

International Journal of Social Science Exceptional Research

From Courtly Learning to Colonial Classrooms: Education, Urban Elites, and Cultural Transformation in Murshidabad (1757–1947) A Historical Inquiry(India)

Kalidas Roy

Assistant Professor of History, Nagar College, Murshidabad, West Bengal, India

* Corresponding Author: **Kalidas Roy**

Article Info

ISSN (online): 2583-8261

Volume: 03

Issue: 06

November-December 2024

Received: 05-10-2024

Accepted: 07-11-2024

Page No: 132-141

Abstract

This research paper analyzes the transformation of the intellectual society of Murshidabad, from a traditional educational system to one that preserved the colonial educational trends while simultaneously acting as a carrier of English education. After the Battle of Plassey (1757) and its loss of political capital Murshidabad once again retained its significance as a major cultural and intellectual center. The educated elite had grown up among city residents, especially landlords, lawyers, intellectuals and teachers formed the urban class to help them promote cultural and intellectual exchange and develop the urbanized city with an urbanist identity. This class interacted with the administrative systems of Britain pragmatically, adopting English education in select ways while retaining ancient Persian-Arabic and Sanskrit academic traditions, creating a hybrid intellectual culture (Valdos, 1979). Even though the popular instruction program of 1835 supported instruction in the English language, intellectuals in Murshidabad rejected this entire Anglicization and adopted an English education based on its needs in their local society, giving them agency to act in the context of their colonies. Schools, libraries, and literary societies were sponsored by local elites, leading to a growing regional public space wherein Bengali language and history were salient characteristics of cultural identity. It was this that helped to construct a kind of form of cultural nationalism, little more overt than a moralistic cultural resistance towards other cultures. But the intellectual and reform agendas were primarily limited to urban elite upper caste, with scanty any inclusion of women, poorer groups, rural populations, which underscored continued colonial and class hierarchies. In this way, Murshidabad's cultural identity served as a "transitional intelligentsia", navigating the tensions of tradition and modernity under colonial rule. The same, though did not lead the way in direct political engagement or management, played its part in building a solid foundation for modern Indian intellectual and nationalist thought, in the form of education, literature and cultural practices. Thus, rather challenging colonial intellectual formations and their legacy in the wider history of colonial India, this research highlights the nuanced complexities and paradox within colonial intellectual formations.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.54660/IJSSER.2024.3.6.132-141>

Keywords: Colonial Rule, Civil Society, Murshidabad, Spread of Education, English Education Policy, Hybrid Intellectual Culture, Libraries and Literary Societies, Bengali Language and Literature, Public Sphere, Cultural Nationalism, Social Reform, Women's Education, Class and Social Exclusion, Colonial Modernity, Transitional Intelligentsia

Introduction

Although Murshidabad lost its central importance as the political capital of Bengal after the Battle of Plassey in 1757, it did not completely recede into the margins of history. Although the centre of administrative power shifted to Kolkata with the end of Nawabi rule, Murshidabad continued to exist as a distinct intellectual, educational and cultural centre in colonial Bengal^[3]. At the heart of this transformation of Murshidabad during colonial rule was the district's educated elite collectively known as the "Sudhi Samaj." This group included landlords, lawyers, teachers, scholars, journalists, cultured citizens and government employees. They were connected to the educational and legal structures of the British colonial administration on the one hand, and to the social and cultural traditions of the native society on the other. As a result, this class emerged as a kind of intermediary class between the colonial state and the native society^[13].

The rise of this educated elite in colonial Bengal was not simply a social phenomenon; rather, it was the combined result of British educational policy, administrative needs, and the adaptive reactions of the local society. For Murshidabad the importance of this class is pronounced and their impact was that they recast a former capital which had been stripped of its power through education and culture ^[11].

This article will serve to-

1. analyze the role of the Sudhi Samaj in the development of education and cultural practice in Murshidabad,
2. identify the social and class limitations of their initiatives, and
3. evaluate their position within the colonial structure from a critical perspective.

