Chapter 3

INTELLIGENTSIA OF BIHAR; ANTI- BENGALI CAMPAIGN AND HINDI MOVEMENT

In the previous chapter we have discussed how the intelligentsia of Bihar emerged in a public profile in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this chapter we will discuss their role in two important campaigns in which the intelligentsia of Bihar could be seen actively involved—anti Bengali and pro-Nagari Hindi. Both of these campaigns can be considered to have been successful. The intelligentsia got crucial support from the Government on both these issues. In this thesis the study of these activities of the intelligentsia of Bihar is imperative for two reasons. First, it shows how the local intelligentsia had been becoming conscious of its interests against its outsider competitors. It was trying to inform not only the Government about the legitimate rights of local educated people to get jobs in the state but also to keep general people informed why the Bengalis’ domination in Bihar was to be protested against. While articulating their stand the intelligentsia showed a remarkable clarity of purpose. Secondly, the Hindi movement showed how the intelligentsia of Bihar was providing support to the ongoing process that is called ‘nationalization of Hindu tradition’ by Vasudha Dalmia. Dalmia says: “Through a certain ‘Hinduization’ of Hindi had set in before the advent of the British it ... (were) the British who institutionalised Hindi as the language of the Hindus.” 176

complex process of claims and counterclaims of the status of languages on the basis of the
history of the language and the preference of the people. While this process was on, the
communalisation of languages took place as Urdu was being looked upon as the language of
the Muslims. Hindi with Nagari script was being looked upon as the language of the majority,
Hindus. In a society where most of the people had not much to do with written language as
they were illiterate the issue was settled by those who took upon the responsibility of deciding
the issue on the basis of their own understanding.

An account of this movement for the introduction of Nagari Hindi in the schools and
courts of Bihar would be able to describe how significant the role the intelligentsia played was
when this communalisation of language tradition took place. The intelligentsia's movement for
Hindi started with a moderate stance but soon it turned into a hostile anti-Urdu campaign. As
a result, an environment was created in which Urdu was being identified with Muslims. The
pro-Hindi campaigns should not be studied only as a campaign for democratic rights of Hindi
speaking people of Bihar. It was an ideological movement.

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Anti- Bengali campaign of intelligentsia of Bihar

One of the significant features of the social and intellectual life in post-1857 Bihar was the
growing discontent of the local intelligentsia against the Bengalis. As jobs were only given
to those who knew English or Persian most of the jobs went to Muslims and Hindus
belonging to the Kayasth caste, who knew Persian or the Bengalis, who knew English. Even
after the government policy of introducing vernacular languages as the court language was
implemented in the 1830s the situation did not change in Bihar. What was introduced as a
vernacular language in Bihar was Urdu, written in the Persian script. It was only possible for
the Muslims and Kayasths to master this kachahari language (the court language). Later, jobs were given to those educated people who knew English. With this the English educated Bengalis started getting most of the jobs offered in Bihar. The Bihari educated youths could not match with Bengalis. Even in 1872, when Biharis had made some progress, George Campbell, the Lt. Governor, noted that as Bihar was attached to Bengal from where the administration was conducted by Bengali officers, under a system in which English educated and English-speaking natives had a very great advantage, the Biharis were at a disadvantage.\textsuperscript{177}

There are plenty of evidences to suggest that an anti-Bengali sentiment existed among the intelligentsia of Bihar in the late nineteenth century. The Government officials and pro-Government English press of Calcutta had started highlighting the domination of Bengalis in the services of Bihar. In 1879 The Englishman, a newspaper of Calcutta, wrote: “(In Bihar)...it is unquestionable that our system of administration opens the door of efficient promotion more widely to them (Bengalis) [than] to any other subject people within the Empire... this preference extends much beyond the limits of Bengal proper, outside of which they are almost as foreigner and intruders as ourselves.”\textsuperscript{178} Sketching out the spread of Bengalis in the North Western Provinces and other states it added: “Whilst they are not unknown even in the Punjab...they closely follow the lines of railway communications and extension... Their first excursion, however, has naturally been into that middle land of Behar, which separates Bengal proper from Upper India.”\textsuperscript{179}

In official circles the impression of Bengali domination in Bihar has been acknowledged and resented widely at least since the 1870s. To the British officials it was worth discouraging, as the people of Bihar had been quite different ‘racially’ from Bengalis.

\textsuperscript{177} Bengal General (Education) Department Proceedings (August 1872), Nos. 71-98.
\textsuperscript{178} The Englishman, 27 November 1879, Calcutta.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid.
Linguistically also the differences were there as Bengal proper's language was Bengalis whereas the people of Bihar spoke Hindi. So, says *The Englishman*, "Bihar is infinitely more nearly allied in race, language and customs with northern Hindustan than with Bengal."\(^{180}\)

Bihar was almost completely ignored by the educated sections of Bengal even while the latter were trying to develop a national concept. This apathy of the enlightened Bengali intelligentsia towards Bihar was one of the reasons why the educated people of Bihar resented the continuation of Bengali domination. This was particularly so in the sectors where educated Biharis could have got jobs, had there been less domination by the Bengalis in the region. *The Englishman* wrote in 1879: "... in Bihar, Bengalis hold nearly every office worth holding, and have the lion's share of even the less lucrative posts... in the district of Bhagalpur, Darbhanga, Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Saran, Shahabad and Champaran twenty out of twenty-five Deputy Magistrates and Collectors were Bengalis. The personal assistants to the two Commissioners were, and are, Bengalis. In Patna, six of the seven Munsiffs or native civil Judges are Bengalis. Three of the four Munsiffs of Saran are Bengalis. More than half the Sub-Deputies are Bengalis... nine in ten of the Magistracy, Collectorate and Judicial head clerks are Bengalis, not only in district stations, but in the sub-divisions. Bengalis crowd the treasuries, and manage the Municipalities. Bengali Assistant Surgeons and Native Doctors are in charge of more than nine out of ten dispensaries and lockups. There are 8 Bengali Gazetted medical officers in Patna alone. The few native engineers are all Bengalis. The Road cess accountants, overseers, and clerks are three fourth Bengalis. The supervising staff of the postal department and the post masters of most of the best stations are Bengalis."\(^{181}\) The editorial adds further: "Even where a Bihari does secure employment, it is usually in a position that Bengalis refuse to accept. If it

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\(^{180}\) *The Englishman*, 27 November 1879.

\(^{181}\) Ibid.
happens that a well educated native of Bihar is beginning to win his way upwards, it is alleged that he finds his every act scrutinized by the Bengali head clerks, Deputy Collectors and personal assistants: and that every step, or trip, is mercilessly brought to the notice of the English officers." 182 This editorial concluded: "the whole higher education of Bihar is made subservient to the exigencies of Bengali ambitions. The key to success usually is sufficient knowledge of English and it is clear that it is easier for a Bengali boy to acquire (the knowledge of English)... than Biharis." 183

We have already noted that before the advent of the Bengalis, public offices were mainly held by the Muslims and the Kayasths. These two groups first started the campaign against the Bengalis. The Muslims who first raised the slogan 'Bihar for the Biharis'; a slogan later picked up by Bihari Hindus, particularly the Kayasths, after they started making some progress in education. 184

As early as 1861, W. S. Atkinson, the Director of Public Instruction, traced the educational backwardness of Bihar to the lack of proper employment opportunities in Bihar. In a report dated 3 May 1861, he wrote, "In Bengal proper, English education has ascertained an increasing commercial value. It pays and therefore, it is sought for. In Bihar, on the contrary, the demand for it has yet to be created." 185 Atkinson's efforts were responsible for the foundation of the Patna College that was raised to the degree level in 1865. But the Bengalis dominated this institution also. The domination was so complete that in 1872 George Campbell felt the necessity of abolishing the degree classes of Patna College that had been

182 Ibid.
183 Ibid.
184 Aditya Prasad Jha, 'Political History of Bihar', p.218.
185 Bengal General Education: A proceedings (August 1861), Nos. 40-45 (Bengal State Archives).
founded in 1862-63. The Bengal Government’s letter, dated 21 March 1872, to the Director of
Public Instruction, observed, “The Lt. Governor has been much struck to observe at the
convocation of the Calcutta University, held on 16th March, that almost, if not literally all, the
university candidates from Bihar were Bengalis...we do not keep up and specially protect a
college in Bihar to educate immigrant Bengalis only.”186 The local intelligentsia—both Hindu
and Muslim—opposed the proposal, as it was the only centre where students could get a
graduate degree in Bihar. The proposal was dropped, but not before a debate over the issue of
why Biharis were not interested in higher education. The reports prepared by the government
officers and the observations made by respected people of Bihar like Nawab Sohrab Jung, Rai
Jai Kissen and Khuda Bux clearly emphasised that the Biharis would take up higher education
only if some incentives were offered, like reservation of jobs in the different government
offices. 187

In the annual report for 1870-71 on education in Patna Division, the Commissioner,
R. P. Jenkins, observed that Bihari boys were not showing adequate enthusiasm for higher
education because the Bengalis excluded the Biharis from public service in their own province.
“Of late years,” he added, “it has become the practice in all district offices to appoint Bengalis
as much as possible; similarly partiality has been observable in the employment of Bengalis as
judges and deputy magistrates in local courts.” He was of the view that the only thing that
could encourage education in Bihar was the “certain prospect of employment under
government”. But he feared that Bihari boys could not compete with the Bengalis in their
existing state of educational development, as far as the knowledge of the English language was
concerned. He recommended, “that a certain number of appointments in the subordinate

