

# Dwarakanath Ganguly- A Study on His Role of Women Emancipation in Colonial Bengal

\*Dr. Supriya Biswas

Assistant Professor in History, Gour Mahavidyalaya, Malda, West Bengal (India)

---

## ARTICLE DETAILS

### Article History

Published Online: 10 October 2018

### Keywords

Dwarakanath Gangopadhyay, Brahma reformer, working against female oppression, women emancipation, *Abalabandhaba*, formation of the *Sadharan Brahma Samaj*, campaign for Medical education of women

### \*Corresponding Author

Email: [supriyabiswas81\[at\]gmail.com](mailto:supriyabiswas81[at]gmail.com)

---

## ABSTRACT

"An ardent lover of what he believed to be the truth, when he took up a cause he threw his whole soul into it"<sup>1</sup>. This statement was the tribute paid by Surendranath Banerjea to Dwarakanath Gangopadhyay, a demure but very sincere worker, whose memory, he added, deserved "to be rescued from oblivion". Dwarakanath Ganguly (also spelt as Dwarka Nath Gangopadhyay) was born at Magurkhanda village, Bikrampur, Dacca (now in Bangladesh) on 20 April 1844. His father was Krishnapran Gangopadhyay, a man of humble means and his mother beard very strong will power though she hailed from a rich family. From his childhood he was influenced by his mother, who instilled into him a deep love for truth and justice. Dwarakanath Ganguly was a Brahma reformer in Bengal of British India. He contributed substantially towards the enlightenment of society and the emancipation of women. While a student of the Kalipara School, he came to be strongly influenced also by the rational writings of Akshay Kumar Dutta's *Dharma Niti* (Religious principles) and on such social problems as polygamy, child marriage, inter-caste marriage, widow remarriage and so on. He was aroused about the plight of the Bengali woman, and was influenced by Dutta's main thesis that "the first vital step to social regeneration is liberating woman from her bondage". So, this paper intends to highlight how he dedicated his whole life for the cause of women emancipation and encouraged them to take part in every walk of life, politics, social services etc. and even helped them to form organizations of their own..

---

## 1. Introduction

"An ardent lover of what he believed to be the truth, when he took up a cause he threw his whole soul into it"<sup>1</sup>. This statement was the tribute paid by Surendranath Banerjea to Dwarakanath Gangopadhyay, a demure but very sincere worker, whose memory, he added, deserved "to be rescued from oblivion". Dwarakanath Ganguly (also spelt as Dwarka Nath Gangopadhyay) was born at Magurkhanda village, Bikrampur, Dacca (now in Bangladesh) on 20 April 1844. His father was Krishnapran Gangopadhyay, a man of humble means and his mother beard very strong will power though she hailed from a rich family. From his childhood he was influenced by his mother, who instilled into him a deep love for truth and justice.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Early Life

Dwarakanath Ganguly took his early education in his village *Pathsala* (school). Later, when he expressed the desire to learn English he joined the English school in nearby Kalipara in spite of severe physical difficulties. He studied up to the entrance class but failed to clear the examination and was surely a self-taught man. He started his teaching career and worked at three places-Sonarang, Olpur in Faridpur and in the minor school at Lonsingh (now all are in Bangladesh).<sup>3</sup>

## 3. Social Reform

Dwarakanath Ganguly was a Brahma reformer in Bengal of British India. He contributed substantially towards the enlightenment of society and the emancipation of women. While a student of the Kalipara School, he came to be strongly influenced also by the rational writings of Akshay Kumar

Dutta's *Dharma Niti* (Religious principles) and on such social problems as polygamy, child marriage, inter-caste marriage, widow remarriage and so on. He was aroused about the plight of the Bengali woman, and was influenced by Dutta's main thesis that "the first vital step to social regeneration is liberating woman from her bondage". Together with some of his socially conscious school friends, he attended public meetings where attempts were made to propagate the ideas of Akshay Kumar Datta. Participation in the local movement for the spread of these ideas among the orthodox people led him to neglect his studies at school and thus he failed to pass the Entrance Examination.<sup>4</sup> Dwarakanath Ganguly comments about Akshay Kumar Datta, "It was he who for the first time convinced our people about the justness of widow remarriage and intercaste marriage and about the immortality of Coolin polygamy and early marriage..... Nobody before him wielded so much influence on the minds of the youth of Bengal."<sup>5</sup> It may be said that, on the threshold of a new life, Dwarakanath, as a true disciple of Akshay Kumar Datta, plunged himself into activities aimed at the upliftment of women's position in society. So, this paper intends to highlight how he dedicated his whole life for the cause of women emancipation and encouraged them to take part in every walk of life, politics, social services etc. and even helped them to form organizations of their own.