By doing so, an attempt will be made to grasp the progressive potential and structural limitations of the educated elite in colonial Bengal ^[5].

Murshidabad after Plassey: Political Decline and Cultural Continuity. The Battle of Plassey (1757) was pivotal in political discontinuity in Bengal's history. And after this battle the Nawab's state system virtually collapsed and de facto power gradually became concentrated in the hands of the East India Company. As an inevitable consequence, the center of administrative and political power in Bengal shifted from Murshidabad to Calcutta ^[4]. This change led to a rapid decline in Murshidabad's political status and administrative importance. However, the simple equation that political decline equals cultural decay does not apply to Murshidabad. Even though direct patronage from the Nawab's court diminished, the city continued to uphold a strong tradition of Persian-Arabic scholarship, literary pursuits in the Persian language, Sanskrit learning centered around traditional schools (tols), and classical music and theatrical culture ^[7]. The class of Ulema, Munshis, Katibs, and scholars that had flourished during the Nawab's rule, while losing political power, managed to retain their cultural capital. In the nineteenth century, a new educated elite class emerged in Murshidabad from within this cultural continuity. This class was steeped in the traditions of Persian-Arabic and Sanskrit learning on the one hand, and on the other, adapted itself to the English education, legal system, and government service structures introduced by the colonial administration ^[8]. As a result, they constructed a kind of dual intellectual identity which can be termed a 'hybrid intellectual culture'. The characteristic of this hybrid culture was its restrained and introspective nature. In urban centers like Kolkata, where colonial modernity took a relatively overt and confrontational form, in Murshidabad it was slow, memory-driven, and tradition-conscious ^[15]. This intellectual tradition passed up through the local society, religious institutions, zamindari estates, and family patronage. Murshidabad thus becomes a 'post-capital cultural space' of colonial Bengal – one in which, in the absence of political power, cultural memory and intellectual continuity helped construct the city's social character. Such experience of Murshidabad is a critical case study in examining the cultural re-organisation and endurance of cities that have been taken from their seats of power under colonial rule in India ^[18].

2. Colonial education policy, elite societal position:

2.1. The Intellectual Community, Expansion of Education in Colonial Murshidabad: The rise of the education system in Murshidabad district (approximately 1787–1947) at the time of the colonial administration cannot solely be established in part on the administrative hand-me-down of the British government. In fact, this process was closely linked with the educated and socially aware local elite, known collectively as the 'intellectual community'. That community comprised landlords, royals, entrepreneurs, lawyers, and teachers, as well as social activists. They worked on one hand in the context of colonial educational policy while working on the other to link education with local social demands, cultural practice and moral convictions. This has led to an indigenous base for modern education in a historically significant but administratively marginalized district such as Murshidabad ^[24].

2.2. The Functioning of the Intellectual Community:

The role of the intellectual community in Murshidabad was both multi-dimensional and structurally significant. The first was the establishment and patronage of educational institutions part of the community as well as the establishment of educational institutes. Local landlords and royal family members actively introduced schools, high schools, and colleges. For instance, Krishnanath Collegiate School (1853), which was established on the agenda of Raja Krishnanath Roy, later became a central educational institution for modern educational purposes in the district. When he had died, the Kasimbazar royal family extended this tradition ^[24]. Secondly, economic patronage and philanthropy contributed significantly to the growing education system. The intellectual community managed to sustain the day-to-day functioning and life of educational buildings on the basis of land grants, financial help and scholarships with the government grant available only on a limited basis. This effort expanded the reach of education, particularly for the poor and middle classes.¹ Third, this society was important in the increase of women's education and mother-tongue education. Although the colonial society largely disagreed with the encouragement of women's education, the intellectual community established girls' schools and the Bengali language school. This initiative changed social attitudes and made education mainstream ^[21]. Fourthly, the integration of education and social reform was a cornerstone view of the intellectual community. What education came to hold was not only the capacity to find work, but the means of nurturing the social structure of people, their virtue, and their consciousness towards modern life. As such, education proved to be an effective tool of social reform ^[21].