186 Bengal General (Education) Department: A Proceedings (March 1872), No. 63.
judicial and executive services be annually reserved for natives of Bihar.” He suggested that even though more extensive employment of Biharis could involve some sacrifice in administrative efficiency he still advocated such a measure.188

We find many other official correspondences in which the government expressed its willingness to put a stop to Bengali domination in Bihar. An officer writes: “Of late years it has become the practice in all the districts for officers to appoint Bengalis as much as possible; a similar partiality has been observable in the employment of Bengalis as judges and deputy magistrates in the local courts. What effect this almost entire suppression of their entire countrymen must have produced on the people of Bihar, is not difficult to conceive. Even in Patna College the higher classes are for the most part composed of Bengalis.”189

A correspondence submitted to the Governor General in Council had also expressed similar view: “In Bengal...It was found that the system of recruiting for the subordinate executive service by competition had absolutely excluded Muslims and natives of Bihar and of Orissa, and would speedily, if persisted in, have resulted in the entire service being given over to Bengali Hindus.190

The government ordered that at least a certain number of probationary appointments to ministerial posts falling vacant should be given to those Biharis who have received decent education.191 In a letter it was instructed that the Commissioner of Patna was to see that except English-speaking clerks, no Bengali should be employed in any government office under him without his special permission. Even the High Court of Calcutta was requested to

189 From R.P. Jenkins, Commissioner of Patna Division to the Government of Bengal dated 22 August 1871, Bankipore Bengal General Education Department, File No. 8 (October 1871).
consider favourably the government proposal to “reserve a certain number of appointments in the subordinate judicial and executive services for natives of Bihar.”192

The government’s attitude towards the Bengalis has been cited as the reason for its pro-Bihari attitude.193 It may be true,194 but the fact remains that in all reports of that period coming either from the government or the local intelligentsia the sentiment against Bengalis was too obvious to be denied.

It was not that these anti-Bengali sentiments were only expressed in Government officials’ quarters. The Bengalis dominated the Bihari professional bureaucracy because an influential middle class was absent in Bihar. Many Bengalis also had landed interests in Bihar. With the emergence of a middle class in Bihar a clash of interests with the Bengalis was inevitable.195

Many Hindi and Urdu newspapers also expressed similar sentiments. A weekly Urdu paper Murgh-I-Suliman published from Monghyr impressed in the issue of 7 February 1876 on

192 Letter to the High Court, 3 October 1871, cited in, Aditya Prasad Jha, ‘Political History of Bihar’, p.221.

193 For such interpretations see Aditya Prasad Jha, ‘Political History of Bihar’, Ibid., p.223. He says that it was a major plank of government policy and some Anglo-Indian newspapers to whip up this Bengali-Bihari antagonism which was taken up by the newly born Bihari newspapers.

194 There is evidence which suggests that the British were trying to put the Bengalis under pressure, at least outside Bengal. A Bengali paper Sahchar complains: “(In the last few years) there has been an attempt on the part of the Provincial Governments to exclude Bengalis from the public services of every other province except Bengal. Sir Ashley Eden tried to exclude Bengalis from Bihar, and circulars directing their exclusion have now been issued by the Governments of Punjab and the North West Provinces. The domiciled Bengalis have protested. But, the Government of the NWP has paid no heed.” The paper comments: “The Bengalis do not object to other Indian races (but), systematic pressure is now being put upon the Bengali employees in the government offices in the NWP in order to make them resign their offices. Some English officials are aiding the movement...It is not easy to understand why the Bengalis who first invited the English to assume sovereignty over them are being treated in this way by the English rulers. The Bengalis are abused by the Englishmen exactly in the same way as the Scots were abused by the Englishmen a century ago. The Scots took up arms against the British but the Bengalis have been guilty of no such disloyalty. Is this treatment of the Bengalis a result of their political agitation and their devotion to the Congress?...The Bengalis have been oppressed more than ever since the establishment of the Congress” (See Report on Native Press, Bengal, Bengal State Archive, week ending 16 March 1889 from where this extract from Sahchar dated 6 March 1889 is taken) Another Bengali newspaper Bangobasi reports on 16 March that “In February at least 100 Bengali clerks of Jamalpur (Bihar) Railway office have been dismissed on the plea of retrenchment.” (See Report on Native Papers, Bengal, week ending 23 March 1889, Bengal State Archives)

the government the necessity of employing educated Bihari men instead of Bengalis in Bihar.\footnote{V.C. P. Chaudhary, \textit{The Creation of Modern Bihar}, p. 37, cited in Aditya Prasad Jha, \textit{Political History of Bihar}, p. 223.}

One can notice the deep antipathy towards the Bengalis amongst a large section of Muslim intelligentsia right from the early days of the spread of modern consciousness in Bihar. This feeling was so strong, that when Congress activities started up in Bihar the Muslim intelligentsia did not want Muslims to join it, as it was a Bengali organisation. A poem-‘Beware! This is a Bengali’ (\textit{Sawadhan ye Bengali hai}) was circulated which summed up this very well. In this poem the Muslims were warned not to join the Congress as clever Bengalis ran it.\footnote{\textit{Al Punch}, Cited in Jata Shankar Jha, \textit{Aspects of the History of Modern Bihar} (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1988), p. 13.}

The growing Hindu intelligentsia was equally critical of Bengalis. \textit{Bihar Bandhu}, a leading organ of Hindi intelligentsia published a letter by a ‘well wisher of Bihar’, most probably written by the editor himself, in which the dominance of the Bengalis in Bihar was resented. The letter equates the Bengalis with insects who are eating up the harvests (jobs) of the Biharis. In conclusion it says that progress in the North Western Provinces could take place whereas in Bihar it could not because of the Bengali domination in Bihar.\footnote{\textit{Bihar Bandhu}, 11 February 1880, published an open letter from ‘a well wisher of Bihar’.}

Most of the educated Biharis had this attitude towards Bengalis right up to 1905-06, and it was prevalent even among the young Bihari students in Calcutta. Students like Rajendra Prasad were pained to see that Bihar remained a backward part of Bengal. Rajendra Prasad notes in his autobiography: “At that time (1905-06) Bihar was part of Bengal. Educationally it was backward, and had hardly any public life...The Students Conference (of youths) was the
The number of schools and colleges in Bihar was far less than in Bengal. The governmental initiatives for education in Bihar came much later and as a result Bihari students had no option but to go to Calcutta for higher education. This option was open to a very few resourceful Bihari families. A survey of the educated Biharis who had received their education in Calcutta shows that most of them belonged to the Kayasth and Muslim families. The number of Brahmins, Rajputs and Bhumihars, socially dominant sections of Bihar, who went to Calcutta for an education, was not significant.

This anti-Bengali agitation of Bihari intelligentsia can be seen as evidence which suggests that Anil Seal's thesis on the relation between the 'elite' and nationalism can be, at least in a limited sense, useful. Talking about the late nineteenth century Anil Seal remarks that "the political mobilization of India were related to a growing rate of social change which bore unevenly on different parts of the country and which sharpened the rivalry between its inhabitants... At a time when the rulers had less elbow room for distributing their favours, it did not seem practical politics to govern their provinces through squadrons of nimble scholars. There were other voices to be listened to. In the event, the Raj like some of the western educated, preferred to hedge its bets. The favourites of yesterday they had to reckon with the


200 This conclusion is based on a review of the names of prominent people who had gone to Calcutta for education. A useful resource bank is Hindi Sahitya aur Bihar volumes which give large number of biographical details of prominent writers who were born in the nineteenth century. See Shivapujan Sahay (ed), Hindi Sahitya Aur Bihar, Shivapujan Sahay, Vols. I & II (Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, 1963).

201 It is difficult to agree with Anil Seal's portrayal of the rise of nationalism as an effort of displaced elites' to regain their power but his suggestions to look for local factors is definitely useful.
upstarts of today.” He also links this resentment of local Biharis against the Bengalis for the movement for separation from Bengal. This is beyond the scope of present study but it seems that his remarks are not far from the truth.

The Intelligentsia and the Hindi Movement in Bihar

The Hindi Movement, started as an organised effort in the 1860s in Banaras, but soon got widespread support from Agra to Calcutta. In this context, the intelligentsia of Bihar had a significant role to play. Dhirendra Nath Singh, a leading authority on nineteenth century Hindi writings of Bihar, observes: “In Bihar Province Rashtrabhasha Andolan (movement for a national language) began in 1860. The slogan of this movement was: Hindi should find its place in the schools and the courts. As a result of this movement Hindi got introduced in the schools in 1870.” Backed by support from government officials, the movement was able to establish Hindi written in the Nagari script as the official language of Bihar in 1880, whereas in the United Provinces this happened only in 1900. The significance of the Hindi Movement in Bihar lies in the fact that it was the first major movement that the Bihari intelligentsia had taken part in.

The making of an official language that could be used in the courts and the schools was not a smooth affair. A bitter contest took place amongst those who wanted the selection of Hindi with the Nagari script as a democratic and legitimate choice for official work in the region. Like many modern Indian languages Hindi was also in the process of developing as a language. The issue of choosing the official language involved a debate. Some believed that the existing official language, which was called Hindustani or Hindi, for all practical purposes, was

actually a constructed and difficult Urdu full of Persian words. The Hindi Movement was against this and its supporters campaigned for a Hindi which, they claimed, was the real vernacular, locally understandable Hindi.

