Nov., 1952.
requires no deep thought to find out the reasons. For we, as individuals, owe everything to the family to which we belong; but the family owes everything to the country. It is our parents, no doubt, that have given us birth; but it is our country, surely, that has nourished them and the family in its turn. The times have changed, and we have to adapt ourselves to the changed circumstances. The interests of the community can no longer be a matter of sentiment to us, but must settle down into permanent principles of conduct. National feelings have to be aroused and developed, for there are alien forces seeking to check them and if possible to nip them in the bud. In order to develop such feelings India needs a band of unselfish workers willing to serve their country before their families. The times require that we should take a vow not to pass the so-called spiritual life of passivity and non-resistance; but to devote everything and sacrifice everything at the altar of the august Mother that gave birth and shelter to the family,—our country.”

These are but the words of thorough-going nationalism into which the Dawn students had already been trained by the passionate preaching and personal example of Satis Chandra Mukherjee. The ideas and sentiments adumbrated by Nivedita were nothing new or strange in the moral and intellectual outfit of the Dawn Society which had been already surcharged with glowing nationalism. “The nation is greater than the family”,—this was the fundamental spirit that was transmitted to the Dawn students by Satischandra in each of his lectures. In this spiritual climate Nivedita’s message naturally found a deep echo in the soul of the members of the Society with which her loving contact continued till its cessation of activities. It is not for nothing that Benoy Kumar Sarkar has stated that Nivedita “was a guru of the Dawn Society’s youngsters”.

From a notice published in the Bengalee (Nov. 10, 1905) we come to learn that Nivedita would speak at the Dawn Society on Sunday, the 12th November, at 5 P.M. on the “Present Crisis and the Need of a National University”. In 1906 also she occa-

sionally delivered lectures before the Dawn students. This is clear from her letter written to Satischandra in September, 1906 expressing her sincere regret for her inability on medical grounds to lecture before the Dawn Society, but stating at the same time that she had many things to tell the boys. The letter is quoted below.

"Dear Satis Babu,

I am ordered not to lecture again till after October. I am considered to be in some danger of a break-down if I do not take care. I am so very sorry. Please do, you and the boys, forgive me! I was going to say many things to them—but chiefly how all our love and prayers would follow them into their homes this Puja-time during which they will, I know, be the Apostles and Priests of the Mother Herself and Her Cause. These are great days and no one knows what may come.

—Ever most faithfully and regretfully—Nivedita”.

Sister Nivedita used to write occasional letters not only to Satischandra, but sometimes even to senior students of the Dawn Society like Radha Kumud Mookerji. In a long letter by her to Radhakumud dated February 4, 1906, she made a critical analysis of the methods and problems for a historical researcher. The letter was subsequently published in the *Modern Review* for February, 1912.

A further proof of Nivedita’s close contact with the Dawn Society is furnished by the fact that in course of the year 1905 she placed the Vivekananda Gold Medal at the disposal of the Society to be awarded to the best essayist. The General Secretary invited candidates through the *Dawn Magazine* from all parts of India to submit a thesis on one of the six subjects, all having direct bearing on national life or movement, as notified by the Society. Such a notice together with the subjects for thesis was published in the *Dawn Magazine* in November, 1905. Again in 1907, Sister Nivedita placed another Vivekananda Gold Medal at the disposal of the Society to be awarded to the fit

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person on the basis of an all-India essay competition, the subjects of thesis being the same as for the earlier competition. The Dawn Society's notification to that effect was circulated over the signature of the General Secretary of the Society in the March 1907 issue of the magazine.

All these facts taken together unmistakably suggest that there was an intimate collaboration between the Dawn Society and Sister Nivedita. But on the strength of this occasional cultural contact, one is hardly justified, like Girija Sankar Roy Choudhury, in stating that "Nivedita also joined the Dawn Society". She was after all, an external lecturer, like many others, in the Society. Again, it is a clear mistake to think that Satischandra derived "the inspiration for the foundation of the Dawn Society from Nivedita." Equally unwarrantable is the proposition that "the Society became an organ for Nivedita's preaching of revolutionary politics or terrorism". In the scholarly work on "Sri Aurobindo and the Swadeshi Epoch in Bengal" (Calcutta, 1956, pp. 293-295, 475-478), the observations of Sj. Girija Sankar Roy Choudhury, with regard to these three points, are entirely misleading, nay, fallacious (For detailed elucidation of these points see our article on The Dawn Society and Sister Nivedita as published in the Dainik Basumati, Agrahayan 8, 1364 B.S. or Nov. 24, 1957). The doctrine of revolutionary terrorism was the thing farthest removed from the mentality of the Dawn Society in general, and Satischandra in particular. Fervent cultural nationalism of a thorough-going character furnished, no doubt, the spiritual life-blood of the Society. But Satischandra hardly participated in active politics, not to speak of its extremist or revolutionary trends. It is on this account that he could not join Bipin Chandra Pal or Aurobindo Ghose on the political plane. Not that Satischandra lacked moral sympathy for the political movement, but the truth is that active politics was not his concern. His chief plank of work lay in the field of national education as well as industrial regeneration in which his services to the nation were of supreme importance. He was not a politician, but a prophet of nationalism and the system of
training in the Dawn Society faithfully reflects that ideal in a concrete manner.

CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

Unlike the “Society for the Higher Training of Youngmen” or the Calcutta University Institute, founded in August, 1891, the Dawn Society was brought into being entirely on private initiative and had no connection either with the Calcutta University or with the Department of Public Instruction. Its administration was wholly vested in private individuals.

Secondly, the Society was wholly a students’ organisation run in the main by the students themselves, under the able control and guidance of its “earnest and indefatigable Secretary”, Satis Chandra Mukherjee.

Thirdly, the Society was a non-political institute of cultural-nationalism. It was a nursery of patriotism and its “extra-mural” education was calculated to foster in the heart of the students sentiments of nationalism and the spirit of self-sacrifice for the country.

Fourthly, the gratuitous character of the services of the Dawn Society deserves to be mentioned. There was no admission fee nor was there any subscription to pay. Whatever money was required for the maintenance of the Society, for Prizes and Scholarships to the meritorious students and sincere workers was mainly obtained through the generous gifts of some of the public-spirited citizens of Calcutta. Among the patrons and donors of the Society may be mentioned, among others, the names of Rashbehari Ghose, Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Chandra Madhav Ghose, Ashutosh Mukherjee, Krishnadas Law, Manindra Chandra Nandi, Brojendra Kishore Roy Choudhury, Sister Nivedita, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Hirendra Nath Datta, Rabindra Nath Tagore and Nilratan Sirkar. But when all has been said, the major financial burden had to be shouldered by Satischandra himself. Mr. Kishori Mohan Gupta (once a Dawn student and later Principal, Daulatpur College) tells us that Satis Babu had been an Examiner.
in English for the Entrance Examination for several years and whatever earnings he had annually as an Examiner were all donated to the Society under a pseudo-name. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji informs us that financial assistance was also occasionally drawn by Satischandra from his class-mate and 
gurubhai, Hemendra Nath Mitra, the Public Prosecutor of the Alipore Court, Calcutta. Thus the Dawn Society was run on a philanthropic basis from beginning to end. But the financial handicaps before the Society were more than made up by the apostolic zeal and burning idealism of Satis Chandra Mukherjee.

Finally, the position of a member in the Society depended wholly on the regularity of attendance and quality of work done by him. “No fee being charged for membership”, wrote the authorities of the Dawn Society in December, 1902, “young-men are given to understand that power and position in the Society and the rewards which the Society has to offer go only to those who submit to a graduated course of training under the Rules of the Society and qualify themselves for work as members of the Society”\textsuperscript{30}. Vivekananda’s ideal of man-making education was institutionalised, as it were, in the Dawn Society which under Satischandra’s living inspiration and practical guidance developed into a training-ground for patriotic youths.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

Originally, the members of the Dawn Society were organised into two broad categories—Recognised Members and Ordinary Members—on the basis of regularity of attendance as well as the amount and quality of work done by them in the Society. The Members who attended at least sixty per cent. of the total number of lectures delivered at the two Weekly Classes and submitted to other conditions of discipline and training (\textit{i.e.} taking notes of the Weekly lectures, writing out the substance of them in the “Record-Books”, framing question-papers on the subject-

\textsuperscript{30} The \textit{Dawn}, Dec., 1902, p. 147.
matter of the lectures delivered and holding discussions on the basis of the question-papers so framed etc.) for a particular term (the first term of the work of the Society ended on December 4, 1902) were called Recognised Members\textsuperscript{31}, and those who attended at least fifty per cent. of the lectures were called Ordinary Members. This was the original division of the Dawn Society’s members. But since 1903 it was increasingly noticeable that there was also a large number of students who had attended in a particular term less than fifty percent of the Society’s lectures; and they were conveniently given the name of Third Class Members. By the end of August, 1903 the Society’s members were thus organised into three classes. Corresponding to this classification there was a marked variation in the powers and privileges of the members of each category. The Recognised Members were for administrative purposes formed into a separate section, called the Recognised Section, and were also endowed with special powers and privileges. From a statement of Mr. N. N. Ghose we learn that “First Class Members are alone eligible for the Society’s Scholarships; and also for First Class Certificates. The voting power of a First Class Member is also double that of a Second Class Member and four times that of a Third Class Member. No Third Class Member is eligible for a prize or a scholarship or even a certificate. Second Class Members receive Second Class Certificates”\textsuperscript{32}.

Among the earliest Recognised Members of the Dawn Society the names of Radha Kumud Mookerji and Kishori Mohan Gupta deserve mention. Haran Chandra Chakladar who was senior to them was also connected with the Dawn Society from the very beginning. He was not a student member of the Society in the formal sense of the term. He was not required, because of his seniority in age, to join the Weekly Classes like the ordinary members. His connection with the Society was, however, very intimate. He was an enthusiastic worker of the Society and

\textsuperscript{32} The Dawn, Sept., 1903, p. 64.
served as a “literary assistant” to Satischandra, the General Secretary\textsuperscript{33}. Rabindra Narayan Ghose (who later became the Principal of the Ripon College now known as the Surendra Nath College) and Benoy Kumar Sarkar (later on a scholar of international repute) joined the Society sometime after its foundation. Rajendra Prasad (then a student of the Presidency College and later the first President of the Indian Republic) also joined the Society before long and became one of its most enthusiastic members\textsuperscript{34}. Among other Recognised Members may be noted the names of Ganapati Roy (who later became the Librarian of the Bengal National College), Girija Prasanna Sanyal (Advocate, High Court, Calcutta), Jatindra Narayan Ghose (elder brother of Rabindra Narayan Ghose) and Srish Chandra De (Advocate, High Court, Calcutta). The number of Recognised Members in 1905 was 20, while that of Ordinary Members was 16 and that of Third Class Members was 25. In the list of Ordinary Members we find the name of Upendra Nath Ghosal who later became a renowned historian. He was an earnest student of the Dawn Society and has informed us that he is proud of the fact that his early youth was moulded at the hands of a great man like Satischandra.

\textsuperscript{33} In our previous articles we described Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar, the noted Historian and Anthropologist as the seniormost student of the Dawn Society. On personal enquiry we learn from him that he was, no doubt, influenced and trained by Satischandra, but he was not at the same time a Dawn student. The contention is verified by the following points: (a) In the issue of the Dawn for July, 1903 Haran Chandra Chakladar along with Durga Charan Vedanta-Sankhya-Tirtha is described as “Lecturers, Dawn Society.” Haran Babu did not, however, give any lecture to the Society, but simply gave literary assistance to Satis Babu. (b) In the “Abstract Statement of Donations Received during the Years 1905-04-03-02” (July, 1905, Part IV, pp. 1-2) we find Mr. Chakladar’s name in the category of “Donations Received from the General Public”, not in the category of “Donations Received from Students” (which included the names of Radha Kumud Mookerji, Rabindra Narayan Ghose and Kishori Mohan Gupta). (c) Mr. Chakladar is referred to as “Joint Editor, Dawn Society’s Magazine” in the “Abstract of the Accounts of the Dawn Society” (July, 1905, Part IV, p. 8).

\textsuperscript{34} In his message of condolence written on the occasion of the Memorial Meeting of Benoy Kumar Sarkar, held on January 10, 1950, Dr. Rajendra Prasad while recalling his old College days observed: “He (Prof. Sarkar) was senior to me by one year but we became very close and intimate friends, particularly because we were both members of the Dawn Society, which was in those days being run by Satischandra Mookerji”. Also see Dr. Rajendra Prasad’s article on “The Swadeshi Movement and the Dawn Society”, published in the daily Jugantar on 6th Nov., 1957.
A published list of Authorised Members of the Dawn Society for the year 1905 is presented below for perusal.

EXPLANATORY

Note I.—(a) The letter "H" in the following list denotes Honour or superior quality of work. The letters "HH" would denote higher quality still and so on and so forth.

(b) The letter "K" in the following list simply denotes that a member has not been able to obtain Honours; where there is neither K nor H, K is to be taken as understood.

Note II.—Each voter is requested to note carefully the following order:

First ... Serial No.—e.g. 1.
Second ... Roll No.—e.g. 216.
Third ... Name of voter e.g. Ganapati Ray.
Fourth ... Quality of attendance e.g. HH.
Fifth ... Quality of writing in the General Training Record Book and the corresponding Discussion Report-Book e.g. K.
Sixth ... Ditto in the Moral Training Record Book etc., e.g. HH.
Seventh ... Quality of Executive work in the Industrial Department e.g. H.
Eighth ... Quality of Executive work in the Magazine Department e.g. K.
Ninth ... Ditto in the General Department e.g. HH.

RECOGNISED MEMBERS OR FIRST CLASS VOTERS

Arranged in order of Superior Attendance at the Lectures, Discussion and Conversation Classes, Social Gatherings and the Business Section

1. (216) Ganapati Ray, HH—K—HH—H—K—HH.
2. (9) Kishori Mohan Gupta, HH—K—K—HHH—H—H.

3. (226) Srish Chandra De, HHH—H—K—K—HHK—HH.
5. (376) Probodh Kumar Ghose, H—K—K—K—K—K.
7. (253) Rajendra Prosad, H—HH—HHK—K—K.
13. (328) Bimala Pada Chatterjee.
16. (192) Binoy Kumar Sarkar, K—HHK—K—K—K.
17. (102) Nogendra Nath Ghose.
18. (53) Rabindra Narayan Ghose, K—HHK—K—H—K.
19. (18) Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, K—K—H—K—K—K.

ORDINARY MEMBERS OR SECOND CLASS VOTERS

Arranged in order of Superior Attendance at the Lectures, etc.

22. (144) Shib Charan Chakraburty.
23. (82) Jayada Prasanna Dutt, K—K—K—H—K.
25. (392) Hara Prasanna Chakraburty.
27. (433) Norendra Nath Banerjee.
29. (380) Gouranga Sundar Mitter.
30. (457) Bhuban Mohan Ghose, K—K—K—H—K.
31. (435) Shri Krishna Prasad.
32. (280) Amulya Ratan Dhar.
33. (466) Keshab Lall Chakraburty, K—K—K—H—K—K.
34. (16) Pramatha Nath Banerjee.
35. (444) Bhaba Taran Lahiry.
36. (454) Upendra Nath Ghosal.

THIRD CLASS MEMBERS OR VOTERS
Promiscuously Arranged

37. (138) Shidheswar Haidar.
38. (450) Suresh Chandra Chakraburty.
39. (408) Sital Prasad Chatterjee.
40. (391) Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee.
41. (417) Lal Mohan Ghose.
42. (419) Pulin Behary Dutta.
43. (46) Nagendra Nath Sircar.
44. (349) Nanda Lall Basak.
45. (330) Bibhuti Bhusan Biswas.
46. (385) T. Sankar Nair.
47. (483) Nirod Kumar Ray.
48. (421) Kunja Behary De.
49. (436) Sourindra Nath Mukherjee.
50. (432) Manmath Nath Ray.
51. (416) Dwijesh Chandra Ray.
52. (441) Probodh Chandra Dawn.
53. (4) Narayan Chandra Ganguly.
54. (44) Chandi Charan Ray.
55. (456) Aswini Kumar Dass.
56. (443) Sukumar Chatterjee.
57. (17) Sourindra Narayan Dutt.
58. (490) G. Kunjen Pillai.
59. (404) Utsabananda Chatterjee.
60. (409) Bhupendra Nath Chatterjee.
61. (206) Gopi Kishore Mukherjee.

From a study of this list of Authorised Members two important facts clearly emerge into light. In the first place, the list shows that at the end of 1905 the full roll strength of the Dawn Society was at least as high as 490. In the second place, non-
Bengali students were no less attracted to the Society than the Bengali boys. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's statement to the effect that "during this period some 500 young men of Calcutta came under the influence of Mukherjee", representing "virtually every district of the then united Bengal" is, therefore, eminently acceptable. "Many of them," continues Prof. Sarkar, "became subsequently prominent in the districts of these territories. Out of those men who have shown eminence in the legal line, medical profession, teaching career, public life, business, patriotism, self-sacrifice and martyrdom in the cause of India's freedom quite a few had got their first lessons in national service from Mukherjee during 1902-06".

Besides the regular members, many others were also influenced by Satischandra at that time. The late Dr. Mahendra Nath Sircar, the famous Professor of Philosophy, informed us in a written statement dated 13th February, 1953, that he was also at one time a student of the Dawn Society. Speaking of Satischandra he observed: "His influence on me has been deep and enduring." Again, the late Prafulla Kumar Sarkar (founder-editor of the Ananda Bazar Patrika and Sociological writer) was another faithful follower of Satis Chandra Mukherjee. The late Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerjee also was closely associated with the Dawn Society as a class-mate and personal friend of Rabindra Narayan Ghose. He records in his autobiographical study entitled At the Cross Roads (1950, pp. 66-67): "I attended many of the special lectures arranged for the benefit of the advanced scholars and learners by the Dawn Society and Sreejut Satis Chandra Mukherjee presided over one of the meetings of our Graduates' Union when I was reading a paper and admired it with the constructive comment that I must concentrate my yearning to serve India in one objective and then only I would achieve something tangible." He records

37. P. K. Sarkar's Bengali article on Satis Mukherjee, the Economist and Sociologist of the Swadeshi Period was published in the Arthic Unnati (Nov. 1936), a Bengali monthly founded and edited by Benoy Sarkar for many years until his death in 1949.
further that his acquaintance with Satischandra was “the most precious result” of his literary venture as a student.

It may be observed in passing that Satischandra had however an “inner circle” of devoted disciples which included Haran Chandra Chakladar, Radha Kumud Mookerji, Rabindra Narayan Ghose and Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Excepting Mr. Chakladar, all the other three even lived together with Satischandra in the same house for years together since June, 1905. 38 Mr. Chakladar, because of his family obligations, lived in a separate house but always in the vicinity of Satischandra’s residence.

The Industrial Section

Originally the Dawn Society’s scheme of work was confined to the holding of two Weekly Classes or to what was later called the General Section of the Society. But after a short time when the Society was progressing, the scope of its activities was widened in the direction of the Industries. Vocational training became an integral part of the Society’s plan of work. Consequently, at the beginning of the second session (which commenced from 16th June, 1903), the Industrial Section of the Society was opened39 by Satischandra in active collaboration with Kiran Chandra Basu. It was placed under the supervision of Mr. J. Chaudhury, Managing Director of the Indian Stores and Mr. K. B. Sen, a well-known cloth merchant of Burrabazar at that time. Under this Section a Swadeshi Store was soon opened in one of the rooms of the Society where a fairly large museum consisting of articles of indigenous manufacture was maintained and daily exhibited to the students. Indigenous goods of diverse kinds, such as Dhutis and Saris (both manufactured and hand-made productions), Uranis, Banians, Socks and Hoses, Soaps, Bed Sheets, Fancy Checks, Trunks, Cutlery (single-blade knife, double-blade knife, scissors), Towels

(Turkish and Stripped), Fulkaries, Shirtings (Twill, Longcloth, Fancy Shirtings), Coatings, Silks etc. were presented to the public”. Both Haran Chandra Chakladar and Kishori Mohan Gupta, who were among the chief workers in the Industrial Section, inform us that these country-made things and articles were secured for the Swadeshi Stores of the Dawn Society mainly from two sources, viz., the Indian Stores of Bowbazar Street and K. B. Sen & Co. of Burrabazar, both being well-known dealers in home-manufactures.

The Industrial Section of the Society aimed at “directing the attention of our young men to the problem of India’s industries and making them think of the industrial position of our country, and also of its future prospects and possibilities, as well as at developing the practical intelligence of our young men by giving them opportunities of practical work or training in matters of trade business”. It remained open every day from 4 to 7 P.M., except on Fridays and Sundays which were lecture days. As we are informed by Mr. N. N. Ghose, the Permanent President of the Society, on Fridays the Industrial Section remained open from 4 to 5-30 P.M. and from 6-30 to 7-30 P.M., and on Sundays it remained open from 3 to 4-30 P.M. and from 6-30 to 7-30 P.M. There was “no paid agency.” Sales were conducted and entries made in the Account Books by the graduate and under-graduate members of the Society and afterwards they had to submit and explain accounts to the Business Section or the Executive Committee. The various articles for sale were also secured and collected beforehand by the student-members themselves. The students had thus an object-lesson in the industry of their country and facilities for training in matters connected with the trade in home-made goods. Not only a personal interest was then developed in the trade and in the Indian industry, but also students “had opportunities to learn the value of united or organized work, methods in business, honesty in trade, and the lessons of unselfish work with a view to some public good”. What is more, in order to foster

41. The Indian Mirror, August 6, 1905.
love for indigenous goods prizes were also awarded every year to the best student purchasers of Swadeshi articles.

Under the rules of the Dawn Society, besides its members and supporters and students of colleges and schools, their friends and guardians were eligible as purchasers; but "purchases made by a friend or a guardian of a student" must be "entered in the name of the student." In the course of the first session of the Industrial Section (16th June, 1903 to 15th June, 1904), the Swadeshi Stores of the Dawn Society sold about Rs. 10,000/- worth of home-made goods. Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar informs the present writers that "one-anna profit per Rupee" was the principle and practice of the Society to cover its expenses. But the students were not permitted to make any profits out of the sales they made. Whatever profits there would have remained after meeting the primary expenses of the Industrial Section in connection with holding exhibitions, printing hand-bills, circulating notices etc. were distributed in prizes (in the form of home-made articles) to the best and most regular student-customers of Swadeshi goods. But no member was allowed "to take a single pie for his labour", as Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose informs us. This was a unique feature of the Dawn Society, marking it out distinctly from ordinary business concerns of Swadeshi goods in those days. This special feature of the Dawn Society's work was most eloquently spoken of by Gooroo Dass Banerjee on the occasion of the Society's Annual Prize Distribution Ceremony held on 24th July, 1904. He observed in his Presidential Speech: "If help is deserved by any public institution in Calcutta, it is emphatically done so by a public institution like this, which is worked solely on a philanthropic basis, whose active workers all work for love." In noblest language he admired "the impersonal agency of the non-remunerated, non-remuneration seeking labour" which "has a value of its own, a moral value far above the best-skilled labour that you

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42. N. N. Ghose's Speech on the occasion of the Dawn Society's Annual Distribution of Prizes, Medals and Certificates, at a public meeting held at the Calcutta University Institute Hall, on 24th July, 1904 under the presidency of Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee (The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine, Sept., 1904, part IV, pp. 1-5).
can enlist in your service, if that labour is to be hired only for money and not for love.” He also congratulated the Dawn Society upon its having for its President “a scholar of rare ability and attainments and a man of high character like Mr. N. N. Ghose” and for its Secretary “a gentleman of deep and varied culture, of uncommon aptitude for teaching and of earnest devotion to duty like Babu Satis Chandra Mukherjee”.

The Industrial Section of the Dawn Society played a very important role in kindling the Swadeshi spirit in the student community. The sale of indigenous goods so successfully conducted by the Industrial Section in the first year of its life was also carried on in the following year. But the actual sale-proceeds for 1904-05 were less than those for 1903-04 by about Rupees four thousand and a half. “The falling-off was due to the fact that the sales were practically stopped for over three of the busiest months of the year (previous to and during the Puja vacation)” in order to enable the members to make up arrears in accounting and stock-taking. It may be noted that the Society did not engage paid officials to transact its business, and “the heavy sales of the previous year to the tune of about Rs. 10,000/-, were responsible for the arrears into which the work of accounting and stock-taking fell”

The Accounts of the Society in all its sections during the years 1902-05 were “first prepared by a small committee of workers of the Society” consisting of Kishori Mohan Gupta and Nirod Bhusan Basu. They were then checked by Haran Chandra Chakladar, and then further checked by the General Secretary. The Accounts, as under the rules of the Society, were “finally submitted to the general body of members and passed by them.” The Dawn Society thus tried under such practical discipline to train up its members in trade and business as well as accounts.

The work of the Industrial Section was not confined merely to the student members of the Dawn Society, but also was

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44. The system of work and training of the Dawn Society’s Industrial Section will be found discussed at length in Benoy Sarkarer Baithake (pp. 275-278).
extended to the life of the general public. Apart from “periodical class-lectures”, there were occasionally held “public lectures on questions of Indian commerce and trade and manufacture.” Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose informs us in course of his speech delivered on July 24, 1904 that during the session 1903-04 at least on two occasions industrial lectures were delivered—on one occasion by Mr. J. Chaudhury and on another occasion by Mr. K. B. Sen. On both occasions Mr. N. N. Ghose took the chair and he records that the “meetings were large.” Besides, two Industrial Exhibitions of Swadeshi goods were held in course of that year (1903-04), one in the Hall of the Calcutta University Institute and another in the Metropolitan Institution where the Dawn Society was located. The first exhibition of indigenous articles was held on the 30th August, 1903 when a “public lecture” was delivered on “The Way to the Industrial Development of India” by barrister J. Chaudhury, Managing Director of the Indian Stores. Such lectures and exhibitions marked the activities of the Society’s Industrial Section in the second year also (June, 1904-June, 1905).

At the beginning of the third session of the Industrial Section an impressive Exhibition of Knitting Hand-machines and Handlooms was organised under the auspices of the Dawn Society in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution (July 23, 1905). The Exhibition was attended, as we learn from the reports of the Bengalee and Amrita Bazar Patrika, by over 3000 persons, among whom were noticed Mr. E. B. Havell and several other European gentlemen as well as many Marwari gentlemen. Narendra Nath Sen, Bhupendra Nath Bose, Dr. Pran Krishna Acharya, Dr. Indu Madhab Mallick and Sister Nivedita also graced the occasion with their presence. From 2-30 p.m. to 5-30 p.m. the work of the Exhibition went on “magnificently.” But the Exhibition being confined to one day, “many were not shown the demonstrations” and were therefore disappointed. So, requests were made at that time through the columns of the Bengalee and Amrita Bazar Patrika “to hold another exhibition

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of this nature which should not be limited to one day, but should extend to at least three days.”

Mr. Havell, the distinguished art-critic and art-historian, delivered on that occasion a short speech in which “he insisted on greater work and less talk and eulogised the practical work the Dawn Society was doing”, advocating at the same time the opening of a weaving school in Calcutta. Babu Kunja Behari De (of the firm of Messrs K. M. De and Co., Calcutta) “explained the working of the Japanese handloom” and read out a paper on the “Principles of Weaving” which had been previously published by the Dawn Society and copies of which were distributed on that occasion. Babu Kunja Behari Sen (of the firm of Messrs K. B. Sen and Co. of Burrabazar) “explained in detail the process of weaving by hand-looms and contrasted the same with the methods adopted in power-looms in the Bombay Presidency.” He also gave the audience an idea of cotton-seeds and of the manufacture of cotton yarns and explained the practical obstacles in the way of the Indian producer of cotton goods. The function was also marked by “athletic performances” under the leadership of Satis Chandra Basu of the Bharat Anusilan Samity as well as performances on the gramophone.

Thus the Industrial Section of the Dawn Society played a notable part in stimulating the people’s interest in indigenous goods even before the formal beginning of the great Swadeshi Movement.

THE MAGAZINE SECTION

The Dawn Society, remarkable as it was in conception, was no less so in execution. Beginning its career with the holding of two Weekly Classes in the General Section, it showed rapid signs of improvement and expansion in each succeeding year.

47. This paper was published unsigned in the Dawn Magazine in Sept., 1905. Its author was Kunja Behari De.
With the opening of the Magazine Section in September, 1904 commenced a new phase in the career of the Dawn Society.