## 4. Polygamy and Kulinism

It was in this environment that Dwarakanath Ganguly, a public spirited young man from East Bengal started working against female oppression. Though, he born in a high status Brahmin family, reacted early to the practice of polygamy within his kinship group. The other factor during his school (Kalipara School) days, it was here that he came under the influence of a

local *Pandit*, who instilled in him the spirit of love for the motherland and inspired him to look into social problems.<sup>6</sup> In that connection, it is necessary to mention here that, when he was 17 years old, he heard that the relatives of an unfortunate girl who had strayed from her course killed the girl by poisoning her. On enquiry, he came to know that it was not uncommon to kill girls in such a manner in *kulin* (orthodox upper caste) Brahmin families. He was so shocked that he vowed not to go in for polygamous marriage, a system in vogue in orthodox upper caste society in those days.<sup>7</sup>

It may be said that, the failure of the Entrance Examination combined with increasing disagreement with his relatives and the local people over the broad issue of social reform, made him leave home in searching of an independent livelihood. Pledged to monogamy and to the cause of ameliorating women's position in society, he steadily grew in stature as a social reformer wherever he went to work as a school teacher.

### 5. Abalabandhab

It was in the month May 1869, a twenty-five year old Dwarakanath launched at Lonsing, a village in Faridpur, Dacca, a weekly journal named *Abalabandhab* (the friend of the weaker sex), which helped him to rise from obscurity to the position of a recognised spokesman of women's rights in society.<sup>8</sup> At that time it was very difficult to continue a journal exclusively meant for women, but Dwarakanath made it possible. Dwarakanath himself explained why he started publishing the monthly journal which was exclusively meant for women:

"Everyone is very much familiar with the severe pains and sufferings which the womenfolk in our country have to undergo during their lifetime. While we were young, the news of murdering young '*Kulin*' girls by poisoning often came to our knowledge. Such incidents were not uncommon. One can imagine how such barbaric acts could take place unless those who indulged in such cruel activities had lost all humane feelings. During our childhood we had turned out to be misogynists as a result of our going through the verses of Chanakya *Pandit* and we derived pleasure in belittling the women and ridiculing them. However, as the reports of torture on women and the incidents of their murder came to our knowledge, the earlier attitude towards them softened and we became rather sympathetic towards them and stopped ridiculing. We further felt affection for them. We began to consider it to be our duty if we could ameliorate at least to some extent the sufferings of women. With this objective in view, the *Abalabandhab* came into existence."<sup>9</sup>

In this regard one noted American historian David Kopf<sup>10</sup> comments, "This journal, which is probably first in the world devoted solely to the 'liberation of women,' represented clearly what we have described elsewhere as the compassion for the Bengali woman as proletariat. Ganguly played the role of a humanitarian muckraking journalist bringing to light concrete cases of exploitation and extreme suffering of women, as for example, the sensation he created when he featured the story of one East Bengal village where 'in a single year thirty-three *kulin* women committed suicide or were murdered.' According to Ganguly, every one of them was the victim of

premarital or extramarital conception as a result of rape or seduction."