2.3. Macaulay's Minute (1835) and the New Horizon of Education:

The minute on education formulated in 1835 brought about a fundamental and directional change in the education policy of colonial India. Its main architect explicitly declared that instead of Oriental languages and knowledge, the English language and Western knowledge would be the primary areas of government patronage. His objective was to create a class of people who, while Indian in blood and color, would be English in taste, opinions, and

intellectual pursuits^[14]. The underlying goal of this education policy was twofold. On the one hand, it provided the British administration with skilled clerks, lawyers, and lower-level administrative staff at low cost; on the other hand, it helped create a limited middle class loyal to colonial rule. For this reason, 'Macaulay's Minute' is considered not merely an education policy, but also a well-planned cultural and political project^[23]. The aristocratic society of Murshidabad who were nurtured in the tradition of Persian-Arabic and Sanskrit education of the Nawab era did not completely reject this new education policy. Rather, understanding the practical situation, they accepted English education as an effective and necessary opportunity. The end of the Nawab's administration and the decline of court-centered professions made English education essential for securing government jobs, pursuing legal careers, and achieving new social status^[15]. Therefore, the educated class of Murshidabad resorted to a selective adaptation strategy. They sought to gain entry to the colonial administrative structure through English education and yet retained Persian literature, religious education, and classical cultural traditions in their family and social circles. Combining such two approaches made it impossible for them to just submit to the demands of the colonial powers and made them architects of a hybrid intellectual identity.⁷ Against this background, we may conceive of the educated class of Murshidabad not as passive beneficiaries of colonial educational policies, but as a dynamic social group attempting to escape even the constraints of access to opportunities. Although Macaulay's education policy was imposed upon them, they were able to maintain their distinctiveness in its use and application an ongoing, enduring influence that is felt in the social and intellectual life of Murshidabad^[18].

3. Schools, Colleges, and Educational Patronage:

3.1. Missionary Initiatives: Missionary education patronage played a formative role in the early development of modern education in Murshidabad, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century, when state involvement remained limited and indigenous society was often hesitant toward Western-style schooling. The most influential agency was the, whose educational initiatives combined evangelical objectives with a broader intellectual commitment to literacy and social reform. Missionary educationalists such as and Mrs. Hill, active from the 1820s, established a network of boys' schools in Berhampur and Murshidabad that enrolled both Hindu and Muslim students, thereby introducing a relatively inclusive model of education. Their most significant contribution, however, lay in the pioneering of girls' education, an exceptional development in the conservative social climate of early nineteenth-century Bengal. Subsequent missionaries, including, and expanded this educational network by establishing additional schools, chapels, and training centres. Missionary institutions emphasized elementary literacy, moral instruction, and vernacular education, while simultaneously introducing English as a medium of advancement. This dual focus helped institutionalize schooling beyond traditional pathshalas and madrasas and prepared a section of students for higher education and university entrance examinations under the emerging colonial system. Missionary patronage also had a lasting social impact. Their sustained emphasis on female literacy contributed to the comparatively high educational

attainment of the Christian community in Murshidabad, as reflected in later colonial statistics, notably the. Although missionary education remained numerically limited and was sometimes viewed with suspicion due to its evangelical associations, it nonetheless played a catalytic role by demonstrating the possibilities of modern schooling, encouraging female education, and influencing both indigenous patrons and the colonial administration to expand educational provision in the district^[24].