Those who were in favour of Hindi called this process of Hindi attaining the status of an official language a ‘democratic’ movement. But, those who opposed it called this Hindi an artificial and a constructed language, which was being imposed on people. To some scholars it was a progressive step that reflected a democratic tendency to assert their linguistic rights. In this view the introduction of Hindi written in Nagari script was logical. The British government had promoted the vernacular language as the court language and medium of education and the local vernacular language got the opportunity to get its historical due in the colonial situation. Namwar Singh has summed up this perspective in his highly influential article ‘Basi Bhat Mein Khuda Ka Sajha’. He summed up the view of a large number of scholars. Like many other Hindi supporters claimed that the Persian language had ruled over Northern India as the language of the ruling classes for centuries. Later, with the help of the British, Urdu ruled for a hundred years. Khariboli was the commonly spoken language of the region till around 1800. Then as a result of the attempts to make Urdu a literary language, Urdu supporters filled the language with Persian vocabulary and thereby Urdu emerged as a constructed language. Even after the replacement of Persian by local vernaculars as the languages of the courts and schools, Urdu supporters kept on using their language, calling it Hindustani, which for all practical purposes was Urdu written in Persian script. The people of the region started to protest against the continuation of this Hindustani, and the movement.

204 Namwar Singh, ‘Basi Bhat Mein Khuda Ka Sajha’, Headline Plus, October 2003, pp.51-53. The original article was published in Hans (Delhi). Here Namwar Singh was echoing similar feelings which were expressed around 1900 by Madhav Mishra who had said that, “then (under British rule) our mouths opened which had been closed for centuries.” Madhav Mishra, ‘Adalat mein Nagari’n Madhav Mishra Nibandhamala Pratham Bhag Khand IV’, Chaturvedi Dwarkaprasad Sharma and Jhawarmalla Sharma, Vol.I (Prayag: The Indian Press Limited, 1935), p.17.
gathered strength in the 1860s. This movement, called the Nagari or Hindi Movement, aimed to give the local spoken language its due by introducing Hindi as the language of the courts and schools. As a result of consistent appeals and mobilisations by the intelligentsia, Hindi got its due in 1900 when Nagari was used in the courts and schools of the United Provinces. Perhaps this period of one hundred years, between 1800 and 1900, is called the rule of Urdu in Namwar Singh’s analysis. For many scholars of Hindi literary history the question of Hindi as the language of the region was not very complicated. Shivamangal Rai, who has written an authoritative account of the East India Company’s language policy, summed up the problem this way: both the Hindi and Urdu scripts were in use before 1837. To support his claims the notices of 1766, 1804, 1810, and 1829 are cited. But, after 1837 the form of Hindustani started to change as more and more of Bhojpuri, Bihari, Bengali and English were coming into use. Till 1850, however, the language of the notices remained close to the Hindi language and the Nagari script.

For many writers the difference between Hindi and Urdu was that of vocabulary. If a writer wanted to reach out to the other side he could do so just by using the words used by the readers. In 1803 Inshallah Khan, the Urdu poet wrote a work in Khariboli entitled Rani Ketki Ki Kohani in Urdu script and he deliberately avoided using words of Arabic and Persian origin.

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206 As regards script, Nagari seems apparently to have been in wider usage than Persian. This has been demonstrated by Lakshmisagar Varshney in his *East India Company ke prachin patron ki bhasha ka swaroop; paripreksha aur pratiikryein*, (Lakshmi Sagar Varshney, *East India Company ke Pracheen Patron ki Bhasha ka Swaroop* (Delhi: National Publishing House, 1972) cited approvingly by Vasudha Dalmia, *The Nationalisation of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harishandra and Nineteenth Century Banaras* (Delhi: OUP, 1999 (1997)), pp. 159-60. Dalmia adds that Varshney based his deductions on the analysis of the correspondence between 1796 to 1820, preserved in the National Archives in Delhi, between officials of the East India Company and diverse writers spread over the area of what is today called the Hindi-speaking areas and Bengal-Orissa. Throughout the period the script used was Nagari.


The court language of Bengal was similar to Urdu and that of the United Provinces was nearer to 'modern Hindi'. Later on with Calcutta as the capital, Urdu being used as the court language and with the help of the pro-Urdu Muslims of the United Provinces, the tendency to use Urdu words increased.209 According to Ramvilas Sharma also the Urduisation of a language common to both Hindus and Muslims was attempted and successfully achieved by the Urdu supporters of the eighteenth century.210

Contrary to this position, a number of researchers find a communal and orthodox Hindu conspiracy behind this movement that tried to promote what Alok Rai has called Hindi nationalism. This view seems to be closer to the understanding of this controversy by historians. Sumit Sarkar says, "Literary Hindi was very much of an artificial creation closely associated with Hindi revivalist movements." He adds further, "The campaign for Hindi in the Devnagari script launched by the Arya Samajis and orthodox Hindus did have a populist appeal."211

For scholars like Alok Rai Hindi movement expressed 'Hindi nationalism' which was supported by upper caste orthodox Hindus who wanted to promote their own cultural agenda in the name of Hindi. This movement contained communal elements and it was anti-Muslim. In this scheme Hindi as the language of everyday life that had evolved in north India was different from the Hindi that was projected as the language of the nation. This new and constructed Hindi was promoted by north Indian Brahmin elites who were tormented by the entrenched power of the Muslim upper classes and jealous of the Kayasth monopoly over the


210 For a detailed discussion of Ramvilas Sharma's views, see Ramvilas Sharma, Bharatendu Yug (Delhi: 1973 [1942]), passim.

211Sumit Sarkar, Modern India (Delhi: McMillan, 1983), p.85. These observations sum up a number of historians' attitudes towards the Hindi Movement.
The creation of the consciousness and culture of the bearers of modern Hindi ('Hindi') was forged from the second half of the nineteenth century. In this view, "the identity of modern 'Hindi' emerged along with that of the 'Hindu' community." Hindi according to this view is associated with the making of 'Hindi Nationalism'. It is "a language splattered with the blood of innocents, tainted with the violence of our times. A dead language in the sphere of literary production, this 'Hindi' continues to have a poisonous presence in the cultural life of society." This summary of Alok Rai's arguments may be qualified by Rai's own assessment of the Hindi Movement which maintained that it had unquestionably democratic and modernist elements in it, particularly in the early phases, but over time, acquired conservative and even reactionary characteristics.

Rai traces the origins of this divide to Fort William College. Three scholars of the college who were most important in connection with the development of Hindi were Inshallah Khan, Sadal Mishra and Lalloji Lal. Inshaallah Khan intended to write an authentic (Theth) Hindavi abjuring both Perso-Arabic and Sanskritic excesses. Lalloji Lal practically invented a new modern Sanskritised Hindi by excising 'alien' words from the mixed Urdu language of Akbar's camp followers and the marketplace.

Scholars close to this line of arguments have underlined the fact that before the advent of modern colonial rule issues like language were never so significant. Vasudha Dalmia observes that the concept of a national language was initially introduced by the British and

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213 Ibid, p.x.
214 Ibid.
216 Ibid, p. 14
applied to the Indian situation.\textsuperscript{217} Amrit Rai, Vasudha Dalmia and Alok Rai are amongst a number of scholars who believe that Hindi and Urdu were composite languages before new Hindi was tried to be introduced.

The Hindi Movement was a big movement in the sense that it united a large number of Hindi intelligentsia throughout Northern and Eastern India. In fact, this movement shaped the ideology of the Hindi intelligentsia. Christopher King tried to argue that the Hindi Movement of the nineteenth century expressed a Hindu nationalism whose essence lay in the denial of assimilation of cultural traditions associated with Muslim rule and the affirmation of a potential differentiation from these traditions.\textsuperscript{218}

Hindi Movement was not confined to the United Provinces alone and the early success of the Hindi/Nagari movement did not have much to do with any mobilisation of the Hindi Movement at least, as far as Bihar was concerned. It cannot be denied that there were people in Bihar who were active in arguing in favour of Hindi/Nagari with great vigour, but that was a secondary point. Of prime importance were the government’s attempts to introduce local vernaculars as the languages of court and schools.

The real significance of the Hindi Movement in Bihar lies in the fact that it brought the Hindi intelligentsia together in a way only a movement can. Hindi was introduced in Bihar without much resistance in 1880. The process of its introduction began in 1862. The next section of this chapter in which the Hindi supporters’ view of this movement in Bihar is

\textsuperscript{217}In an authoritative account of the making of Hindi, Vasudha Dalmia argues that Hindi was created in the nineteenth century as a result of the combined efforts of British orientalist initiatives, the missionaries and the efforts of grammarians and the Hindu intelligentsia of Allahabad and Banaras. She talks of three processes: dichotomisation, standardisation and historicisation. This led to the marking of Hindi as a separate language of the Hindus; then the standardisation of Hindi as an autonomous language; and finally the preparation of a historical justification of it being the language of the Hindus from ancient times. See Vasudha Dalmia, \textit{The Nationalisation of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harichandra and Nineteenth Century Banaras} (Delhi: OUP, 1999 (1997)), pp.146-152.

\textsuperscript{218}Christopher R King, \textit{One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in the Nineteenth Century North India} (Delhi: OUP, 1994), p. 15.
discussed would suggest that this movement, in the process of its making, shaped the ideology of the Hindi intelligentsia. What is most important is that the course of the movement gave a communal tilt to the ideology of the Hindi intelligentsia, which later crystallised and remained as strong ideological elements throughout the course of the period of our study.