Dedicated to the cause of women's emancipation and their education, the *Abalabandhab* attracted the attention of the students of Calcutta and Dacca and especially among young Brahmos, including Sivenath Sastri and his progressive friends in Calcutta. The journal wrote, "Those who have eyes to see surely know in what miserable condition the daughters of the Coolins spend their lives..... If we can remove their sorrow and misery even slightly, then our lives will be well spent. With this aim in view we are publishing the *Abalabandhab*."<sup>11</sup> In course of time, Ganguly came to Calcutta to meet the contributors from the city to his magazine. At a gathering of friends and their request, he decided to shift *Abalabandhab* to Calcutta. Therefore, in 1870, Dwarakanath came to Calcutta with *Abalabandhab* and by their cooperation, turned the journal into a powerful organ of women's cause. Sivenath Sastri wrote "We were amazed when we read the *Abalabandhab*. Who was this large-hearted liberal who was writing such powerful articles in defence of the social and educational rights of women?"<sup>12</sup>

Dwarakanath was ably assisted by Saradakanta and Baradakanta Haldar, Nabakanta, Sitalakanta, Nishakanta and Aghorenath Chattopadhyay. They used to help eligible young men of good character to run away with and marry *kulin* girls. In this way, they saved numerous *kulin* girls from a miserable fate. The most sensational case arising out of such attempts was the '*Bidhumukhi Haran Mamla*.'<sup>13</sup>

### 6. Purdah System and Formation of the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj*

Though Dwarakanath became a Brahmo in 1870, his views about the rights of women were more progressive than those of Keshab Chandra Sen. Joining hands with Durgamohan Das, Annadacharan Khastagir, Sivenath Sastri, Rajaninath Roy and others, he demanded that Brahmo ladies be allowed to come out of their screen of seclusion in the prayer hall of *Brahmo Samaj* and sit side by side with the men folk. Keshab's resistance to their demand made them reject his prayer hall. Keshab expressed disapproval of women sitting outside the *purdah*. But they returned only when Keshab conceded to their demand.<sup>14</sup> With his strong reformist views, he was obviously opposed to many of the conservative ideas not only in society but even in the *Brahmo Samaj*. That was the beginning of the split in the *Brahmo Samaj* of India, which ultimately led to the formation of the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* in 1878.

### 7. Necessity for Higher Education of Women

In this connection, the nature and standard of education to be given to Brahmo women in the *Bharat Ashram* constituted another bone of contention between Keshab Chandra Sen on the one hand and Dwarakanath and his friend on the other. The former's stubborn disinclination to appreciate the necessity of imparting higher education of the University standard to the female inmates of the *Ashram* made.<sup>15</sup> Keshab believed that the ideas of Ganguly and his friends on women's education would 'unsex' women, and on the whole their views on female emancipation were potentially 'fraught with grave danger'.

Nonetheless, Keshab Chandra Sen was keenly interested in a certain kind of women's education where he strongly advocated separate syllabi and girls were not to be exposed to science or mathematics. In his opinion to give women the same education and make them solicitors to earn fame and titles were both wrong and resulting the evil.<sup>16</sup> But Dwarakanath Ganguly was a strong supporter of higher education for women and withdraws himself from it. According to him, education of women was not to challenge the basic tenets of feminine socialization, rather it was to complement the process of the creation of the modern, enlightened helpmate. It is not surprising then, that some of Dwarakanath's writings in 'Abalabandhab' were, on the one hand defensive while on the other, moralistic and judgemental on the proper behaviour and demeanour of educated women. Such women, Dwarakanath maintained, "should be free from pride and self-conceit and should bring unity among all with love and sympathy."<sup>17</sup> It shows that the nineteenth century radicals like Dwarakanath did not believe in destroying existing social institutions but rather in reforming them. Whatever might be their belief, the fact is that the primary concern of Dwarakanath was at that time, female education and it appears from his writing that he should be the happiest man if women were given proper education.