It is a mistake to think that the Dawn Society had its organ in the Dawn from the very beginning of its career. Even after the establishment of the Society (July, 1902), the Dawn continued to function both formally and materially as the organ of the old Bhagavat Chatuspathi (founded in 1895) in whose name the journal was printed and published at this stage, as in the previous period (1897-1902). Thus the Society had no special organ of its own at the time of its inception nor during the two years following (July, 1902-July, 1904). During this period the office of the Dawn was situated at 79, Puddopukur Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta, while the office of the Society was located at 22, Sankar Ghose's Lane in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution. Again, the reports of the work of the Society were published during this period not in the Dawn but in the Calendar of the Dawn Society for 1902-03 (pp. 130) and in the Report and Record of Work of the Society for 1903-04 (pp. 50). The Calendar was published at the end of the first session of the Society (July, 1902 to June, 1903) and it contained, among other things, extracts from the writings of the Society's students in its two Weekly Classes. But during the session from June, 1903 to June, 1904, the work of the Society both in its General and Industrial Sections, including students' writings, grew so voluminous as it was not deemed convenient to publish them in the Society's Calendar lest it should become unreasonably bulky. So the proceedings of that session were published in a short Report specially prepared. The need for a regular organ was keenly felt at this stage and Satischandra decided to start a magazine in connection with the Dawn Society. The journal which he had been so long editing and publishing in the interest of the Bhagavat Chatuspathi was now converted into an organ of the Dawn Society. In this changed background The Dawn was renamed as The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine (Sept., 1904). The Society found at last an organ of its own. The Dawn Magazine as the true organ of the Society functioned for about three years (Sept., 1904-Aug., 1907); for after that date it virtually became
an exponent of Indian nationalism, particularly in its economic and cultural aspects. But the new name of the magazine was retained for the rest of its life till November, 1913.

The *Dawn* in its new phase was divided into three parts, each part being separately paged. The first part was called *Indiana*, for it was set apart for discussion of things Indian. The main considerations that led Satischandra to introduce the *Indiana* portion in the magazine was “to help in forming a body of readers with a knowledge of modern India—that of the country, its provinces, peoples, princes, and great men.” And as regards the justification for this the Editor of the magazine wrote:

“If you ask us what is our object in seeking to create such a body, we could only reply that if a body of men do not keep themselves sufficiently informed of the doings and the conditions of their own countrymen, they would not deserve to be called a *people*. They are *aliens* in the land of their birth.

“Again, an Indian, however English-educated, if he knows nothing of the actual condition of the teeming masses in the different provinces of India, of their social habits, manners and customs, their speech, their occupations, their religion, education and general character—must be put down, in any well-considered scheme of education as a very uneducated person.

“Again, an English-educated person who is a very uneducated person in regard to matters concerning the masses of his country, is a wholly *denationalised* person.

“The entire body of Indian college-educated persons are more or less uneducated and denationalised in this sense.”

Thus the *Dawn Magazine* as an organ of the Dawn Society sought to remove ignorance about India.

The second part of the magazine was devoted to *Topics for Discussion* intended to be carried on by the student community, and the third part (subdivided into English Portion and Bengali Portion) was regularly reserved for publishing extracts from the writings of the Recognised Members in the Society's

two Weekly Classes and for publishing writings from the pen of the Recognised Readers of the magazine. In addition to these three regular parts, an additional Part IV was also occasionally attached to the journal, containing reports about the Society's work and activity. On the whole the *Dawn Magazine* was converted in its new series into a full-fledged students' organ. The Society was already giving training to local students in its classes, and now it undertook the task of educating the moffusil students through the medium of the magazine. The scope of the work of the Dawn Society as well as the radius of its influence was now expanded at a single bound. Details under this head will be found discussed in the previous chapter.

Suffice it to say for the present that the *Dawn Magazine* as an organ of the Society gave a fillip to our economic and cultural nationalism, and proved to be a powerful feeder of the Swadeshi Movement of 1905. Cultural nationalism was fostered by Satischandra by stimulating the knowledge of Indians about India in a conscious and systematic manner, and thereby drawing the people closer to one another through such knowledge. In the sphere of economic nationalism, Satischandra's chief concern was to present to the educated classes different aspects of economic India in an objective manner. Apart from economic notes and news, serious and thoughtful articles on economic India, both rural and urban, were frequently published in the magazine. During 1897-1905 the chief writers on Indian national economy, arts and industries were E. B. Havell, Annie Besant, Profulla Chandra Mitra, Sarola Devi Ghosal, Subramanya Iyer and the promoters of the *Bharat Bhandar*. The learned Editor of the magazine was also an energetic writer on this subject. The views of Sir George Birdwood, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, M.P., Lord Curzon, M. G. Ranade, Sir Henry Cotton on Indian economic problems were also presented to the public for debate and discussion. The Editor made it a point to drive home to the readers the fundamental facts and forces about Indian economic situation and the ways and means of her industrial regeneration. Among the articles contributed by him to the
Dawn (before the Swadeshi Movement) were to be noticed, in particular, the following: “Aspects of Economic Life in England and in India” (July-Aug., 1898), “The Economic Situation in India and its Reaction on Indian Social Organisation” (Oct. and Dec., 1899), “Advanced Economic Thought in the West: How to Solve the Labour-Capital Problem” (January, 1900), “The Indian Economic Problem: A Discussion with Sir George Birdwood” (March, 1900), “Village-Co-operation” (August, 1902), “A Steady Movement towards Gigantic Private Monopolies in British Trades and the Ruin of the Small Industries: Facts and Results” (April-May, 1903), “Voluntary System of Poor Relief in India Vs. Compulsory System in England” (Sept., 1903), “Some Facts about the Growth of Russian Industry and National Wealth” (February, 1904), “Who is to Lift Our Artisan Classes” (Sept., 1904), “The Poverty Problem in India” (January, 1905) and “India’s Trading Classes” (January, 1905). These writings, although prompted by patriotic impulses, were thoroughly objective and factual in their treatment. And behind such writings the over mastering desire of Satischandra was to make the readers of the magazine acquainted with those vital questions which constitute the problems of modern Indian life—questions relating to the measure of Indian poverty and destitution and questions relating to the growth and preservation of Indian arts, manufactures and industries. It may be noted incidentally, that the Dawn was printed on Swadeshi paper from the very inception of that magazine (1897) and the Dawn Society never used any paper which was not of Indian make.

PRIZE-DISTRIBUTION CEREMONIES

The Dawn Society started its career in a humble and unostentatious manner, and except in its annual prize-giving meetings before the public it carried on its normal work in a quiet and silent way. The First Annual Prize-Distribution Meeting of the Society was held on 19th July, 1903 at the Calcutta University Institute under the presidency of Dr. Rashbehary Ghose.

Among those present were noticed Justice Gooroo Dass Banerjee, Dr. J. C. Bose, Dr. P. C. Ray, Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore, Mr. Hirendra Nath Datta, Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, Mr. Jogesh Chandra De and Prof. Benoyendra Nath Sen. "The Institute Hall," reports the Bengalee of that time, "was packed to its utmost capacity with College youngmen and a distinguished body of representative Indian gentlemen. One of the striking features of the meeting was the spirit of discipline which pervaded the assembled body of College youngmen. About 800 copies of the Dawn Society Calendar (pp. 130) were distributed among the audience and there was cry for more" .

The meeting opened with an introductory speech of Dr. Rashbehary Ghose who called attention to the "magnetic personality of the General Secretary" of the Dawn Society. Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose, the Permanent President of the Society, gave in course of a speech "a general idea of the whole field of work covered by the Society during the last session" and ended his speech by describing the Society as "unique in character." Dr. Rashbehary Ghose in his Presidential address said that the Society had been "rightly described by Mr. N. N. Ghose as unique in its character." "I," he further observed, "have read the exercises written by the members of the Society and have read them with considerable interest. They show beyond doubt very considerable merit on the part of those who composed them. They show at least that the students have learnt to think for themselves" . On that occasion Dr. Ghose gave away the prizes and certificates. There were twelve prizes valued at about Rs. 150/-; six out of the twelve prize-winners were graduates. Thirty-six certificates were given away. They were of four kinds; first class certificates including Forms C, B, and A; and

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52. The Bengalee, July 23, 1903, p. 6. It is to be regretted that not a single copy of the Dawn Society's Calendar, published and distributed in 1903, is available at present anywhere in Calcutta or even outside. So also is the fate of the two Reports of the Society published successively in 1904 and 1905. Extracts from the Calendar and the Reports such as to be found in the Dawn Magazine are fragmentary in their nature.

53. The full text of Dr. Ghose's speech was published in the Bengalee on July 26, 1903, p. 5 (and not on July 25, 1903 as recorded in the Dawn Magazine for Sept., 1904, Part IV, p. 7).
second class certificates. Form C certificates formed the highest category and were given to those members who could assume responsibility.

The Second Annual Prize-Distribution Meeting of the Dawn Society was held on July 24, 1904 at the Calcutta University Institute with Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee in the chair, and was reported originally in the Bengalee (Aug. 11, 1904) and subsequently in the Dawn Magazine for September, 1904.

The Third Annual Prize-Distribution Ceremony was also held at the University Institute Hall on July 30, 1905 under the presidency of Sir Gooroodass. There was an "immensely large attendance" among whom were noticed distinguished men like Jogesh Chandra Chaudhury, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Pran Krishna Acharya, Shyam Sundar Chakrabarty as well as Sister Nivedita and Sister Christiana. The number of prize-winners in the General Section of the Society was nine and in the Magazine Section ten. The winners in the former section were all local workers and Recognised Members of the Society, while those in the latter section belonged to different regions of India, viz., Pabna, Tamluk, 24-Parganas, Noakhali, Sodepur, Calcutta (Bengal), Bhavnagar (Gujrat), Chingleput (Madras Presidency) and Bombay. The work in the Magazine Section mainly comprised the collection of first-hand materials and information about the condition of the people in villages, towns and districts. In the Industrial Section the prizes consisted of indigenous articles valued at over Rs. 100/- and "the winners were all student purchasers from the Industrial Section and were not necessarily members of the Society or residents of Calcutta"54. Bhut Nath Ghosh (a milkman of Sodepur) who secured a First-class certificate and a silver medal as a Recognised Reader on that occasion has supplied us with valuable information with regard to these points from his personal experiences. Bhut Nath Ghosh still possesses Dawn Society's medal and certificate.

54. A full report of this ceremony together with the Presidential Speech of Gooroo Dass Banerjee was originally published in the Bengalee, August 1, 1905, p. 6 and the Amrita Bazar Patrika, August 2, p. 5 and subsequently reprinted in the Dawn Magazine for Sept., 1905, Part IV, pp. 1-5.
After an introductory speech by Mr. N. N. Ghose, the Permanent President of the Society, giving an account of the Society's work for 1904-05, Sister Nivedita "spoke most eloquently for about three-quarters of an hour on the importance of the national work for Indians at this turning-point of the Twentieth century. She also commented favourably on the spirit of work displayed by the Society,—work in various directions which have but one goal, the making of its members better workers for the country".

Sir Gooroodass concluded the proceedings of the meeting with a brief but forceful speech, bringing into bold relief the real value and significance of the work done by the Dawn Society. Gooroo Dass Banerjee, "one of the most sedate and conscientious of our public men, who from his long training at the Bar and the Bench, has learned to weigh every word before he utters it" 55, feelingly observed: "It is not merely my respect for the persons who are the life and soul of the Society, (great as the respect is, deep as the feeling of respect is), but I have a great admiration for the work of the Society under their control and guidance. I feel that I ought to admire the work of the Society and commend the Society to my countrymen; and my reasons are, shortly stated, two: I admire the Society, in the first place, for the range of its work. I admire it in the next place, for the efficiency of its methods. Education, I need hardly remind you, consists not merely in storing the mind of the pupil with ordinary knowledge; it consists also in calling forth all powers of the pupil, physical, intellectual and spiritual, into healthy and harmonious exercise......Notwithstanding all our efforts to raise the standard of education, that standard will never be raised by pompous syllabuses, as printed in the University Calendar, which might be crammed through,—unless the education, that we impart, succeeds in training the faculties of the student. And herein, I find the importance of the Dawn

55. These words were applied to Sir Gooroodass by Hirendra Nath Datta while moving the resolution on the subject of National Education before the Calcutta session of the Congress held in Dec., 1906. Vide: The Dawn Magazine, (January, 1907, Part II, p. 18).
Society, in its different sections—literary, moral and religious—industrial, magazine and business sections. At college or school, it is only the intellectual education that is imparted. There are various reasons why religious instruction cannot be imparted and there is hardly any time for imparting any practical, industrial or economic education, except in technical schools. The Dawn Society seeks to supplement the education imparted in colleges and schools, not only in the Moral and Religious and Industrial Sections, but also in the Literary Section. In that very Literary Section, the work of a kind is done the like of which is seldom found in our schools and colleges. What is the result? The result, as you have already been told, has been this that some of the best workers of the Dawn Society have been some of the best students of the University. There was some apprehension lest the work of the Dawn Society might draw off the energies of the student community from their proper work at college or school, and make them search for shadows to the neglect of searching for the substance. That is not so. In the Dawn Society a line of work is followed, not of the least responsibility but of the greatest responsibility, where true work is done and true work is shown by real workers. It is in this direction, where there is lack of encouragement, that the Dawn Society has been working and is deserving all recommendation . . .

"My second reason is the efficiency of the method adopted in the Dawn Society. What is the capital of the Society? How was it brought into existence? How long has it been in existence? What quantum of work has it already done? These works are more eloquent than any eloquent advocacy. The capital of the Dawn Society, from the ordinary point of view, is not collected, as in other Societies, from subscriptions from members. The Society has not come into existence under the patronage of any great millionaire. Government aid is, of course, quite out of the question. Self-help, though not declared, is the silent motto of the Society. What is the real capital? The capital of the Dawn Society is, as it should be, not a sordid pecuniary capital, but a capital of intellect, massive intellect,
well-directed and well-balanced, like the intellect of the learned gentleman on my right (Mr. N. N. Ghose, Permanent President) and the learned gentleman on my left (Babu Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Secretary). Nor must I omit to couple with it the cumulative intellect of the worthy workers, the members of the Dawn Society. The efficiency of the method of the Dawn Society consists, in the first place, in its rating pecuniary capital at its proper low worth, and rating the capital of intellect at its proper high worth. Another reason of my admiration is its disregard of all coercion. Of course, I do not undervalue discipline. To make man what he ought to be, discipline should be enforced, not from without but from within . . . There is, of course, one important element,—the element of the force of personal example, so long as the Dawn Society works under the guidance and control of my friends on my right (Mr. Ghose) and left (the Secretary)."

Gooroo Dass Banerjee's observations on the occasion may be justly regarded as representative views of the great educationists of the time on the system and work of training of the Dawn Society. As a further document of contemporary appreciation of the Society's work we venture to quote here what Jagadish Chandra Bose wrote to Satischandra towards the end of July, 1905: "I always regret that owing to pressure of work I am not able to come to your meeting and see your Dawn students, but I read your magazine and I am keenly interested in your work. I am proud of your boys and the results they produce. As a small expression of my deep regard, I shall send you twenty-five rupees to be used in prizes or in any other way you like, if you will send a peon to take the contribution on Monday evening." Evidently the letter was written by Dr. Bose a few days before the Dawn Society's Prize-Distribution Ceremony held on 30th July, 1905. In a like manner the Indian Mirror, edited by Narendra Nath Sen, wrote on August 6, 1905 of the Dawn Society thus: "The Dawn Society of Calcutta is a unique institution in this country, for an all-round training of our youngmen outside the school and the college . . . Babu Satis Chandra Mukerji is the life and soul of this Society, and not
only the students, but the entire educated community of Bengal, will remain deeply grateful to him for his silent, unostenta­tious and noble work.” And one should remember that these appreciative words were conferred on the Dawn Society by some of the greatest intellectuals of the time and that again before the beginning of the Swadeshi Movement which commenced formally on August 7, 1905.

**PRELUDE TO SWADESHI MOVEMENT**

The role of the Dawn Society in the cultural progress and economic regeneration of our country forms a chapter by itself in the wider history of Indian nationalism. By the middle of 1905 it had succeeded in establishing its position as a “recognised institution”, with its organ in the *Dawn Magazine* exercising “an immense influence” over students and general public. The moral and intellectual forces generated by the Dawn Society went a long way in moulding the ideological pattern of India's first battle for freedom or what Benoy Kumar Sarkar calls “the Glorious Bengali Revolution of 1905”.

The first step of Satischandra's creative idealism was the shaping of individual character through proper and appropriate education. By his saintly character and personal magnetism he stormed the hearts of many a young man of the time and infused into them his idealism, spirit of sacrifice and love for the country. Like another Bankim or Vivekananda, he passionately preached through the *Dawn* and the Dawn Society the religion of patriotism. At the very outset of his career he deliberately chose the life of an ascetic so that he might make an offering of his life in total dedication to the service of the motherland. It was a totalitarian devotion to Mother India to serve whom he became a sannyasin. Under his magnetic influence the Dawn Society was turned into a nursery of patriotic youths who would devote themselves to the service of the country. The doctrine of nationalism that he adumbrated in the Society, although non-political in the main, was not at the same time wholly destitute of political significance.
Satischandra's patient striving for the rousing of the moral and intellectual consciousness of the educated classes bore fruit in the Swadeshi Movement which was to a certain extent presaged by the economic and cultural work of the Dawn Society. The Society's economic programme comprised the manufacture and use of indigenous products, the holding of exhibitions of these Swadeshi articles as well as periodical lectures on Swadeshism, and the publication of various notes and news on Indian economy. Thus the Dawn Society, by promoting the sale of indigenous goods, by popularising the home-made products in a variety of ways, by lectures, exhibitions, and prizes to the purchasers of country-made goods, by calling attention to the native arts, crafts and industries through the magazine and, above all, by training up a band of devoted workers aflame with the patriotic spirit, served as a harbinger of the Swadeshi Movement of 1905. That epoch-making national movement with slogans of "Boycott" and "Swadeshi" declared itself born on August 7, 1905, as a reaction against the partition of Bengal, but the forces in favour of industrial and cultural Swadeshi which the national movement embodied had already been set in motion and directed along constructive channels by the Dawn Society at least two years earlier.

Satischandra's role as a pioneer of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal has not received as yet the recognition it deserves at the hands of historians of the Indian national movement. A reference to contemporary sources and documents will, however, show that he was really one of the spiritual fathers of the Swadeshi Movement of which the beginnings were laid, at least in part, earlier than 1905 in the work of an institution like the Dawn Society. The first fruit of this national movement was seen in the educational field in the formation of the National Council of Education as well as the Bengal National College which was in a sense the handiwork of Satischandra. But then this Council also (founded on March 11, 1906) had already been foreshadowed in the system of work and training of the Dawn Society (founded in July, 1902) whose ideas and activities during 1902-05 served as a prelude, a pre-vision of that movement for.
an independent system of National Education. Some of the pupils of the Dawn Society then became active protagonists and enthusiastic workers in the national cause, both in its industrial and cultural aspects. Thus the Dawn Society was fully equipped before August, 1905 to play its pre-destined role in the coming struggle for independence. The history of this early phase of the national movement together with the splendid record of pioneering work of the Dawn Society still remains largely a forgotten chapter.

ROLE IN THE SWADESHI UPSURGE

When the Swadeshi Movement formally commenced its career on August 7, 1905 at the historic Town Hall meeting addressed by Surendra Nath Banerjea, the Dawn Society, suffused as it was with burning nationalism, became at once one of the most dynamic centres for the propagation of Boycott and Swadeshi ideologies.

These categories acquired at that time revolutionary significance and became the subjects for hot discussion in the Society as elsewhere. Krishna Kumar Mitra, the Editor of the weekly Sanjibani, became one of the loudest exponents of the Boycott-Swadeshi ideologies which were not the creation of any individual, but the collective expression of national consciousness and the determination to hit back the autocratic and alien Government by direct methods. Some, however, doubted the morality of Boycott, because it was considered to be an act of hate. But Satischandra’s approach was different and he justified it as a necessary step to rouse the moral consciousness of a whole race against alien and bureaucratic Government.

In connection with ‘Boycott’ Mukherjee expressed himself thus at that time: “The Government had in the matter of what is known as the Partition of Bengal disregarded the sentiments of a whole people; it had paid no heed to their united remonstrances and protests,—it had not condescended to listen to a

united, strong and even vehement public opinion. In other words, the Government had thought fit completely to boycott united Bengali opinion. A boycott of one kind was, therefore, sought to be met, by a boycott of another . . . The spirit of boycott, however offensive it might appear to have been in theory as being identical with a spirit of revenge and hostility, thus became, in the special circumstances of the case, nothing but a strong, intense desire on the part of Bengalis to assert their National Self-respect which had been so cruelly outraged.57

Lectures on these lines were delivered many times by Satischandra even in the General Training Class of the Dawn Society. His lectures were not, however, in the fashion of demagogic speeches. Sentiment and passion, so usual in an atmosphere like that occasion, were sedulously guarded against by him while delivering speeches in which statistical analysis bearing on economic facts and results was a characteristic element. Constructive organiser as he was, Satischandra was interested more in the manufacture and use of indigenous products than in the mere boycott of foreign goods. The years—1905-06—were a period of kindergarten stage for the Bengalis in modern industry, capitalism and technology. Even the greatest sponsors and organisers of the Swadeshi Movement were virtually innocent of the science of industrial capitalism as well as the working of banks, insurance, mills and factories. In such a situation Satischandra’s role as an economic expert became all the more important. Both in economic theory and practice he turned out to be a leader of the times, and he was in close alliance with Ambika Charan Ukil, “the exponent of bank and insurance capitalism, industrial expansion and co-operative stores movement”. These two men have been justifiably appraised by Benoy Kumar Sarkar as the pioneers of economic thought and action for the Bengalis at the beginning of the twentieth century58.

Satischandra propagated his economic thoughts not only through the Society’s classes, but also through private meetings.

and interviews with individuals whose number grew into a legion by this time and who hailed not only from Calcutta but also from distant districts of Bengal and Assam. During those stirring times he put up, along with Radha Kumud Mookerji, Rabindra Narayan Ghose and Benoy Kumar Sarkar, in a mess at 16, Cornwallis Street, of which Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya was the steward. Both in the mess and in the Society Satis Chandra was daily frequented by numerous people, both old and young, and he was constantly called upon to offer constructive suggestions for industrial undertakings to be started by some of the visitors.  

Satischandra also wielded a powerful pen in propagating the ideologies of the Swadeshi Movement. According to Benoy Kumar Sarkar, many articles of Satischandra on Boycott and Swadeshi were published at that time in the pages of the Bengalee and Amrita Bazar Patrika without bearing his signature in print. The Dawn Magazine was likewise utilised by him for the same purpose. His articles on “Principles of the Swadeshi Movement: Its Influence on the Indigenous Cloth Industry” (Nov., 1905), “How to Start Industries with Small Capital: Match Manufacture” (January, 1906), “The True Character of the Boycott in Bengal,” “The True Character of the Swadeshi in Bengal,” “Prospects of Swadeshi” (May, 1906), “The Present Condition of Indian Industries” and “Difficulties in the Way of Our Industrial Regeneration and Means to Overcome Them” (January, 1907) were valuable contributions to the Swadeshi Movement and were intended to direct and mobilise the wandering popular passions for the boycott of British goods into fruitful channels. In November, 1905 Satischandra, while analysing the “Principles of the Swadeshi Movement”, observed: “The Swadeshi sentiment has been growing for a long time past. The question of the Partition of Bengal, however, has brought it out in an epidemic form. The Swadeshi movement does not contemplate the cessation of trade.

between this country and foreign countries; but it certainly contemplates to hold foreign articles in check in order to help indigenous articles of like nature, which is accomplished by other countries by the help of import duties. Protection is needed to develop our resources; and the Swadeshi movement is nothing but Protection in another shape. The efforts made by patriotic Indians to protect their industries cannot indeed be so well-regulated as by Governments; but surely they cannot be reproached for a sentiment which does them infinite credit... The main object of the Swadeshi movement is not, we repeat, to reduce our imports from England anyhow. No. Its object is not to destroy trade but to develop our trade by developing our own resources, which is not possible without the help of that movement. We want with that help to produce our own goods, where it is possible to produce them; and so increase the purchasing power of the people.”

“Let India,” he observed further, “instead of importing piece-goods from the United Kingdom import additional machinery. To us, in India, in importing, say one crore worth of machinery in the place of a crore worth of piece-goods, the difference would be this. The latter, in six or seven months’ time or thereabouts would be fit for the dust-bins to be picked up by beggar-women as rags; while the former, i.e. the purchased machinery to the extent of one crore’s worth would give us cloth worth that amount per annum for 25 years, the life of machinery being reckoned at that period. And with increase of material wealth, i.e., with the increase in the purchasing power in the country, although the trade of England in piece-goods would be killed, we shall be able to export our goods to her and other countries, and that would mean to India development of trade with other countries.

“Nor is this all. People have no conception in India of the potentialities of the hand-loom weaving. The Census of 1901 has shown that directly or indirectly there are 120 lakhs of souls dependent upon the hand-loom industry. Two-thirds of the artizan population of India are, at the present day, hand-loom weavers, and the value of the annual outturn of hand-
woven fabrics is a matter of crores of Rupees. There is hardly a more safe and lucrative field open to Indian capitalists than there is in the development of the handloom industry. Handloom factories are profitable in Europe, they should be much more so in India where the conditions are much more favourable . . . It is a preventible loss to India that the skilled weavers should day by day leave their looms and add to the already agricultural population. With proper looms and proper instruction, the Indian weaver could not only recover a great deal of the lost internal trade of India, but take a leading position in the world in hand-woven fabrics . . . Indeed, the Swadeshi movement has created such an enormous demand for Swadeshi cloths, that the future of the movement seems to hang on a satisfactory solution of the question of supply."

Thus, both the problems of increased consumption and increased supply of indigenous products were discussed by Satischandra in those days with reference to ample facts and figures. An idealist par excellence, he was at the same time a realist of realists. His stern sense of realism was conspicuously manifest in his economic writings, in spite of the fact that they were prompted by patriotic impulses. When the Swadeshi Movement began, the question of increased consumption of home-made goods received top priority in the people's eyes. In that hour of national excitement the people naturally gave priority to the problem of consumption without giving adequate heed to the question of supply. Satischandra's importance in this sphere does not lie so much in the advocacy of the cause of "increased consumption" as in inviting the people's attention to the other part of the problem—the question of "increased supply" and in suggesting ways and means to secure that desired objective. But at the same time his analytical mind was careful to appraise the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal as "patriotic in the first instance and only economic or industrial in the second." It helped, above all, in "forging of a moral tie which would unite all in a common patriotism".

"And it is clear," wrote Satischandra further, "that so long as the moral bond remains intact, and the question of united
consumption by a whole people of only indigenous goods is never allowed to get into the background, the steady progress of the Industrial Swadeshi is assured, although under the circumstances of the case, the progress would be necessarily a little slow.” It was argued on behalf of the opponents of the Swadeshi Movement that “the economic forces are against it and that the ‘boycott’ of Manchester goods is economically injurious to the Indians themselves and is bound to collapse at no distant date.” Satischandra’s reply to this kind of argument was ably presented in the article on “Prospects of the Swadeshi.” He demonstrated in that paper on the strength of statistical data how far “the demand for indigenous goods” as “embodied in the Swadeshi cry” had fostered the industrial activity of Bombay and Ahmedabad and observed that the Englishman’s statement (Sept. 9, 1905) that “the boycott is likely to be abandoned as suddenly as it was proclaimed and that for the reason that the natives themselves are the chief sufferers” is an unwarrantable assertion. Satischandra concluded his paper by stating that “if the people should keep up the Swadeshi cry to use indigenous goods in preference to foreign ones, the problem of production would necessarily be taken up and solved by the capitalist and merchants of India.”60 Some of these economic papers were also published in the pamphlet forms and sold at nominal prices by the Dawn Society with the object of helping the cause of the Swadeshi Movement.

The students of the Dawn Society also played an important part in that national movement of 1905. Already inspired by the sentiments of patriotism and spirit of service, “the workers of this Society carried the Swadeshi gospel into the districts and became the leaders of the movement over there, inspiring many intellectuals, lawyers and doctors to join it”61. The influence of the Society grew by leaps and bounds and it became a rallying-ground of many patriotic youths, both Bengalis and non-Bengalis. In response to the invitation of the Chairman and the Secretary of the first Industrial Conference held at Benares

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60. The Dawn Magazine, May, 1906, pp. 116-123.
(December 1905), the Dawn Society elected Kishori Mohan Gupta as its delegate to the Conference who ably represented the Society there before distinguished gathering representing diverse peoples and regions of India. Again, in 1906 the Dawn Society in order to stimulate serious reflections on the Swadeshi Movement offered a special prize of Rupees Fifty, called Kiran Chandra Basu Prize, in memory of late Kiran Chandra Basu (founder of the Industrial Section of the Society) for the best essay in English or in Bengali on the Swadeshi Movement considered from three standpoints, viz., (1) the best means of popularising the Swadeshi Movement among the masses, (2) the means of conciliating the hostile attitude of Indian dealers in foreign goods, and (3) the practical steps to be taken to meet the increased demand for Indian-made articles.\(^{62}\)

The topic was also presented for discussion in the Dawn Society on the day of the Society's Annual Elections for 1905, held on February 25, 1906. Rabindra Nath Tagore was present on the occasion and after the elections were over, a discussion was conducted in Bengali under his presidency on the topic mentioned above. Several of the Dawn students and the Secretary took part in the discussions and Rabindranath as the President wound up the proceedings by a charming speech.\(^{63}\) In course of his speech Rabindranath exhorted the members of the Dawn Society to make greater sacrifices for the national cause, and if need be, to lay down their lives for the ideal and called their attention to the exemplary character of the founder of their Society. He expressed his unhesitating moral support to an institution like this which was wedded to constructive ideology and work from the very beginning of its life-history. He opined that constructive work, even though modest and unostentatious at the beginning, was of far greater consequence than a big enterprise undertaken at the gush of momentary excitement. He painfully recorded how much he had been

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63. The Dawn Magazine, March, 1906, part IV, p. 3. The speech of Rabindranath was published in the Bengali Portion of the magazine in the same issue.
shocked at the huge wastage of national energy in the excesses of anti-British excitement. Real and solid constructive work, emphasised he, could only be accomplished through silent, patient and sustained toil and sacrifice. The Dawn Society as led by Satis Chandra Mukherjee was declared by Tagore on that occasion to be an ideal institution well calculated to train up the youngmen on national lines. He concluded his speech by asking the students to shoulder the responsibility of the national movement with high courage and strong endurance and to be worth of the Rammohun-Bankim tradition.