**Understanding the Hindi Movement through the Eyes of its Supporters**

Any survey of literature and journalistic writings of Hindi would reveal that Hindi had been supported by a large number of Hindi writers from Agra to Calcutta. The appeal of the Hindi Movement cutting across regional boundaries needs to be analysed. Why did people from Agra to Calcutta support this movement and what were the basic thoughts that sustained this support are the two major concerns which need to be discussed.

The Hindi Movement provided scope for thinking about language, history and the nation all at once. The primary concern was to get the government's approval to introduce the Nagari script in the courts and schools. But as we will see, the movement brought into consideration history and nationalism as well. It was done in such a way that a supporter could talk about the history of India, show concern over the state of the people of India and raise the question of language in a linked manner. It is often said that the question of the cow united Hindus, both the Sanatanis and the reformist Arya Samajis. But, it can be argued, that even before that the Hindi Movement was able to first create space for the Hindi intelligentsia to come together irrespective of their religious views. The support for the Cow Protection Movement was the second space. The third common space was nationalism. These three spaces are interlinked for intelligentsia of Bihar.

The success of the Hindi Movement also lies in the popularisation of different ideas about the past to such an extent that it became part of the common lore of the intelligentsia.
They used language and idioms of a kind different from that of earlier generations. They used them to shape a new kind of Hindi, which turned out to be a strong claimant as the national language of this country. So far, this movement has not been studied and understood along the viewpoints expressed above, nor have the understanding and thoughts of the writers themselves been studied. It is important to understand it from within. Perhaps that will help in understanding the making of a communal Hindu mind.

In 1900, when the issue of the script had been somewhat settled in favour of Hindi in Bihar and the battle in the United Provinces was almost won, a magazine, Sudarshan, wrote on the issue of ‘Nagari in the courts’. It said that in ancient days all people—raja (king) and praja (masses)—spoke Sanskrit. Later, a new language evolved among the Shudras, which was called Prakrit. This new language followed the rules of Sanskrit. The Hindi is a transformed version of Prakrit. The writer laments: “In the old days, in a civilised world, even the Shudras spoke Sanskrit. Who knew at that time that bad times would befall the Hindus, when in a thousand years, like mother Sanskrit, the daughter too would be denied her rights. She would be exiled from swadesh and swajati to face injustice and humiliation.”

To understand the reasoning put forth by Sudarshan, a magazine edited by a distinguished Hindi writer Madhav Mishra, we need to look into their other writings on this issue. Hindi Magazines carried articles regularly to advocate the use of the Nagari script. While doing so these articles helped in popularising notions of the past, which could be considered communally biased. Sudarshan carried an article, ‘Hindi Bhasha’, in February 1900, which contained these lines:

Dev-Asur, aur Arya Anarya shabdo ki jab se sansar mein
srishti hui, usi sbrishti ke aadikal (Vaidik samay) se do bhasha chali

219Sudarshan, Banaras, April 1900, p.9.
aayi hai, ek ka nam Sanskrit bhasha aur doosari ka nam aSanskrit bhasha... Bharatvarsha mein jab Vyasa Valmiki aadi dev murtiyon vidyaman the tab yahan ki bhasha bhi 'dev-vani' thi. Jab hum Hindu bne to bhasha ne bhi hamare satr prakriti ke niyamanusar kaya palat kar Hindi bhasha ka nam dbharan kiya. Sutan, ab hum Hindu bain aur hamari bhasha Hindi bhasha... Hindi wahi jisko padhe likhe log Hindi ke nam se pukarate bain. [In the ancient times there were two language- Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit. When the greats like Vyasa and Valmiki were living all spoke in Sanskrit. When we became Hindus our languages changed. Now we are Hindus and our language is Hindi]"

Sudarshan also wrote “in ancient days the banks of Saraswati and Bhagirathi rivers (The Ganges) witnessed the ‘lectures’ in Sanskrit the way in today’s Town halls English lectures are delivered.” Madhav Mishra, the editor of Sudarshan, believed that when the British government introduced change of language in courts of Bengal in 1837 ‘coronation’ of Hindi should have taken place. Instead, he laments, Urdu bi was honoured.”

Tracing the evolution of Hindi Bhasha, the writer says that Prakrit, the original form of Hindi was ridiculed when scholars tried to use it to for scholarly pursuits. Later its strength was recognised, and in fact, it overshadowed Sanskrit. The writer finds the hostility of the English-educated elite natural as they were not only against Hindi but also against Hindus and swadeshi. They were blind followers of the foreigners.

The writer is also against the exclusion of Urdu words from Hindi. He finds it ‘impossible’. He seeks to explain why children should be spoken to in Hindi. After dismissing Persian, Arabic

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220 Ibid.
221 Ibid. This article can also be seen in Madhav Mishra, Madhav Mishra Nibandhavali Pratham Bhag, Khand IV. (Prayag: Indian Press Limited, 1935), pp.1-13.
222 See Sudarshan, February 1900, pp.10-11.
and Sanskrit, as they were not mother tongues, he says, “then there remain three languages—Urdu, English and Hindi. The child should be given an education in a language whose alphabets are complete.” He concludes with the logic that only Hindi can fulfil this quality. 223

The writer of ‘Hindi Bhasha’ criticises all those who believe that Hindi was not a complete language. He claims that Mahatma Surdas, Tulsidas and other Bhakt poets have served the language. (Bihari Lal, Padmakar, Anandaghan, Sadhu Nischal Das, Swami Dayanand, Pandit Dindayalu Sharma and others have also helped it.) Teaching Hindi should be the duty of all and it is beneficial for all, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian. The logic is simple. In this country children can learn six languages—Urdu, Persian, Arabic, English, Sanskrit and Hindi. Hindi, according to the writer, includes Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi and other languages (as these languages follow some similar linguistic patterns). Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit had no links with children. If forced, to study in these languages, children would lose interest in education. 224 He believes that the progress and prosperity of a nation and its religion depends on the development of the mother tongue and national literature. He also contests Sanatan Dharma Sabha’s efforts for promotion of Sanskrit. He added that if during Muslim rule the Muslim had insisted on forcing Persian and Arabic on the people, they would have failed. The “farsighted Muslims” preferred the mother tongue, Urdu, to Arabic, the language of their religion. It is largely due to Urdu that Arabic survived in this sacred land—Bharatvarsha. Sanatanis were urged to follow a similar attitude. Their attempts to work for Sanskrit could be effective only if they worked for Hindi, their mother tongue. 225

224 Ibid.
225 Ibid.
The writer is convinced that the development of the mother tongue is a necessary pre-requisite for the growth of religion and the nation. The first duty of all is to work for the propagation of Hindi. In his opinion all efforts for the propagation of Sanskrit by organisations like Bharat Dharma Mahamandal are futile.

One of the early writer-journalists of modern Bihar was Pandit Keshavaram Bhatt (1854-1905) who edited *Bihar Bandhu*. His two main objectives were to work for the development of Hindi and Hindustan. It is said that he had pledged himself to work for the introduction of Hindi in the courts of Bihar. He was respected by the Hindi literary world and was invited by the government during the Dilli Durbar in 1879. His views, somewhat similar to those of the writer of *Sudarshan* would be discussed in the next section.

*An Account of the Hindi Movement in Bihar*

The Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1832 stated that it was very important that justice should be delivered in a language familiar to the judge. It was just as important that it be administered in a language familiar to the people at large. An official correspondence noted:” In regard to the use of Hindustani or Urdu as the language of the courts, I am, and have always been, in favour of its abolition...Prayer of the memorial for the substitution of Hindi as an expression of the wishes of the great bulk of the people of the Lohardugga district. I had submitted a report on 22 April 1862 and had pleaded hard for the discontinuance of Urdu as the language of the courts which the people are not accustomed to and substitution of Hindi, the language written and spoken. The Lt. Governor Sir Cecil Beadon however ruled (in a letter from the Secretary to Government on 17 May 1862) that the

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226 It seems the article was written by the editor Madhav Mishra himself.

language used should be made to approach as near as possible to the general dialect of the
district; but the Arabic or Persian character must, he ruled, be retained, except for notices
intended for the information of the public. The use of the Persian character, I had objected to,
as the people of the country could not be induced to master it, and it was the main cause of
their exclusion from employment and of the offices being filled by persons whom the people
of the country regard as foreigners, quite as much as if they had been imported beyond sea.

... I consider that the enforcement of the order conveyed in your letter of 23 November, viz,
that all amla and superior officers of police must within six months, learn to read with facility
the Nagari printed character, will have a salutary effect in this district for at the present time
58.3% of the police officers are Muslims who know nothing of Hindi.\(^228\)

This attitude of the government is evident in some other communications between the
officials. It can be said that in Bihar, Hindi became an issue largely because of government
initiatives. The first serious effort to introduce Hindi in Nagari script was made in 1862 by E.
T. Dalton, the Commissioner of Chhotanagpur. He proposed an outright substitution of
Hindi, whether written in Nagari or Kaithi script, in place of Urdu written in Persian script, as
the native language of the courts in the districts of Lohardagga (the present districts of Ranchi
and Palamu) and Hazaribagh. It was clearly laid down by the government in 1862 that Hindi
was the language of the courts. A circular followed these orders from the High Court on the
civil and criminal side dated 3 June 1864 to the effect that all plaints, pleadings and
proceedings should be in the vernacular of the district and not in Persian, Persianised Urdu or
any other foreign language.\(^229\)

\(^{228}\) Colonel E.T. Dalton to Secretary of Government of Bengal, *Education Department Proceedings*, April 1874 File 104.