3.2. Local Initiatives and Elite Patronage: It was local initiatives and elite patronage that determined the landscape of education in colonial Murshidabad, frequently offsetting uneven and risk averse educational policy in the face of colonial policy. From the early nineteenth century indigenous aristocrats, zamindars and urban elites applied their economic resources and social power at the service on the advancement of modern education thereby promoting both the continuation of institutions and social legitimacy. Among the most prominent patrons was Raja Krishnanath of Cossimbazar who, due to a testamentary endowment that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century after Krishnanath's death, gave a considerable amount of his estate to educational ventures. The act laid the basis for lasting institutions like the Krishnanath Collegiate School and College, which became focal points of secondary and tertiary education in the district. Maharani Swarnamayi would further sustain his legacy, financially supporting the schools of Berhampur when government support had withdrawn, and later Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi, who would further restore the institution's academic prestige and administer it to ensure its continued success. Rao Jogendra Narain Roy fused education with public welfare by organizing schools with charitable medical institutions at Lalgola, while reformist elites like Babu Hari Krishna Majumdar aimed to redress gender disparities by establishing boys' and girls' schools. Promoters for vernacular education, such as Babu Baikuntha Nath Sen, had trustees and administrators who worked to bring education outside of the small margins of the English-educated elite. Merchant and trading communities were also instrumental; there was the Dudhoriya Jain family, which established girls' schools and community pathshalas across various regions to show the importance of collective and community-based patronage^[15].

Hence, as a case in point, during the colonial period, modern education was significantly expanded within Murshidabad with the help of local society—as well as public policies and initiatives. Numerous primary and secondary schools were set up in the districts through donations from the general public at large, with direct oversight by local landlords, wealthy citizens, educated elites, especially Baharampur and Jiaganj and Azimganj, where both Hindu landlords and Muslim Ashraf families took on the initiative^[16]. While many of these institutions got state subsidies, it was local patrons who financed the building costs, teacher recruitment and initial setup, a structure promoted by the colonial administration as an inexpensive means of educational development. W. W. Hunter and L. S. S. O'Malley offer detailed statistical surveys of these institutions by district level^[17]. Education had subsequently become a means of social investment for the elite—as a better social status as well as a means of working with colonial authority. This led to a decentralized yet class uneven pattern of educational

growth that widened access but did not achieve universality with participation mostly restricted to upper-caste Hindu and Muslim Ashraf families ^[18].

3.3. Social Limitations: This process of educational expansion failed to establish social equality. Lower-caste Hindus, the rural poor, and women remained largely excluded from the mainstream of this education system. Since the schools were primarily located in urban and semi-urban areas, access for the rural population was naturally limited.⁹ The situation was similar in the case of women's education. Both the colonial administration and the local elite harbored hesitation and social reluctance regarding women's education. Thus, in addition to a few limited programs, women's education in Murshidabad remained marginal until the end of the nineteenth century. So, even though colonial education was a vehicle for the development of modern administrative and intellectual skills, it was also a system that enshrined existing class, caste, and gender-based inequalities. In this respect, education was anything but a universal means to move up in society just an opportunity to gather some cultural capital for the privileged few.⁷ The encounter of Murshidabad can be taken as an important regional instance in terms of demonstrating the contradictions of the (school) system in colonial India—modernity versus social exclusion.

4. Literature, Libraries, and the Public Sphere: Libraries and Literary Societies: Intellectual communities in Murshidabad during the 19th and early 20th Century developed their own intellectual space through the birth of libraries, reading rooms, and literary societies. It was not only reading that was encouraged at these institutions: instead, they promoted the normal and ongoing discussion and debate on history, language, social change, religion, and politics. This space might be read to the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas as a regional public sphere in which a rational realm of discourse arose between state and society ^[10]. Even though this public sphere in Murshidabad was smaller in scope than that of larger cities such as Kolkata, its social base was strong. Libraries connected with the abode of zamindar families, lawyers, teachers, and the educated middle class, or clubs-focused literary societies, were established as a key mode of opinion-construction in the community. This was where one saw such historical books, travelogues, essays on social reform, and contemporary newspapers and it was here that an educated society's worldview was partly formed. Research by scholars ranging from Radhakumud Mukherjee, Dinesh Chandra Sen to Romesh Chandra Dutt has left a deep imprint on the minds of the Bengalese ^[20]. Murshidabad's educated society linked itself with this research tradition and it took history and literary thought as being the basis on which to build its identity as a culture. As a result, libraries and literary societies evolved into centers of knowledge and also as forms of fostering regional intellectual self-respect.