The students of the Dawn Society, however, played a greater role in the movement for National Education which was an important expression of India's first battle for freedom. Influenced by Satischandra, the youthful members of the Society, threw themselves heart and soul into the political upheaval. The mantram of Bande Mataram was raised and the cry for National Education and Swadeshi was loud in the air. The Government greeted this rising ardour of patriotic feelings with customary repression. Students in large numbers were expelled from schools and colleges. The spirit of resistance to the repression of the Government was first manifest in Rangpur (Details of this development will be found in Part I of this book).

The Governmental repression as well as expulsion of the students from their schools in their hundreds created for the country a most complex problem. Some suggested that there was no need for founding a new university because they hoped that by a general boycott of the Government and aided Colleges it was still "possible to convert the present Calcutta University into a National one". In an article entitled "A National University" appearing in the Bengalee (Nov. 10, 1905) over the signature of "Reform" such lines of argument were advanced. The writer of that article observed: "Students and guardians have simply to turn their backs on the official and aided colleges and the whole thing is done. The colleges which will then be

64. The full text of Rabindranath's speech will be found in the Appendices.
deserted will have to be abolished and with them the chairs which furnish official or semi-official representaties on the University. The University, stripped of the official Professors, will be a National University". But Satischandra's line of argument was fundamentally different. In an article under the caption "Can the Calcutta University be turned into a National University" over his own signature, Satischandra observed: "I would humbly submit that so long as the provisions of the Universities Act (1904) govern the operations of the Calcutta University, it is never possible to convert that University into a National one, even assuming that all government and aided colleges and schools are wholly deserted by our students and such colleges are in consequence abolished."

This radical view-point with regard to the educational system found another powerful exponent in Hirendra Nath Datta who was a most active collaborator of Satischandra in those fateful days.

On November 14, 1905 was issued a historic manifesto by Ashutosh Choudhury, calling upon the leading men of the country to assemble at a meeting on the 16th at the Bengal Land-holders’ Association to take up the educational matter in right earnestness. In the conference duly held on that date and attended by the leading men of the country, two main resolutions were adopted, the one recording the immediate necessity of organising a National Council of Education for imparting a system of Education—Literary, Scientific and Technical combined—on national lines and under national control, and the other expressing its disapproval of the boycott of the P.R.S. and M.A. Examinations of the University. The events then following in the country moved swiftly till the foundation of the National Council of Education (March 11, 1906) and the inauguration of the Bengal National College and School under it in Calcutta (Aug. 14, 1906).

The history of these few months was momentous in the nation's life and the services of the Dawn Society throughout

65. The Bengalee, Nov. 11, 1905, p. 3.
this period were most valuable and creative. Among the workers of the Dawn Society who played a valuable role in this educational movement prominent were Haran Chandra Chakladar, Radha Kumud Mookerji, Kishori Mohan Gupta, Rabindra Narayan Ghose and Benoy Kumar Sarkar who addressed themselves whole-heartedly to the cause of education. It was these lieutenants of Satischandra who had to shoulder the chief responsibility in the organisation and actual conduct of the preliminary examinations of about one thousand students as admission tests before the formal beginning of the Bengal National College. And nobody in this period played a greater and more constructive role than the founder of the Dawn Society. Rabindra Nath Tagore in course of his speech on the Swadeshi Movement before the Dawn Society (February 25, 1906) observed that “Satis Babu is one of the main props of that movement for National Education which is now going on in the country; in fact it is he who has inspired it.” It is a contemporary appraisal of Satischandra’s role in that educational movement. Satischandra played a decisive part not only in the initiation of the movement, but also in the organisation of the National Council under which was set up the Bengal National College and School with Aurobindo as the Principal. And of Satischandra Aurobindo himself spoke in a public lecture at Bombay (January 19, 1908) that the former was “the man who really organised the National College in Calcutta.” These statements, coming as they do from authoritative contemporary sources, lend weight to our contention that Satischandra’s role in the national movement of 1905-06 was in a sense unique. Hardly has history done less justice to any of its makers and pioneers than to Satis Chandra Mukherjee, the silent inspirer of Young Bengal in the cult of nationalism and the religion of patriotism.

Dissolution of the Society

We venture to draw here another significant aspect of Satis Chandra’s service in the national movement. The supreme offer of sacrifice he made to the country was the sacrifice of the Dawn
Society itself—whose vessel contained the best cargo of his thoughts. As soon as the Bengal National College was formally inaugurated (Aug. 14, 1906), he not only consecrated himself to its sacred cause, but bodily shifted the Dawn Society to the premises where the National College was located and allowed it to merge itself gradually into the National Council.

It is now meet and proper to discuss when and how the Dawn Society was dissolved.

The late Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar has observed in Baithake (Calcutta 1942, pp. 264, 269 and 321) that the activities of the Dawn Society ceased as soon as the National Council was established in 1906. The same opinion has also been expressed by him in his work on Education for Industrialization (1946, p. 76) published by the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur, Calcutta. Again, Sreejut Girija Sankar Roy Choudhury, the renowned historical writer, has expressed an identical view in course of his serial articles on “Sri Aurobindo” in the Bengali monthly, Udbodhan (Pous, 1350 or Dec., 1943-January, 1944, p. 547). But the views of both these authors on this particular point are hardly acceptable in the light of facts. The National Council of Education was established on March 11, 1906, and the Bengal National College and School was set up under it on August 14 of the same year. The office of the National Council was located at 5, Hastings Street up till July, 1906, while that of the Dawn Society was situated, as before, in the rooms of the Metropolitan Institution at 22, Sankar Ghose’s Lane during the same period. But in August, 1906 the offices of both these institutions were removed to 191/1, Bowbazar Street. Although many of the workers of the Society were now found engaged in the work of the National Council, yet the Society’s normal routine work was not altogether suspended.

The Swadeshi Store was still run by the Industrial Section of the Dawn Society while its Magazine Section remained in active service. The only department where changes really came was the General Section of the Society wherefrom the two Weekly Classes were now dropped out of its programme. But a
more fundamental change noticeable now was the dearth of workers for the Society particularly when its range of activity had been suddenly enlarged. This is evident from the “Notice” published under Satischandra’s signature in the December 1906 issue of the *Dawn Magazine*. “The Society,” wrote Satischandra, as Hony. Secretary, Dawn Society, (also Hony. Superintendent, Bengal National College), “is now enlisting new members for the year 1907. No fees are charged, but members must in every case be workers who would agree to devote either their whole time or part of it to some kind of national work in connection with this Society.” The circular was reprinted again in the January 1907 issue of the journal. In response to this appeal a number of letters were received by the Dawn Society from persons desiring to be enrolled as members of the Society, and some of these letters came from persons living in Lower Bengal, Bhagalpur, Benares City and Madras Presidency. A request was even made by a writer from Benares to open there a branch of the Dawn Society for promoting the Swadeshi cause. For the guidance of the future members of the Dawn Society a well-thought-out scheme of certain general principles and specific proposals from Satischandra was published in the *Dawn Magazine* in March, 1907.\(^{66}\)

Under the head of General Principles, nothing received greater prominence at Satischandra’s hands than the “cultivation of a spirit of self-help in our private as well as in our public lives.” “Self-help in our public life,” observed Satischandra, “would include among other things organisation of Swadeshi industries with a view to secure our industrial independence; of educational institutions conducted on national lines and under national control; of arbitration courts which will save us not only from evils of litigation under an excessively complicated legal and administrative system but also from the disgraceful

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\(^{66}\) Vide: *Who Can be Members of the Dawn Society for the Year 1907?* (The *Dawn Magazine*, March, 1907, Part III, pp. 44-48). According to Prof. H. C. Chakladar, this article was prepared by Rabindra N. Ghose, but the “Suggestions” under the two heads of (a) General Principles and (b) Specific Proposals as contained in that article were given out by Satis Chandra Mukherjee.
necessity of appealing to an alien third party for the settlement of disputes between Hindu and Hindu or between Hindu and Muhammadan fellow-countrymen; of measures of rural sanitation, irrigation and water supply; of agricultural grain banks for relieving the cultivating classes from the exacting clutch of the money-lender, and of many other institutions of a like nature.” Again, “self-help in our private lives would imply among other things determination to secure an independent livelihood which alone can develop the manhood that makes a nation; the curtailment of artificial wants called luxuries and decencies and a life of plain living and high thinking which alone can set free a man’s time and energies for public work and which are thus the fundamental prerequisites for the growth of public life in the community.” “If self-help,” he further observed, “is so vital a factor in our regeneration as a nation, it is necessary that it should be practised not only by a few scattered individuals here and there but by a large body of our countrymen.”

As for the Specific Proposals, Satischandra’s suggestion was “To associate, as far as possible, with the artisan and cultivating classes with a view to understand their condition and gain their confidence. One of the chief obstacles to the growth of our national life is the ignorance and apathy which characterise the relations between the educated upper and middle classes and the masses that live in the villages. The Census Reports show that 85 per cent. of our countrymen belong to the artisan and cultivating classes, the educated classes forming an insignificant minority. It is absurd therefore to think of building up our national life on a basis from which the body of the nation is excluded. If then these dumb millions be included in our scheme of national life, it is the duty of the educated classes to take the first step forward, to mix with them and understand their needs and grievances so as to make them feel that we are their brothers and well-wishers. Such a study of the common people cannot but be fruitful in many ways. It will furnish the materials for a real internal history of the people of the country which is such a desideratum in our midst.”
A second proposal was that "every member of the Dawn Society should set an example by setting apart a portion of his leisure hours for the sake of earning some money to be devoted to any one or more of the above-mentioned objects" (measures of primary education, rural sanitation, agricultural grain bank etc.). And to carry out these objects "a body of wholetime workers and preachers" was required as well as "the aid of a central organisation." "The Dawn Society," observed he, "aspires in time to grow from its present humble status into a well-equipped organisation. At present the Dawn Society aims at creating a fund for the above-mentioned objects through (i) an Industrial section which includes a swadeshi firm (worked mostly by volunteer workers) and (ii) its Magazine section, which publishes the Dawn Society's Magazine. The profits of both these concerns are devoted to the purposes of a general good of our common country . . . The Magazine, as our readers are aware, has been started with the main object of spreading a knowledge of India and the Indians among the student communities in India in the different provinces, which it is hoped, will serve to bring together these different communities by mutual knowledge and sympathy. This knowledge of India and the Indians is regarded as the fundamental basis on which any measure of self-help can be based." Such was the last will and testament of the Dawn Society to the nation.

After March, 1907 no such appeal or circular on the Dawn Society's behalf was published any more. Its founder as well as a considerable body of its active workers was more and more preoccupied with new schemes of work in the National Council which again became a growing concern, spreading out its branches in distant parts of the country, even overstepping the limits of Bengal. It was too much for the Dawn Society to widen its scope of work just at that very moment in 1907 when the National Council was making still greater demand on the workers of the Dawn Society. On Aurobindo's resignation as Principal of the Bengal National College (August 2, 1907), Satischandra had to discharge the functions of Principal in addition to his duties as Superintendent or the executive head.
The devoted workers of the Dawn Society also like Haran Chandra Chakladar, Radha Kumud Mookerji, Rabindra Narayan Ghose and Benoy Kumar Sarkar were now engaged in strenuous research-work in history, literature, economics and pedagogics in addition to their normal routine-work in the National College. It is then no wonder that the Dawn Society would cease to function in this changed background as a regular and independent institution. But the death it met was only formal, not spiritual. The ideas and principles which the Dawn Society had been advocating since July, 1902 took a larger institutional shape in the National Council of Education. The Secretary of the Society was requisitioned to be the Superintendent of the College, while some of the best workers of the Society were found to be some of the best workers of the Council. Besides, even the Society's magazine itself was now virtually converted into an organ of National Education as adumbrated by the National Council. Thus it is on the strength of these factual findings one is fully entitled, like Benoy Kumar Sarkar, to hold that "the last and final act in the career of the Dawn Society was to help in ushering into existence the National Council of Education." The National Council remained a struggling, growing concern throughout the chequered half-century that followed its inception till its original dream was in a sense materialised in the foundation of the Jadavpur University in 1956.

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CLASSIFIED LIST OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE DAWN

(March, 1897—November, 1913)

RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL

1. What is Truth? (March, 1897).
2. Srimadbhagavad-Gita (March, June, August, 1897).
3. A Plea for Karma-Kanda (March, June, 1897).
5. Tattva-Vodha (April, June, Oct., Dec., 1897; Feb., April, 1898).
7. Brindavana Scenes—By Sripati Kaviratna (April, May, August, September, 1897; September 1898).
8. Svarajyasiddhi (April, May, July, August, November, 1897; January, March, May-August, October, 1898; September 1899; October, December, 1900; January-August, November-Dec., 1901; March, September-November 1902; January, June, July, September, 1903).
11. The Riddle of Mind and Matter—By H. D. C. (June, 1897).
12. The Progress of a Soul—By N. Chaudhuri (July, September, November, 1897).

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1. This series was in the main written by Durga Charan Vedanta-Samkhya-Tirtha and Haran Chandra Chakladar, excepting the one in the June, 1903 issue which was written by Satis Chandra Mukherjee. It was an English translation with commentaries of Bhaskarananda's Sanskrit work on Vedanta under that caption.
13. The Hindu Doctrine of Love (August, 1897).
14. A Modern Error with regard to the Hindu Doctrine of Love (September, 1897).
19. Shelley's Spiritual Philosophy—By the Editor (Nov.-Dec., 1897; March, May, 1898; Aug., 1899; Oct., 1900).
20. Leaves from the Gospel of Lord Sri Ramkrishna—By "M" (Dec., 1897; January-June, 1898; Oct.,-Nov., 1900).
22. The Philosophy of Tears (January, Dec., 1898).
23. The Riddle of Mind and Matter (Feb., 1898).
25. Sri Chaitanya and His Message—By Bulloram Mullick (May, Aug., 1898; Aug., 1899; Feb.-March, 1900; Nov., 1901; Feb., 1902).
26. Modern Science versus Devas or Higher Intelligences (July, 1898).
27. Vedantic Unity and Scientific Duality (Sept., 1898).
29. Theory of Thought-field (Nov., 1898).
30. The Doctrine of Error in Hindu Spiritual Philosophy (Dec., 1898).
32. A Plea for the Theory of Rebirths—By Swami Abhedananda (Oct., 1899; April, 1900).

2. This series was written by Sudhir Chandra Mitra, Haran Chandra Chakladar and Radha Kumud Mookerji.
"The Vedanta Doctrine of Sri-Sankaracharya": a book by Mahadeva Sastri reviewed by the Editor (Oct.-Nov., 1899).

Gitarthasangraha or An Epitome of the Teaching of the Gita—By Yamunacharya: Translated into English (June, 1900).

The Vedantic Doctrine of Illusion and the Road to Salvation—By the Editor (July-Aug., Nov., 1900).

The Law of Progress: The Natural Vs The Ethical Man—By the Editor (July, 1900).

The Spirit of Renunciation—By Eugene A Skilton (Aug., 1900).

Theory of Consciousness in Hindu Philosophy—By Amrita Lal Roy (Sept., 1900).

Some Recent Text-Books on Hinduism for the General Reader—By the Editor (Sept., 1900).

The Different Schools on the Meaning and Purpose of the Rasa-Lila—By Bulloram Mullick (Dec., 1900).

The Syllogism under the Nyaya System: A Comparison of the Indian Syllogism with the European—By Banamali Chakravarty (Feb., 1901).

The Problem of Evil: How It Vanishes in the Light of the Larger Life—By the Editor (March, 1901).

Human Free Will in Relation to Two Classes of Individuals—By the Editor (April, 1901).

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Soul-Vision: A Story of Inner Life—By the Editor (June, 1901).


Life-Experiences or the Stuff We Are Made of—By Narendra Lal Bose (August, 1901).


Modern Sensationalism—By W. A. Rodman (Dec., 1901).
49. Modern Sensationalism in the East—By the Editor
(Dec., 1901).
50. The Philosophy of the Gods—By Hirendra Nath Datta
(January, April, July, 1902).
51. What Bhakti Is and What It is Not—By Radha Kumud
Mookerji (January, 1902).
52. "Blessed Are the Pure in Heart, for They Shall See God"
—By Bipin Chandra Pal (The above delivered as a sermon
by Mr. Pal in the Manchester College, Oxford, and for the
first time published in the Dawn, Feb., 1902).
53. The Sphere of Religion—By "Anonymous, M.A."
(Feb., 1902).
54. The Sphere of Religion—By the Editor (April, 1902).
55. Religion: Its True Scope and Methods—By Ram Tirtha
Swami (Aug., 1902).
56. The Scheme of Salvation under the Nyaya System of
Philosophy—By "M.A." (Aug., 1902).
57. A Notable Philosphic Work in Bengali—By the Editor
(Sept., 1902).
58. Rationalism versus Reverence—By Amulya Chandra Aikat
(Oct.-Nov., 1902).
59. The Scheme of Salvation under the Nyaya System of
Philosophy—By the Editor (Nov., 1902).
60. A Popular Exposition of the Fundamentals of Hindu Reli-
gion and Philosophy—By the Editor (Dec., 1902).
61. Gleanings from Mahummadan Scriptures—By Mahom-
med Sarfaraz Hussain (January, 1903).
62. The Spirit of Bacon's Philosophy—By Rabindra Narayan
Ghose (Feb., 1903).
63. An Exposition of the Unity of the Indian Philosophical
Systems according to Vijnan-Bhiksha—By the Editor
(Feb.-April, 1903).
64. The Religious Student's Methods of Self-Instruction
through a Study of the Internal Nature—By the Editor
(Feb., 1903).
65. The Ascetic's Methods of Self-Instruction through Study
of External Nature—By Purnendu Narayan Singh (Feb., 1903).
66. The Place of Symbols in Progressive Life, including the Spiritual—By M. C. (March, 1903).
68. The Ascetic’s Methods of Self-Instruction through Study of External Nature—By the Editor (April, 1903).
69. The Nature of Karma that Makes for a Change of Sex or Determines Health or Nationality: The Views of Mr. A. P. Sinnett (June, 1903).
70. The Two Selves in Man: The Self that Lives and Persists and is Eternal and Absolute, and the Self that is Alternately Dissolved and Integrated (July-Aug., 1903).
71. Lectures on the Bhagavat Gita—By a Christian Missionary (Feb.-March, 1904).
72. Count Tolstoy on the Problem of Free Will and Necessity (March-May, 1904).
73. Human Sin and the Divine Will: Law of Karma in relation to Both—By Mr. C. W. Leadbeater (March-April, 1904—Adapted from his lecture in Chicago).
74. A Statement of the Late Prof. Max Muller’s Position with regard to Religion and Philosophy and Note—By the Editor (March, 1904).
75. The Physical Basis of Mantras—By Hirendra Nath Datta (May, 1904).
76. The Bible and Modern Criticism—By Sukumar Haidar (July, 1904).

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1. The Material Triumphs of Science: Reprint from Scientific American (May, 1897).
2. Side-lights on Modern Science (June, July, 1897).
4. Mind in All Animal Life (March, 1898).
5. The Fire-Proof Tree (April, 1898).
7. Progress—From the Evolutionist Point of View: Adapted from *The Quarterly Journal of Science* (June, 1898).
8. Have Animals Mind Consciousness?—By Rajkumar Banerjee (June-August, Dec., 1898).
9. The Inter-dependence of Human Functions—By Edwin Wooten (July, 1898).
10. Effects of Music on Health and Life—By Dr. Wilkins (August, 1898—Reprint from the *Progressive Thinker*).
12. The Influence of Sun-Spots on Weather and Harvest (Nov., 1898).
15. How to Live the Best Life with Our Environments—By William Roult—Reprint from the January, 1900 issue of the *Theosophist* (Feb., 1900).
16. Names and Numbers By Prof. Ernst Mach: Translated from the German By T. J. McCormack and appearing in the January, 1900 issue of the *Open Court* (April, 1900).
17. The Telegraphone at the Paris Exhibition—By Hriday Chandra Banerjee, M.A., Demonstrator of Physics, Presidency College, Calcutta (Oct., 1900).
Molecules: What They Are and How They Behave—By Jyotibhusan Bhaduri, Principal, Govt. College, Krishnagar (April-June, 1901).

Professor Ramsay’s Lecture on Argon: Being Prof. William Ramsay, F.R.S.’s lecture on “Argon and Other Constituents of the Atmosphere” at the Central Hindu College, Benares, on January 11, 1901 (July, 1901).


Educational Value of the Physical Sciences From a Moral Point of View—By Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar (Sept.-Oct., 1901).

Liquid Air and Solid Air (Sept., 1901).

The Secret of Long Life—By the Editor (October, 1901).

Can Physical Science Enlighten Man as to His Destiny?—By Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar (November, 1901).

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Physical Science in the Nineteenth Century—By Radha Kumud Mookerji (Nov., 1901).

Dyspepsia in Calcutta—By a Dyspeptic (Dec., 1901; March, 1902).

Vegetarianism and Vigour—By Dr. W. R. C. Latson, Editor of Health-Culture, New York (Feb., 1902).


Is Man a Flesh-Eating Animal?—In the Light of His Anatomical Structure and Physiology—By Dr. W. R. C. Latson, M.D. (April, 1902).

Wireless Telegraphy: As Illustrative of the Progress of Science and its Applications—By Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar (July-August, Dec., 1902).

The Right Pursuit of the Physical Sciences Considered from the Point of View of Individual as well as National Regeneration—By Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar (Oct., 1902).


The New Alchemy (February, 1904).
37. A Remarkable Invention—By a Young Bengali (August, 1901).
38. The Indian Sacred Plant—The Tulasi as a Preventive of Malaria: The Latest Researches about the Plant—By Sast Bhusan Banerjee (Sept., Dec., 1911).

HISTORICAL

1. Living Sages of India: Baba Madhava Das (July, Sept., 1897).
2. A Bengal Professor (J. C. Bose): Reprint from the London Spectator (July, 1897).
3. The Holy City of Benares—By N. N. D. (July, 1897).
6. An Old Indian Picture—By Sripati Kaviratna (January, 1898).
7. The Dawn and the Bhagavat Chatuspathi (February, 1898).
8. From Herbert Spencer Onwards (Feb.-April, Nov.-Dec., 1898).


15. The Mystic Story of Peter Schlemihl—By Adelbert Von Chamisso: Translated into English from the Original German—By Dr. Nishikant Chattopadhyaya (July, Sept., Nov.-Dec., 1899; January, May-June, August-Sept., 1900).

16. To the Memory of the Late Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, Kt.—By the Editor (July-Oct., 1899).


19. Some Forgotten Chapters of Early Indian History—By Ramaprasad Chanda (July, 1900).

20. Indian Social Evolution and Reform—By the Editor (Nov., 1900)—Originally appeared editorially in a well-known Calcutta daily indentified with Suren Banerjea's *Bengalee*.


23. Max-Muller Memorial at Oxford—a Letter from Prof. A. A. Macdonnel of Oxford written on December 12, 1900 to the Editor of *The Dawn* (Dec., 1900).

24. The Late Mr. Justice Ranade in One Aspect of His Character—By N. N. Ghose, Editor, *The Indian Nation*, Calcutta (January, 1901).


26. The Middle Ages of India; A History of the People—By Ramaprasad Chanda (Feb.-March, 1901).

27. The Arab Conquest of Sind: An Historical Enquiry into Causes—By Atul Chandra Chatterjee, t.c.s. (May, 1901).
28. The Hindu Woman as a Warrior and as a Ruler: Researches into Ancient History—By Thakur Kahan Chandraji Varma, Lahore (June, 1901).

29. Priests and Sacrifices in Ancient India—By S. Ramaswami Aiyar (June, 1901).


31. Sir George Birdwood’s Appeal to Educated Hindus—By the Editor (August, 1901).

32. The Hindu Temples and Shrines of Bombay—By George Birdwood (August, 1901).

33. Ancient History of Magadha—By Satis Chandra Acharya, Vidyabhusan (Sept., 1901).

34. Early History of Mewar in the Light of Latest Researches in Archaeology—By Ramaprasad Chanda (Oct., 1901).


36. Paranjpye and Keith: Notes from Cambridge—By the Editor (Dec., 1901).

37. In Touch with the Sadhus: A Scheme of Service—By Vimalananda, Joint Editor, Prabuddha-Bharata (Dec., 1901).

38. History of Indian Grammatical Literature—By Prof. Satis Chandra Acharya, Vidyabhushan (January-February, 1902).

39. A Speech from Mr. R. P. Paranjpye (the first Hindu Senior Wrangler gave this on his arrival from Europe in Bombay on Dec., 7, 1901)—By the Editor (January, 1902).

40. Rana Kumbha: A Study from Original Sources—By Ramaprasad Chanda (April, June-July, 1902).

41. Antiquity of the Art of Writing in India—By Golakbihari Mukherjee (July, 1902).

43. Some Authors I have known—By R. B. Marston, England (Oct., 1902).
44. Perpetuation of Historic Memories: Being Thoughts suggested by the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Raja Ram Mohan Roy—By Principal Brajendra Nath Seal (Nov., 1902).
45. Prof. J. C. Bose Interviewed in 1896—By Prof. Satthianidhan of Madras (Nov., 1902).
46. Dharmaranya or the Forest of Justice: An Attempt to identify the Site—By Pandit Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan (Nov., 1902).
47. Some Characteristic Features of Modern Japanese Life and Character—Adapted from the writings of Lafcadio Hearn, Basil Hall Chamberlain and Kakasu Okakura (May-July, 1903).
48. Was Buddha Opposed to Caste? Why Has Caste Deteriorated?—By Mrs. Annie Besant (June, 1903).
49. The Coronation Ceremony—By Radha Kumud Mookerji (June, 1903).
50. Mr. Jamsetji N. Tata’s Career: A Sketch (June, 1903).
51. The Danda or the Law: The King and a Ministry Sufficiently representative of the People forming the basis of the Political Constitution of Ancient India—By Purnendu Narayan Sinha (July, 1903).
52. Italy and India: the Social, Political and Industrial Fortunes of the two Countries (July, 1903).
53. The Patriotic Statesmanship of Japan (August, 1903).
54. Representation and Legislation in India: Speech of Sir Charles Wood on First Reading of Indian Councils Bill, 1861 (August, 1903).
55. Colonel Malleson on Certain Aspects of the Moghul and the British Rule in India (Oct., 1903).
56. The Dialogue between Rishi Yajnavalkya and His Wife: From the Brihadaranyaka (Oct., 1903).
58. The Truth About Oriental Patriotism—By Meredith Townsend (Oct., 1903).
59. Forms of National Unity, Religious, Racial, Geographical, Political as explained or illustrated by the Past and the Present of the Jewish People—By “A Jew” (Nov., 1903).
60. Knowledge of Sanskrit among the Mahomedans—By Radha Kumud Mookerji (Dec., 1903).
62. Notes from the Professor of Sanskrit’s Inaugural Lecture at Cambridge (January, 1904).
63. Experiences of Contemporary Mahratta and of Parsi Life—By Sister Nivedita (January, 1904).
64. Some Useful Facts About Japan and Korea (February, 1904).
65. Aryan Migration into Bengal—By Ramaprasad Chanda (March, 1904).
66. “Buddhist India” By T. W. Rhys Davids—By Prof. Satis Chandra Acharya, Vidyabhusan (April, 1904).
67. Sanskrit Learning in India—By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri (May, 1904).
68. Budh Gaya: Its Place in Hinduism—By Sister Nivedita (June, 1904).
69. The Warrior Caste of Japan (June, 1904).
70. Account of Work done by the Dawn Society during the last few years with a statement also of Objects and Methods (Sept., 1904).
71. The Late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar: A Study (Sept., 1904).
72. The Story of Our First Indian Baronet (November, 1904).
75. Lessons from the Life of the Late Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore (March, 1905).

3. Mr. Bendall, Prof. of Sanskrit at Cambridge.
76. The Maharashtra Brahmans (March, 1905).
77. In the Land of Kathiawari Princes—By H. H. Maniar (May, 1905).
78. The Dakshini Hill Forts: In Memory of Shivaii (May, 1905).
79. Fifty Years Ago: The Woes of a Class of Bengal Peasantry under European Indigo Planters* (July, 1905).
80. Abstract of the Accounts of the Dawn Society in all its Sections during Sessions, 1904-05, 1903-04 and 1902-03 (July, 1905).
81. The Territories of Our Own Indian Princes: A Rapid View (Sept., 1905).
82. The Oldest Buildings in India: The Caves and Temples (Sept., 1905).
83. A City of Temples and Palaces: Madura (September, 1905).
85. The Birth of the National Idea or The Awakening of the National Sense in a People (Nov., 1905).
86. Visit to a North Bengal Shrine (March, 1906).
87. Sindhi Mussalmans: Their Holy Men and Bards (March, 1906).
89. The Parsees of India (May, 1906).
90. The Growth of New Political Forces in India: The Englishman’s Point of View—by an Englishman (May, 1906).
91. The Bardai of Rajasthana: Bards of Rajputana (July, 1906).
92. The Jainas of India (July, 1906).
94. Substance of a lecture delivered by Rabindranath Tagore at the Dawn Society (July, 1906), Bengali Portion.