\(^{229}\) *Education Department Proceedings*, April 1874 File 104. Colonel J.S. Davies, Judicial Commissioner of Chhotanagpur
to Colonel E.T. Dalton, Commissioner of C. Nagpur (28 October 1872).
In some parts of Bihar the government circular caused confusion and many took it as a government order not to teach any Hindu student Persian or Urdu. In this connection a petition by Shah Mohsin Ali of Monghyr is interesting. He cited that the number of Hindu students studying Persian was higher than that of the Muslims and if the government insisted that Hindu boys be taught Hindi then that was perhaps not fair.

C. Bernard officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal wrote to the Director of Public Instruction: “During the Lt. Governor’s tour in Bihar, it has seemed to him that the real vernacular of the province is neglected in government schools to a lamentable extent and there is a tendency to convert all upper and middle class schools, and some schools supposed to be primary to the teaching of a high-flown Hindustani or rather Urdu language fitted to make the boys law agents and petition writers rather than useful members of society.

“The Lt. Governor desires it to be an invariable rule in every government school in Bihar of every degree that first and foremost Hindi is to be taught, and efficiently taught, and the headmaster to be held strictly responsible for the due compliance with this order. No Hindu lad is to be taught Hindustani in any government school till he has acquired complete facility in Hindi, and no Hindu from any aided or private school is to be admitted to any government scholarship, stipend or other reward unless he is similarly qualified.

“In all schools in Bihar classed as primary schools no other character than Hindi is to be taught on any pretext whatever, except in Muslim maktabs.

“In middle classes and modern schools all instruction is to be given in general subjects up to the vernacular scholarship standard in the Hindi character. Muslims only, who have not learnt the Hindi character being allowed to use the Persian character.

“As the classical language in such schools Persian, and not, as hitherto, Arabic should be taught where there is sufficient demand for it.
"The Lt. Governor desires me to take this opportunity to remark that while in Bengal, where Muslims preponderate, they have scarcely any share in educational appointments; in Bihar, where they are in a small minority, they have a very large share."\(^{230}\)

Judging by the spirit of communication between government officials we gather that the officials were bent on introducing simple Hindi, understandable by the people. This language was promoted in schools and efforts were made to prepare textbooks facilitating Hindi education in Bihar schools. While preparing Hindi textbooks we find a clear demarcation between Hindi and Urdu. New Hindi text titles clearly show this. This trend began in the North Western Provinces and was later followed in Bihar.

The Hindi text books included Barumala Balbodh, Akshar Dipika, Vidya Ankur, Bhoj Prabandh Saar, Samay Prabadh, Surajpore Ki Kahani, Britant Dhumam Singh, Patr Mallika, Gyan Chalishi, Rajdootan Ki Katha, Satuirapan, Prasidha Charitawali Six Parts, Gutka Robinson Crusoe, Bhasha Bhaskar, Bhasha Chandrodhay, Bhasha Tatwa Dipika, Neel Sudha Tarungun. \(^{231}\)

While the textbooks were being prepared the writers were conscious of the differences between the supporters of Persianised Hindustani and Sanskritised Hindi. A writer, Babu Rae Sohan Lal, Headmaster of the Normal School, wrote to S.W. Fallen, Inspector of Schools, North West Division: "We have to fight against a strong prejudice which people have for Sanskrit and Arabic. True we have the Lt.Governor's orders to back us; but the papers and the

\(^{230}\) Education Department Proceedings, October 1872, File No. 13. In this important file the government approach towards the vernacular language issue is clearly stated.

\(^{231}\) Education Proceedings, June 1872, File No. 45.
influential classes of natives may raise a cry, and make a united effort against the introduction of simple Hindustani books. ... (This) order will not protect us from the 'hot violence' of the press, and the despairing advocates of high-flown Urdu or Hindi."232

Government officials had by early 1870s been convinced that Hindi was to be promoted even if the superiority of the Persian script was acknowledged. A government official wrote: "if this were merely a question of character the Government of India would not have entertained the proposal, for there can be no doubt that the Nagari character is the worst for the dispatch of business, being far more bulky than Urdu. ... But in fact the issue is one of language and not of character, and the Government of India will not absolutely refuse the appeal based on these considerations, and will so far concede that when Hindi is really the language of the people, it ought to be substituted for Urdu. ... The position of the Bihar districts is precisely similar to that of the Hindustani districts of the Central Provinces, Hindi being the universal language of the ordinary people while Hindustani is generally understood by the educated classes and used in the Courts and offices."233

The Government of Bengal approved of this idea and declared under the terms of the Code of Criminal Procedure that Hindi was the language of ordinary use in the districts in question.234 These measures led to the introduction of Hindi, both in the courts and the schools, in Chhotanagpur.

The other parts of Bihar remained on the old footing235 until Campbell came to Bihar.

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232 Education Proceedings, June 1872, File No.50.
as the Lt. Governor. The period of his governorship between 1871 and 1874 marked a significant change in the attitude of the Government of Bengal towards Bihar. So far, the attitude of the Calcutta-trained civilians was that of non-interference. Campbell, however, tried to focus the attention of the government to the distinctive peculiarities of Bihar and the Biharis. He wrote: "The people of Bihar are Hindustanis, speaking the same language, and in their manners, etc. identical with the 40 or 50 millions of Hindustanis who inhabit the North Western Provinces, Oudh, and parts of the Central Provinces, Rajputana, etc."^{236}

Campbell made an extensive tour of Bihar in 1871 during which he was surprised to see that although Persian had been abolished as an official language of British India in 1837 it was still "flourishing in full force both in public offices and the schools of Bihar in the form of Persianised Urdu."^{237} Alok Rai has quoted a farcical story recounted in Hali's biography of Sir Syed, about the visit of Lt. Governor of Bengal: "He was presented a formal address by the Scientific Society of Bhagalpur, a largely Muslim Association. The demand for the vernacularisation of the colonial administration rumbled in the background here as well. The formal address of welcome was composed strenuously in a language heavily laden with grandiloquent Arabic and Persian and Campbell could not understand it. Incensed, he declared that that language could never be the vernacular of the province and within a few days he issued orders allowing the use of the Nagari script and the language that could be written in this script in the courts of Bihar."^{238}

G. Campbell's role proved vital. To get an idea as to how convinced he was about the introduction of Hindi one can see his Minute on the Teaching of Vernacular Language of 4

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December 1871 in which he says:

"Persian (the language of the former rulers of India) was abolished as an official language before I came to the country; in the early years of my service vigorous efforts were made to root out from the official proceedings the bastard hybrid language of which the old Persian writers were too fond. I thought this had been done with some success. I was astonished then, on lately visiting Bihar to find that this bastard language was not only flourishing in its fullest force in our official proceedings but was perpetuating it by teaching in our schools. I have heard during this visit, a language more debased and artificial than I have ever heard before or deemed possible; and I found that in all our so called vernacular schools this monstrous language, if it can be called a language, is being taught by maulvies instead of the vernacular. Unfortunately, too, a pretext has been given for this practice by the introduction of the very important term Urdu. I believe that is a term chiefly introduced by the Bengal Education Department and I do not know if it has any definite meaning whatever; but so far as any meaning is attributed to it in books, it is the court and camp language of the Delhi courtiers, not the vernacular of the country. I am determined to put a complete stop to the teaching of this language in our schools. No man can admire Persian than I do; it is a beautiful language and when honestly taught under fitting circumstances I shall certainly not object to Persian. But, I do object to and prohibit the forage of bad Arabic and Persian, set off with a few Hindustani verbs and conjunctions, which is taught as Urdu... In vernacular schools in Bihar, I found that the instruction not infrequently consisted of a maulvi teaching what he calls Urdu and a pandit teaching a Hindi History of some Hindu hero, interspersed with Sanskrit slokas, two or
three in each page... I therefore instruct the D.P.I. as follows: -

Urdu is absolutely abolished in all our schools and all our teaching.”239

Meanwhile, the Government of Bengal issued orders to the Director of Public Instruction and the Commissioners of Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions on 30 September 1872, to introduce Hindi as the medium of instruction in Bihar. It desired it “to be an invariable rule in every government school in Bihar of every degree that first and foremost Hindi is to be taught, and efficiently taught.” The headmaster of every school was to be held strictly responsible for compliance of this order. No Hindu lad was to be taught Urdu in any government school till he had acquired complete facility in Hindi. The teaching of Urdu was to be confined to the Muslim maktab.240

There is further evidence for suggesting that the government was eager to press for the use of Hindi against that of Urdu. The Government of Bengal wrote to the Commissioners of Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions on 27 June 1872 that “the position in Bihar districts is precisely similar to that of Hindustani districts of the Central Provinces, Hindi being the universal language of the ordinary people, while Hindustani is generally understood by the educated classes and used in the courts and offices.”241

The Government of Richard Temple directed in April 1874, that all processes, notifications and proclamations in Bihar should be made in Hindi; official records should be


kept in Hindi; petitions should be received either in Hindi or Hindustani; and a knowledge of Hindi should be insisted on in the case of police officers and amlas in the courts. 242

These determined efforts on the part of the government would not have been enough had there not been growing support for Hindi in the Nagari script in Bihar. The support for the introduction of Hindi in Nagari script must have got a support due to the writings of the prestigious English weekly- The Bengalee, Calcutta. It published an editorial “Hindi versus Persian” in 1873 endorsing the memorial of the inhabitants of the Western Provinces to Government which had advocated the introduction of Nagari script in the United Provinces. 243