4.1. Bengali Language and Regional Identity:

The Bengali language was promoted, along with the spread of education in English, as a medium of cultural expression for the educated society of Murshidabad. And if an English education provided the path towards administrative and career success, then Bengali language and literature was a vehicle for emotion, memory, and regional identity. Through the literature of history (writing of works of historical fiction,

biography, drama, etc.), they sought to establish a separate regional intellectual tradition based on Murshidabad ^[18]. This linguistic practice allowed the learned people to speak out their own history and social reality in conversation with the Calcutta Bengali culture, and also on the part of the learned society. For this reason, the Bengali language here not only became a mode of literature but also a tool for the cultural rebuilding of a city that had lost its power. In doing so, the public space of Murshidabad took on a dual character: it assimilated colonial modernist ideas, but also cultivated an alternative intellectual voice grounded in regional memory and tradition. The Bengali language and literature thus became not just a means of communication for the literate society of Murshidabad but also the main ground of cultural self-rule and identity construction ^[15].

5. Cultural Nationalism: An Alternative Sphere of Politics:

Although the cultural activities of the educated elite in colonial Bengal appeared seemingly apolitical and innocuous, a subtle and enduring nationalist consciousness was active within them. Instead of direct political movements, rebellions, or mass organizations, this class questioned the moral and cultural foundations of colonial dominance through theatre, historical writings, literary pursuits, and the construction of a language-based identity. Modern historians have identified this trend as an early and important form of "cultural nationalism ^[2]." Partha Chatterjee, in his analysis, has shown that nationalism in colonial India first manifested itself not as a demand for political state power, but through the creation of a distinct cultural and moral sphere ^[5]. From this perspective, the literary societies, historical studies, and theatrical culture of the educated elite in Murshidabad constituted such an alternative sphere—where it was possible to protect cultural autonomy without directly confronting the political power of colonial rule. In Murshidabad's theatre and historical writings, an attempt is seen to revive the Nawab-era past, regional glory, and the ideals of moral governance. This historical scholarship was not merely an expression of nostalgia; rather, it silently refuted the colonial regime's claim of "moral superiority." Through descriptions of past self-governance, social equality, and cultural prosperity, the limitations of the current system of governance were subtly highlighted ^[16]. However, the character of cultural nationalism in Murshidabad was restrained and moderate. Unlike the Calcutta-centric nationalist politics, there were comparatively fewer mass movements, direct anti-British propaganda, or open political conflicts. The reasons for this were the city's diminished political status, the social conservatism of the elite, and their economic and professional dependence on the colonial administration ^[18]. This restrained nationalism nonetheless had a significant long-term impact. It fostered a sense of cultural self-respect among the educated class and subsequently prepared the mental and intellectual groundwork for political nationalism. The experience of Murshidabad shows that nationalism does not always take the form of direct political protest; in many cases, it first manifests itself through culture, memory, and language ^[12]. In this sense, the cultural activities of Murshidabad's intellectual class can be considered a "silent but profound" chapter in the nationalist history of colonial India—one that carried political significance even outside the realm of

politics.

6. Social Reforms: Progress and Limitations:

6.1. Women's Education and Social Reforms: In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the intellectual community of Murshidabad demonstrated a limited but significant interest in social reform issues such as women's education, widow remarriage, and health awareness. Although this reformist stance did not directly translate into a mass movement, it helped to construct a moral discourse of social change within the educated elite circles. The ideological foundation for the expansion of women's education in colonial Bengal was shaped by the influence of the Calcutta-centric social reform movement, particularly through Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's widow remarriage movement and Pandita Ramabai's ideas on women's education ^[22]. While the intellectual community of Murshidabad theoretically agreed with these ideals, they were more restrained in their practical application. Researchers have shown that the spread of women's education in Murshidabad was primarily limited to upper-caste Hindu and Muslim elite families ^[9]. Women's education was not envisioned here as a question of individual freedom or gender equality, but rather as a supportive element in creating 'well-educated housewives' and 'moral families. Consequently, these reform efforts remained confined within the existing patriarchal system without fundamentally transforming the social structure. Initiatives related to health awareness and social hygiene—such as cleanliness, childcare, or women's health—were also primarily discussed within the confines of elite society. In this process, social reform became a limited moral project that demanded reform without challenging the structure of social power ^[19].