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4. Written by Haran Chandra Chakladar.
95. Shaiva Shrines and Festivals in Southern India (Sept.-Oct., 1906).
97. The Passing Away of a Great Man of Bombay: Late Mr. Premchand Roychand (Sept.-Oct., 1906).
98. The Singers of the South (November, 1906).
99. The Late Raja Ravi Varma (November, 1906).
100. A Trip to a Jaina Shrine: Parasnath (December, 1906).
103. Mr. K. H. D. Cecil., the Parsee Poet and Dramatist (February, 1907).
104. The City of Bombay (February, 1907).
105. The Anglicisation of the East—Speech of Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy (February, 1907).
106. India and Her Neighbours: A Chapter of Forgotten History—Substance of a Lecture delivered By Sarat Chandra Das, c.i.E. at the Bengal National College on March 17, 1907 (March, 1907).
107. Railways in India (March, 1907).
108. Who can be Members of the Dawn Society for the year 1907? (March, 1907).
109. The Essence of the New Movement⁵ (April, 1907).
110. A Feat of Bengali Heroism as recorded in the Rajtarangini (May, 1907).
111. The Seat of a Forgotten Empire: Vijayanagar and its Ruins (May, 1907).
112. Lala Lajpat Rai: His Life and Work (May, June-July, 1907).
114. Sirdar Ajit Singh—By S. Kishan Singh (June-July, 1907).

⁵ Regarding the rise of the New School in Indian politics.
115. Bal Gangadhar Tilak—By a Deccani Student (August, 1907).
116. The Pursuit of Chemistry in Ancient India (August, 1907).
117. The Jat Sikhs of the Punjab (September, 1907).
118. A Bengali Principal in the University of Nalanda—By Panchanan Banerjee (September, 1907).
120. Reminiscences of a Short Tour in West Bengal—By Panchanan Banerjee (October, 1907).
121. Tombs and Memorials of the Dead in India (October, 1907).
122. The Dasahara Festival in Travancore (October, 1907).
123. A Tale of Repression: or the History of a People's Strength (January, 1908).
124. A Maratha Chief Justice under the Peshwas (January, 1908).
128. The University of Nadia—adapted from Mahamahopadhyay Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan's articles on the subject (March, 1908).
129. A Striking Example of Organised Work among the Students and Youngmen of Bengal (March, 1908).
130. The Part played by Indian Ascetics and Men of Religion in Indian Politics: A Short Historical Review—By Rabindra Narayan Ghosh (April, 1908).
132. Thermopylae of Maratha History (May, 1908).
133. The System of Administration in the Nizam's Dominion (June, 1908).
134. The Nationalism of Japan—By Baba Bharati (June, 1908).
135. Fate of the Warrior-Queen, the Rani of Jhansi (July, 1908).
137. A Visit to Sivaji's Fort of Sinhagad—By a Deccani Student (August, 1908).
139. Right Methods of Studying Indian History—Views of Prof. C. F. Andrews (September, 1908).
141. Seven Centuries of Free India (300 B.C.-400 A.D.) mainly adapted from a lecture by Prof. C. F. Andrews of the Delhi College (October, 1908).
142. Tamil Bards of the South—By L. Sankara Aiyer (Oct., 1908; February, May, 1909).
144. The Elephanta Caves—By Popatlal Govindlal Shah (February, 1909).
146. India as the Heart of the Old World—By Radha Kumud Mookerji (March, April, 1909).
151. The Second and Third Cities of the Empire: Comparative:
Claims of Bombay and Calcutta—By P. C. Dutt (Jany., Feb., 1910).

152. India in a New Light: Through the Historical Discoveries of Dr. P. C. Ray, the Great Bengali Chemist (Feb., 1910).


154. Literary Wealth of India: Search for Prakrit Manuscripts—By S. P. V. Ranganathasvami (April, 1910).

155. Maritime Activity and Enterprise in Ancient India: Intercourse and Trade By Sea with China—By Haran Chandra Chakladar (May, June, July, August, 1910; Feb., May, August, Sept., 1911; Feb., March, 1912—68 pages).


158. Indian History and Indian Nationalism: Need for a Standard Work on the Hindu Period of Indian History written from the Indian Point of View—By Rabindra Narayan Ghosh (Oct., Nov., 1910).

159. A New Movement under the auspices of the Punjab Hindu Sabha: A History of India's Past to be Prepared (October, 1910).


161. Ancient Indian History and Civilisation: The Vice-Chancellor's Appeal for a Wider and More Critical Study (April, 1911).

162. The Civilisation of Northern India: A Contribution to the

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6. Being the leading editorial article appearing in the Indian Mirror of 5th June, 1910.

7. Dr. Ashutosh Mukherjee.
163. How Bombay City has been Improved: Lessons for Calcutta—By P. C. Dutt (June, 1911).
164. The Isolation of Turkey: Aspects of Pan-Islamism (Nov., 1911).
165. The Imperial Visit: India and the Royal House (Dec., 1911).
166. The Imperial Visit: India and the First King-Emperor (December, 1911).
167. The Imperial Visit: India and Hindu Loyalty (Jan., 1912).
168. The Personality of Our King-Emperor (January, 1912).
169. The Life of a Great Religious Teacher of Modern Bengal* (Feb., 1912).
171. Severance of Ceylon from India—By Sarada Charan Mitra (July, 1912).

ECONOMIC

1. Aspects of Economic Life in England and in India (July-Aug., 1898).
2. The Economic Situation in India and its Reaction on Indian Social Organisation—By the Editor (Oct., Dec., 1899).
3. Advanced Economic Thought in the West: How to Solve the Labour-Capital Problem—By the Editor (January, 1900).
4. The Indian Economic Problem: A Discussion with Sir George Birdwood—By the Editor (March, April, May, June, 1900).
5. The Arts and Industries of India: The Economic Basis of the Indian Caste System By S. J. Tellery, Bombay (Dec., 1900; March, June-July, 1901).

8. Prabhupada Vijay Krishna Goswami.
6. The Industrial Development of India—By Principal E. B. Havell (Feb.-March, 1902).
8. Village-Co-operation—By the Editor (August, 1902).
13. Analysis of Consumption at the Present Day of Manufactured Articles in Indian Households—By Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., M.P. (Oct., 1902)—Adapted from some of his published writings.
16. Indian Arts and Industries: Foreign Industrial Domination—the Views of the late Mr. Justice Ranade (Feb., 1903).
17. Indian Arts and Industries: Notes and Comments—By the Editor (Feb., 1903).
18. Indian Arts and Industries: Foreign Industrial Domination: Views of the late Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade—By the Editor (March, 1903).
20. Lakshmi’s Bhandar or Indian Stores for Indian Ladies—By Sarola Devi Ghosal, Editor, the Bharati (April, 1903).


23. Industrial Development of India: The Question of Capital: Two Opposing Views Amongst Ourselves: Mr. Wacha *versus* Mr. Ranade (Sept., 1903).


27. Some Facts About the Growth of Russian Industry and National Wealth (February, 1904).

28. Our Artisans and Mechanics: Or Indian Arts and Crafts —By G. Subramaniya Iyer (April, 1904).

29. Importance of Industry from a Social Point of View—By J. Chatterjee (July, 1904).

30. Who is to Lift our Artizan Classes? (September, 1904).

31. The Food Our Agriculturists Eat: A Measure of their Poverty and Destitution (November, 1904).

32. The Poverty Problem in India (January, 1905).

33. India's Trading Classes (January, 1905).

34. Internal Traffic of India (January, 1905).

35. The Sale of Milk in Calcutta (in Bengali)—By Bhutanath Ghosh, a milkman (May, 1905).

36. A Class of Bengal Artizans (May, 1905).

37. The Milkmen of Calcutta (in Bengali)—By Bhutanath Ghosh (July, 1905).

38. The Principles of Weaving (September, 1905).
39. The Baniya in the Punjab (September, 1905).
40. The Condition of Village Peasantry in the vicinity of Calcutta (in Bengali)—By Bhutanath Ghosh (Sept., Nov., 1905; Jan., 1906).
41. The Indigenous Vs. The Foreign Industries: The Key to Success (in Bengali)—By Kali Sankar Sukul (November, 1905).
44. How the Hill-tribes Raise Crops: Jhum or Taungya (January, 1906).
46. Swadeshi Articles at the Industrial Exhibition, Benares (Jan., 1906).
47. The True Character of the Boycott in Bengal (May, 1906).
48. The True Character of the Swadeshi in Bengal (May, 1906).
49. Prospects of the Swadeshi (May, 1906).
51. The Silk Industry in India (July, 1906).
52. The Runn or Great Salt Waste of Cutch (November, 1906).
53. Manufacture of Pencils—By J. C. Das from Japan (December, 1906).
54. The Mysore Gold Mines (December, 1906).
55. The Present Condition of Indian Industries (January, 1907).
57. Trade, Agriculture and Material Condition and Manual Industries of Midnapore District—By Haripada Ghosal (January, 1907).
58. The Indian Industrial Exhibition, 1906—By N. B. Dutt (Feb., 1907).
59. The Indian Industrial Exhibition, 1907—By N. B. Dutt (March, 1907).
60. The Fisheries of West Bengal (March, 1907).
61. Irrigation Works in India—By a Student of the Bengal National College (April, 1907).
62. The Salt Industry of Rajputana (April, 1907).
64. Cattle-Breeding in Mysore: The Amrit Mahal (June-July, 1907).
65. The Trade of Bengal: A Field for Swadeshi Enterprise—By Amulya Charan Das Gupta (September, 1907).
67. Swadeshi in India and America: A Parallel from History (Sept., 1907).
68. Our Industrial Heritage: Or the Story of an Indian Manufacture (January, 1908).
69. Indian Yarn in Europe (January, 1908).
70. Swadeshi Notes—Industrial (January-October, 1908; Jan., Feb., March, 1909; March, 1911).
71. The Exhibition at the Bengal National College—By Radha Kumud Mookerji (February, 1908).
73. Some of Our Leading Industries (May, 1908).
74. Swadeshi Steamers: Their National Importance (May, 1908).
75. The Triumph of Swadeshi or The Story of the Textile Industry of India—By “Sehangal” (July, 1908).
76. Swadeshi Among the Punjab Muhammadans (July, 1908).
77. Indian Textile Industry—During the First Half of the 19th Century (August, 1908).
78. The Power of Swadeshi—Views of a Mahomedan Publicist (Sept., 1908).
79. England's Free Trade an Economic Necessity to her: The Prime Minister's Views (October, 1908).
82. Further Striking Success of the Growth of Swadeshi in the Western Presidency (Feb., 1909).
83. Bengal Swadeshi: A Revival of Industries and Commerce (March, April, May, 1909).
85. Success of Swadeshi-Boycott in India: Views of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce (April, 1909).
89. Commercial Swadeshi Vs. People's Swadeshi: Mr. E. B. Havell's Views (May, 1909).
96. Dr. Coomarswamy on European Commercial Production: Superiority of the Eastern Craftsman over the Western Workman (September, 1909).
98. Methods of Modern Industrialism: Mr. Havell's and Sir George Birdwood's Warning to Indians (December, 1909).
100. Crying Need for Industrial Swadeshi: Facts and Figures (Feb., 1910).
102. Improvement of Bengal Cattle and Milch Cows—By Jyotish C. Das (June, 1910).
104. Crying Need for a Movement in Favour of the Artizan Classes: Struggle between Cottage and Manufacturing Industries in India (Oct., Nov., Dec., 1910; Feb., 1911).
106. The Influence of European Civilisation on Indian Arts and Crafts: Views of Sir George Watt and Editorial Comments (Jan., March, May, 1911).
108. The Weaving of Grass-Mats in Palghat by the Kuravas—By P. R. A. Iyer (March, 1911).

India’s “Industrial Revolution”: What It Means and Involves (Sept., Oct., 1911).

India and the Lancashire Cotton Trade (Oct., 1912).

“Industries Must Precede Technical Education in India”: Mr. Harold Cox on the Question (Feb., 1912).


EDUCATIONAL

1. The Education of Hindu Youth—By Mrs. Annie Besant—Reprint from the Theosophist (June, 1897).

2. The Education of Our Boys (July, 1897).

3. The Education of Our Boys—By Jamini Nath Banerjee, Principal, Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School (January, 1898).

4. Principles of University Education in the East and the West (Sept., 1898).

5. Modes of Instruction: The Kindergarten; and Genius—By Dr. Paul Carus, Editor of the Open Court, appearing in the Sept., 1899 issue of that Journal (Nov., 1899).


7. Sir George Birdwood on the Need for Higher Sanskrit and Vernacular Education in India (January, 1900).

8. The Fate of All Our Instructions—By the Editor (Feb., 1900).

9. The System of Teaching in Indian Colleges—By A. C. Chatterjee, i.c.s. (Sept., 1900).


11. Technical Education in Great Britain (Nov., 1900).

12. The System of Classification of Boys in Indian Schools: A Scheme of Reform—By the Editor (January-Feb., 1901).
13. On Education and Examination—By the Editor (March, May, July, 1901).
15. The Sacrifice of Education: By the Late Prof. Max-Muller (March, 1901)—Reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*, Nov., 1888.
16. Lord Curzon’s Address to the Rising Generation of Educated Indians: Convocation Speech as the Chancellor of the Calcutta University on February 15, 1902 (March, 1902).
17. An Examination into the Present System of University Education in India and a Scheme of Reform—By the Editor (April, May, June, 1902—61 pages, Royal Size).
19. Education for the Whole Community: Some Recent and Approved Opinions—By the Editor (Nov., 1902).
22. The Old Order Changeth: Trend of Modern Education: Illustrations from Germany—By the Editor (August, 1903).
24. The Educational Problem in India—By Sister Nivedita (Feb., 1904).
26. Technical Education in America and Japan—By Sister Nivedita (May, 1904).
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30. Different Types of Existing Technical or Industrial Schools in India (January, 1905).


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APPENDICES
Dear Sir,

My wife's illness greatly pre-occupies me still and I am myself in very weak health having suffered from three attacks of influenza this year, but I cannot let this mail pass without writing and thanking you most cordially for your kind courtesy and kind thought in sending me a copy of the *Dawn*, containing the deeply interesting article 'In Memoriam' of the late Mr. Gladstone*. The whole number interests me and it is a source of unfeigned pleasure to me to find the educated Hindus in India supporting, of their own inspiration and with their own independent means, a periodical of this description. I hail with delight any symptom of the spontaneous revival of the indigenous and traditionary, literary and artistic and philosophical and religious life of India—India of the Hindus. With almost equal satisfaction I note the growing attention which the Hindus, at least those who have come to England, are giving to the industrial development of their wonderful country, wonderful for its untold natural wealth, and for the strong, and I hope and pray, imperishable spiritual individuality of its great historical people. Once you take into your own hands the task of developing the reproductive resources of India and of extending its international commercial relations, the prosperity and wealth of the country will advance by leaps and bounds and that necessary

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1. Originally published in the *Dawn* in June, 1899.
2. *This article appeared in No. 16 Vol. II of this Journal—Ed.*
material basis be provided which will ensure the maintenance—as by a perpetual endowment—of the great and beneficent historical personality of the Hindus—the calm, unbroken continuity of the natural, subjective evolution of their strongly idiosyncratic, traditionary civilisation. The first thing to do is to take the whole of your higher education more into your own hands. In our English system of education far too much of time and energy is spent on English Literature and far too little on Hindu i.e. Sanskrit and the literature of the literary Prakits, such as Mahratti and Tamil. Of Western Literature the most worthy of your study are the poetical and philosophical writings of the Greeks and the Romans; and it is through Greece and Rome that you would approach the literature of England, France, and Germany, not direct.

Science is almost the exclusive creation of modern Europe—the Greeks were on the eve of all our greatest modern discoveries when the cataclysms of the Goths and Vandals swept the whole area of the Roman Empire and placed an everlasting gulf between ancient and modern civilisation in the past. It is to modern Europe therefore that you must directly look for your scientific culture and in the present economic condition of India you cannot have too much pure and applied (technical) scientific instruction in all your schools, primary, secondary and higher. But for your literary and artistic and your philosophical and religious—in a word, your spiritual culture, you already possess your own—the indigenous growth of 4000 years of Aryan supremacy in India; and you must never surrender it, but to the utmost of your ability and power strengthen it and extend its influence.

Of course you cannot help its being modified by the literary, artistic and religious culture of the West,—not if India is to keep an equal place and all worthy of her ancient civilisation, in the international life of the world; but the point is that it must not be forced upon you under alien compulsion through the Government schools and the not less official Indian Universities. The modification must come naturally and spontaneously and gradually, as if subjectively, through inevitable commercial and social intercourse—which have ever proved the most powerful influences in stimulating the spiritual advancement of peoples and nations. You can acquire no ingrained, no immanent, and instinctive, no natural and enduring culture save in this voluntary and slow and sure way; and you will never assimilate and receive real nourishment from an alien culture imposed on you under the compulsion
of the drill-sergeant's cane. You must go back to Classical Sanskrit and Greek and Latin as essential items in every college curriculum, and leave English Literature for private reading—and my advice to you would be to confine that almost exclusively to our poets and the authorised (not revised) version of the Bible. I know nothing about the genesis of the original Hebrew and Greek—but the English (authorised) Translation is beyond question divinely inspired and a spring of perennial youth and joyfulness and counsel to all who read thereof; and in a word it is the "bed-rock" of the British Empire.

I hope I have not tired you with this long—and you may feel lengthy (which implies weariness in its longness) letter; but it is written on the impulse of the pleased and grateful feelings excited in my heart by the excellence of your kind note and to me most fascinating periodical. I wish you all success with it and beg to remain,

Yours most truly,
(Sd.) George Birdwood

To
S. C. Mookerjee, Esq.,
Editor of the Dawn, Calcutta.

SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJEE'S REPLY TO SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD

[Originally published in the Dawn in Jan., 1900]

As my present letter will amply show my sympathies are entirely on your side in matters which affect the natural, evolutionary, indigenous growth of the great Hindu people. And it is, therefore, that equally with yourself, "I hail with delight every symptom of the spontaneous revival of the indigenous and traditionary, literary and artistic and philosophical and religious life of India—India of the Hindus". I cannot, however, conceal from you what I have always felt that our schools and colleges, such as they are and have
been, are getting to be a growing hindrance; for it seems to me they have outlived their initial stage of usefulness; and that if they must help on the future evolution of my country they would have to be remodelled on, or informed by, a principle the keynote of which would be a greater help by the people themselves along lines suited to a natural, peaceful, indigenous growth, aided of course, but in a most general way, by the fostering hand of responsible men in authority. As it is, the Indian schools and colleges take their cue from the semi-official universities; semi-official in more senses than one. In the first place, they are controlled by the government officials who naturally and with the best of motives, desire to impress upon them the stamp of a culture with which they are most familiar. But the culture has been, I am afraid, forced at too high a speed; it has not been evolutionary, it is not a growth from within ourselves; and if I must speak out my mind, I must not hesitate to say that if the English were to leave us tomorrow, we should be very much in the same position of helplessness as your ancestors were when, during the declining days of Roman power about the fifth century A.D., the aegis of a great rule stood outside and left the people to work out their own destiny. From this point of view, from this point of view of permanent improvement, of stable, enduring, lasting good, I am of opinion that the English will have to revise their relations and initiate a line of reform such as that which you have indicated in your letter.

In the second place, the Indian universities are getting to be more and more governed by a sensible percentage of my own countrymen who are the products of a system of enforced culture, whose evils I have but indicated in the last preceding paragraph. When the machine has been moving along the right road and everything is in order, it does not require a master-mind to direct its operations; but when it has to be shunted off the line in order that it may pursue an even and less risky course, a more progressive road, it will require all the energies we have, and a comprehensive grasp of facts, a larger foresight than the average Fellow of the universities here possess for a successful issue. And it, therefore, happens as a necessary corollary, that many of our Senators have but little time to spare for their educational duties. As you have rightly remarked, "you will never assimilate and receive real nourishment from any alien culture imposed on you under compulsion of the drill-sergeant's cane". There is, therefore, little of life either in the teachers, or the students, or the University Fellow;
the ponderous machine continues to move on no doubt, because
of the momentum it has acquired, but at a lesser and lesser speed
as the days go by; though in the absence of something better, the
motion may continue long enough. And in proportion to the time
during which the motion would last, should I be inclined to
measure the helplessness of our position. There is life, no doubt,
amongst us, but it is the sort of life which cannot, as far as I am
in a position to judge, work out its own salvation. The culture has
been imposed; and so far as it has penetrated our lives, we are
presenting a show of activity; but, unless I am greatly mistaken,
the activity is artificial, delusive, and bound sooner or later either
to disappear, or to issue forth—not in any great calamity—but in
a growing weakening of the whole moral frame of the collective
body, who have been the victims of such “enforced”, “alien”
culture.

My idea, however, is not to deprecate high English Education as
truly mischievous, but to prove that it might be made better to
fulfil its functions, if it could be leavened with a higher informing
spirit; if its lessons could be learnt in a critical spirit and in the
comparative method; if, in short, nothing of English life or civilis­
ation be taken on trust, but it be approached in a spirit of truth­fulness and fairness and understood and appreciated in constant
reference to the civilisation and culture of India’s past, which must
have been and is still furnishing the motive power for further
evolution. It is with this meaning that, when I wrote to you last,
I spoke of “awakening a purer and higher thought” amongst my
Indian countrymen.

Macaulay wrote in 1836 and 1837 (I am not referring to his cele­
brated Minute of the 2nd February, 1835, which has hitherto decided
the fate of Sanskrit Education; but to certain smaller and less
known ones given in H. Woodrow’s collection): “We aim at raising
up an educated class who will hereafter, as we hope, be the means
of diffusing amongst their countrymen some portion of the know­
ledge we have imparted to them. Among them some persons will
be found who will have the inclination and ability to exhibit Euro­
pean knowledge in the vernacular dialects. This I believe to be the
only way in which we can raise up a good vernacular literature in
this country”. With Macaulay’s views as expressed in his Minute
of 1835, February 2, “that a single shelf of a good European library
was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia”, it
was natural that he should think of developing the vernacular
literature of India through the influence of an alien culture. He wished to construct, as it were, a new nation out of a heterogeneous lot of people, united by no cement, who, he thought, had no past worth having, no civilisation whose deep-hid workings might one day effectually stand in the way of the realisation of his hopes. He had found, he imagined, a people freshly created, waiting to be impressed with the stamp of what he conceived to be the “noblest literature in the world”. “The languages of Western Europe civilised Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindu what they have done for the Tartar”. The whole drift of Macaulay’s thought was in the direction of a mechanical, if forcible, manipulation of forces; he had, it seems, little conception of the evolutionary development of organisms, whether biological or sociological.

The flaw in Macaulay’s reasoning is being seen now-a-days; the actual results of the system of enforced, alien culture, it was not possible to detect, so long as such culture was protected, was the passport to official honours and emoluments—so long as English administration in India stood in urgent need of a class of English-educated Indians from the Universities.

“But”, says Seeley in his Expansion of England, “if India is really to be enlightened, evidently it must be through the medium neither of Sanskrit, nor of the English, but of the Vernaculars, that is, Hindustanee, Hindi, Bengali, &c. Could Macaulay really fancy it possible to teach two hundred and fifty millions of Asiatics, English?” Here, again, there is the same error in detecting the right evolutionary point of view, the point of view as above explained; but yet the recognition of the vernaculars as a medium for enlightening the masses is a step in advance. But the vernaculars are but dialects, i.e., are all drawn from the Sanskrit as their source of life; and it is because Sanskrit and the Prakrits, are so correlated, that a natural development (as opposed to an artificial manufacture) of the great Hindu people is possible through a cultivation of the vernaculars. Having, it seems to me, missed the evolutionary point of view, Seeley would regard Sanskrit as a mere dead tongue incapable of moulding a nation’s life. “Why should there be no choice but between dead languages? Therefore over Sanskrit Macaulay had an early victory.” Such were Mr. Seeley’s views.

I therefore agree with you in thinking that both Sanskrit and the vernaculars formed out of Sanskrit will have to be cultivated in order to a peaceful evolution of Indian life and thought.
To
The Editor, the "Dawn"

Sir,

I have read with much interest the excellent article on the Interpretation of Indian Art by Sj. Rabindra Narayan Ghosh in your April number. I should be sorry if my Indian friends should believe from the passage quoted by him from my Ideals of Indian Art that I am inclined to ignore the value of literary scholarship in the interpretation of Indian art. It cannot be otherwise than of the highest importance to seek for all the help which can be found in literary records, more especially in the Silpa Sastras the value of which cannot be over-estimated. All I wished to insist upon in the passage quoted is that for the interpretation of works of art, artistic knowledge must be gained through art and not through books: and that artistic knowledge is necessary for appreciating the true bearing of literary commentaries on art, for the artistic and literary standpoints do not always coincide. All students of Indian art would rejoice if your efforts to promote the scientific study of the Silpa Sastras should bear good fruit.¹

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) E. B. Havell

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¹ Originally published in the Dawn Magazine in June, 1912.
My dear Sir,

I have to thank you much for two copies of the "Dawn". As you may imagine I continue to take a warm interest in the people of India and their Arts and am working on their behalf although in my 76th year. The Maharrattas take no interest in Art. The Race who established the Arts—that of the old Rajputs—were quite different and even remain so now at Jeypore.

I regret that I have only one or two copies of my *Plea for a Subject Race*, but as I am developing my theory in a work to be entitled *Western Civilisation in India*, you will find my ideas all there if I live to complete and publish it. I greatly regret that the Government of India has not given the attention to *Indigenous Power* which I should wish. Mechanical Development was inevitable, but to me Sir T. Morison's *Economic Transition of India* is wholly misleading and disappointing. Despite machinery, the great enemy of Industrial Art in India, there ought to have been an attempt to save the Crafts. But Sir T. Morison would destroy the Village, the hereditary Home of Industrial Art, and no attempt is made by him to save the old Guilds, and this I have heard Royal Engineer Officers condemn. He is all for the Industrial Proprietor and Capitalist, and I regret this new organisation is in many ways destructive. But it is too large a subject to enter on in this place.

I must, however, correct you in one particular. With no wish to detract from the merit of Mr. Havell, I must inform you that I espoused the cause of the Native Architect long before Mr. Havell arrived in India. And the views expressed in the London Times and Pioneer may be found in my "Brochure" on a *Plea for a...*
Subject Race. I rejoice that thoughtful Natives are taking up the subject. You are welcome to publish this statement of mine.

With warm sympathy,

Sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. B. Keith

THE CAUSE OF INDIA'S OLD AND BEAUTIFUL ARTS: A LETTER FROM MAJOR J. B. KEITH

Hotel Belvedere, Avenue Des Alpes, Lausanne, Switzerland,
24th Sept., 1912

To The Editor,

My Dear Sir,

I have to thank you very much indeed for some copies of the "Dawn". You have commenced a work with which I am in entire sympathy, and for the success of which I devoutly pray. My idea has always been that if the people of India really took up the cause of their old and beautiful arts the battle will be more than half won. There are some Princes who are hopeless for they have no taste for art, but the Native officials who are well paid and with no proportionate expenses ought to give out of their abundance.

But before I say more I have been so interested in the work of the "Dawn" that at the risk of depriving myself I have searched for a copy of my Brochure of 1894—"The Indian Problem in its Relation to Indian Workmen or a Plea for an Oriental and Subject Race"—and do myself the pleasure of presenting you with it. I am seeking to approach the Problem of Western Civilisation in India from the standpoint of Environment and National Character and I hope I may live to publish an Introduction. But I have received little or no help and been penalised in ill-health. From an illness I contracted in preparing the "Gwalior Gateway" now at South Kensington—75 tons of beautiful carved stone—in 1884, I have never recovered. I prepared and carved out the work in 1883

as an advertisement to the stone-carvers and indigenous art, but my desire to have the Gateway left in Calcutta, where Sir Riverss Thompson promised me a site, was frustrated and I had great trouble to have it erected in South Kensington, where it is misplaced and does not serve the purpose of an advertisement.

You are doing a good work in recalling the ancient history of India, its sages and arts.