A close reading of this text suggests that supporters of Hindi movement had closely followed the line of arguments followed by this editorial of the Bengalee. Bihar Bandhu under the editorship of Keshavaram Bhatta turned out to be the most important platform for the supporters of Hindi. The supporters of Hindi presented to the government in April 1875, a ‘Memorial from the People of Bihar’ praying that Hindi in the Nagari script might be


243 Some passages of this editorial is worth citing—“The language fostered by Government and the Law Courts happened to be Urdu or Hindustani written in the Persian character, while the great bulk of population both Hindoo and Mussalman use in their daily intercourse in business the Hindi written in the Nagari character. It is remarkable that our rulers discarded Persian as a court language in Bengal long ago, but they did not feel themselves prepared to adopt the same just and wise policy in the newly acquired territories of the North West. This difference of practice has given rise to important differences in their indigenous literature. It is not unknown to our readers that both Bengali and Hindi acquired immense development during the period of the Vaishnav revival three centuries ago, and produced works which are admired to the day for their literary merit. Both shared the depression consequent on the revolution, which was preparing the general ground for the extension of England’s supremacy in India; but while the Bengalee has during the last thirty years made a wonderful progress and is daily gaining place among the languages of civilized nations, the Hindi can not raise its head without State aid and still lags behind its sister. We have no doubt that the partiality shown by our rulers to Persian has retarded the growth of the Hindi. The acutest-intellectual of the country devote themselves to the acquisition of Persian, which is the road to preferment in the service of the State, while the language of the country is left to non-literate classes. The memorial ... points out that the use of foreign character in court proceedings and documents compels most of those whom they concern to walk long distance to acquire knowledge of their contents from people who know Persian, and this difficulty is one which the Government should remove. The illegibility of the Persian documents and the facility with which they are tampered furnish additional arguments for the substitution of Nagari for Persian. We have no doubt that the prevalence of forgery in this country had its origin during the palmy days of the Persian character, when neither the Presiding judge nor the parties and their witnesses had any but faintest idea of what was taking place before their eyes. The memorialists justly urge that the change would be welcomed by the Hindoo population ... it would ... (give) an impetus to mass education which is imparted through the medium of the Hindi. The prayer ... carries irresistible arguments with it that we have no doubt that Government will be disposed to grant it.” See, Bengalee, Calcutta, 19 July 1873).
exclusively recognised as the court and official language in Bihar.\textsuperscript{244} Further details of Hindi movement will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The Urdu Press and some of the influential people of Patna had been advocating the case against the Nagari script and Hindi. The Urdu press of Bihar had been critical of this change. Many reports were published in Urdu newspapers, which criticized the use of Nagari script. \textit{Qasid}, (The messenger) an Urdu weekly of Patna noted on 18 January 1877: “the Gazette has appeared...the majority of the inhabitants of the province are not likely to profit by it, in consequence of its being printed in the Nagari character.” \textsuperscript{245} It urges the following for the consideration of the government, prior to passing the final decision as to whether Urdu or Hindi should be used in Bihar. First, as a test, let any person possessing competent knowledge of Hindi try and undertake the translation of any government code into that language, without calling to his aid a single Urdu, Persian, Arabic or commonly used Sanskrit word. If this can be properly done then Hindi should be adopted but in case of failure, the use of Urdu should be decided upon. On the other hand, it does not become a government to be repeatedly calling for opinions on one subject and taking action by fits and starts.\textsuperscript{246}

The supporters of Urdu also tried to mobilize support and as a result the number of Urdu speakers were registered in larger number when a survey of the language was done. Excluding the districts within the Patna office, where the details were not tabulated separately, Urdu was returned as the language of 89,677 persons...Urdu or the literary Persianised form of Hindi was looked on as the proper language for a Muslim to speak. In Patna, “there was general agitation amongst the Muslim to have their language shown as Urdu and there can be no

\textsuperscript{244} \textit{Bengal General Miscellaneous B. Proceedings}, June 1876, Nos.1-3 and April 1877, Nos.1-5.

\textsuperscript{245} \textit{Bengal, Report on Native Newspapers}, January 1877 (Bengal State Archive).

\textsuperscript{246} \textit{Akbar-ul-Akhair}, 1875 cited in \textit{Bengal, Report on Native Newspapers}, July 1875.
doubt that it was thus described by many who in reality spoke a local form of Bihari with or without a smattering of Persian and Arabic words. In the same way, those who opposed Persian actually spoke Bihari." 247 Formidable opposition against the measures of the government to introduce Hindi came from the National Mohammedan Association, who in a memorial to the Viceroy in 1882 made the revocation of Hindi as the official language in Bihar a special grievance. The Viceroy, however, refused to interfere. 248 This kind of opposition continued even after the government refused to interfere with the existing arrangement. In 1891 when Charles Elliot, the Lt. Governor of Bengal visited Arrah, J. G. Charles, the District Judge, argued that “Kaithi-Hindi was ill-suited to the requirements of the law courts, that it contained no equivalent for many legal expressions in common use and that it took much longer to write Kaithi than Persian. He pleaded that the Urdu language written in Persian script should be recognized as the court language in Bihar.” 249 The Government decided to ignore these reservations.

As a result of these efforts and counter-efforts the question of language became the question of communities and writers started articulating their understandings about the history of the development of the language along communally ideological lines. This is where the writings of the supporters of the Hindi Movement on this issue should be considered closely. Meanwhile, the government and the people who wanted the introduction of Hindi in Bihar tried to remove all the deficiencies and shortcomings of Hindi. The government realised that “the change so long enjoined by Government will never be thoroughly introduced unless

247 Census of India 1901 Vol. VI, Page 322.
Nagari (or Kaithi) is made the character for exclusive use in official documents in Bihar. So, it was directed that Hindi written in Nagari or Kaithi should be exclusively used from 1 January 1881, throughout the Patna Division and the Hindi districts of Bhagalpur Division. It was also directed that the issue from the courts or the acceptance by the courts of any document in the Persian character, except as exhibits, should be absolutely forbidden. Then came the High Court circular order on 14 May 1880 enjoining upon all courts in Patna and parts of Bhagalpur Divisions ‘the definite introduction’ of Hindi in accordance with the wish of the Lt. Governor. In fact, the circular directed that those ministerial officers who had neglected to make themselves conversant with the Nagari script since 1875 would have to take the consequences of the default.

At this stage the role of two government officers was crucial. The first was G. A. Grierson, the Collector of Patna, and the second was Bhudev Mukherjee, the Inspector of Schools for Bihar Division. In 1877 Bhudev Mukherjee came to Bihar as School Inspector. He was a great supporter of Hindi. His views on the issue of language comes to us in Hindi historians’ account as follows: “A Bihari Hindu should learn Hindi as his mother tongue, Sanskrit as the language of religion and English as the language of governance whereas a Muslim boy should learn Hindi as prachalit bhasha (language in practice), Arabic as the language of religion and English as the language of government.” He founded the Branch Bodhody Press in Patna to work for the preparation of Hindi textbooks and a few textbooks were

250 Bengal General (Miscellaneous) A. Proceedings, April 1880, Nos.1-3.
252 Bengal General (Miscellaneous) A. Proceedings, June 1894, Nos. 1-29.
253 Bhudev Mukherjee (1827-1894); distinguished writer and thinker; appointed as the Director of Education for 21 districts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; as School Director he established many Hindi schools in Bihar, got many textbooks translated from Bengali to Hindi; himself was engaged in writing in Hindi.
published from there. He encouraged textbook writers to prepare Hindi textbooks and ensured that they be given enough support.

Due to the efforts of the Education Officer of Schools, A.W. Fallen, Lala Surajmal, a Hindi teacher, was transferred from Ajmer to the Patna Normal School. Later, Munshi Radhelal Mathur was brought in and many Hindi teachers were appointed. Efforts were made to prepare textbooks in Hindi. In the United Provinces Raja Shivaprasad “Sitare Hind”\(^{255}\), the Hindi Officer, wrote Hindi books, which were used as textbooks in schools in the Hindi-speaking areas. These texts included Vidyankur, Aalsion ko Kora, Bhoogol Hastamalak, Veer Singh Vrittant and Gutaka (of Veer Singh Vrittant) among others. “Sitare Hind” was considered a writer biased in favour of Urdu and his books were translations from English.

Munshi Radhalal prepared the Shabdakosh (a dictionary) and received a prize from the government. Ramdeen Singh wrote Khettryata and Ganit Battisi and Keshavram Bhatt wrote Hindostan Ka Itihas. Babu Ramprakash Lal wrote Bhootatva Pradip and Sajivan Lal wrote Jyamiti (a geometry text book). Apart from these Bhagwan Prasad, Chhoturam Tripathi, Pandit Shivanarayan Tripathi, Deendayalu Singh and Shivanandan Sahay wrote Sharir-palan, Ramkatha, Bengal ka Itihas, Bharatvarsha ka Itihas and Bengal ka Itihas respectively.\(^{256}\)

Bhudev Mukherjee wrote: “Hindi is a living language. It can never die. Let the responsibility be left to us. We will take care of its progress and get the textbooks prepared in Hindi.”\(^{257}\) Bhudev Mukherjee’s attitude towards Hindi is similar to some of the prominent Bengalis who had developed the idea that in future Hindi would be the lingua franca of the

\(^{255}\) Shiva Prasad ‘Sitarchind’ was a distinguished contemporary of Bharatendu at Banaras. As a government official and a scholar he had been highly influential and he wrote and edited books which were taught in schools. For more details on Shiva Prasad see Vir Bharat Talwar, Rasakashi: Unninsin Sadi ka Navajaran aur Paschimottar Prant (Delhi: Saransh Prakashan, 2004).