### 8. Establishment of Girls' School

Therefore, one of the major concerns of Dwarakanath Ganguly and his associates like Durgamohan Das, Manmohan Ghosh was on how to socialize women for a life outside the *zenana* or women's residential quarters. Not unexpectedly, education was accorded high priority in their strategies. According to them, the kind of education to be imparted to girls was to be no different from that given to boys. In this context, one of the first steps of the group was to establish the *Hindu Mahila Vidyalaya* on 18 September 1873 at 22, Beniakupur Lane, Calcutta. The school was placed under the supervision of Unitarian English lady Miss Annette Akroyd (later Mrs. Beveridge), but the responsibility of keeping it going was unilaterally shouldered by Dwarakanath and his associates, the "female emancipationist". It was a boarding school started with five boarders and all the girls were Brahmos, including Indumati, daughter of Ramtanu Lahiri; the daughters of Durga Mohan Das and Dwarakanath Ganguly; and Harasundari, the wife of Srinath Datta, who was studying in England. Dwarakanath served that boarding school as headmaster, teacher, dietician, guard, and maintenance man. After school hours, he used to sweep the premises on his own. The school ceased to operate for a short while, but could not damp Ganguly's enthusiasm for the cause he had espoused, and then reopened the school as the named *Banga Mahila Vidyalaya* on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1876 at Old Ballygunge Road, Calcutta.<sup>18</sup> The standard of education in the school was commendably high and its successors played important role in Ganguly's crusade for women's emancipation. The basic philosophy of this school was to give its students access to the same kind of knowledge as was available for boys. In fact, Ganguly argued convincingly in support of his educational practices at a time when Victorian England was still grappling with the issue of the right kind of education for the girls.

Naturally, the *Banga Mahila Vidyalaya* set the stage ready to add a new chapter to the history of women's education. The system followed was praised even by the Education Department of the Government. In the mean time, the unsatisfactory state of the Bethune School was a matter for grave concern to all connected with female education. Through Miss Akroyd's connections, the education personnel in the government were familiar with the advanced state of the *Banga Mahila Vidyalaya*. A proposal to amalgamate the two, in a union of financial and intellectual resources, was agreed upon. After a long controversy considered "the most advanced school in Bengal", the *Banga Mahila Vidyalaya* was merged in the Bethune School on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1878.<sup>19</sup> Among its alumni were such illustrious women as Swarnaprabha Basu (wife of Ananda Mohan Basu), Sarala Roy (wife of Dr. Prasanna Kumar Roy), Lady Abala Basu (wife of Sir Jagadish Chandra Basu), Girijakumari Sen (wife of Sasipada Sen), Kadambini Gangopadhyay (wife of Dwarakanath Ganguly) and Hemlata Devi (daughter of Sivenath Sastri).<sup>20</sup>

The controversy became even more heated when it became clear that the newly amalgamated Bethune School was going to train girls for university examinations. Qualified permission was given to Chandramukhi Bose, a student of the Derah Dun School for Native Christian girls, to sit for the Entrance Arts Examination in 1876. The pressure of Dwarakanath Ganguly and others on the government for full recognition resulted in a set of rules governing the admission of women to examinations for the degree in Arts in 1878. The requirements for the Entrance Arts (E.A) examination were to be the same as for men.<sup>21</sup> Kadambini appeared and passed the Entrance Examination from Bethune School in 1878. It was to enable her to read for the First Arts Course of the University that the College courses were started at Bethune School from 1879, and Kadambini and Chandramukhi Bose of this institution became the first two women graduates of the University of Calcutta in 1883.<sup>22</sup> Chandramukhi Bose went on with further study, to become the first woman M. A. in 1884 and Kadambini went on to create further history by becoming the first woman medical student of Calcutta University – she was Dwarakanath Ganguly's wife by then.<sup>23</sup>

### 9. Campaign for Medical Education of Women

It is necessary to mention here that, after her marriage to Dwarakanath in 1883, she was encouraged to join the Calcutta Medical College, from where she emerged in 1886 as the first woman L. M. S. Though her admission to Medical College had not been easy – Dwarakanath had to carry on a campaign that no candidate could be refused on the grounds of sex; and fight for her all the way through.<sup>24</sup> The contemporary periodical *Paricharika* wrote in this connection: "He (Dwarakanath) had admitted his wife for the first time to the Calcutta Medical College as unless females studied medicine, it would not be possible to ensure appropriate treatment of complex female diseases and the means to earn independent living for women would not be possible."<sup>25</sup> After that, she was sent to Edinburgh and Glasgow, from where she returned with the LRCP, LRCS and LFPS Diplomas. As a result, an independent medical career was deliberately chalked out for her by her husband for the sake of Bengali women, whose shyness let down proper

treatment of their diseases at the hands of male doctors.<sup>26</sup> So, Kadambini later became the first Indian woman doctor.