I am altogether against interfering with the manners, customs or Religion of my old friends in India and am an immense admirer of their Philosophy. At the same time, while I think Female Education is a very delicate subject, I should like to see Native Ladies interest themselves in the cause of Native Art and although the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. F. A. Steel and other Ladies are to be commended and admired, I wish Native Ladies could unite more about themselves and India than they do. The Pax Britannica has done a great deal, but I think if we could unite those virtues of the Hindu Family and the Saxon Individual it would be much better. Sir T. Morison might have been a good teacher in the Mahomedan College of Aligurgh and has a taste for Economic Statistics, but he knows nothing about Indian Workmen and probably never was in a Kharkhana. There is no analogy between the wants of India and of Europe, while the action of physical laws is quite different. In Europe, the Labour Movement has caused immense trouble owing to exploitation, but in India under different conditions it will be infinitely worse, and I wholly distrust Individualism in a Collectivist country and with a Natural Socialism and under a different form of Government. What you want in a country where the many have small incomes is to encourage small industries if you desire economical peace. There is plenty of room for the Machine without despoiling the poor and we must recollect that multiplied Trade Returns or Parsi Millionaires is no evidence as to the prosperity of the Working Classes. The Sociology of India whether there are still tribal communities, is wholly different from that of Europe and you must conserve the Hindu Family.

My reference to Sir Swinton Jacob, Col. Hendley, and above all my departed friend F. G. Growse is well deserved, more particularly Mr. Growse, who was a warm friend of the Hindus as I can testify. Nor do I grudge any honour to Mr. Havell, but you will see from my Brochure that I took up the cause of the Native Architect long before he arrived in India. A reference to the old columns of the
Pioneer in days that are fled will show you that Mr. Growse and myself warred against the philistines. And I visited many industries and had a personal knowledge of the workmen which Sir T. Morison has not. Although I am against Indian Art Schools, I should like to see India provided with copies of the late Mr. John Griffith's magnificent monograph on the Paintings of Ajanta. Mr. Havell has right ideas, but the teaching of Mr. Locke in the Art School at Calcutta was a great mistake when I visited it many years ago. The Foundation of an Art Revival in India is the conservation of her ancient Monuments, and you would see from my articles in the Pioneer and in the London Times in 1884 that I agitated a good deal long before Mr. Marshall and Lord Curzon appeared on the scene, but that is forgotten.

New Delhi is now an accomplished fact, but I do not believe in Imperial Delhi. A philosophic writer—Charles Pearson (National Life and Character) says India will one day return to its original formation—decentralised States, and I believe it.

You see, therefore, that I have not forgotten India and whether I succeed or not in what I am now working at, it will always be a joy to serve my old Hindu, and I may say Mahomedan, friends although like Mr. Growse I never knew the latter.

My best wishes,

(Sd.) J. B. Keith

F

THE NEW DELHI AND THE PROTECTION OF INDIA'S BEAUTIFUL ART:

A LETTER FROM MAJOR J. B. KEITH*

Belvedere Hotel, Avenue Des Alpes, Lausanne, Switzerland, 10th December, 1912

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you for November copies of the Dawn. The motices have greatly gratified me. On a later occasion I hope to forward a copy of a letter I am circulating regarding what I grieve

to call a projected act of vandalism, the worst I have known in India, by the proposal to prepare buildings for the Government in the European Renaissance Style of Architecture. My devout hope is that Government will reconsider this before it is too late, for it is deceived on the subject. And I hope every lover of a beautiful, traditional and living art such as we have in India will enter a righteous protestation. No other country that I am aware of in the East has a traditional Art, nor in the West either. It would be a flagrant injustice to the Native Architect and to my old friends the mason and craftsmen, and a fine illustration of the extent to which Europeanisation is being carried. The Native Press have committed errors and all friends of India deplore them, but here we can unite with a righteous protest for the protection of their beautiful Art! It has been said that our system of Education in its European exaggeration as taught in our colleges is as little adapted to the wants of the people as the Architecture of the colleges so destitute of all that makes up indigenous national thought and feeling. But I hope Government will belie the statement and give a better apology for European Education than in the contemplated European Renaissance for the Government Capital of Delhi.

With my kind regards,

Sincerely Yours,

(Sd.) J. B. Keith

CORRESPONDENCE:

Re. Devanagari Script for the Bengali portion of the Magazine

I

Many of the subscribers of your Magazine do not know Bengali and hence a good portion of the Magazine is practically of no use to them. The language by itself would not be so unintelligible, even to men living outside the limits of Bengal, as most of the words are of Sanskrit origin and as such, can be understood. But the chief difficulty we meet with is in regard to the characters. I would therefore suggest that the portion of the Magazine which is printed in Bengali be printed in Devanagari characters.

I think it is admitted on all hands that if ever there is to be a common script for all India—as there is every likelihood—it cannot be other than the Devanagari script. The controversy about it began long ago, and has gone on with fair success. In Bengal of course it is of a very recent growth, and all the Hindi-knowing people of India are under a deep debt of gratitude to the Hon'ble Justice Sarada Charan Mitter who inaugurated the movement in Bengal.

I suggest the adoption of the Nagari script for the publication of the Bengali portion of the Dawn Society's Magazine for the following reasons:

1. In Bengal, the Sanskrit character is not unknown as the Bengali is in other parts of India—and your readers will not find it at all difficult to read that portion even when printed in Sanskrit characters—and especially so because all the text books in Sanskrit in the higher classes of schools and colleges, as also the papers set at the University Examinations are printed in Sanskrit character. In other parts of India also the Sanskrit books are almost all published in Sanskrit characters. I believe we can safely say that this Devanagari character is known all over India in the Hindu community at any rate.

2. The Dawn Society, I think, ought not to confine its benefits to the students of Bengal. As the only institution of its kind we naturally expect much from it. The usefulness of the Magazine will, I can assure you, be greatly enhanced for those who do not know Bengali characters—e.g. Beharis, Mahrathis, Guzaratis, Madrasis etc.

3. The moral effect of having such a common script is too well-known to require any advocacy from me. We are separated from one another—by difference of race, of language, of customs and manners—in fact by all things that can separate one body of men from another. And if we could manage to have one link which could join us all together—which could bind us all in one bond of sympathy—we would have advanced the cause of making a nation a great deal.

The movement has received the support of some of the greatest men of Bengal—men who are revered all over India—men like Sir Gooroodas Bannerji, the Hon'ble Justice Sarada Charan Mitter, Mr. N. N. Sen, and the esteemed President of your Society, Mr. N. N. Ghosh. I need hardly say that the names of these gentlemen is a guarantee for the usefulness of the scheme.
If by the sacrifice of a little sentiment, the Bengali readers of your Magazine could see their way to support the plan here suggested, they will lay the whole Hindi-speaking and Hindi-writing population (which by-the-by is about 20 crores) under a deep debt of gratitude.

The Dawn Society is a unique institution and is doing a service to the community for which it cannot be too grateful to you. If you adopt my humble suggestion, you would make a departure which would be hailed all over the country with delight, and I doubt not that the usefulness of the Magazine as a propagator of the Bengali language (as distinguished from the Bengali script) all over India, will be largely increased.

May I not expect that the Dawn Society will be the leader in this respect as it has been in many other respects, and the readers of the Magazine be ready to sacrifice a little sentiment if they can do such service to the country thereby?

Rajendra Prasad

P.S. I shall feel much obliged if this letter be circulated among your readers and their opinion invited on it.

R. Prasad

II*

I am thankful to you for the trouble you took in publishing my letter in your last issue. I feel much more so when I think about the solicitude with which you look upon the question raised by me.

As to the passage published by you, I must say that I cannot understand it thoroughly. But I have grasped that the main theme of the passage is this—"Whether you worship, by means of prayer, or by फुलचांदन, or by साकारभाव उपासना there is absolutely no difference in the mind of the Omnicient; he gives rewards according to merit." However, I am sure that if I am informed of the meaning of certain words, like याऊक, यखन-तखन, ब्राह्म and some others, I can understand it well enough.

When I learn that something at least is understood when Bengali is written in Nagari characters, when I can catch the main thought, when I see that excellent and important subjects are treated of in the Bengali Portion of Part III, (as I learn from the index to

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the first volume), I find it almost of paramount importance that an attempt, to keep “the Sealed Book” open, should be made as early as possible.

We have been informed of the two ways in which this can be accomplished, either by using the Bengali or by changing the language from Bengali into Hindi.

I find that you are prejudiced against the first way. I cannot understand why the use of the Nagari letters cannot befit a journal aiming at unification. We see it plainly that if this is done, more persons can read the Bengali portion of the Magazine. Do you think it below your dignity to adopt this manner? Do you wish to abandon this small profit merely because it is small? I know that your aims are high—nay every man’s aims should be high—but that is no reason why one should think it below his dignity to occupy a position of advantage—small though the advantage may be.

If you can, on the other hand, change the language into Hindi, it would be all the more welcome. As a matter of fact, I would prefer this change to that of merely changing the characters. But one can best imagine to oneself the difficulties lying in it. Either the students who write or compose these articles, must learn to write good Hindi or you must engage a Hindi-knowing gentleman who can compose or write well in Hindi. This will certainly confine the right of writing in Hindi to a few persons or to only one. Besides, persons like me will lose the chance of learning Bengali—a very fertile and widely spoken language, as I am told.

Even if you change the language or if you keep the Bengali portion as it is, I would like that the article, “Bengali as Spoken by the Bengalis”, should have Bengali in the places where Bengali is quoted. The article, the work of an able pen as it seems to me, should not be half dry and half tasteful. It becomes very painful to me that the interest in that masterly article flags when anything is quoted.

For fear of making it very long and tedious, I close up my letter here. To sum up, I for one can understand Bengali better when written in Bengali than when written in any other way. I would be glad if this change is made, and much more so if the whole Bengali portion is written in Hindi. But “slow and steady” should be the motto of a “journal aiming at unification.”

Popotlal Govindlal Shah,
Victoria Mills, Gandevi, Bombay
Re. Devanagari Script for the Bengali portion of the Magazine

There has been a good deal of discussion with regard to the scheme of introducing the Devanagari script for the Bengali portion of the magazine.

May I not venture to set forth my own views on this important matter?

I would suggest that two sets of this magazine should be printed. In one of these the latter portion should be printed in the Bengali character; while in the other it should be printed in the Devanagari character. Those who are not familiar with the Bengali script, should be supplied with the latter class; the rest with the former one. To my mind this solution would present the least difficulty both to the readers and the managers of the magazine.

36, Amherst Street, Calcutta

PANCHANANDAS MUKHOPADHYAYA.

Bande Mataram! Various suggestions have been made as to the Bengali portion of the Magazine. We, the Punjabis cannot make out the meaning of the Bengali portion even when it is written in the Devanagari character except with the help of notes on the important Bengali words. In the Punjab and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the majority of the people know Devanagari. It would be much better if the Nagari script is adopted for the Bengali portion. In case the adoption of the Devanagari script is objected to, I should like that in place of the Bengali portion there should be articles published in English dealing with social reform and moral and religious subjects.

Ferozepur City, Punjab

JAGAN NATH GHULATIA.

** Ibid, pp. 55-56.
I concur with Rajendra Prasad and others in their proposal of using Devanagari Lipi in the Bengali portion of your journal. Sanskrit is taught not only in many schools of India but also in several institutions of England and Germany, whereas Bengali is used only in Bengal. No one knows Bengali characters here except a very few Bengalis who come down from the north. I think it advisable to have a glossary of difficult words in Part III of your magazine as in Part I, and I shall be very glad to see the Part III of your magazine in Devanagari Lipi.

D. S. Razv, Vizagapatam.

The Bengali portion of your magazine whether it is printed in Bengali or Devanagari type is of no use to us. It is a dead letter. One of your correspondents Mr. R. Prasad in his first reason in support of the Devanagari script says, "I believe we can safely say that this Devanagari character is known all over India in the Hindu community at any rate." In the Hindu community the Brahmans were exclusive possessors of the sacred tongue formerly. Now also most people who know Sanskrit are only Brahmans. The other classes do not know it. Among the Brahmans also only a few know Sanskrit well. Some would get by heart some mantrams without knowing the meaning. In the colleges I find only a small number of Brahmans taking up Sanskrit for their second language. Another correspondent Popotlal Govindlal Shah suggests Hindi because he knows Hindi. The third correspondent suggests Hindustani because he knows it, I suppose. I agree with him in his suggestion to print the Bengali portion in English. You should not expect every English knowing gentleman to know Sanskrit. You print the other portions in English, why not print this also in English. Does it not seem reasonable and becoming that others who are non-Bengalis should know the religious subjects you publish? Your object I think, is only to draw the people of the various provinces together and thus make them sympathise with

** Ibid, p. 56.
each other and not to widen the gulf that exists already: your aim is only unification and not separation. It is not intended for one class but for all. I mean detaching the Bengali portion from the Volumes you have sent and sending it to you so that it might be of some use to my Bengali brethren. I advise the same to my brothers who do not know Bengali. For my own part and in the interest of my non-Bengali brethren, I suggest on strong grounds that the Bengali portion should be omitted and should be printed in English and English alone. If that is done it would satisfy one and all and the aim of your magazine be fulfilled. I shall be very glad and much obliged to see the Bengali portion omitted and printed in English.

E. Rajagopalan,
College Student, Tanjore
APPENDIX II

SELECT WRITINGS OF SATISCHANDRA
ON NATIONAL PROBLEMS

A

Even so far back as 1821, during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, when it was proposed to establish in Calcutta a “thoroughly efficient Sanskrit College” (the present Calcutta Sanskrit College) by the Government, the Resolution passed on the occasion makes it pointedly clear that although the “immediate object” of the Institution would be the “cultivation of Hindu Literature,” the political end must never be lost sight of, through the “diffusion of European learning.”

One should have thought, that here at any rate in the establishment of a Hindu Sanskrit College, the political object as an object would find a subordinate place in the educational scheme. But the Resolution goes on to declare:—“The Committee (Sanskrit College Committee) will bear in mind, that the immediate object of the Institution is the cultivation of Hindu Literature. Yet it is in the judgment of his Lordship in Council, a purpose of much deeper interest to seek every practicable means of effecting the gradual diffusion of European knowledge. It seems indeed no unreasonable anticipation to hope that if the higher and educated classes among the Hindus shall, through the medium of their sacred language, be imbued with a taste for European literature and science, a general acquaintance with these, and with the language whence they are drawn will be surely and extensively communicated as by any attempt at direct instruction by other and humbler seminaries. But though the means be different, the community of end must always be held in view”.

Among other means employed to carry out the primary object, here enunciated, an English Class and a Science Class were established in the Sanskrit College. In 1835, the English Department was abolished, the General Committee stating it as their opinion that “it has been established by the result of a long trial that it will not answer as a general rule, to teach two learned languages to the same students in this country;” for the attempt to teach two such languages as Sanskrit and English “is to give
the student a smattering of both without a competent knowledge of either, overload the mind with words without leaving time for the acquisition of that knowledge as a medium for the acquisition of which these words are alone valuable." But the Court of Directors and the Government of India did not allow the Committee to pursue its purely educational object, and we find the English classes again revived, after a period of temporary suspension for five years, "in accordance," the Report of the Committee adds, "with the wishes of the Court of Directors and of the Government of India and of a large majority of the students."

Into the revived English classes, however, only pupils who had made considerable progress in Sanskrit were at first admitted; and the most promising were allowed to learn English as a special favour and reward. But the later practice was to allow the pupils to commence English simultaneously with Sanskrit, as it was found that they did not make sufficient progress in English unless they began early enough. We would not pursue the subject further than remarking that the mixed character of the Calcutta Sanskrit College could be finally traced to the desire of our English rulers to subordinate the educational problem to the requirements of political expediency, although even here a wider foresight would have shown that loyalty to the requirements of true education would have saved alike the educational and the political problem.

The Sanskrit College was attempted to be formed on the model of an Anglo-Sanskrit Institution, through whose gates the orthodox classes were to be made to pass into the wider arena of European thought and European culture. In 1835, however, with the advent of Lord Macaulay as President of the General Committee, the vestiges of a scheme of oriental learning were altogether to be effaced; and European Science and Literature were to be imparted "through the medium of the English language. The medium of the English language did not, it was authoritatively declared, exclude the vernacular in conjunction with English, as the medium of instruction. For, in the words of the General Committee, "the question submitted for the decision of Government only concerned the relative advantages of teaching English on the one side and the learned eastern languages on the other" and it was added that the phrases "English Education" and "English literature and Science" were not set up in opposition to vernacular education, but in opposition to oriental learning taught through the medium of Sanskrit and Arabic.
Thus in the place of Anglo-Sanskrit Institutions, like the Sanskrit College, Anglo-Vernacular institutions were to be established; but the object, the political end in both was the same. A leisured class of English-educated Indians with western habits of thought and western principles were to be raised in opposition to the Pundits or the orthodox classes, who should be the means of spreading Western light and culture, slowly it may be, but surely and steadily as the days went by, among a wider and wider area of the Indian community. "Perhaps we must be content," wrote Mr. J. Kerr, M.A., Principal of the Hoogly College in his Review of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces (1835-51), "in India, as has happened elsewhere, to leave the learned classes as they are called behind and to raise up new men who will adopt our views more heartily than the Pundits are likely to do. Those whose interests are intimately connected with the old system, whose influence and importance are derived from it, will be the very last except in rare instances, to come over to the side of improvement", that is to say, to the side of their Western rulers. Much to the same effect were the views of Lord Macaulay—in 1836 and 1837,—I am not here referring to his celebrated Minute (which was written in 1835), but to certain smaller and less known ones given in H. Woodrow's collection—"We aim at raising up an educated class who will hereafter, as we hope, be the means of diffusing among their countrymen some portion of the knowledge we have imparted to them. Among them some persons will be found who will have the inclination and ability to exhibit European knowledge in the vernacular dialects." Thus was inaugurated the system of "combined instruction in English and vernacular," and the object steadily kept in view in the first instance was the extension of education among the upper and middle classes of the people. Thus we pass from the regime of a purely oriental learning to the system of Anglo-Vernacular schools and colleges, where the vernaculars were to be taught to influential classes to help them to be the means of diffusing western thought among an oriental people. The principle of combined instruction was formally and authoritatively enunciated and promulgated by Lord Auckland's celebrated Minute, dated the 24th November, 1839. About the time when the Governor-General wrote his Minute, in the opinion of the General Committee, "our efforts should be at first concentrated to the improvement of education among the higher and middling classes of the population—in the expectation that through the agency of these scholars an educa-
tional reform will descend to the rural vernacular schools, and its benefits be rapidly transfused amongst all those excluded in the first instance by abject want from a participation in its advantages.”

About 1850, the necessity and importance of a combined instruction for the high classes continued to be felt and acknowledged by the authorities; for we find Mr. J. E. D. Bethune, President of the Council of Education, 1848-51, in an address to the young men of the Krishnagar College on the occasion of the annual distribution of prizes, using the following language. “The English language can never become familiar to the millions of Bengal. The ideas which you gain through English will, by your help, be gradually diffused by a vernacular literature through the masses of your countrymen”. He added that “when young natives had brought to him their English compositions in prose and verse, he had always advised them to turn their attention to original composition in their own language, or to the object of translating into it the masterpieces of English literature.” The same President of the Council of Education, while addressing the students of the Dacca College also pointed out that “it was not for themselves or for their own sakes only they were educated; they were expected to be the instruments of reflecting and diffusing around them the knowledge they had acquired. This work they could not accomplish, unless they were competent to explain to the millions of their countrymen, to whom the English tongue must remain a sealed book, the truths they have learnt to appreciate in a language which the mass of their countrymen could understand.” The importance of a vernacular qualification was accordingly recognised in even the higher Senior Scholarship Examination; and the Calcutta University during the first years of its existence accepted the principle, as we have more fully explained in our last preceding paper (page 21, Vol. III).

This rapid summary of events in the earlier educational history of Bengal under British Rule would have shown that Government educational policy was in one of its aspects, considered always as a means to an end and that end was in the first instance, or primarily political. As a natural consequence the true educational object, the development of the mind, the enlargement of native powers, a wider march in the direction of original thought and research on the part of the recipients of English education must have, relatively speaking, considerably suffered. What may very appropriately be looked upon as a sort of “intellectual superstition”
wrought through a too eager desire on the part of English rulers to un-Hinduise or Anglicise the natives of India by a process not of slow education, but of hasty instruction has produced a natural reaction in favour of higher oriental thought and learning and opened the eyes of Indians and Europeans alike to the fact that a process of higher English Education and not of accumulation of mere items of knowledge in European literature and science,—will have to be begun anew in the common interests of the educational and of the political problem. The Europeanisation of the natives of India is truly possible in a higher sense, when only the distinctive fruits of higher western thought and research, all that is best or highest in western life and culture will have been by Indians slowly grasped, appreciated and mastered;—and not through a mongrel system of instruction in which both higher eastern and western thought are at a discount and a half-breed of an education, emptied of the strength and power of each is the net result.

B
AN EXAMINATION INTO THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDIA AND A SCHEME OF REFORM

INTRODUCTORY—1

Lord Curzon, in his last Convocation speech, made the remark that "the great fault of education as pursued in this country is that knowledge is cultivated by the memory instead of by the mind." His Lordship further said, "Education is a very different thing from instruction," and that "knowledge is not a collection of neatly-assorted facts like the specimens in glass-cases in a museum;" and further, "what you have to do is not to stuff the mind of the pupil with the mere thoughts of others, excellent as they may be, but to teach him to use his own. One correct generalisation drawn with his own brain is worth a library full of second-hand knowledge." "If the object of all teaching," His Lordship pointed out, "is the application to life of sound principles of thought and conduct, it is better for the ordinary man to be able to make one such successful application than to have the brilliancy of a Macaulay or the memory of a Mezzofanti."

There is no doubt that the Calcutta University has, by a system of examinations which leaves very much room for improvement, indirectly encouraged cramming, and has to a very large extent justified the remark of the Chancellor that knowledge is, under the auspices of the Indian Universities, cultivated by the memory instead by the mind. If the Chancellor should care to look over some of the examination-papers of the Calcutta University for the Degree Examinations, or even for the Premchand Roychand Examinations, specially in the literary subjects, he would find that in almost every instance the questions were set, not to test the scholar's own extent of reading or powers of observation, criticism and generalisation, but the object, generally speaking, seemed to be merely to examine his knowledge and familiarity with the texts of the books prescribed or suggested. The reaction of a system of examination as above described upon Indian collegiate teaching even for the higher degrees is evident. The Indian system may and does teach and reward industry and application, and may be an admirable training for the clerkship (although here people are found to differ in opinion), but it leaves the student after a five years' course as helpless in the matter of original thought and work as on the day when he entered the University. The Indian students, used to examinations of the kind I have described, have an unusual knack of picking up in very short time indeed, just the information suited for their examinations, from an analysis or tutor's note-book, and forget much in a few days. And the Indian University "paper-setter" is no match at all for the Indian College Student and the College-'Professor." In some instances, the silent competition between the "paper-setter' on the one hand, and the "Professor" and the student (who are naturally and generally found ranged on the same side) on the other, as to who is able to get the better of whom, is carried to such extreme lengths that the former in order to survive the contest yields to the temptation of picking out things not generally known, and minute details which every wise man is content to leave to be looked up when he wants them. The result is that a kind of artificial knowledge solely for use in examinations,—Lord Curzon's "collection of neatly-assorted facts like the specimens in glass-cases in a museum"—this sort of knowledge is encouraged or engendered. The Calcutta University paper-setter, for of him I have had opportunities of making some study, so manages his work, asks such questions that what the Indian teacher has to do is merely to stuff the minds of his pupil
with the thoughts of others rather than to use his own. The *carrying*
power of the higher class of Indian students, the “portative
memory” as it has been aptly described, the power of getting-up
or of *acquiring*, is very great. And although such power is not to
be despised, it will, to quote Lord Curzon again, never “carry the
student out of the ranks that follow into the ranks that lead.” The
Calcutta University system of examinations does not encourage or
reward self-reliance on the part of the student, on which the
Chancellor lays so much stress; and naturally, therefore, not being
taught to practise it, since the days of his preparation for the
Matriculation, “when something happens that is not provided for
by the regulations, or that defies all precedent, he is apt to find
himself astray. He has not been taught to practise self-reliance, and
therefore he is at a loss, and he turns to them for the guidance
which ought to spring from himself.” If “this is a fault,” as the
Chancellor points out it is, “against which the students of the
University ought to struggle unceasingly;” it is clear that
the Calcutta University by setting the wrong papers and placing
before students a wrong standard of proficiency does not help the
growth, but only strifes all honest attempts to learn and to teach,
on the part respectively of the pupil and of the teacher. The
function of the tutor, as has been well said, is to guide, suggest
and supervise; the function of the student is to read, annotate,
consult books of reference, and to write exercises. The tutor has to
stimulate the energy of the student and bring out his latent
capabilities, while the true student also stimulates the teacher and
is in due course able to take his place. If all this is true, the Univer­
sity examination system should be so devised as to bring to the
front only such young men as have conformed to the above
standard, and to place in a lower rank those who, unable to draw
one correct generalisation with their own brains, are only full of
second-hand knowledge. As things are, their positions are reversed,
with the necessary result that all honest teaching is discouraged or
discounted. The teacher does the work which the student should
perform, and abdicates his true position. A system of examinations
by the University would have to be devised which *would expect
more of the student and would do more for him.* The efficiency of
teachers is bound up with a right or wrong system of examinations.
As the President of the Indian Universities Commission very well
pointed out in his Convocation address (15th February, 1902):—
“Even if the Universities ceased to be merely examining bodies,
they will still continue to examine; we cannot dispense with the mechanical tests of the work done. But we are all conscious that in times past their tests have exercised a depressing influence on teacher and student. They narrow the mind of the student until he thinks only of percentages; they deprive the teacher of all initiative and independence in the choice of his subjects and in his manner of presenting them to his pupils.”

Having shown myself in such complete agreement with the views of the learned President of the Universities Commission, I would in future articles go more into detail into the subject of University Examinations and try to suggest some remedies in as brief a compass as is consistent with clearness of exposition, for the evils to which I have sought to draw the reader's attention.

II

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE COLLEGE: HOW THEY ARE RELATED

The principal feature of the older English Universities—of Oxford and of Cambridge—are the Colleges. Originally, however, the University was a community of men engaged in educational work, and a member was a master, i.e., one who had found entrance into the body as a duly-licensed teacher, and as teaching Arts-subjects, was an M.A., a master of arts; while the stage of a bachelor was one of apprenticeship for the mastership. And the masters were distributed among the several faculties for the different branches of academic learning. Such was the original University, a community of learned men engaged in educational work, a close and select community of teachers. The second stage of the Universities was marked by the growth of the Colleges, which have in the end come in a manner to swallow up the Universities. In England, the Colleges have through their tutors and lecturers supplied nearly all the teaching of the Universities, the lectures of the University Professors being, except in the case of the highest few among students, either supernumerary or ornamental. No sooner is a student admitted into a College, than he is assigned to a tutor, who throughout the student's University career has complete control over his work, advising him as to what books to read, what lectures to attend, etc., besides assisting him in his work. And the progress of the scholar is tested by each College at the end of the year, independently of the University, and if he fails, he is liable to a fine; while a second failure renders him liable
to expulsion from the College. And such is the high tone of the Colleges and the moral control exercised by the tutors and the lecturers that a student as little thinks of changing his College as he would think of changing his name. Thus, it would appear that the Colleges are everything, and the University, as distinct from the Colleges, a 'very minor factor.' Of late years, the Colleges have combined their forces and established a common system of lectures, so that there are at present (1) Inter-Collegiate lectures delivered by the various Fellows of the Colleges; and (2) University lectures delivered by Professors, University Lecturers, or Demonstrators. In this way, the Colleges have continually increased their teaching power, and have almost supplanted the University, or, more correctly, have almost swallowed up the University. The part which University Professors or Lecturers play is comparatively small; but there are the various University Laboratories, all centralised in the Museum, where Science-students do practical work, only one or two Colleges having laboratories of their own, which, however, are only free for their own students. We understand, then, wherein lies the strength of the English Universities; whence is the motive power which keeps in vigorous life the English University machinery. It is not so much in the University proper as in the Colleges. Now, the most important question for enquiry and decision is—what supplies the motive power to the academic work done under the auspices of the Indian Universities. Is it in the Colleges or in the University? Which is the supreme factor in the higher educational life of this country, the Colleges or the University? Undoubtedly the answer is—it is the University, not the Colleges, for the Colleges would collapse directly if the University ceased to do its examining functions. The Colleges have not originated in and have not continued in their existence through any raison d'être of their own, but they have been conjured into being by the touch of the University. The University disappears and the Colleges also disappear, although they may take birth in other bodies. This, then, is the most important point of difference between the English and the Indian Universities. In the former case, the Colleges are practically the University; while in the last, the Colleges are but ephemeral products dependent for their very life on the life of the University. I have described the state of things as it is here; the University as a body influencing, directing and dominating the Colleges, by its system of examinations, and the Colleges rearing their heads under the auspices of the University.
and fitted only to prepare candidates for the University periodical examinations. The Indian Colleges, in fact, partake more of the nature of coaching institutions than of teaching bodies. How to convert these multiplying coaching institutions into Colleges proper—into teaching bodies in fact—is one of the prime questions for the Universities Commission to consider. When these Colleges have become teaching bodies, the Indian University would have, as of natural necessity, in the main become teaching in character; while in its corporate capacity, it might also, if necessary, supplement the efforts of the constituent colleges by providing extra and useful appliances in the common interest of the entire body of Colleges. The creation of a Teaching University, even if it were not financially prohibitive, would be a revolutionising process; but that such a University might evolve under proper conditions admits of very little doubt. Now, in India, the easiest and, perhaps, under existing circumstances, the most effective way of directing or moulding the course or character of studies at the Colleges would be through the door of the examinations. It is in these examinations, success at which is valued more than Collegiate training that the practical reformer would, in the first instance, seek to find the lever whereby to raise the Colleges. Is it or is it not a fact that the Indian University very largely influences or dominates Indian Collegiate teaching by the manner in which it discharges its functions as an examining board? Is it or is it not a fact that the character or scope of the questions set by it has hitherto very largely shaped and moulded the character or scope of the teaching imparted by the Colleges—has, in fact, determined the training given in those Colleges. If the answer to these queries is in the affirmative, then the further question follows,—Is it possible or practicable for the University to lay down such tests, prescribe such qualifications, or devise such a system or style of examinations as shall beneficially react on Indian Collegiate teaching and ensure a proper training at the hands of the College authorities? In my humble judgment, the first or preliminary steps to Indian University Reform would consist in giving due importance to this question and endeavouring to find a right solution of it. For all reform must be slow building-up, and accordingly must proceed along the line of least resistance. And the main function of the Indian University being to examine, it stands to reason that it should not be subjected to radical or violent alterations, until or unless the methods of legitimate reform that are yet open to it have been tried and have been found wanting.
Unlike the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, the Indian Colleges are, in point of fact, though not in name, only coaching agencies, and I have pointed out that the process of development of the Indian University from an examining board into a teaching corporation would be through the conversion of the Indian Colleges into true Colleges or teaching bodies and training institutions. The difficulty of suggesting a scheme for the purposes aforesaid lies in the fact that, whereas true teaching or training of scholars at the Colleges would have to be kept by us in view as our real or direct object, we cannot, by the necessities of the case as applicable to our Indian Universities, proceed straight on and compass that object. In England the older Universities were from the very beginning educational, i.e., teaching and training bodies, a community of masters; and as the Colleges arose, they arose as so many teaching bodies, whose efforts at teaching and training served only to supplement and strengthen the efforts of the Universities. There, both University and College aimed straight at one thing,—teaching. Here, both University and College have also kept before them one primary object, but that object unfortunately concerns itself only with examinations. It would thus appear that the primary work before the Indian University and the Indian Colleges being respectively the holding of examinations and preparations for such examinations, the work of teaching has come in not as a primary or direct factor, but only as an accessory, i.e., incidentally or indirectly. The great historian E. A. Freeman was of opinion that, "every examination was itself an evil, as making man read not for the attainment of knowledge, but for the object of passing the examination, perhaps of compassing its pecuniary value" (*Nineteenth Century*, 1888, page 643). If this is so, the evils of examinations are not minimised but only aggravated, if Universities and Colleges look, each in its own way, on examinations as its direct or engrossing occupation. Notwithstanding all this, the process of development of Indian Colleges into true Colleges and the eventual conversion of the existing examining boards into true Universities will have to be accomplished. We are not permitted to write on a clean slate; we cannot dislocate all existing arrangements by immediately demanding the impossible; we must.
see if the existing system is capable of improvement; and, not only so, we must see if taking advantage of the fact that examinations shape and direct the course, character, methods and scope of instruction at the different institutions, where candidates are prepared for such examinations: we must see if, having regard to this all-important circumstance, it is possible to devise a self-acting arrangement whereby the native antagonism between teaching and examinations may be smoothed down into friendship, and true teaching may receive an impetus through the compelling agency of examinations.