6.2. The Reality of Exclusion

The biggest limitation of these social reform initiatives was the narrowness of their social scope. Lower-caste Hindus, Muslim Ajlaf and Arzal classes, the rural poor, and the working class remained virtually excluded from the mainstream of these reform movements. Their participation in both education and reform was negligible ^[18]. As a result, the reformism of the educated elite devolved into a kind of paternalistic reformism where the elite imagined themselves as the 'moral guardians' of society, but did not allow the marginalized groups of society to participate actively. Reform remained limited to the level of 'sympathy' and 'advice', remaining silent on the question of the distribution of social power and resources. This fact points to a broader impediment to the social reform effort in colonial India. And though the language of modern social reform had its way, it continued to reproduce caste-based, class-bound and gender-based inequalities ^[6]. The limitation of the reform processes were far more evident in Murshidabad, and the reform work in this city was too weak to be linked with powerful political movements. Consequently, even though the reforming efforts by the educated elite in Murshidabad were effective in encouraging social change, they still never helped to end structural inequalities. This contradiction – progress, with its own limitations – makes Murshidabad's social reform a crucial but circumscribed phase in the history of colonial India.

7. Critical Evaluation

A critical perspective is essential when evaluating the role of the educated elite of Murshidabad. While their contributions are historically significant, their inherent limitations can also be clearly identified. These limitations were primarily concentrated in three areas: dependence on the colonial structure, urban and class bias, and weak connection with mass education and mass politics. Firstly, the intellectual and institutional activities of the educated elite were significantly dependent on the colonial state structure. English education, government jobs, the legal profession, and grant-dependent educational institutions all these factors linked their social position to the colonial system. Consequently, they were unable to directly challenge the fundamental political legitimacy of colonial rule. Bernard S. Cohn has interpreted this limitation as a form of intellectual dependence inherent in the 'colonial knowledge structure'.⁷ Secondly, the scope of the educated elite's activities was primarily urban and class-bound. Their educational, literary, and reformist activities were concentrated in urban and semi-urban centers like Murshidabad, Berhampore, Jiaganj, and Azimganj. Rural society, lower-caste Hindus, Muslim Ajlaf and Arzal classes, and the working class remained outside this intellectual sphere. As a result, the thoughts and reforms of the educated elite effectively reflected the experiences and interests of a limited social class. Sumit Sarkar has identified this characteristic as a common limitation of the middle-class intellectual society in colonial India ^[18]. Thirdly, the connection between the educated elite and mass education and mass politics was weak. While they played a role in shaping national consciousness through cultural nationalism, literary pursuits, and historical writing, they failed to engage with the direct political organization of peasants, workers, and the common people. For this reason, their initiatives remained confined for a long time within an 'elite public sphere'. Partha Chatterjee has interpreted this trend as the initial stage of 'elite nationalism', which was later transformed by the rise of mass politics ^[6]. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the historical significance of the intellectual society of Murshidabad cannot be denied. They created an intellectual and cultural space where it was possible to question the cultural foundations of colonial dominance through historical studies, language-based self-identity, literature, and moral criticism. This space later served as the intellectual infrastructure for nationalist politics and democratic movements. In this sense, the intellectual society can be seen not as direct leaders of political movements, but rather as a kind of transitional intelligentsia—who, within the confines of colonial rule, helped to construct the language of modern political and cultural consciousness. Their limitations were a product of historical reality, and their contributions were the seeds of future change.¹² The experience of Murshidabad can therefore be considered an intermediate but essential chapter in the intellectual history of colonial India.