### 10. Financial Support for Girls' School

On the other hand, another girls' school, heavily indebted to Dwarakanath for its progress and prosperity since its establishment in May 1890, is the *Brahmo Balika Vidyalaya*. But for his financial aid from 1895 this school could not have had enduring foundations. Determined in his endeavour to further the interests of women, because of which his friends nicknamed him *abalabandhaba* (the friend of the weaker sex), he established, in 1879, the *Bikrampur Sanmilani Sabha* in Calcutta with the same end in view. Under the auspices of this *Sabha*, of which Dwarakanath was the President, some girls' schools were established in Bikrampur.<sup>27</sup>

### 11. Child Marriage and Widow Remarriage

Not only that, Dwarakanath's campaign against polygamy and child marriage was carried on through his journal, the *Abalabandhab*. He also edited for some time the *Samalochak*, which vehemently criticized the marriage of Keshab Chandra Sen's minor daughter to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar on 6 March 1878. In cooperation with the dissentients on this issue, he established the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* in May 1878. To him, the pursuit of an ideal beneficial to women was more important than the unity of the *Indian Brahmo Samaj*.<sup>28</sup> Side by side, Dwarakanath Ganguly and his associates were deeply influenced by Ramtanu Lahiri and became ardent supporters of Vidyasagar's widow remarriage movement.<sup>29</sup>

### 12. Spirit of Nationalism

Another most important thing is that, Dwarakanath also tried to stir up a spirit of nationalism among his students and countrymen through his national songs, one of which, beginning with the line *Sonar Bharat aj yavanadhikare* (golden Bharat is today under foreign subjection), was first published in his historical drama *Bir-nari* (1875). To rouse patriotic feelings in the minds of the girls, he composed it later as a booklet called *Jatiya Sangit* (Patriotic Songs) published in 1876 – the first of its kind to be used in his school.<sup>30</sup> In another song, beginning with the stirring line *Na jagile sab Bharat-lalana, a Bharat ar jage na jage na*<sup>31</sup> (Bharat will never awake if her womenfolk do not wake up), he exhorted the women of India to awaken and inspire their children with heroic tales about their forbears.

### 13. Rights in the Nationalist Politics of Women

Side by side, Dwarakanath was deeply interested in women acquiring rights in the nationalist politics. Immediately after the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, Dwarakanath starts a movement in favour of the claim that lady delegates should be allowed to be present in the Congress sessions. Because he thought that, the best way of

awakening in women an active political interest was to allow them to identify themselves with the Congress. It was chiefly due to his efforts that in the fifth session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1889, ten distinguished ladies were present as delegates including Kadambini Ganguly and Swarnakumari Devi, wife of Janakinath Ghoshal (the authoress-daughter of Debendranath Tagore and sister of Rabindranath Tagore), the two women delegates from Bengal.<sup>32</sup> It marked the beginning of a new era but such participation was initially restricted to the middle class and upper class only. Orthodox opinion objected even to this limited participation and ridiculed Dwarakanath for insisting on the right of women to be represented in Congress to express their views, and on their right to be elected members of the Legislative Council.

After that Kadambini Ganguly and Swarnakumari Devi attended at the sixth session of the Congress as delegates in 1890 held in Calcutta. It is interesting to note that, Kadambini Ganguly even addressed to the President Ferozeshah Mehta in English. At this Calcutta session, Kadambini Ganguly was in fact the cynosure of all eyes or the centre of attraction. In that connection, after long years Annie Besant referred to this event and commented: "One of the lady delegates Mrs. Kadambini Ganguly, was called on to move the vote of thanks to the Chairman, the first woman who spoke from the Congress platform, a symbol that India's freedom would uplift India's Womanhood."<sup>33</sup> This was the beginning of Kadambini's career in Congress politics. Thus, in the field of politics too, Dwarakanath was a constant inspiration. If Dwarakanath did not provide her with such enthusiasm and encouragement in all facets of her life than probably we would not have got that Kadambini who has occupied a permanent place in the pages of history.

### 14. Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be said that, truthful and dutiful, Dwarakanath typified in his character the best of the humaneness in Bengal. He died at the age of 54 on 27 June 1898. A well-wisher of women like Dwarakanath was rare not only in Kadambini's time but also at all times in the history of Bengal. He made tireless effort throughout his life to free the women from any type of bondage and to make them independent, educate and financially self-supporting. He encouraged women to take part in every walk of life, politics, social services etc. and even helped them to form organizations of their own.