Recognising, then, for the future, examinations as a means and not an end, the end being the promotion of sound teaching and training, the point for consideration and solution is—what should be the character of questions set by the Universities that would promote sound teaching; that would help and not hinder the true teacher; that would encourage the honest teacher and the genuine student in their efforts to nullify the efforts of the crammer and of the crammed? Hitherto the questions have been mainly of a kind that rewarded only industry and tested only the "carrying power"—the power of acquiring, of getting up—of the candidate. The questions have been, in too many instances, set to test the student’s familiarity with the text-books prescribed; and, in very few instances, have they been such as tested the student’s range of reading, powers of thought, of generalisation, of criticism, or original work in fact. Have the questions set in any appreciable number of cases, one may reasonably inquire, been such that the candidate at examinations finds it more paying to have reasoned-out, independent thoughts of his own; and less paying, if his business has been only with books? Is it true, as is sometimes alleged, that in most cases the questions set are such that the student is compelled to remain in a perpetual state of pupilage, and has only to read to recollect, when he is of an age to reflect, to examine and to judge? And is it true also that as the result of the system, there has been a moral break-down, a total weakening of the whole moral frame of the student, making it impossible for him to study a subject without the artificial stimulus of an examination? And coming to consider one of the indirect but important aspects of the examination system as pursued in the Universities, is it a fact that their examinations (rewarding bookishness with a very liberal hand) are of a character calculated to engender in students the mischievous delusion that brain-work that could produce nothing
was yet a more respectable thing than handiwork that produced something? The Indian Universities Commission will, therefore, have to consider whether it is possible to devise a scheme of University Examinations, which would directly and principally aim at separating the chaff from the grain, at making out a clear division between those who are taught only to listen, remember, and believe, and those who are trained to see, compare, verify, and judge. The Indian Universities Commission will have, in fact, to find out how dogmatic teaching, which lends itself eminently to cramming purposes, may find no support or stimulus in the scheme of examinations of the Universities in India.

IV

THE UNIVERSITY-EXAMINER AND THE COLLEGE-TEACHER

In devising a well-organised system of examination, the thing specially to be kept in view is the mutual co-operation of students, teachers, and paper-setters and examiners towards a common end, the common end being a high standard of education; for, to quote the learned President of the Universities Commission, "Colleges and lectures and examinations are useful only in so far as they give a right direction to the minds and characters of men" (Calcutta University Convocation Address, February 15th, 1902). Now, an examination is a useful instrument in the hands of a teacher to test his own work, and to know how far his pupils have followed and profited by his teaching. Good, sound teaching being the one thing needful, the one thing for which the College, the University, and the examiner ought to exist, and the teacher or training being the person who is specially and primarily entrusted with the work of teaching, the teacher is the one person who primâ facie has any real claim to examine his boys; for, is it not he who requires to know and feel, more than any others, how far his efforts in educating his boys are bearing fruit? And if anybody else should at all come in and take part in the work of examination, his part would be only that of an assistant or a delegate, but never that of a superior or even a co-ordinate authority. If training is the object for which the teacher should exist—he or somebody else who is identified or equally interested with him, or derives his authority from him should be entrusted with the work of examination, or the work of experimental verification of the methods
adopted by himself. An outside authority, one whose work in life is something else than the training or teaching of boys, must never be allowed to sit in judgment over another whose sole function is such teaching and training. If, however, a person is appointed a teacher who is ill-qualified for the work of training boys, the remedy for it is either to replace him by some better-qualified person, or to place him under the control or guidance of a true teacher or trainer, who will alone have the right to test his assistant's work and direct his efforts. But in no case does the remedy lie in appointing a man who is as ill qualified as, or worse qualified than, the teacher who is found wanting. I desire to make it clear that, given the true teacher, he is alone fitted to examine, not the outsider or anybody else who is not a teacher or trainer of youths himself. The examiner who is not a true teacher is not a help, but a hindrance to all true teachers; and an examination conducted by such an examiner takes the whole soul out of teaching; with the result that a true teacher finding himself relegated to a secondary position, is in a manner compelled to conform to an external standard, and soon comes to lose faith in himself, sinks into the position of his own text-books, and gives but little of his own personality to his work. Thus, it is essential that not the nominal teacher, but the true teacher, i.e., one who is a genuine student or worker himself, should alone be appointed to teach and to examine. The question of testing the efficiency of the work of a teacher by means of examinations should be left to be solved by the body of well-qualified teachers in the different colleges. All the various checks and balances, the endless contrivances to weigh and appraise the work and efficiency of teachers become necessary or natural when we have once committed the initial mistake of bringing in the wrong set of men and labelling them as teachers and trainers, when in fact, they are no better than amateurs, who ought to qualify by apprenticeship under a master for the mastership in some future time. Therefore, it would appear that if an examining board like the Calcutta University is at all to develop into a teaching corporation, i.e., a true University, and if the process of such development is through the gradual conversion of the coaching establishments known as Colleges, whether Government or private, into true teaching bodies or Colleges proper, the first thing to consider is whether it is possible to lay down specific conditions of work for a teacher in a College, compliance with which alone would mark him out for special recognition by the University, as a teacher
proper, with whom shall lie principally the work of teaching and examining and of determining the course of University education. The great body of apprentices in Indian Colleges, although they may continue to hold the courtesy title of teacher, must nevertheless, in a well-organised scheme of education, be relegated to their proper places, occupying only a subordinate position, while all control and authority, both at the Colleges and the University must go to the body of teachers proper, i.e., those who by approved work in the past or by approved work during specified periods of their incumbency, have been finally accepted by the University as such. The pivot on which the whole University machine must be made to turn would be this superior body of men whom I have designed as teachers proper. It makes a whole world of difference whether you entrust the chief share of educational work to true teachers or to apprentices. If you merely juggle with names and call men teachers who could only be assistants, and entrust these assistants—however great may be their academic distinctions—but solely on the strength of such distinctions—with the important work of teaching, and of guiding and controlling teaching by means of the University examinations, your Colleges shall remain coaching establishments to the end of time, and the University shall remain an examining board for ever more. Therefore, it comes to this that the University must lay down specific conditions of work or of competency for this superior body of teachers, so that only the fittest among the great body of teachers may find it possible or easy to find entrance into the select body of duly-licensed teachers and may be recognised as such by brothers in the profession. What these specific conditions for membership in the body of licensed or recognised teachers should be, I will discuss more fully hereafter; but that they must be clear, distinct and of a kind that shall leave only the fittest among teachers to survive seems—in the light of what I have said as to the paramount importance of preserving the purity of the body of recognised teachers—sufficiently manifest. It may be that my scheme for organising a superior type of College-teachers, with whom all power shall lie, may not commend itself to the authorities; but I would invite the special attention of the members of the Indian Universities Commission to the supreme importance of the question. For, although it is quite true that a scheme for the creation, and maintenance of a body of men—whom I have designated as teachers proper—can only be discovered and pursued at the cost of some trouble and
experiment, still, if trouble and thought and experiment are to be spared in this great matter, the Government and University had better at once resign the hope of attaining any moral and intellectual results of real value from what they are doing.

V

QUALIFICATIONS OF THE RECOGNISED COLLEGE-TEACHER

The object of all teaching being the training of pupils by the teacher, the giving of the right direction to their minds and characters, it follows at once (as I have shown in my fourth article) that the teacher himself is the proper person to examine his boys or some one else who is equally fitted and interested like himself. The vesting of all authority and control in the body of men whom I have called teachers proper, as distinguished from others who are not teachers yet, who cannot be called masters, but only apprentices, although nominally holding the title of teacher,—this vesting of all authority in teachers proper is, as I have tried to show in a previous article, the first steps to a real reform of University education in India—the very first steps towards converting the Indian colleges from merely coaching agencies, which they undoubtedly are at the present moment, into true colleges or teaching bodies. Every other reform must radiate from this centre of reforms and any attempt to view things merely from the outside without reaching the central fact of teaching, would leave things as they are, perpetuating the present character of Indian Colleges as coaching establishments and of the Indian University as a merely examining board.

The selection and appointment of such teachers in Indian Colleges as shall be competent to play the high part which must be allotted to them in any genuine scheme of education and examinations is, therefore, a prime question for the consideration of which no amount of trouble, thought and experiment should be accounted too much. To differentiate true teachers from others that may be hitherto enjoying the same name and privileges would be, it need hardly be said, the object of any specific tests—any specific conditions of work for the true teacher. Now, in finding such tests we can very well start from the recognised proposition that a true teacher—one whose aim is to train or educate—bring out the latent
capabilities of his pupil,—never resorts to dogmatic teaching; and if such is his method, it is also clear that in examining his boys, his object would be to discover, not if they have acquired the power of listening, remembering, and believing; but if they are able for themselves, to see, compare, verify, judge, classify, expound or comment. This being so, it is clear that the college-teacher of whom I am speaking must not himself be a person, which he is or apt to be here in India—whose mind is only full of second-hand knowledge, a store-house of "neatly assorted facts like the specimens in glass-cases in a museum." He must be a person who does not think the race won merely because he has passed certain examinations, merely because he has won high honours here in India or at Oxford or at Cambridge or elsewhere; but he must be one who is daily engaged in some work which improves and disciplines his own powers of seeing, comparing, classifying, verifying, judging, etc. On any other condition, the teacher would degenerate into a crammer; and all teaching become dogmatic,—monkish, if I am allowed the word for the purpose of fuller expression. A teacher who has allowed his mind to rust—who looks on the store of accumulated knowledge with a sense of complaisance, whose brain does not teem with new ideas or novel combinations but only with thoughts, (however excellent) of others—such a man I should like to relegate to a subordinate position in a revised scheme of University or collegiate education in India. It follows, therefore, that the teacher proper must be an original worker himself; one who is not resting on his oars, but pushing away as best as he might into the wide sea of knowledge in a direction of his own choice; so that he might know how to whet the intellectual appetite of his pupils and direct them along lines of original thought and research. A teacher who is also a worker is alone fitted to raise himself and others from the slough of routine or dogmatic teaching and routine examinations. The collective wisdom of the Indian Universities Commission ought to be able to devise some system for the selection of the kind of men I am speaking of and to prescribe certain conditions of work such as would clearly differentiate them from the great body of assistant teachers who would work under them in our Colleges. For myself, I shall be content with throwing out certain general hints and considerations to help in the right solution of the question.

Before proceeding to give the reader the positive side of my proposals I desire to state what I may call their negative side. I
desire the Universities Commission to consider whether in preventing dogmatic or artificial teaching and artificial examinations, rewarding and encouraging such teaching—it is enough to look only to the academic honours or distinctions won by a teacher, whether, in fact, it is enough that we should for ever rest complacently on the initial presumption that a brilliant graduate from Oxford or Cambridge or elsewhere after appointment in India is not likely to degenerate into a dogmatic teacher, but, shall ever remain a living worker, even amidst the depressing influences of life and environment in India. An even cursory examination of the question-papers set at the different University Examinations,—papers set by these brilliant home-graduates in so many instances,—will reveal the astounding fact that the questions set are only calculated to test acquirement," i.e., how far the teacher has been successful in stuffing his pupil's mind with the thoughts of others—to use Lord Curzon's pointed phraseology; and in very rare cases, indeed, have they the effect of directing and stimulating education or true training. The question papers are an ample storehouse of information on the subject of University education in India—to which the Universities Commission should largely resort for purposes of study. They are the handiwork of brilliant University graduates from home or elsewhere and for ever dissipate the delusion that a good degree from Oxford or Cambridge or mere Indian experience of itself is enough to qualify a man as a trainer of University youngmen. These University Question-papers afford documentary evidence of a most convincing and even conclusive kind which whosoever reads may understand, and which, therefore, ought to be scrutinised and analysed by the Indian Universities Commission with a view to decide once for all whether it were not necessary to make any extra provisions to prevent artificial teaching and artificial examinations such as have existed during these forty years and more.

As far as I have been able to judge, I have come to the deliberate conclusion that the future college-teacher in India, although he might have passed through a course of training at the hands of the greater men of Europe and have had opportunities of imbibing habits of original work and thought at some renowned foreign University, would soon, under existing circumstances, cease to be a living worker in India;—and that, therefore, he would require to be helped in some way, that he might not sink into the slough of routine teaching and routine examinations that are in vogue.
in this country and for which his predecessors in the University must be held responsible. I do not contend that an Indian University must produce during each decade of its life—a Newton or a Darwin, a Newman or a Ruskin. But I do contend that where among college-teachers, lecturers or professors, the spirit is abroad of study and research, of thought and observation, there surely we may look forward, sooner or later to see savants and scientists, men of thought and men of ideas. And I desire to insist with all the emphasis I can command that the College-teacher—one who may be given a special name by the University—say "recognised or special teacher"—must, in addition to whatever other qualifications he might have, be so fully convinced of the value of developed faculties and good mental habits in his pupils that he of all others, should be fully prepared to shew in his own example how much he is animated by the spirit of thought and observation, of study and research. For, it is the absence of this spirit from our educational circles that has produced what consequences it has, both in the matter of teaching and examining, of which the University question-papers are documentary evidence of a clear, irrefragible kind.

I desire, therefore, to propose that a college-teacher on whom the University may elect to confer the high title of "recognised teacher" and who may accordingly be required to play a high part in the affairs of the University and the college,—such a teacher must be required to conform to specific conditions of work, such as would help him in fulfilling the conditions of a true trainer and examiner of youths. The conditions of work for a University-recognised teacher and the corresponding advantages or privileges which, in my judgment, it would be feasible for the University to confer on the body of such recognised teachers, I would lay before the reader in another article. But whatever may be the merits or demerits of the scheme I propose to place before the Universities Commission, my submission is that the root-difficulty in finding a real remedy for the evils of Indian University education is the difficulty of discovering the method whereby to secure and maintain the purity of the body of men whom the University shall recognise as a body of "recognised teachers." And I affirm my conviction that mere academic distinctions and honours, however high, shall not, in the light of past experience, be held to be enough to confer, for all time, on a college teacher the high title of University-recognised teacher.
The whole case for University Reform in India may be thus put in the form of question and answer:—

(a) "The great fault of education as pursued in this country is, as we all know, that knowledge is cultivated by the memory instead of by the mind" (Lord Curzon's Convocation Address, 1902).

Why is this so? Because the Indian colleges are not true colleges as at Oxford or at Cambridge—i.e., teaching bodies or training institutions. They simply prepare candidates for the University examinations. If the University examinations were discontinued, they would collapse; the *raison d'être* of their existence would be gone. They are ephemeral products, dependent for their very life on the life of an external examining board like the University.

(b) What, then is the remedy? The remedy is in devising some means for the conversion of the existing coaching agencies mis-named colleges into colleges proper, i.e., teaching and training bodies.

(c) Has the Calcutta University any means or power to effect such conversion? Yes, it has under the law. (1) The University by the Act of Incorporation has the power of "ascertaining by means of examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of learning; and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees;" and (2) secondly, it has the power to make "regulations touching the qualifications of the candidates for Degrees and the previous Course of instruction to be followed by them" (Act II of 1857).

(d) Has the University availed itself of these powers? Yes, it has by instituting various Academical Degrees, examining candidates and conferring on the successful amongst them, those Degrees; and prescribing the courses of instruction for such candidates.

(e) If the University has already availed itself of its legal powers as aforesaid, how is it that the affiliated institutions sending up candidates for University examinations are, in your opinion, merely coaching establishments and not true colleges or teaching bodies and training institutions, so that, as you say, they are bound to disappear, if the University ceases to perform its function as an examining board? The answer is that although the University is vested with full powers to direct, control, shape and mould the course of education of those who come up to it for its Degrees, still
it has so used its powers that, generally speaking, candidates whose
“minds are stuffed with the thoughts of others” are specially re-
warded; and affiliated institutions that are able effectively to act
as coaching agencies are found to be specially successful.

(f) What ground have you for saying that the University has so
used its power as to bring about the wrong results? About the
results there could be no question; witness the declaration of the
Chancellor of the University which has already been quoted [vide
(a) ante.].

The only point is—how to connect the actual results with the
action of the University. The point would be answered if it were
shewn firstly, that the University examination questions are of a
kind that mainly reward bookishness, i.e., brain-work that occupies
itself only with “acquiring” second-hand thoughts; secondly, that
success at the University examinations being the primary concern
with candidates, the action of the University in rewarding mere
barren-brain work encourages candidates to resort specially to
institutions, where they are specially coached for such examina-
tions. Thirdly, that not only does the action of the University
encourage and reward bookishness, i.e., brain-work of a kind that
is able to produce nothing original; but it also stifles all honest
teaching and all honest attempts to learn, on the part respectively
of the true teacher and of the true learner.

(g) How is it that you think that the University examination
papers are of a kind that reward only bookishness, when it is a
fact that these papers are in so many cases set by brilliant graduates
of foreign Universities? The answer is that the questions that
have been set by such graduates during the last forty years are
published in the University calendars for their respective years,
which also give the list of text-books prescribed by the University
for the different years. And scrutinising these questions for all the
different University examinations in connection with the prescribed
text-books, it will be found that the questions set were of a kind
that rewarded bookishness. The question-papers read by the light
of the text-books prescribed furnish clear documentary evidence on
the subject.

(h) In a number of years (e.g. 1875-79), the Calcutta University
prescribed no text-books in English for the Entrance examination,
how do you think that the questions set during those years would
reward bookishness?

Although there were no prescribed text-books in English during
those years, an examination of the papers set would reveal the fact that most of the questions set were of a kind that lent themselves eminently to cramming purposes and were, in fact, taken from Bain's Higher English Grammar and Messrs. Rowe and Webb's Hints on the Study of English.

(i) Do you think it possible to set papers in English or other subjects which would test something higher than bookishness and which would effectually nullify the efforts of the crammer and the key-maker?

I do think that it is quite practicable to frame question-papers of a kind that would at once test and differentiate candidates under two separate heads:—(i) those whose work is only to listen, remember and believe; and (ii) those who are able to see, compare, verify, classify, judge, expound, and comment.

On a future occasion, I will explain myself more fully by classifying questions under proper heads, which would be such that a proper answer to these questions would be easy only to those who have undergone a systematic training and which, therefore, would baffle the efforts of the crammer and key-maker.

(j) Do you think there are any other ways to which the University could be of help in not only not rewarding but in discouraging or discounting bookishness? Yes—by an improved system of marking answers; but still this improvement on the system of marking could come only as a necessary adjunct to an improved system of setting examination papers.

(k) But supposing the University should insist that a candidate for a University examination should produce what may be called a qualifying certificate—that is a certificate from the head of an affiliated school or college showing, first, that he has completed in that institution the course of instruction prescribed by the University; and secondly, that he has, judging from a test examination to which he has submitted, reasonable chances of passing the examinations;—supposing such qualifying certificates were required of every candidate—do you not think the University would be in a position to alter for the better the existing state of things? I hardly think so, under the existing system. In the first place, such a certificate is actually required of candidates for the Entrance Examination; while as regards the First Arts and the B.A. Degree examinations, a modified form of the above certificate giving only the first item of information as aforesaid is also required of candidates in every case, except in some special cases. In the next
place, even if the full certificate were demanded of all candidates for all the examinations, it would not make much difference. Because so long as the University paper-setters so manage their work, ask such questions that what the teacher has to do is simply "to stuff the mind of the candidates with the thoughts of others," a certificate from an affiliated Indian school or college would only mean that the candidate has completed the prescribed course of instruction in that college; and in proportion as the work of coaching the candidate has been well-done in that School or College—the condition of a candidate's reasonable chances of passing the University examination would be satisfied.

(l) But apart from the character of the questions set by the University paper-setter, supposing that the University should require that a candidate for a University examination in a particular subject should have passed through a prescribed course of instruction under a teacher specially recognised, by the University, don't you think that would make some difference? Yes, the only difference would be that a teacher who ought to teach only English for instance, and who in many cases is called upon to lecture on other subjects would have, in a system of recognised teachers in particular subjects, to teach only the subject in which he is recognised by the University as specially fit.

(m) Don't you think that the teaching of boys by the University-recognised teachers would be of a different character from what obtains at present? I hardly think so, under the existing system; and for two reasons principally. In the first place, the list of University-recognised College-teachers would naturally include many distinguished men,—men distinguished by their academic distinctions who are now on the staff of affiliated Colleges and who are also distinguished and important members of the University. The mere addition of a title to their names would not make them better or worse teachers, better or worse paper-setters and examiners, so long as the existing system is allowed to continue—the system, I mean, whereby bookishness or barren brain-work is specially rewarded by the University paper-setter. In the next place, if any of the distinguished graduates of Indian or foreign Universities would take it into their heads to observe a lofty standard of teaching and if at the same time the University paper-setter should continue to set questions that would only require the minds of the University-recognised teacher's pupils to be "stuffed with the thoughts of others, however excellent," the University-recog-
nised teacher and the University paper-setter would pull opposite ways and it is not difficult to foresee which is likely to survive the contest—when it is remembered that no Indian College, Government or private, finds it financially convenient to do without comparatively large classes, and when it is also remembered that, speaking generally, scholars resort very largely to places where the work of coaching candidates is very well done.

(n) Is it, then, what you suggest that the college-teacher and the paper-setter must not pull opposite ways, but that they must work in concert? Yes, and something more. In the existing system of examinations, the college-teacher is in almost all cases the paper-setter; and so far the concert aforesaid is secured. But what is absolutely necessary is that there should be not only concert but co-operation of a very healthy kind.

(o) What should one understand by co-operation between college-teacher and the paper-setter being of a healthy kind? I mean that the college-teacher should set a lofty standard of teaching and the University paper-setter by the character of his questions and the paper-examiner by an improved system of marking answer-papers and the University Text-Book committee by prescribing the right sort of books should co-operate with the college-teacher in maintaining the lofty standard of his teaching, and with the honest student in his efforts at thinking, study, observation and research.

(p) How do you think it is possible for the University to secure the kind of healthy co-operation you mention between college-teacher and the University paper-setter? This could be done if the University should appoint as a paper-setter a college-teacher who is prepared to set a high standard of teaching himself and who would be also under an obligation to set papers that would specially reward scholars who are willing to follow and are able to profit by such high standard.

(q) What should we understand by a high standard of teaching? A high standard would require a teacher to teach in such a way that his pupil would be called upon not simply to hear, believe and remember the lectures, but more specially to see for himself, compare, verify, classify, judge, expound and comment.

(r) Do you think it is possible to set a high standard of teaching by the University appointing its own professors and making attendance at the lectures of the University professors count towards the required percentage of attendance? Yes, but would students
in any number care to attend such "high-standard" lectures, so long as the University paper-setter makes it possible to a candidate to obtain distinction at the examination, although he might be unable "to draw one correct generalisation with his own brain" and, is only full of second-hand knowledge?

But supposing a University professor who is able to deliver "high-standard" lectures (in the sense in which you have explained the term) and who does deliver such lectures for the University were appointed to set papers at the different University examinations; would that react on collegiate teaching and improve it? No doubt it would. If, as a paper-setter the University professor would see that the questions are also of a high standard rewarding something higher than barren brain-work, college-teachers would follow his lead and candidates also would take the hint and turn over a new leaf. But the improvement to which I refer would be only possible on one condition, which has been already specifically mentioned; namely—that the University-professor who is to set the example to college-teachers should be himself able to and should actually impart high-standard teaching and be appointed to set the University papers in his own subject.

But supposing the University instead of appointing separate professors of its own should pick out the best men in the existing colleges and recognise them as University-recognised teachers and appoint them to set papers and to select text-books, don't you think the same end would be served? Yes—but on the condition to which I have specially referred, namely, that the recognised-teacher should be able and should actually impart "high-standard" teaching to his pupils.