\(^{256}\) Dhirendra Nath Singh, 1986, p. 255.

entire country. Keshav Chandra Sen had written in strong terms, in 1874, that for the sake of unity the entire nation should accept Hindi as the national language.\(^{258}\) Bhudev Mukherjee's contribution to the promotion of Hindi in Bihar is hailed in almost all Hindi historians' accounts. Bhudev Mukhopadhyay had given Rs. 1.5 lakh for the development of Hindi in Bihar. To praise Bhudev, Puttan Lal Sushil Kari a poet associated with Khadagvilas Press wrote a poem: "Hindi-Sanskrit ki unnati bahu prakar jin kini/ dedh lakh mudra yehi karan khash kosh te deeni. [He helped the process of the development of Hindi and Sanskrit in many ways. Towards this he donated one and half lakh rupees from his special fund.]" \(^{259}\)

These developments in Bihar had been appreciated by leading papers in the United Provinces. Hindi Pradip wrote in appreciation of the growth of Hindi and Nagari script in Bihar and it acknowledged the contribution of Government officials in making this happen: "Hindi ki bel badhati jati hai. ... hal mein apar gunadhar shriman Sir Ashley Eden saheb Bengal ke Governor General ne yavano ka mukh-mardan kar Bihar mein Hindi ko chirsthayini kar daiya. [Hindi is expanding day by day. Recently the Governor General of Bengal Sir Ashley Eden, the great soul, has humbled the Muslims and ensured Hindi's existence in Bihar permanent.]" \(^{260}\)

In Bihar, one should admit, the government enforced policies favouring Hindi and the Nagari or Kaithi script.\(^{261}\) In 1880 the Lt. Governor of Bengal, Sir Ashley Eden, ordered the exclusive use of Nagari (or Kaithi) script to be used in the larger areas of Bihar.\(^{262}\) The government intended that the Nagari and Kaithi scripts replace the Persian script in printed

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258 Sulabhb Samachar, 5 Chaitra, 1280 Bangabda (1874).


260 Hindi Pradip, October 1880.

261 Christopher R King, One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in the Nineteenth Century North India (Delhi: OUP, 1994), p. 117.

262 The Calcutta Gazette, 16 June 1880, p.503.
and handwritten documents respectively. By the 1870s and 1880s, Hindi in the Nagari or Kaithi script had achieved a commanding position in both education and officialdom in Bihar and the Nagari script had taken root before the end of the century.

Many distinguished people had given their support to Nagari. Balgovind Tiwari, the distinguished Vaidya, who was famous all over Bihar, was the President of Arrah Nagari Pracharini Sabha. Four names that are most revered in the annals of Hindi Movement in Bihar are George Grierson, Ramdeen Singh, Rupkalaji and Keshavram Bhatt.

A number of people in Bihar came forward to support Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras. Many Bihari names have been mentioned amongst the donors to the Sabha. Some of them were, Raja Kamalanand Singh of Purnea (Rs. 2000), Raja Sir Ravaneshwar Prasad Singh of Giddhaur, Maharaja Lakshmishwar Prasad Singh of Darbhanga, Kumar Taranand Singh, Kashi Prasad Jaiswal, and Ramkrishna Dalmia. Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh lent the weight of his personal influence in favour of Hindi. He announced the award of annual prizes in cash ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 for the best books in Hindi in different subjects.

Hindu landlords had backed the Hindi Movement in Bihar. The Bihar Landholders’ Association, the Bhagalpur Landholders’ Association and British Indian Association came forward to help. In response to the suggestion that Kaithi was less legible they suggested that Nagari script should be introduced in its place. The Muslim members of these associations

264 Christopher R King, 1994, pp. 88-89.
265 Ibid, p. 77.
266 Shivanandan Sahay, *Babu Saheb Prasad Singh ki Jivan* (Bankipore: Khadagvilas Press, 1907), page number is not clear in the bottle copy which is available at National Library, Calcutta.
269 Bengal General (Miscellaneous) A. Proceedings, April 1893, Nos.1-33.
favoured the introduction of Urdu as the court language.270

The Government of Bengal, acting on the advice of the British Indian Association and others, decided on 24 March 1893, to adopt Nagari in place of Kaithi as the script to be used for writing the vernacular language in the courts and offices in Bihar.271

We find plenty of evidence of the efforts made by the educated people to support Nagari for official use in Bihar. This movement began with democratic pretensions and the intelligentsia was trying to make use of a favourable situation created by Government’s policy of introducing vernacular language in the courts and the schools of Bihar. The role of Hindi intelligentsia is crucial for the ultimate success of Hindi movement in Bihar.

*The Support for Hindi and the Campaign Against Urdu*

*Bihar Bandhu* wrote: “This struggle between Urdu and Hindi seems to be like a game of dice, at which the latter has for the present proved victorious: the eventual throw has yet, however, to remain in uncertainty. Government should itself look closely into and examine the merits and demerits of both the languages.”272

It is already stated that Scholars like Vasudha Dalmia have suggested that the making of the Hindi Movement witnessed three processes—dichotomisation, standardisation and historicisation. The dichotomisation was the process of separation from Urdu, coupled with the claim of absolute autonomy for Hindi. In Bihar, side by side with the Hindi Movement the hate campaign against Urdu had started. Sometimes it was indirect and expressed in a subtle way.

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270 Ibid.
271 *Bengal General (Miscellaneous) A Proceedings, April 1893, Nos.1-33.*
272 *Bihar Bandhu, 12 July 1876.*
Hindi supporters tried to impress upon readers that the government was treating Urdu favourably. A Hindi magazine published from the United Provinces but widely-read in Bihar published a questionnaire and provided the answer which gives us an idea of what the writers believed in those days:

Q: **Swarga kya hai?**
A: *Vilayat* (England)

Q: **Mahapap ka phal kya hai?**
A: *Hindustan mein janma lene.*

Q: **Karam ka futa ha kaun?**
A: *Hindi.*

Q: **Nazneen kaun?**
A: *Biwi Urdu.* [Q: What is a paradise?]

Q: What is the punishment for committing ultimate sin?
A: To be born in India.

Q: Who is the most unfortunate?
A: Hindi.

Q: Who is the beloved?
A: Urdu.

Urdu bashing was a regular feature in Hindi magazines in the late nineteenth century.

Along with showing anguish that Hindi was being denied its due by the government, clubbing Muslims and Muslim history with Urdu was widespread. Radhacharan Goswami wrote in 1881 'Napit Stotrya', a satire, which contains these lines: “Hey Urdu ke mata pita! Hey Mahmood Gazanavi, Aurangzeb, Nadirshah and other destroyers of India’s parents! You are great!” In

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273 *Hindi Pradip*, September 1879.
this piece what is important is the bracketing all Muslim rulers as destroyers of India.\textsuperscript{274}

The first issue of \textit{Rasik Panch} carried these lines on the front page:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Hindi prachalit kyon nahi hoti? Ehte manushyon ki pukar hone per aur Nagari sampoorna gunakari swachha shuddha thaharene aur Aryan ki matribhasha hone per bhi kyon prachalit nahi hoti. \ldots Urdu gunabo ki nani videshi bhasha jahannumi akshar upar yeh maza likho aur padho choona o jootachor va badmas joru badamas, kora koora etyadi pratipanna hone per bhi Hindi kyon nahi hoti.} [Why Hindi is not propagated inspite of being acknowledged as clean, pure and the mother tongue of Aryans? Urdu is the mother of all evils, a foreign language laced with a devilish script which is written and pronounced awkwardly, differently. Hindi, inspite of being better equipped as a language is not getting introduced.]\textsuperscript{275}
\end{quote}

Newspapers published reports that sought to argue that Hindi was not only the language of the majority, the Hindus, but it was more scientific. All Hindus were called upon to consider the progress of Hindi as the progress of the nation and the closure of any Hindi paper within or outside Bihar was mourned as a sign of national decadence.

If there was any encouraging news like the declaration of a prize for writing a Hindi book, it was highlighted as a sign of progress. Apart from this some individual efforts were also encouraging the use of Hindi. Ayodhya Prasad Khatri\textsuperscript{276} had announced that any Pandit or Jajman who would perform the Satyanarayan Katha Path in \textit{Khariboli} would be given a prize of Rs. 10/- by Ayodhya Prasad himself after producing the evidence.\textsuperscript{277}


\textsuperscript{276}Ayodhya Prasad Khatri (1857-1905); leading Hindi litterateur and promoter of Hindi from Muzaffarpur; worked at Muzaffarpur; famous for his contributions for the promotion of \textit{khar boli} Hindi poetry.

\textsuperscript{277}Ayodhya Prasad Khatri, \textit{Smarak Grantha}, (Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad), 1960, p.311.
In memory of an Englishman Bailey Saheb, Chhotelat, Raja Ram Narayan Singh, the King of Khaire gave money for Monghyr's Bailey Poetry Prize Fund that gave prizes of Rs. 25 and Rs. 10 to two young poets every year. This news makes Hindi Pradip very happy. 278

Hindi supporters and writers always remained courteous while approaching the government but extolled readers extensively to write about Urdu in derogatory terms. In many reports Urdu was compared to a prostitute while Hindi was equated with an honourable lady of the house. This analogy sums up their approach to the issue. They tried to repeat this analogy time and again and in different ways to convey the feeling that Urdu was causing harm to Hindi, the symbol of the honour of the Hindus. To give an edge to the campaign they used to add that the sleeping Hindus were rising again and the government had started to listen to the just demands of Hindi and its supporters. Side by side attempts were made to put forward the case that Hindi was the most scientific and effective language. All kinds of support were mobilised from various quarters. The government, rajas, zamindars and well-wishers of Hindi were urged to come forward to support the 'national' cause, to support the Nagari script and Hindi.