### Acknowledgement

The author is indebted to Professor I. Sarkar, former professor, department of History, University of North Bengal. This paper would not have been possible to compile without the able guidance and active co-operation of professor I. Sarkar.

### References

1. Banerjee, S., (1925): '*A Nation in Making*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, Reset and Reprinted 1963, p. 38.
2. Sinha, S., (1968): '*Freedom Movement in Bengal 1818-1904: Who's Who*, Calcutta Education Department, Government of West Bengal, pp. 306-307; see also [www.google.com](http://www.google.com).

3. Sinha. N., (1968): op. cit. p. 307; see also www.google.com.
4. Mukherjee. A., (1996): 'Women's Emancipation in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Bengal-Some Aspects', an article by Dr. Manju Chattopadhyay in *Women in Indian Life and Society*, Punthi Pustak and Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, p.150.
5. Bandyopadhyay. M., (2011): *Kadambini Ganguly- The Archetypal Woman of Nineteenth Century Bengal*, The Women Press, Delhi, p. 124.
6. Deb. C., (1984): *Antahpurer Atmakatha* (in Bengali), Ananda Publishers Private Limited, Kolkata, p. 10; see also Murshid. G., (2001): *Nari Pragati: Adhunikatar Abhigate Bangaramani* (in Bengali), Naya Udyog, Calcutta, p. 127.
7. Bandyopadhyay. M., op. cit. p. 124.
8. *Abalabandhab* (1<sup>st</sup> issue), Kartik, 1285 B. S; see also Gangopadhyay P. C., (1945): *Banglar Nari Jagaran* (in Bengali), Calcutta, pp. 58-59; Bandyopadhyay M. op. cit. pp. 124-125.
9. Gangopadhyay. P. C., (1945): op. cit. pp. 58-59.
10. Sastri. S., (1976): *Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Bangasamaj* (Rachana Sangraha), Calcutta, p. 452; see also Mukherjee. A., (1996): 'Women's Emancipation in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Bengal-Some Aspects', an article by Dr. Manju Chattopadhyay, op.cit. p. 153.
11. Mukherjee. A., (1996): 'Women's Emancipation in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Bengal-Some Aspects', an article by Dr. Manju Chattopadhyay, op. cit. pp. 153-154. Bidhumukhi was a sixteen year-old *kulin* girl from a village in Dacca district. She did not want to marry the old *kulin* with thirteen wives who had been selected for her, so she begged some Brahma relatives to rescue her. They tried three times to arrange for her escape, and it was only on the third attempt, in September 1870, that one of the reformers was able to swim the river to give her a secret message telling her where to meet him. She was eventually rescued in a boat, and taken to Barisal, then Calcutta. A court case was taken out against her rescuers on the false grounds that she was only thirteen. The case received wide publicity, and was eventually decided in her favour. At the age of twenty-one she married Brahma Rajaninath Ray, M. A. according to Act III of 1872. See. Borthwick. M., (1984): *The Changing Role of Women in Bengal 1849-1905*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, pp. 143-144; Begam. M. & Saiyad Ajjul Hoque., (2007): *Ami Nari- Tinsho Bacharer Bangali Narir Itihas*, The University Press Limited, Dhaka, Bangladesh, p. 71.
12. Sinha. N., (1968): op. cit. p. 307; see also Deb. C., (1984): op. cit. p. 81; Murshid. G., (2001): op. cit., pp. 70 & 165; Bandyopadhyay. M., op. cit. p. 129.
13. Sinha. N., (1968): op. cit. pp. 307-308; see also Murshid. G., (2001): op. cit. p. 71.
14. Bandyopadhyay. M., (2011): op. cit. p. 129.
15. Bandyopadhyay. M., (2011): op. cit. p. 127.
16. Sinha. N., (1968): op. cit. pp. 307-308; see also Borthwick. M., (1984): op. cit. pp. 89-91; Ghosh. C., (1991): *Women Movement Politics in Bengal*, Chatterjee Publisher, Calcutta, p. 9; Bandyopadhyay. M., (2011): op. cit. pp. 127 & 129-130.
17. Sinha. N., (1968): op. cit. p. 308; see also Borthwick. M., (1984): op. cit. p. 91; Ghosh. C., (1991): Loc. cit.