In what way do you think it is possible to encourage, stimulate or enforce such high standard teaching? By means of "high standard" examinations,—understanding the expression, high standard, only in the sense in which I have explained it [vide question (q)] and by appointing as paper-setters the "high-standard" lecturers or teachers; and thirdly, by devising a scheme whereby particular college-teachers who are competent to impart "high-standard" teaching and who on agreeing to impart such teaching may during the period of such teaching be classed into a special body of University-recognised college-teachers—being invested with special powers and privileges by the University. And fourthly, by requiring that candidates for Honours in any subject in Degree examinations must have read with a University-recognised teacher
in that subject and be able to produce a *qualifying certificate* from him to that effect. These are very briefly the general principles of the scheme.*

C

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION, BENGAL: AN IMPORTANT AMALGAMATION**

I

Our readers may remember that some time ago we gave in these pages a detailed account of the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education in Bengal, and of the Bengal Technical Institute established and maintained by the same organisation, which was started almost simultaneously with the National Council of Education, Bengal and the Bengal National College and School in the middle of 1906. The circumstances which led to the separate establishment of these two sister institutions may be explained by the fact that a section of our leaders were in favour of an exclusively Technical Education, while another section were in favour of a system of education in which literary, scientific and technical subjects were studied together up to a certain stage, and then separately in the higher collegiate stages. Those who were in favour of an exclusively technical education formed the "Society for the Promotion of Technical Education" and opened, in the middle of 1906, the Bengal Technical Institute, Calcutta; while those who advocated the combined system formed themselves into the National Council of Education in March, 1906 and established the Bengal National College and School, Calcutta, a few months after. As, however, there was much that was common between the aims and objects of the two institutions, the question of amalgamation between them had been engaging the attention of the well-wishers of both institutions ever since they were brought into being. But there were difficulties in the way which so long stood in the way of the amalgamation. It was expected, however, that the amalgamation would take place sooner or later, for as everybody knows, there is not much available surplus energy, either in the shape of men or of money, in the land, and it only required the lesson of experience extending over some 3 to 4 years to bringing

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* The passages quoted above have been taken only in part from a very long paper published by Satis Chandra Mukherjee in the *Dawn* in its issues of April, May and June, 1902.

about the much-needed rapprochement. The long-expected and much hoped-for amalgamation is now an accomplished fact. Henceforth, the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education, Bengal, ceases to exist and becomes merged in the National Council of Education; and the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute will form parts of one and the same organisation, namely, the National Council of Education; of which the Arts and Pure Science side will henceforth be known under the name of the Bengal National College, and the Technical and Applied Science side by that of the Bengal Technical Institute, the Technical and Applied Science Departments of the Bengal National College being amalgamated with the Bengal Technical Institute and, therefore, ceasing to exist as a separate section of the Bengal National College. Among the conditions of amalgamation is one which is of great importance and deserves prominent mention. It is embodied in Rule 32(ii) and is that "at least one-half of the income of the National Council of Education, Bengal, which is not earmarked, shall be allotted for the promotion of Technical and Scientific education (excepting in the subjects of Biology and Mathematics) through the Bengal Technical Institute to be maintained by the Council, provided, however, that such one-half shall include the cost of imparting education in Pharmacy and Physics and Chemistry (both Pure and Applied)". Another equally important change that has been effected for the purposes of amalgamation is in respect of the management of the two institutions. It is embodied in two new Rules formulated by the authorities of the Bengal Technical Institute and accepted and passed by the National Council. One of the Rules runs thus:—"The internal management of the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute shall be vested in two separate Managing Committees to be approved as hereinafter provided and they shall have such powers respectively as may be delegated to them by the Executive Committee". The other Rule is as follows:—"The Executive Committee may delegate all or any of its powers for the internal management of the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute respectively to the Managing Committees which shall consist of not more than 15 members who shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and some of whom may not be members either of the Executive Committee or of the Council and may not be Indians. The Managing Committees shall appoint their own Secretaries and frame their own rules of business."
II

The effect of the above two Rules seems to us to be somewhat ambiguous. If the two Managing Committees to be appointed under the above Rules by the Executive Committee (which is the sole Governing Body of the National Council as contemplated by Act XXI of 1860 under which the National Council is registered) are nothing but two Sub-Committees working under the control of the Executive Committee of the Council, then the decisions of the Managing Committees would have the effect of mere recommendations to the Executive Committee, which, therefore, may or may not be accepted, or which may be modified by the latter body, at its discretion, and which thus accepted or modified would have binding force in the eye of the law. In this view of the matter, the legal character of the Executive Committee as the sole Governing Body as required by Act XXI of 1860 remains intact. But the aforesaid Rules passed by the Council say that the internal management of the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute shall be vested in two separate Managing Committees and the Executive Committee may delegate all or any of its powers for such internal management. The question, therefore, arises,—Are the decisions of the last-mentioned Managing Committees to be regarded as recommendations to the Executive Committee, so that they may either be accepted or rejected or modified at the discretion of the Executive Committee? Apparently the above view of the powers of the two Managing Committees does not receive much support from the two Rules to which we have referred. If so, the two Managing Committees cannot properly be regarded as two Sub-Committees working under the control of the Executive Committee (which is the sole Governing Body as required by Act XXI of 1860) but bodies with co-ordinate powers in respect of matters connected with the internal management of the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute. It must be remembered that these two institutions are not independent, external institutions, but they are and have become the property of the National Council, and are directly under its control. If they were, however, outside, independent bodies merely affiliated to the National Council of Education, then, no doubt, the National Council could not interfere with their internal management, except so far as the rules of affiliation applicable to all institutions affiliated to the National Council would render such interference necessary. As, however, the two institutions are not independent, external affiliated
institutions, it becomes necessary that the Managing Committees of the two institutions must be wholly subordinate agencies whose actions in order to be binding legally must be sanctioned or approved by the Executive Committee of the Council which is the only controlling body recognised by the law. As it is, it would appear that the Executive Committee of the Council, after having appointed for a particular year the two Managing Committees and delegated its powers to them for conducting the internal management of the two institutions, becomes functus officio for that year and may not alter, amend or reject any of the decisions of the two Managing Committees. If this interpretation be correct, and apparently there is some reason for thinking so, the illegality of the constitution would undoubtedly affect the future of the National Council as a legally corporate body with certain rights, powers and privileges which it would not be possessed of except under the provisions of the law as laid down in Act XXI of 1860, under which it has acquired the status of a legally corporate body. Not being experts, we are naturally diffident as to the interpretation of the law, but if there is anything in our contention, we trust that the two Rules to which we have referred will be revised in the light of legal requirements.

III

One of the undoubted results of the amalgamation would be the economy of expenditure and for this the authorities deserve our heartiest congratulations. The financial condition of the Council, as the result of the amalgamation, is very well-explained in the following report published in the Statesman newspaper of Calcutta in its issue of April 19, 1910, of an interview by a representative of that paper with an ex-Secretary of the Council: “The total endowments of the Council of National Education amount to about nine lakhs of rupees. These are the endowments created by Babu Brajendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury, Maharaja Surya Kanta Acharya Chowdhury, and Mr. Subodh Chandra Mallik, respectively. From these and other sources, the Council derives a fixed annual income of about Rs. 60,000. The Society for the Promotion of Technical Education, on the other hand, has as yet no permanent fund, no endowed property. But this deficiency, it has been arranged, will shortly be remedied, for Mr. T. Palit, Bar-at-Law, a member of the Governing Body, has agreed to endow property worth from nine to ten lakhs. He is at present paying Rs. 2,000
monthly for the expenses of the Society, which has an income of about Rs. 40,000 annually from donations and subscriptions.” Thus, it appears from the above statement that when Mr. Palit’s endowment is created, and it is expected that it will shortly be done, the National Council will have a fixed annual income, from all its properties, of over Rs. 60,000. And this sum together with the income from regular subscriptions will make the total fixed annual income of about a lakh of rupees, which is fairly large sum to begin with. This is a circumstance which is undoubtedly one of the strongest guarantees of the future success of the amalgamated institutions, and the National Council deserves to be congratulated on its improved financial status.

IV

There are other considerations, however, which are intimately bound up with the future of the two amalgamated institutions, the Bengal National College and the Bengal Technical Institute, and they require to be pointed out in this connexion. It would appear that there were some twenty resignations in course of the last twelve months (July, 1909 to June, 1910) from the teaching and executive staffs of the amalgamated institutions. The places left vacant in the Bengal Technical Institute staff by the severance of connexion of Mr. Sarat Kumar Datta, the Principal, and Mr. J. K. Das Gupta, B.Sc. (Glasgow), A.M., C.I.E., A.M.I., Mech. E., Professor of Mechanical Engineering, are not easily to be filled up by men of equal qualifications. Of Mr. Datta it may be said that he is the first Indian who has passed with the highest honours the Electrical Engineering Examination of the Technological University of Charlottenburg (Germany), the largest and most completely equipped Technological University in Europe. Before he left for Germany, Mr. Datta had also a very distinguished career at the Calcutta University being a double M.A. of that University in Mathematics and in Physics, obtaining a first class in the last mentioned subject. It is a matter of sincere regret that our own men in our own Swadeshi Technical College in Calcutta have not thought it worth their while to retain the expert services of one of our most distinguished students. The Government, however, have recognised his worth and have utilised his services on a high salary by conferring on him the prize-appointment of officiating Professor of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering in the Sibpur Engineering College, the only College of its kind in this part of the country,
the post having temporarily fallen vacant on account of a two-
years' leave granted to the permanent incumbent, Mr. W. H.
Everett, M.I., Mech.E., M.I.E.E. The University of Calcutta also,
like the Government, has not failed to utilise Mr. Datta's services
by appointing him examiner for some of its Degree Examinations,
e.g., the B.A., B.Sc., and B.E. (Bachelor of Engineering) examina-
tions for the current year. Similarly, the expert services of Mr. J. K.
Das Gupta, B.Sc. (Glasgow), A.M.C.I.E., A.M.I., Mech. E., have been
engaged by the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta on a salary of
Rs. 400 per month. The Bengal National College has likewise
become weakened by the resignations of more than a dozen Pro-
fessors and other officers in course of the last twelve months. It
would have been a most fortunate thing if, simultaneously with
the amalgamation of funds and the establishment of one common
controlling body for both institutions, there was also a real growth
of teaching strength by the joining of hands of the old staffs of
the two institutions. As it is, there has been a considerable weaken-
ing all along the line by the resignations of men of high character
and superior attainments, whose devoted and expert services so
very largely contributed to the present growth and (if they had
not resigned) would have assured the stability and the future suc-
cess of the two institutions. We are glad, however, to learn that the
authorities are leaving no stone unturned to secure the services of
a qualified body of men to fill up the vacancies. We trust that the
new staff will be composed of competent and devoted workers
whose energies, under proper guidance, will be able to make the
amalgamation a real success. There are difficulties, however, in dis-
covering and securing men of the right stamp. As the Bengalee
newspaper of Calcutta editorially pointed out sometime ago, the
number of capable teachers and workers who would be likely to
identify themselves with the cause of National Education and
devote their best time and energies solely to it is, in the present
circumstances of our country, extremely limited,—as limited in
fact, as the number of wealthy, charitably disposed men who are
likely to come forward to render financial assistance to the cause
of National Education. The authorities, therefore, have need to
proceed with all due caution and tact in order to attract and retain
the right sort of men to and in the work of the two amalgamated
institutions, seeing that there have been so many and such
important resignations from them in the course of less than
twelve months.
APPENDIX III

REMINISCENCES ABOUT SATISCHANDRA

A

SATIS MUKHERJEE AND NATIONAL EDUCATION*

Writing of the Taj Mrs. Mackenjie remarked:—"How strange it is that the architects of most of the finest buildings in the world remain unknown!" Indeed it is difficult to trace back to its source most of the movements which have influenced the work of men. No wonder, therefore, that the originators of the movement for national education in India under the British are hardly known to-day. In their case the difficulty to trace them, in the obscurity of their retirement, has been augmented by their modesty and preference to avoid the lime light of popularity.

The system of education introduced in India by the British was not national and was consequently unable to make the student fit for his natural work.

This shortcoming of the system of education did not escape the notice of Englishmen who made a careful study of its effects on the recipients. Sir William Wilson Hunter was chary to believe that the State education in British India had been doing the people good. He said:—"Your State education is producing a revolt against three principles which, although they were pushed too far in ancient India, represent the deepest wants of human nature—the principle of discipline, the principle of religion, the principle of contentment." He pointed out that as the result of this system of education, the Government would have on their hands, a race of young men grown up without discipline, a race of young men grown up in the public non-recognition of a God, an overgrown clerkly generation trained to depend on Government allowances, and to look to Government service but whose adult ambition not all the offices of the Government would be able to satisfy. And he sounded a tocsin of alarm: "What are you to do with this great clever class, forced up under a foreign system, without discipline, without contentment and without a God?"

*This article from the pen of Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghose was first published as a Foreword to our previous book, viz., A Phase of the Swadeshi Movement (Cal., Aug., 1953).
The English in India deliberately overlooked the significant fact that the end of national education is not to create one vast clerkly class, but to fit all classes for their natural work.

The need for national education was being keenly felt by a section of Indians who realised that an education that, instead of helping the intellect to expand, only crippled it, should be discarded in the interest of the people.

But they had to encounter immense difficulty in introducing a system of national education chiefly because the alien Government stood in the way. That Government would not recognise any system of education which was not stamped with their approval and, consequently, was not likely to serve their end. The door to the professions was barred for those who were not the products of the system which had a denationalising effect on the people. It created a huge hiatus between the educated and the masses; for, the educated considered themselves a separate class and developed what may be called superiority-complex. As an inevitable result the desire to diffuse the fertilising waters of intellectual knowledge from their great and copious fountainheads at the Universities by a thousand irrigating channels over the whole length and breadth of the land—deteriorated and learning was not connected with the living forces of society—the masses were not made a sharer in the classic traditions of the lettered world.

But a change was coming:

"So when the world is asleep, and there seems no hope of her waking
Out of the long bad dream the masses hear mutter and moan,
Suddenly all men arise in the noise of fetters breaking,
And every one smiles at his neighbour and tells him his soul is his own."

When the Swadeshi movement was in the offing, the conviction manifested itself in some of the educated patriots that without national education there would be no national progress. These men were products of the system of education established by the aliens, but they were exceptions and destined to introduce a new order of things.

Prominent among these pioneers were members of a group—practically organised by Satis Chandra Mukherjee, who soon attracted the attention and enthralled the admiration of kindred
spirits. The organisation was helped by no less a person than Dr. Gooroodass Banerjee who had been a judge of the Calcutta High Court and the first Indian to be the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. And Satish Chandra got as his co-workers men like Upadhaya Brahmabandhab who later told in a British Court of Law that he was not responsible to an alien Government for his share in the God-ordained mission of Swaraj, Rabindranath Tagore who later established the *Visva Varati* to give shape to his ideal of education, Hirendra Nath Dutt, a *savant* and man of keen intellect, and many a *clarum et venerabile nomen*. With Satish Chandra came Aurobindo Ghosh who argued thus for the boycott of the then existing system of education—

"We are dissatisfied with the conditions under which education is imparted in this country, its calculated poverty and insufficiency, its anti-national character, its subordination to Government and the use made of that subordination for the discouragement of patriotism."

The pioneers soon secured a band of earnest students who accepted the ideal adumbrated and advanced and strove to accomplish it.

A great fillip was given to the attempt to introduce a national system of education by the *Swadeshi* movement which started in Bengal. The nation was in courage flaming; its resolve at white heat; and above all, in revolt against false and sentimental advices. It was not a mere boycott of British or even foreign goods, not a mere protest against the partition of Bengal. It was a cyclone, tearing up by the roots many ornamental plants of society and wrecking some of the flimsy trestle-bridges of foreign introduction; an earthquake; one of those seismic disturbances in which nations leap forward or fall backward by generations in a single bound.

The National Council of Education was established, thanks to the unimstinted financial help of men like Subodh Chandra Mallik, Brajendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury, Surya Kanta Acharya Chowdhury and others. It was the realisation of the dream of Satish Chandra's life and he was at the helm of its affairs.

The Council prospered. But politics played its blighting part and exerted a paralysing influence over it, reminding one how over every glorious culmination lowers the thunder-cloud with lightning in its bosom ready to strike and to destroy. The promise of its beginning was practically blasted and it had to concentrate on technical education on national lines. If it is the first step which counts—the
National Council of Education established in Calcutta in 1906 must be regarded as the first step towards establishing a national system of education in India which requires re-orientation to-day when India has got self-rule and must have national education.

It is only meet and proper that at a time when our need for the re-orientation of our system of education is the sorest, an attempt should be made to tell the life-story of Satis Chandra Mukherjee and the history of the movement which culminated in the creation of the National Council of Education round which traditions of a great national movement tenderly entwine themselves.

The present book—which is the result of the labour of love of Sri Haridas Mukherjee and Srimati Uma Mukherjee—is a welcome addition to the collection of materials of the history of national education in India and the work done by a great pioneer. The authors have been at the pains of looking for threads of connection entangled and obscured by the confusion of troubled years, and, have, by research, recovered many incidents leading to the movement for national education and rescued from oblivion many articles in which are to be found the thoughts and opinions of the intellectual giants of the period on the subject.

I am sure the book will be carefully read and greatly appreciated by our countrymen.

Calcutta, August 13, 1953

Hemendra Prasad Ghose

B MY REMINISCENCES OF SRI SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJEE*

It was sometime in 1904 when as a young under-graduate student of the Presidency College, Calcutta, I was drawn by the reputation of the Dawn Society of which the late Sri Satis Chandra Mukherjee was the founder-Secretary, to enrol myself in the list of its members. The Society then as ever afterwards had no local habitation of its own, but it used to hold its sittings regularly in the afternoon twice or thrice a week in the rooms of the Metropolitan Institution (now known as the Vidyasagar College) by permission

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*This is from the pen of Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, the famous historian of the History of Hindu Political Theories.
of the College authorities. The programme of the Society's activities consisted of discussions and debates among the members themselves as well as expositions of our great religious Classics by scholars of the orthodox school, and occasional addresses by eminent thinkers like Rabindra Nath Tagore, Hirendra Nath Datta and Sister Nivedita. The object of the Society was clearly defined so as to include within its purview all topics relating to our history and culture from the earliest times to the present, while deliberately eschewing politics, then as now the bane of young and immature minds. A sprinkling of non-Bengali members resident in the city saved it from degenerating into a narrow provincial institution, while it kept itself singularly free from the taint of intellectual obscurantism as well as religious and sectarian bigotry. Thus the opportunity was given to some of the most earnest and impressionable young men of the time, living in the great metropolis city of India, to broaden their outlook beyond the cut-and-dried University curriculum and to cultivate serious (though not blind) appreciation of our great cultural heritage. The ideals of the Society were disseminated far and wide throughout the country through its famous organ the Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine, which through the richness and variety of its contents established itself as one of the foremost exponents of our rising nationalism.

From the beginning the life and soul of the Dawn Society's activities was the late Sri Satis Chandra Mukherjee. Living a saintly and dedicated life, eschewing wealth and fame and filled with a passionate and constructive ambition for the uplift of our fallen countrymen (especially the student community), he was a living example of the ideals which he practised throughout his life to all those who had the privilege of coming into personal contact with him. To me as one of the survivors of that generation which witnessed the birth of the first great national movement in Bengal known as the Swadeshi Movement, it is an honour and privilege to be permitted to pay my respectful homage to the memory of one who modestly but with life-long devotion contributed his share to the same sacred cause. May I add my hearty congratulations to Prof. Haridas Mukherjee and Prof. Uma Mukherjee for bringing their plan of recovering some forgotten chapters of Bengal's first national awakening and the history of one of her great sons intimately associated with the same, to a successful completion?

Calcutta,
28.4.1957

Upendra Nath Ghoshal.
The name of Satis Mukherjee had been well-known to me since my student days in school and College at Barisal. When I was a young boy I heard of Satis Babu from my elders and found copies of the *Dawn* lying on my uncle, late Aswinikumar's table. The *Dawn* was read very seriously by the senior students of the B. M. College. Later on, I came to know of him as my uncle's Gurubhai.

Long afterwards in 1919 when my uncle was staying at Benares on a change of air, I had the fortune and pleasure of meeting Satis Babu personally at my uncle's house. One evening he came to our house and my uncle asked me to make *pranams* to him and said, "Look, my boy, here is your Satis Mukherjee of the *Dawn*". Needless to say I was thrilled with pleasure. He was with long beards, outwardly good-looking in health, very simple in dress with a coat on. He was a constant visitor to our house at Benares; so I had many occasions to meet him. He gave me some instructions as to the teaching of History which is my subject. I was then fresh from College and Professor of History in the D.A.V. College at Lahore. He asked me to meet Mahatma Hansraj of the D.A.V. College. Further, he gave me the valuable advice that I should try my best to make History as interesting to the students as possible by telling stories of the subject matter in my own way and thereafter to go through the book for detailed study so that the misapprehension of the students that History is as dry as dust would be removed. This advice I have been following up till now as a teacher and I believe that it has been most valuable to me.

In course of conversations, Satis Babu narrated many extraordinary stories about his Gurudev. To me he seemed to be an orthodox disciple of Bejoykrishna. I am not a fit person to judge his intellectual qualities nor can I say anything about the spiritual side of his life. But his simplicity in life was most attractive to me. I have no personal knowledge of his political activities.

One little incident I remember. My uncle Aswini Babu was once telling Satis Babu about Dr. Jadu Nath Sarkar who had then been at Benares: "... Satis Babu, if I were not an Aswini Kumar Datta, I wish I were a Jadu Nath Sarkar more serviceable to my
country." Satis Babu retorted: "Have you not been rendering services to the country?"

Calcutta, 31.5.57

SUSHIL KUMAR DATTA

A FORGOTTEN EPISODE*

At the request of Prof. Haridas Mukherjee, and his talented wife, Prof. Uma Mukherjee, I record here from memory what I know of an important but forgotten episode in the history of the cultural and national movement in Bengal in the beginning of the present century. The evidence of this episode is buried in the columns of the Bengalee, the then famous daily of Calcutta, edited by late Shri Surendra Nath Banerji. The incident happened just before the inauguration of the Dawn Society of Calcutta, whose founder-Secretary, late Shri Satis Chandra Mukherji, played the most important part in it. The student world in Calcutta was in a ferment in those days. New ideas were in the air. Swami Vivekananda's triumphal progress after the Chicago Inter-national Conference of Religions, and Mrs. Besant's oratorical eloquence in favour of Hindu religion and culture had given birth to what was then called the spirit of aggressive Hinduism. At that very turning point in the national history occurred an incident which would have ordinarily perhaps gone unnoticed, but in the atmosphere then prevailing it acted as a spark, which produced a powerful reaction on Bengali society. The Oxford Mission in Calcutta maintained a Hostel for the accommodation of College students, which was very popular in those days on account of its excellent arrangements. Three boys of

* This is from the pen of Sj. Krishnadas Sinha Roy, better known as Krishnadas, the celebrated author of Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi.

1. Although the date of this controversy has not yet been precisely determined, as the relevant files of the old Bengalee are not to be found at present either in the National Library or in the Library of the Indian Association, Calcutta, yet it seems fairly certain that the controversy took place sometime in or about 1901. From the Indian Nation of April 15, 1901 we come to learn that about a dozen young Hindu College students had been baptized "amidst the tears of their parents and relatives" by the Oxford University Mission's boarding-house at No. 7, Bhuban Mohun Sarkar's Lane. The statement is further corroborated by the Bengalee of May 31, 1901, which also records: "The recent conversions of some Hindu lads to Christianity have aroused considerable feeling in the Hindu community of Calcutta."—Authors.
ththis Hostel, drawn from high caste Hindu families, suddenly got cconverted to Christianity. The general public thought that undue influence was exercised on these boys, and, therefore, from the people's side a powerful movement was set on foot against Christianity to undermine this influence. The intellectual front of this movement was led by Shri-Satis Chandra Mukherji, who contributed a series of articles to the columns of the daily Bengalee under the caption and signature, which read as follows—"An Open-Letter On Christianity Addressed to Educated Hindus, by Satis Chandra Mukerji, M.A., B.L., Editor, Dawn Magazine." From the Christian side, this was replied to, in the columns of the same journal, by Dr. K. S. Macdonell, who was an authority on Christianity. The controversy lasted for more than six months, if my memory is correct. Satischandra contributed in all about twenty-five articles, and Dr. Macdonell perhaps an identical number. Their articles used to appear every week, Satischandra's article being followed by that of Dr. Macdonell. Readers of the Bengalee used to take a lively interest in this important controversy, and this contributed not a little towards the popularity of the Bengalee as a leading journal of this period.

Following the dictum that offensive is the best form of defence, Satischandra started the controversy by carrying the war into the enemy's camp. In their campaign of proselytization, the Christian missionaries never tired of exposing the weak points of Hindu religion and Hindu society. Sati, infanticide, child-marriage, idol-worship, untouchability, the tyranny of the caste-system, etc., were their favourite points of ridicule and attack on Hinduism. Satischandra started his thesis with the contention that so far as higher spirituality was concerned, Hinduism had nothing to learn from Christianity. But if a religion was to be judged by the abuses that flourished under its banner, Christianity could be proved to be guilty of crimes which a Hindu of the deepest dye would ever shudder to commit. With these introductory remarks, he proceeded to bring to exposure the excesses of the Spanish inquisition and other atrocious deeds perpetrated by Christians in the name of religion. While Hinduism was caste-ridden, Christianity as practised by European nations was no less influenced by colour prejudice. From documentary evidences, Satischandra proved that Christianity as practised in the West was nothing but a parody of what Jesus preached and practised. In his opinion, the West never followed the spirit of Christ; what prevailed there was not
Christianity, but Churchianity. The missionaries from the West should, therefore, go back to their respective countries to set their own houses in order rather than waste their time in India. The controversy came to a close with Dr. Macdonell agreeing with Satischandra that what was needed for all was to hark back to Christ. He thanked Satischandra for his powerful exposure of the evils prevailing in Christendom, and invoked the blessings of all that these evils might cease.

Raja Rammohan Roy had started the attempt to stem the tide of Christianity in Bengal in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and Satischandra by his powerful advocacy brought it to fruition in the beginning of the twentieth century. After the controversy described above, Christianity had practically no legs to stand upon in Bengal.

Calcutta, 26.9.57

KRISHNADAS SINHA ROY

SATISH CHANDRA MUKHERJII
OF THE DAWN SOCIETY

(By Sir Jadunath Sarkar)

I first came to know Satish Chandra Mukherji while I was reading hard for the Premchand Roychand Scholarship (at that time obtainable through a very stiff examination by only one candidate once in two years). We met at the Calcutta University Institute (then housed in the old Hindu School building, opposite its present lordly mansion), and I heard much about him from Ramani Mohan Ghosh (three years my junior). Ours was a coterie of top-ranking young graduates,—gold medalists and silver medalists, who had not been drafted away from Calcutta at the call of service. Satish Chandra was not a stump orator like Bipin Pal, nor a mystic dreamer like Sri Aurobindo, but an unmarried don who had found his life's vocation in personally training a few select but promising boys and helping them on to a new and richer life than was open to the common herd. It was primarily as an educational reformer that I knew him. His inward-looking spirituality awoke m
responsive chord in me, but I could not help taking the deepest interest in his experiments for saving English-educated Bengali boys from growing into parrots (glibly reproducing memory-work without digesting). Depth of knowledge (not surface glitter) and originality of thinking were the two things he aimed at infusing among his pupils, and his medium was the mother tongue, on which he imposed a crowning dome of correct and fluent English. This will become patent, when we remember that among the brilliant young men whose life he shaped were, Radha Kumud Mukherji, Bœmoy Sarkar, Rabi Ghosh and Sir Atul Chatterji, I.C.S.

Satish Chandra used to study the annual reports of the I.C.S. examination (then held in England and competed for by the best Oxford and Cambridge graduates). He analysed the result (marks) in different subjects, the comments of the examiners, the achievements of the brilliant candidates (like Aramber Gosh, first in Greek), and the changes in the curriculum and their effects.

I never visited the Dawn Society, but a short note which I put in the Calcutta University Magazine (then under Prof. C. R. Wilson), describing the contents of the newly discovered Rumin Dei pillar inscription (at Buddha's birthplace) was reproduced in the Dawn magazine. We had one interest in common,—how to make Indian historical research fit to stand unabashed in the European world of scholarship.

A year after gaining the Premchand Roychand Scholarship (in 1897) I was sent off to the Patna College and thenceforth lost touch with Calcutta for 27 years. But in 1906, when the National Education Society's College (really a school) was started in the old one-storied building of the Arts School in Bowbazar, with Satish Chandra as its Principal, I made it a point to see this new experiment in education, during my halt in Calcutta on my way to Patna from my Rajshahi home at the end of the summer vacation. I examined the boys in Indian history and gave an informal address on true historical research.

In 1917-19 when I served as Professor at the Benares Hindu University, I used to meet Satish Chandra Mukherji very frequently, because his house in Terhe Nim Gali was close to the highway that took off from the Allahabad Road to the Dasashwamedh Ghat, which I visited most evenings. I used to drop in and talk with him. The youthful national educator had now been sublimated into a lonely anchorite, whose consolation was meditation and inner culture, reading, writing and thinking all his waking hours. His
pupils (they must be called chelas) at this Benares hermitage were a Bengali youth (renamed Krishnadas) who later accompanied Gandhiji in his Champaran Peasant Movement and wrote a Bengali book on what he saw there, and the boy Satish, now an expert in the methodical cataloguing of books.

One day while our philosopher was seated in his verandah sunk in deep reverie, he noticed small sheets of paper gently floating down the air and being deposited at his feet. As he laughingly told me, he at first wondered if it was a revelation from on High granted to him in reward of his lifelong pursuit of light (Brahma-vidya). Was it a new Quran of which he was to be the Prophet? He read and discovered that these were only his own manuscript notes of his studies and reflections. Then looking up he realised that his arch-angel was only the immortal Conqueror of Lanka. A Hanuman had crept into his library and stolen one of his note-books and there from the top branch of the same crooked Nim tree in the lane the critic was silently plucking one leaf after another and returning them to their author as unacceptable in heaven!

C. Calcutta, 
4.12.1957  
JADUNATH SARKIARAR
The idea of a National University is one of the ideas which have formulated themselves in the national consciousness and become part of the immediate destiny of a people. It is a seed which is sown and must come to its fruition, because the future demands it and the heart of the nation is in accord with the demand. The process of its increase may be rapid or it may be slow, and when the first beginnings are made, there may be many errors and false starts, but like a stream gathering volume as it flows, the movement will grow in force and certainty, the vision of those responsible for its execution will grow clearer, and their hands will be helped in unexpected ways until the purpose of God is worked out and the idea shapes itself into an accomplished reality. But it is necessary that those who are the custodians of the precious trust, should guard it with a zealous care and protect its purity and first high aim from being sullied or lowered.

There have been many attempts before the present movement to rescue education in India from subservience to foreign and petty ends, and to establish Colleges and Schools maintained and controlled by Indians which would give an education superior to the Government-controlled education. The City College, the Ferguson College and others started with this aim but they are now monuments of a frustrated idea. In every case they have fallen to the state of ordinary institutions, replicas of the Government model, without a separate mission or nobler reason for existence. And they have so fallen because their promoters could not understand or forgot that the first condition of success was independence—and independence zealously preserved and absolute. In other words there can be no national education without national control.