8. Conclusion

The Sudhi Samaj of Murshidabad during colonial rule laid the foundation for a modern intellectual tradition through education, literature, libraries and social reforms. This society was a limited but active intelligentsia, which wielded

its own power in British educational policy, employment, and society's conservative approach to the arts and culture.⁷ In their activities originated a hybrid intellectual culture in Murshidabad, merging the Persian-Arabic and Sanskrit traditions of the Nawabi period with modern English educational, legal and administrative orders ^[15]. This hybridity offered a context for the sowing not only of cultural advancement but also nationalist consciousness and democratic activism later. But the process was constrained by social exclusion, class prejudice, and urban-based limitations. The intellectual realm was far from this for the lower castes and rural peoples and women in general and the reformist and educational activities of the Sudhi Samaj could often take on a rather small and paternalistic reforming approach ^[9]. Also, their reliance on the colonial structure curtailed their political independence and potential for mass mobilization. It is not a matter of ignoring these limitations, rather, it is the case that the former could not fail to be highlighted, and the latter has to be recognized, as a means of realizing both the idealizing and institutionalized nature of the elite intellectuals in colonial society ^[5]. Ultimately, the experience of the Murshidabad Sudhi Samaj can be considered an intermediate, restrained but very important chapter in the intellectual history of colonial India. It teaches us that modern intellectual and cultural change does not always occur through direct political movements; it often develops through a subtle range of educational, literary, and social reforms.

9. References

1. Adam W. Report on the state of education in Bengal (1835–38). Calcutta: Government Press; 1941. p. 110-112.
2. Anderson B. Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. London: Verso; 1983. p. 9-12.
3. Bandyopadhyay S. From Plassey to partition: a history of modern India. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan; 2004. p. 1-25.
4. Bose S. A hundred horizons: the Indian Ocean in the age of global empire. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press; 2006. p. 21-24.
5. Chatterjee P. Nationalist thought and the colonial world: a derivative discourse? London: Oxford University Press; 1986. p. 38-41.
6. Chatterjee P. The nation and its fragments: colonial and postcolonial histories. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press; 1993. p. 6-14, 73-75, 117-120.
7. Cohn BS. Colonialism and its forms of knowledge: the British in India. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press; 1996. p. 4-7, 20-26.
8. Datta K. Murshidabad: its history and antiquities. Calcutta: University of Calcutta; 1935. p. 1-30.
9. Forbes G. Women in modern India. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1996. p. 21-24, 28-32.
10. Habermas J. The structural transformation of the public sphere. Burger T, Lawrence F, translators. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press; 1989. p. 27-30. (Original work published 1962)
11. Hunter WW. A statistical account of Bengal. Vols. VIII-IX. London: Trübner & Co; 1876. p. 1-6, 210-225.
12. Kaviraj S. The unhappy consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the formation of nationalist discourse in India. Delhi: Oxford University Press; 1995. p. 98-101, 112-115.
13. Kopf D. The Brahmo Samaj and the shaping of the modern Indian mind. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press; 1979. p. 9-12.
14. Macaulay TB. Minute on Indian education (2 February 1835). In: Sharp H, editor. Selections from educational records. Vol. 1. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing; 1920. p. 107-110. (Original work published 1835)
15. Marshall PJ. Bengal: the British bridgehead, Eastern India 1740–1828. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1987. p. 198-203.
16. Mukherjee R. The making of Indian history. London: Longmans, Green; 1911. p. 1-4.
17. O'Malley LSS. Bengal district gazetteers: Murshidabad. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press; 1914. p. 179-185.
18. Sarkar S. Modern India 1885–1947. Delhi: Macmillan; 1983. p. 9-11, 24-26, 28-31, 36-39, 42-45.
19. Sarkar T. Hindu wife, Hindu nation: community, religion, and cultural nationalism. New Delhi: Permanent Black; 2001. p. 19-22.
20. Sen DC. History of Bengali language and literature. Calcutta: University of Calcutta; 1911. p. 3-6.
21. Sengupta JC. West Bengal district gazetteers: Murshidabad. Calcutta: Government of West Bengal; 1969. p. 198-202.
22. Vidyasagar IC. Widow marriage. Calcutta: [Publisher not specified]; 1855. p. 1-15.
23. Viswanathan G. Masks of conquest: literary study and British rule in India. New York: Oxford University Press; 1989. p. 44-46.
24. Walsh JHT. A history of Murshidabad district. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press; 1902. p. 1-5.