18. Mukherjee. A., (1996): 'Women's Emancipation in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Bengal-Some Aspects', an article by Dr. Manju Chattopadhyay, op. cit. pp. 155-156.
19. Borthwick. M., (1984): op. cit. pp. 93-94.
20. Borthwick. M., (1984): op. cit. p. 95; see also Ghosh. C., (1991): op. cit. p. 9.
21. Kadambini was the second wife of Dwarakanath Ganguly. The first wife died at Lonsing. But the married life of Dwarakanath and Kadambini was one of the greatest examples of mutual co-operation and companionship. Whatever Dwarakanath did for the making of the career of Kadambini, it was motivated by the generous idea of giving her wife an equal status with men in society and was not directed to his own self-interest. See Bandyopadhyay. M., (2011): op. cit. p. 223.
22. Ghosh. C., (1991): op. cit. p. 10. When Kadambini's application to gain admission to Calcutta Medical College was rejected on the ground that such admission was strictly reserved for the male students, Dwarakanath realized that it was a grave injustice to the female section of the society. To deprive the women of the opportunity to study according to their own will and to reject their application on the basis of sex was totally illogical. Hence Dwarakanath and other members of the *Sadharan Brahma Samaj* a vigorous agitation against this discriminatory policy of the Calcutta Medical College. They urged that both boys and girls must be given equal opportunity in medical education. Finally, it was under their pressure that the Medical College was opened to the females and Kadambini was admitted to the college. See Bandyopadhyay. M., (2011): op. cit. p. 225.
23. Deb. C., (1994): *Mahila Dactar: Bhin Groher Basinda* (in Bengali), Calcutta, p. 84.
24. Sinha. N., (1968): op. cit. p. 309.
25. Sinha. N., (1968): op. cit. p. 308.
26. Sinha. N., (1968): Loc. cit.
27. Mukherjee. A., (1996): 'Women's Emancipation in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Bengal-Some Aspects', an article by Dr. Manju Chattopadhyay, op. cit. p. 154.
28. Pal. B., (1954): *Swadeshi & Swaraj* (The Rise of New Patriotism), Yugayatri Prakashak Limited, Calcutta, p. 88f; see also Bagal J. C., (1972.): *Mukti Sandhane Bharat-Congress Purba Yug* (in Bengali), The Modern Publishers, Calcutta, pp. 225-226; see also Mukherjee. A., (1996): 'Women's Emancipation in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Bengal-Some Aspects', an article by Dr. Manju Chattopadhyay, op. cit. p. 156. In this song he lamented 'golden India being under complete foreign control. It pained him to see India, the quarry of intellectual gems and the home of great culture, lying steeped in darkness. It was much better, preferred he, that India be a vast cremation ground than an enslaved country.
29. Sinha. N., (1968): op. cit. pp. 310- 311.
30. Bagal, J. C., (Bhadra 1361 B. S.): *Jatiyo Andolane Banga Nari*, Viswabharati Granthalay, Calcutta, p. 2; see also Borthwick. M. (1984): op. cit. p. 341; Bandyopadhyay. M., (2011): op. cit. p. 241. Among the other women present were Pandita Ramabai, Mrs. Shevantibai Trimbak, Mrs. Shantabai Nikambe, Mrs. Kashibai Kantikar and Miss Manekjee Cursetjee all of whom developed into renowned educationists and social reformers. There were Hindu, Brahma, Parsi and Christian women representatives. Pandita Ramabai came on behalf of the *Arya Mahila Samaj*, Poona and Swarnakumari Devi had been chosen to represent the *Bengal Ladies Association*. See Mahan. R., (1999): *Women in Indian National Congress (1921-1931)*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi, p. 41.
31. Besant. A., (1915): 'How India Wrought for Freedom, Madras, p. 116, quoted in Gangopadhyay. P. C., (1945): op. cit. p. 87; see also Borthwick. M., (1984): op. cit. p. 342; Mahan. R., *Loc. cit.*; Bandyopadhyay. M., (2011): op. cit. p. 244.