Lal Bihari Upadhyay, a teacher of Muzaffarpur Normal School, had two reasons to prefer Hindi to Urdu. He found Urdu difficult to read as 'one thing is written and another is read leading to disputes. What one man writes, another cannot read.' 279 But, what was significant to him is that if Hindus were to use and adopt Urdu they would lose "all the good that might be derived from their own religious books which they are unable to read." 280

Many organisations for the promotion of Hindi in the United Provinces were very


279 Bihar Bandhu, 13 April 1875.

280 Ibid.
active in parts of Bihar. Of the most notable were Arrah Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Laheriaasari Hindi Sabha and Bhagalpur Hindi Sabha.\footnote{Pandit Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi's presidential address, Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Sonepur Session, 1919, in Lakshminarayan Sudhanshu, \textit{Bihar ki Sahityik Pragati} (Patna: Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 1956), p.7.}

Some Hindi libraries were also started. Arrah Nagari Pracharini Sabha Library, Laheriaasari's Library, Bhagalpur library, Bankipore's Chaitanya Hindi Library, Patna's Barah Mihir Library, Gaya's Mannulal Library etc. were some of the best known ones. The newspapers which were supportive of the Hindi Movement were \textit{Bihar Bandhu}, \textit{Champaran Chandrika}, \textit{Saran Saroj} (Chapra), \textit{Narad}, \textit{Khatri Hitaisi} (Patna), \textit{Bharat Ratna}, \textit{Harishchandra Kala}, \textit{Kshtriya Patrika}, \textit{Hindi Bihari}, \textit{Piyush Pravah} (Bhagalpur), \textit{Manoranjan} (Arrah) etc.\footnote{Ibid, pp7-8.} \textit{Bihar Bandhu} kept a close watch whether the new Hindi introduced was following the new Hindi style or not. The writers showed displeasure if the Urdu words were used and the style of writing followed what was considered Urdu style of writing. \textit{Bihar Bandhu} showed its happiness when the Gazette was printed in Hindi, but it did not fail to find any faults in its editing which was done by Raya Sohan Lal, Headmaster of Patna Normal School. It maintained “…being a Hindi Gazette the style does not do justice to the language; the characters no doubt are Nagari…(but) there are too many Urdu words used…the style should be thoroughly Hindi.” The paper gives many examples to prove its point. In the next issue, however, the editor made it a point to remind its readers to patronise the gazette and thereby help promote its circulation. The language of this gazette was criticised by a Banaras Hindi newspaper, which was cited by \textit{Bihar Bandhu} as a reason for a new adaptation of the gazette.\footnote{\textit{Bihar Bandhu}, 24 January, 3 February 1877.}

Any news or views that could be considered anti-Hindi were criticised by the paper. For example, when Mr. Croft, Inspector of Schools, visiting the Model School (Muzaffarpur)
remarked that “either students reading Hindi were more stupid than those studying Urdu, or that it occupies a far greater time in writing Hindi, it was therefore advisable to rescind the rule restricting Hindus to reading Hindi and Muslims Urdu”, *Bihar Bandhu* criticised it.\(^{284}\)

It was during this phase, largely due to the ongoing Hindi Movement in the United Provinces, that the Bihari Hindi intelligentsia developed a sense of solidarity with their counterparts in the UP. The editor of *Bihar Bandhu* showed his unhappiness and he disapproved of the Lieutenant General’s selection of the members of the School Committee, which consisted of three Bengalis and one Christian. He wrote: “…So that the interests of Bihar are left out of consideration. Had His Honour thought of poor Hindi he would have appointed someone knowing that language on the Committee. Since such is the state of affairs, why is not the education system of Bihar assimilated into that of the North West Provinces.”\(^{285}\)

While defending the cause of Hindi, its supporters were very critical of anything remotely favouring Urdu. Some even went to the extent of saying that “next to government officials the men who have done the greatest injury to the Hindi language are the missionaries…. They write in high-flown Urdu, they preach in Urdu, and their converts, mostly orphans of the lower classes, are taught Urdu.”\(^{286}\) Clearly a very unfair comment but it shows how aggressively some writers defended Hindi against Urdu.

The movement for Hindi was regularly bringing the Hindu-Muslim question to the forefront and that is obvious in the write-ups, which appeared in Hindi papers of Bihar. *Bihar Bandhu* wrote: “The Muslims…are famed for their attachment to their religion.”\(^{287}\) It wrote: “One should realise that now there is no Muslim rule in India; secondly, the population of

\(^{284}\) *Bihar Bandhu*, 25 May 1875.

\(^{285}\) *Bihar Bandhu*, 1 September 1875.


\(^{287}\) *Bihar Bandhu*, 10 October 1877
Muslims is less than that of Hindus; thirdly, most of the important offices of the British Government are controlled by Hindus; fourthly the number of educated people is higher amongst the Hindu; fifthly more court offices are under the Hindus; and sixthly in the education department Hindus hold better positions. Still, Hindi is denied its place.  

The newspapers of Bihar were on watch of any news that could be seen linked with Nagari cause. *Bihar Bandhu* learns from ‘a friend at Gaya’ that in addition to the amla placing obstacles in the path of the introduction of the Nagari script in the courts, the vakeels (pleaders) too, have followed in their wake. The paper gives a detailed account of the ways and means used by them to discourage the use of Nagari in the courts. The editor adds from his side that the situation was similar in Patna where the Bengali pleaders had become the ‘enemies of Nagari’ for fees. In Gaya however, some Kayasth pleaders were inclined to use Hindi. Generally, the Kayasths are not willing to promote Hindi. They were the enemies of Hindi.  

*Bihar Bandhu* requested the government to appoint a schoolbook committee for the preparation and selection of books in the manner recently done in Bengal. It observes on 1 January 1879 ‘that the excitement over the introduction of the Nagari character, which had risen high in 1875-76 has cooled down. The *Bihar Gazette*, from which we had hoped for some success in the cause of Nagari, is now published in Calcutta.” It suggests that the supporters had hoped that the government would introduce Nagari in government publications and would publish the Gazette from Patna. *Bihar Bandhu* observed “many are for Urdu still, considering that the question has been decided in favour of Hindi and that even the rising generation of Muslims prefer this language, a return to Urdu is not desirable.”  

There was an appeal to all Kayasths to come forward to support those Hindi

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288 *Bihar Bandhu*, 30 January 1878.

289 This is how it was reported in *Hindi Pradip*, Allahabad, April 1879.

290 *Bihar Bandhu*, 11 September 1878.
newspapers, which were supporting the cause of Hindi. Babu Hazari Prasad of Hazaribagh appeals to all Kayasth brothers:

"Hey Kayasth Bhaiyon aap log padhe likhe hokar murkhata ka jama pahne ho...dekho hum sabon ki matribhasha ka ekmatra pradhan anga Sara Sudha Nidhi keval aap logon ke aadar na dene ke karan band ho gya aur ab Hindi Pradip ka dam bhi ghut raha hai. [The Kayasth brothers must respond to their duties by supporting their mother tongue. Sar Sudha Nidhi closed its publication and now Hindi Pradip is facing the prospect of closure]" 291

This kind of solidarity is obvious in the Hindi newspapers. Hindi Pradip believed that "we, the people of North Western Provinces should be thankful to the benevolent government for preferring Bengali over Persian in Bengal and fulfilling the wishes of the state of Bengal by preferring Hindi to Urdu". 292 The paper condemned "all those Hindus who do not work for Hindi". It was particularly severe in its criticism of the Kayasths for their love for Urdu:

"Kayasth Varna Hindi ki unnati ka nam hi sun nak bhon sikorne lagate hain mano Hindi unki sauteli ma hai aur ye hi log...matribhasha Hindi ke param shatra hain khashkar is Bihar prant ke Kayasth jo Urdu ko matribhasha aur apne jivan ka sarwaswa man baithe hain. Na jane Ishwar se kyon yeh bhool ban pari ki unka aisa saubhagya hua jo Hindu ke ghar janme. Is pranta mein yehi ek jati hai jo kachahariyon mein Hindu bona nabin chabate. Kyon chabenge Hindi ka nam tak nabin jante na Urdu ka sa maza inhe mil sakta hai. Urdu utth jai to government ko andha banay swadeshi bhaiyon ka gala retne ke subhita kaise mile hai bai aisi moodhta. [The Kayasths are against the introduction of Hindi, as they do not want to lose the

291 Hindi Pradip March 1880.
292 Hindi Pradip August 1880.
opportunity of exploiting their own countrymen. They are the biggest obstacles to the cause of Hindi in the province of Bihar.”

The success of the Hindi Movement can be reflected in the creation of the view that Hindi is for the Hindus and Urdu is for the Muslims. The Headmaster of Raj H.E. School, Darbhanga’s wrote to the Assistant Manager, Raj Darbhanga, on 7 December 1900 asking this question: “If any Muslim boys be willing to take Hindi as their second language, should they be allowed to continue in the school?” This sums up the situation how Hindi Movement had won the battle against Urdu in Bihar.

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293 Ibid.