A certain measure of success has been secured by two institutions of a later birth, the Benares Hindu College and the Dayanand
Anglo-Vedic College. These are successful institutions, but isolated. They have not developed into centres of a network of schools affiliated to them and forming one corporate body. They have not in themselves the makings of Universities. So far as they give religious teaching they are a wholesome departure from the barren official form of education, but that is only one part of education on national lines. National Education cannot be defined briefly in one or two sentences, but we may describe it tentatively as the education which starting with the past and making full use of the present builds up a great nation. Whoever wishes to cut off the nation from its past, is no friend of our national growth. Whoever fails to take advantage of the present is losing us the battle of life. We must therefore save for India all that she has stored up of knowledge, character and noble thought in her immemorial past. We must acquire for her the best knowledge that Europe can give her and assimilate it to her own peculiar type of national temperament. We must introduce the best methods of teaching humanity has developed, whether modern or ancient. And all these we must harmonise into a system which will be impregnated with the spirit of self-reliance so as to build up men and not machines—national men, able men, men fit to carve out a career for themselves by their own brain power and resource, fit to meet the shocks of life and breast the waves of adventure. So shall the Indian people cease to sleep and become once more a people of heroes, patriots, originators, so shall it become a nation and no longer a disorganized mass of men.

National Education must therefore be on national lines and under national control. This necessity is the very essence of its being. No one who has not grasped it, can hope to build up a National University. Mrs. Besant has recently begun a campaign in favour of national education and in a recent speech has outlined her idea of a National University. We have every respect for this great orator and organiser, but we are bound to point out that a university organized by Mrs. Besant will not be a National University. In the first place, the future University must be one built up by the brain and organising power of India's own sons. It shall never be said that the first National University in India was the creation of a foreigner and that the children of the Mother were content to follow and imitate but could not lead and originate. Such a charge would be fatal to the very object of the University. Secondly, Mrs. Besant has forgotten that the basis of a National
University has already been laid. The National Council of Education in Bengal has already commenced the great work on lines which have only to be filled in, and their work has received the blessing of God and increases. But Mrs. Besant has omitted to make any mention of their work and speaks as if she intended to have the Benares College as the basis of the National University. But the Benares College has shown itself unfit for so huge a task. It has been obliged to rely on foreign funds and to court Government patronage. Even the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College is a more robust growth, for it has been built up by the munificent self-sacrifice of the Arya Samaj. No institution which cannot rely on the people of India for its support and build itself up without official support or patronage, can be considered to have established its capacity of developing into a National University. Finally, Mrs. Besant shows by her scheme that she is not in possession of the true secret of the movement. She wants a Charter from England. We are aware that she talks of organizing the University with the help of Indian talent and keeping it as a preserve of Indian control but when she asks for a Charter it is evident that she has not realised what national control implies. No Government will give a Charter which excludes them from all control. There may be no provision for control in the Charter itself, but the power that gives the Charter can at any moment insist on seeing that the University merits the Charter. Once this constructive possibility of control is allowed to overshadow the infant institution, good-bye to its utility, its greatness, its future. It will follow the way of other Schools and Colleges and become a fruitless idea, a monument of wasted energy and frustrated hopes.

B

A WORD IN TIME

[Bande Mataram, Weekly Ed., May 3, 1908]

The life and soul of the present uprising in India must be preserved at any cost. There is an inclination in some quarters to fasten upon the outward expressions of this uprising and sacrifice everything to their maintenance, but this is a capital error. God expresses Himself in many ways, and the thoughtless are induced to believe that the form is all-important and the form must be
saved if the spirit within is not to escape. But the form is merely for the use of the moment and is only valuable so long as it preserves the spirit; but if it begins to distort the spirit in order to save itself the virtue will pass out and into fresh forms. So it is with this movement of ours. It has engendered many new forms of life which seek to express it and are valuable only so far as they succeed in expressing it. The life of an institution is not the life of the movement, on the contrary, the life of the movement is the life of the institution. If the life of the former is stunted, the latter must wane in vitality or else lose its meaning and begin to serve ends other than the high mission for which it was created.

National Education is the foremost outcome of the first energies of the movement, the loftiest of the aspirations which have found a concrete expression, and the National College in Calcutta is the centre of that education. The College has been built up by great self-sacrifice and earnest labour on the part of those who are now in charge of its management. It is the pride of the new Nationalism that the devoted souls who have given up their prospects for the work of this great Institution belong to its ranks and profess its high principles. Many of them are possessed with an intense idealism which sees the salvation of the country in the success of their work; but this mood has its dangers. It may blind them to the fact that their work is only a part of a great and many-sided resurgence and in their anxiety to preserve and promote the work they may forget the primary objects for which the College was instituted and do harm to the Institution by isolating it. All the forces of the resurgence ought to stream into and through this Institution and the sympathies of the whole country be enlisted in its support. Unfortunately, there is a growing alienation visible between the central Institution and some of the Mofussil Schools which are necessary to its existence, and of this alienation the letter of a Rangpur correspondent in another column is a painful symptom. The spirit of this letter is too acrimonious, but the distrust which it expresses so vehemently, is, we fear, a fact of growing significance, and it is time that the Council authorities should make a note of this feeling and take steps to remove it.

The immediate cause of our correspondent's outburst is the sudden diminution of the individual grants given by the Council to Mofussil Schools and the condition attached to them which practically turns them from monthly grants into subsidies for technical education. The Mofussil Schools have always deeply felt what
they hold to be the disproportionate attention paid by the Council to their Calcutta Institution and their comparative neglect of the Mofussil. In this year's Budget the disproportion has become so great as to bring matters to a head. The expenditure on the Calcutta College has been enormously increased, but the grants given to the Mofussil are only Rs. 12,000 in the year-out of a total amount of a lakh and a quarter. This sum is an increase on the previous sanction, but is so small in itself that in order to meet the demands of the growing number of Schools outside Calcutta, the Council has had to cut down its old grants, and in some instances in a drastic manner which was bound to create bad feeling. The stipulation that this diminished sum should be devoted to the purchase of implements for scientific and technical education practically destroyed the grant altogether. A National School in the Mofussil depends for the existence on monthly contributions of various kinds which just cover the expenses with the help of the Council grant. These contributions represent the utmost present capacity of the town or district to tax itself locally for the maintenance of National Education, big sums from local Zamindars being usually procurable only by the central Institution so that this large source of possible assistance is not available to the local School. Under such circumstances the practical cessation of the Council grant means that an impossible situation is created for many of the Mofussil Schools. Rangpur, for instance has built up a National School of some standing with a building of its own, a boarding-house and a technical side, and whatever improvements are necessary for scientific or technical instruction it may be trusted to effect gradually. But meanwhile it must live, and if it is faced with a sudden deficit of Rs. 100 in its monthly income, to live will be impossible. These are considerations which have escaped the Council because it is out of touch with the Mofussil. On the other hand the Mofussil is out of touch with the Council; the importance of building up a strong College in Calcutta, strong in equipment and instruction quite apart from the number of students or the size of the Institution, has not been brought home to the Mofussil workers, and the motives of the Council's action are apt to be misunderstood. If the National Education movement is not to receive a disastrous check, this condition of things must be remedied.

A National Institution, sprung out of the present movement, must be free, democratic and intensely patriotic, if it is to flourish. The old tendency to manage things privately among a few will be fatal,
if it is allowed to creep into the new institutions. The sympathy of the public is the very breath of life to them and the sympathy of the public depends on publicity, on taking the people into confidence and allowing public opinion free play in the affairs of the Institution. The Council has been doing first-class work, but it has been doing it too much in camera, so to speak. We have noticed the growth of a distrust and misunderstanding in many quarters which spring as much from public ignorance as from actual defects. It would be a pity if the fair prospects of National Education were to be overclouded by the want of a little tact in dealing with the people for whose sake it has been set on foot. It ought not to be impossible to find some means by which the light of public opinion and especially of Mofussil opinion should be brought to bear on the transactions of the Council and both sides benefit by the restoration of mutual confidence. The energies of the workers are absorbed in trying to bring in funds and develop the College, and other things may seem too unimportant to them to be worth attention; but the life of National Education depends on its being in touch with the life of the people. Man does not live by bread alone and national institutions do not live by funds alone. It is because they help the life of the Nation and are part of the life of the Nation that they receive the sanction of Almighty Providence to exist, and all material aids are subordinate. The Council is not merely an educational body nor is the College merely an educational institution; they are trustees to the people of a great instrument of National regeneration and should work always in that spirit.

SUBODH CHANDRA MALLICK’S SPEECH

[At Panti’s Math, Calcutta, Nov. 9, 1905]

“Brother-students and Gentlemen,

At the outset I must ask your indulgence for addressing you in English. I am ashamed to own that I am one of the products of the present denationalised system of education, who can better express themselves in the foreign tongue than in their own. I stand before you as a student and as such I am quite unworthy of the position I have been called upon to fill this evening. But as I have been led to believe that my taking the chair on the present occa-
sion will encourage my brother-students I have rushed in where angels fear to tread.

I have known our own bastard system of education as well as the natural type of it in the West. It is a matter of great rejoicing that a great truth has at last dawned upon us today in all its glory. We have come to realise that our salvation must be worked out by ourselves in spite of dangers and difficulties that may at present appear to us insurmountable. The attitude of the Government towards the students with regard to the present movement has been an eye-opener to us. We have seen what a dangerous weapon they can make of this control over education, and, secure career of national progress will be impossible for us unless we take the same away from their hands.

The poet has said—

"Trust not for freedom to the Franks.

In native swords and native ranks

The only hope of Courage dwells."

The freedom that we desire is freedom from the trammels which have so long hindered our national growth. Now that we see the signs of a budding nationality around us the one thing needful is to place it in an atmosphere of congenial light and air. Mazzini has said of education that, when consecrated to aid the progress of all, it is a means of civilisation and liberty, but when turned to mere personal use, it becomes an agent of tyranny and corruption. Our education has been valued only for its golden egg and the saying of Mazzini has been verified in our case. Ideas of nationality, self-respect and the higher attributes which ennoble a man have had no place in it. With the pulsation of a national sentiment throbbing in our breast our first care should be to put education on a sound basis. We have met here to-day to discuss how best we can realise that ardent desire. The gentlemen who are going to address you on this occasion are better fitted to speak on the subject than myself. For the realisation of our desired end we can safely look to our leaders for guidance. If we have blamed our leaders for pusillanimity and half-hearted sympathy with our aspirations, we should remember that our leaders are level-headed men who could not knowingly lead their followers through paths of danger and difficulty unless they could see that their followers were of the true metal and would suffer to gain a great point. If we are all ready to undergo the huge sacrifices that have been lately
heard of, what in the world is there in the way of starting a National University? We have been assured of fund sufficient to make a start. We have heard of students ready to give up all hopes of Government service and of the present-day University honours. We have heard of able and learned men in the lucrative professions promising to give up their prospects for this great national cause. Why then do we halt and falter? The great demand is that of sacrifice. If I may say so, the first, the next and the last essential is sacrifice in the present crisis. Let us make a beginning here today. The students are already stinting themselves of their comforts in order to contribute their humble mite to the National University Fund. Their example has not been lost and is bound to evoke universal response. For my part, to show my sympathy with their laudable efforts, I most humbly beg to place at the disposal of the promoters of this cause my humble contribution of a lakh of rupees. I am not, gentlemen, a wealthy man. I can ill afford the luxury of making such a gift. But the call of the Mother is clear, and respond we must, be we great or small.”

[First published in the Bengalee on November 12, 1905, not on Nov. 10, 1905 as wrongly recorded by Dr. S. C. Roy in his The Story of My Times, Calcutta, 1934, p. 111].

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION, BENGAL

Under the above heading the Indian Daily News in its issue of April 15, 1912, writes as follows:—

“A few years ago, it will be remembered, the Bengal Technical Institute was started at Parsi-Bagan by Mr. T. Palit, and at Bow-Bazar was established the National College. Subsequently these two institutions were amalgamated and the National College was removed to the Parsi Bagan building, an arrangement having been come to whereby the income of the two bodies was to be divided by halves between the general and technical departments. About two months ago, the Principal of the Bombay Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute and the Principal of the Roorkee Engineering College, who visited the institution, recorded their opinion that more attention should be paid to the practical side of the arts
taught in the College. Subsequently in consequence of a proposal made by the Government,* requesting the authorities to give up the College, a meeting of the General Committee was held, at which the question came on for consideration. Mr. T. Palit, Dr. Nilratan Sarkar and others were of opinion that the College should be given up, while Sir Gooroo Dass Banerjee and others were against it. Mr. Palit, who was outvoted, has stopped his contribution (Rs. 2,000 a month) from the current month. A notice has also been served upon the College authorities to remove the College from the Parsi Bagan buildings within six months.

It is to be noted that one of the objects steadily kept in view by the authorities of the Bengal National College in acceding to the proposal of its amalgamation with the Bengal Technical Institute was to be able to secure a sum of over ten lakhs by way of endowment from Mr. Palit. A very interesting report on this question of amalgamation was published in the Statesman newspaper of this city in its issue of April 19, 1910 under the heading, *The National Council of Education: An Important Amalgamation,* from which we take the following: “The total endowments of the Council of

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*This proposal of the Government of Bengal was conveyed in a letter (given below) from Mr. W. H. Everett, Secretary of the Committee appointed by the Government to consider the question of establishing a Technological Institute in Calcutta.

Secretary, Technological Institute Committee,

To The Vice-Principal and Superintendent, Bengal Technical Institute, 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta,
Calcutta, the 7th March, 1912.

Sir,

With reference to the Committee recently appointed by Government to consider the question of establishing a technological Institute in Calcutta, I am instructed to ask if you will be so good as to supply the Committee with information on the following points, in connection with the subject of the absorption of existing institutions in the proposed Institute:—

(a) Would the authorities of your institution consent to its absorption in the proposed Institute; and in that case would they propose that the former should cease to exist?

(b) Do they desire to make any conditions as to the absorption of the staff and equipment, or the use of the present building?

(c) Full information is requested as to the courses taught, the hours for day and evening classes, the numbers attending the different courses, and the fees charged?

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
W. H. Everett,
Secretary, Technological Institute Committee.
National Education amount to about nine lakhs of rupees. These are the endowments created by Babu Brojendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury, Maharaja Surya Kanta Acharya Chowdhury, and Mr. Subodh Chandra Mallik, respectively. From these and other sources, the Council derives a fixed annual income of about Rs. 60,000/-. The Society for the Promotion of Technical Education, on the other hand, has as yet no permanent fund, no endowed property. But this deficiency, it has been arranged, will shortly be remedied, for Mr. T. Palit, Bar-at-Law, a member of the Governing Body, has agreed to endow property worth from nine to ten lakhs. He is at present paying Rs. 2,000 monthly for the expenses of the Society, which has an income of about Rs. 40,000 annually from donations and subscriptions**.

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The endowments created by Babu Brojendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury, Maharaja Surya Kanta Acharya Chowdhury, and Mr. Subodh Chandra Mallik, respectively, amount to about nine lakhs of rupees. These endowments, along with other sources, provide a fixed annual income of approximately Rs. 60,000/-. On the other hand, the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education still lacks a permanent fund or endowed property. However, it has been arranged that Mr. T. Palit, a member of the Governing Body, will soon provide property worth between nine to ten lakhs. In the meantime, Mr. Palit is paying Rs. 2,000 per month towards the Society's expenses, which generate an annual income of about Rs. 40,000 from donations and subscriptions.

**Originally published in the Dawn Magazine in May, 1912.

**1916 সনের মার্চ মাসে 'ডাইন' পত্রিকায় এই বক্তৃতাটি প্রথম প্রকাশিত হয়। রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর সোসাইটির ঐ বক্তৃতা ১৯১৫ সনের ২৪শে ফেব্রুয়ারী প্রকাশ করেন।
APPENDICES

এই স্মৃতিযোগ্য অন্তর্নিহত হয় যখন লোকের মনে বড় সন্দেহ এবং বড় রকমের আশা জাগিয়া উঠে। এই স্মৃতিহীন অন্তর্নিহত আশা সকলবার অক্ষুন্ন থাকার বাধার হাইয়া পড়েছিল। এখন সকলের মনে বড় বড় আশার সন্ধান হয়েছে। আপনাদের মনের একটি ইচ্ছার হইতে পারে যে, আমার এখনকার কাজের উপরের সময় এই বড় বড় অন্তর্নিহতের উপর একটি প্রচেষ্টা করিয়া তুলবো, যাহা স্বয়ং-স্বয়ং সাধারণের কল্পনায় বড় বড় কিছু প্রভাব হইবে। কল্পনার ধর্মে: আপনাদের মনে এমন ইচ্ছা হওয়া অন্বেষিত না। এই বিষয়ে দুইটি একটি কথা বলা প্রয়োজন মনে করি। শুধু ভুলো সোসাইটির নয়, স্বর্ণসাদরনেরও এ বিষয়ের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি বিবেচনা করা দরকার।

এই স্মৃতিযোগ্য অন্তর্নিহত আমাদের যে উপায় হইয়াছে তাহা আমারা সকলবার দেখিয়াছি। আপনারা একদিন প্রাপ্ত হইতেন যে এই শত মহার; এই সময়ে প্রকাশ করিয়া, স্মৃতিস্মৃতি দিনের মধ্যে বাহার যে দেশের কবর ছিল, তিনি সেটিকে অন্ধকার অপর করিয়া দিবার চেষ্টা করিতেছিলেন। অনেকেই মনে করিতেন যে এই সেটা বড় রকমের একটি কারণ ফ্যাক্টর বাহার সময়ে উপস্থাপ হইয়াছে। তাহারা ভাবিতেন যে যদি এ অবকাশ উপলব্ধ হইতে দেওয়া যায় তবে আর ফিরিয়া পাওয়া বাইবে না। যে বাঁধ দান করিতে অদৃষ্ট, সেই অদৃষ্টের যারার কাছে কিছু আদায় করিতে পারি না, যে যথাযথ হইয়াছে তখন তাহাকে ফ্যাক্টর করিয়া কিছু আদায় করিবার চেষ্টা করা করিয়া নেন, এই তেমনি। আমার মনে হয় যে এইরূপে মন সম্পর্কে বেশী কিছু পাইবার আশা করা বাইরে পারে না। যাহার অবস্থায় জোর দোকানটি পাড়াহীর তুলনায় লইতে পারি, কিন্তু লেখাভঙ্গা দানলিপি-সংক্রান্ত করিয়া কোন বড় দান দানের হইতে হইলে অবকাশ প্রয়োজন, যেহেতু বড় হইলে করার সম্ভাবনা ছিল। তাহার স্থলে জন ভাবার দরকার এমন কোন যথার্থ বড় কাজ তাড়াতাড়িতে সম্ভব হয় না। অংশসক্ত হইলে আর বাঁধনী হইলে, মন অদৃষ্ট তাহাতে নিকট হইতে বড় বেশী কিছু আশা করা অন্যায়। যে বজ্র সংগ্রহ অদৃষ্ট অন্তর্নিহত করিতে কুর্ষ্ণ, গোলামলে তুলাইয়া যে তাহার কাছে বড় দান আদায় করিয়া সেই যারার মাথায় হইয়া মিলিত করিতে পারিত যায় না।

এই স্মৃতিযোগ্য অন্তর্নিহত সকলবার মনে কিছু না কিছু, উদ্বেগে হইয়াছিল। আমিও এ উদ্যোগের হাত হইতে নিকৃতি পাইতে পারি নাই, একোন অবসান করিবার কোন কারণ দেখিনি। প্রথমে আমারও আশা কোন বড় ছিল। কিন্তু আমি ধরিয়া কেতাপন করিয়া এই বুঝতে পারিয়াছি যে আমারা মনের করা জড় জিজ্ঞসাকে পাইয়া পারি বটে, কিন্তু দেশের স্থায়ী কোন প্রতিষ্ঠান (Institution) স্থাপন করা এত তাড়াতাড়িতে হয় না। এ ত একাদিকে কথা যায়, ইহাকে বলা বার্তায় অবনীতি-শীতল পাইতে পারিত হইবে। যদি এমন হইত যে কতগুলি লেক গোলামলে কোডের মধ্যে কাজ করিলের ফল পাওয়া বাইবে, তাহা হইলে কথা ছিল না। কিন্তু উদ্যোগে জনন চলিয়া যাতে, যে আকস্মিক সকলে একবার হইতেছিলে সে আকৃষ্ট যথাযথ শিখিয়া হইলে আপনি, তখন ইহাকে কিচে সাহব বাধা? এই যে বিভিন্ন প্রকৃতির বিভিন্ন মতের লেক একটি প্রচেষ্টা অক্ষুন্নে একটি হইতে বিপুল রকমের, বিভিন্ন যুগের আদেশ করিতে সম্পন্ন তহারা বিনিময় ইহার জন্ম দান করিয়া রাখিতে পারিতেন কি না তাহা ভাবিবার বিষয়। কন্যা যখন আইসে লোকে কন্যার উপর বিজ্ঞপ্ত করে না। কন্যা যখন যায়, ভূমির উপর যখন পাল
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এই সোসাইটির দিকে আসিবে, ইহার শিক্ষার কাছে রস স্বাগর হইবে, আপনারা আশার সঙ্গে অগ্রসর হইবেন। বড় জন্য দোভ করিবেন না।

আপনাদের সোসাইটির কথা একক বলিলাম। আরা একটা কথা বলিল। আজ আমাদের দেশে স্বদেশী বিদ্যালয় স্থাপনের যে চেষ্টা হইতেছে, সতীশ বাবু তাহার একটি মুখে অবলম্বন। তাহার উদাহরণই ইহা অনুপ্রাণিত হইছে। সতীর্ষ জাতীয় বিদ্যালয়ের সঙ্গে ভূত সোসাইটির জিজ্ঞাসা। বর্তমানে এখান দলা যাইতে পারে। এষ্টান সাধারণত চেষ্টা মুখে বাহির করণী চলান করিয়াছিলেন তাহারা এখন উদাহরণে ঘটের মুখে আনিয়াছিলেন একত্র বলিতে পারা যায়। এখন ইহাই সকলকে দেখিয়া আপনাদের উপর।

আমরা এই স্বদেশী আদেশের তথ্যসূত্র কাজ করিতে পারিবার্ষিক তাহার জন্য গবেষণা অন্তর্ভুক্ত করিয়া থাকি। বাঙালী বড় শাক্ত, বাঙালী অস্থায়ী সাধারণ করিয়াছে, সকলে মুখেই আজকাল এই কথা শনা যায়। তিনিই আমরা তাহা না যে গবেষণার সঙ্গে আমাদের লক্ষ্য ও কাজ, একথা আমাদিগকে ব্যক্তির কারণেই হইবে যে, যত বড় ভাবের দ্বারা প্রশংসিত হইয়া আমারা এক্ষণে ডোগ নিয়াছিলাম এর বড় ভাবের দ্বারা অনুপ্রাণিত হইলে আমাদের জনস্বরূপ সমস্ত তাহার কাজ করিত, আমারা তাহার শান্তিপ্রকাশ করিতে পারি নাই। আমারা ইতনামে যে অনুষ্ঠান আরেক করিয়াছিলাম, আমার সম্মুখে আমার ভাবে মারা যাইতেছে বাঙালী আমার শুধুমাত্র এই ডোগকে সফল করিবার জন্য আমরা এমন কোনো স্বাধীনতা করিতে পারি নাই যাহারা ইতিহাসে উন্মুক্ত হইয়া থাকিবে। এখনও আমাদের তাহ স্বীকার করিতে হইলে আপনাদিগকে এই কথায় জ্ঞান সমর্পণ করিতে হইবে। জ্ঞান সমর্পণ করার মত বড় কথা আমার মুখে শোভা পায় না কেননা আমার নিজে বিশেষ কেন স্বাধীনতা করিতে পারি নাই। যিনি আমাদের চাকরি চেনি আমাদের দৃষ্টিতে স্বীকার হইয়া আছেন। তাহার জ্ঞান আপনাদিগকে এরূপ জন্য আহ্বান করিতে পারে। ডেশের এই জানা দ্বারা দূর করিবার জন্য হাতেযার বিদ্যালয় অবশ্যই এই আমাদের আশার এই জ্ঞান উপস্থিত করিতে হইবে। সমস্ত শেষ এই ইহাই চাইতেছে। আমারা যদি তাহা না দিয়া পারি, তবে ডেশেকে বর্জন করা হইবে। আপনারা চেনায় দিল্লীর আগে, এখনও সামাজিক প্রবর্তক করেন নাই। আপনাদের কাছে সমস্ত শেষের দাবি এমন বারবার উপস্থিত করিতে হইবে। এই যে শিক্ষার চেষ্টা ইহা নষ্ট হইলে আমাদের কঠিন এবং আপনাদের সম্বন্ধ থাকিবে না। এই কলেজের হাস্য হইতে ডেশেকে উচ্চারণ করিবার ভাব আপনাদের উপর। আপনারা যদি বলন-না, এ চেষ্টার ফল দিয়া দিব না, ইহাকে ব্যক্ত করিয়া করিব, বংশীয় আপনাদের অগ্রন্থ, অগ্রন্থ দুর করিয়া-তত্ত্ব হইলে এ চেষ্টা সফল হইবে, আপনাদের মধ্যে সিদ্ধা থাকিলে হইবে না। আপনারা যদি অনুরোধের মধ্যে এই আহ্বান অপেক্ষাকৃত না পাওন, তবে জাতীয় বিদ্যালয়ের জন্য মত টাকাই সংগ্রহ হউক না কেন, এ উপদেশ করিয়া সফল হইবে না। আমার বিশ্বাস দেশের মূল্যবিরোধে কলেজের যে প্রত্যেক মত উদ্দেশ্যে আমরা হইয়াছে, তাহার মধ্যে এইটাই মূল; আর যাহা তাহা কটি, তাহা বাহিরের। নিজের শুক্ল করাই আমার কাছে উপার্জন শিক্ষা। যে শিক্ষায় আজকাল পিকার হয় বিদেশের নিকট হইতে সে শিক্ষা লাভ করা আমাদের পক্ষে কেনামাত্রতেই সরবরাহ করা হয়। কইরো কাহারো
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विद्यास वर्तमान विश्वविद्यालयों के असम्पूर्णता अंतर्गत ईंराज की या संस्थान संशोधन करिया़ दिने। ताहा कहुँता हीतै पारे ना। आपनारा एक शिक्षालाभ करित्या। आपनारे उपर एक जातीय विद्यालय सफल करिवार भार। एकी भार माथाय तुलिया लहिया दृश्य पढ़े, कठोरकारीण पढ़े आपनादिगके चलिता हीवे। दिन दिन आमादर पापेपर बोझा बाढ़ाया याईते। यिन्ह ज्ञान दिलया, अग्नि दिन, देशेर भिदि दिया आमादिगके रक्षा करित्या, आमारा तत्तायाके तुलियार्म। ए पापेपर फल आमारा अपमान, लाैला, महामारी प्रभुतिरपेप पुर्ब्द्रव-पुर्ब्द्रव परिपरडा भाग करित्याश। आज आमराओ के ए बोझा आमादरे उद्दर्पुर्वविद्गेपर हातु तुलिया दिवे? आमारा आर पापेर भार बाढ़िव ना। द्वदेशरे भिदि। ये देखता रहियाँचे, यिन्ह आमादिगके स्वर्णदा रक्षा करित्या ताहार पत्तायार आयूजन आपनारे मध्ये हियाँचे। शुद्ध, द्वदेशी आदोलन वा द्वदेशी विद्यालय नाहे, देशेर सकल कलापमकने भार आपनादरसं उपर। विधाता काले काले बिशेष बिशेष काजेर भार बिशेष बिशेष युगेपर लोपेर उपर अपण करिन। थरन ईंराजी शिक्षार प्रथम प्रबलसं हुये, थरन विधाता राममोहन राय प्रभुतिरके। ये काजेर भार दियाैलने तपनकर अवस्थाय विद्वार सेवन ताहारा ताहा बहमन करियाँचे। ताहारे पर बहरा आसिंयाहै—विशंकम्बु प्रभुति—जाखीरा साहित्य, भाया प्रभुति क्षेत्र दिया बाङ्गारे अशा आक्रांक्ष जाखीरा तुलियाहै। आपनारे समांत्रे आज ये भार आसिंयाहै उपस्थित ही। ताहा ए सकल भारेर चेंये बिकम नर। ईंराज जना प्रभुत हिईते हीले आपनादिगके धरिराविर, गडवाविर, ददृ निधिता संस्करण अप्सर हिईते हीवे। सम्बदेश हिईते आज ये आह्नान आसिंयाहै आज आम ताहा। आपनारे समांत्रेपर उपस्थित करित्या। कोभ लोवे दुर करियासे विनय बिनीतोप्यके तंत्र-बुध्धि संस्करण, अनुमंडलण संस्करण, धर्मंडलण संस्करण आपनारा एवार माथाय तुलिया लउन। आपनारे ये ए आह्नान पालन करिते हुटी करिबेन ना ताहा लक्षण देखा बैठिते—देशेर जना ये सकल अनुमंडलण आज उपस्थित ही। आपनारे मध्ये अनेकी निसंबदेश ताहा भार प्रहण करिबेन।
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