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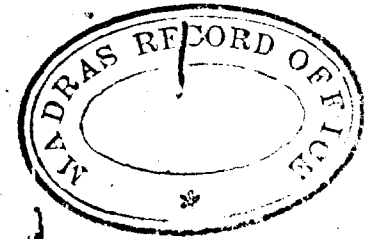
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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXXIX.

July 1909.

No man who hath tested learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contained with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

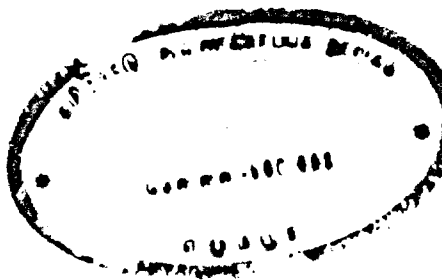
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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 257.—JULY 1909.

Art. I.—THE QUARTER.

IN describing the history of the quarter it may be summed up in one sentence as "the calm after the storm." Except for a solitary instance here and there in Bengal, the quarter was noted for the quietness which characterised the political life in Bengal, and which quietness was reflected in other Provinces of the Indian Empire. There is no doubt that the Reforms foreshadowed by Lords Morley and Minto have acted like soothing balm on the fiercer and younger spirits in Bengal and elsewhere, and whatever opinions there might be regarding the wisdom of enlarged Councils to the native of India (and in such matters it is always a case of *tot homines quot sententiæ*) there is no doubt the Reforms are appreciated among the educated classes in the country.

Not for many years has Calcutta been visited with such a dire epidemic of small-pox which attained its height during the quarter under review. Not a single ward in the city was

The Hush.

Sickness Abroad.

exempt from the disease, which claimed victims from every community in our midst. The Campbell Hospital was unable to provide the necessary accommodation, and during the worst portion of the epidemic a special temporary hospital had to be erected and equipped for those who could not obtain admission into the Campbell Institution. Fortunately, the closing days of the quarter witnessed a diminution in the disease, but not before it had caused havoc in the more congested portions of the town, which it is to be hoped will be improved before any similar visitation should come upon us and find the city in a condition favourable for the rapid spread of the disease through its more crowded parts.

The prediction of an early Monsoon this year has been realized, the Monsoon bursting nearly a fortnight before its appointed time. Whether it is an unmixed blessing remains to be seen, for, if the rains should hold off, owing to their early commencement, before the fullness of time should have been spent, we shall again have the spectre of famine with all its concomitant miseries in this unhappy country. As it is the early rains would seem, while to some minimising the outbreak of small-pox, to have increased the plague returns which rose considerably during the latter part of the quarter in the more congested portions of the town.

The history of the quarter has been marred not only by sickness, which has prevailed to such a considerable extent in the capital and other parts of the country, but also by the unprecedented number of accidents which have occurred on our different railway systems, the two standing out as the most serious being the terrible collision which occurred at Doiwala on the Oudh and Rohilkhund

Railway late in May, resulting in loss of life, and more recently that which occurred near Ennur, about fifteen miles from Madras, in which a number of carriages of the Calcutta Mail mysteriously parted from their engine and fell over a steep embankment, resulting in the loss of nineteen people killed and several wounded. The casualties were confined principally to Indians, only one European succumbing to injuries received. The accident occurred soon after the Ennur bridge had been crossed, otherwise the result would have been terrible to contemplate.

The Ennur tragedy occurred on the Madras and Southern Mahratta system, on which a strike is still occurring among the drivers on the line, who aver they have just grievances which the Agent on the other hand contends that if they really did exist, they should have been represented in a constitutional way. A deadlock therefore occurred in the relations between the Agent and the drivers with the result that in spite of the requisition of outside hands the working of the Railway has not returned to normal conditions. It is to be hoped that with the dawn of a new quarter some *modus vivendi* will be arrived at to restore the old order of things, for the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway embraces a large number of important connections and any dislocation of traffic is a source of much inconvenience to a large section of the travelling public, not to speak of the loss caused through delay to merchants in different parts of India who are dependent on the line for the carriage of goods.

We have already referred to the hush which prevailed earlier in the quarter, but as we go to press we already hear, we fear

Double Murder.

An Early Monsoon.

Railway Disasters.

the "rustling of the trees," as Lord Curzon so eloquently put it in one of his most recent perorations. The anarchists have suddenly changed their ground and ere the curtain has had time to be rung down on the quarter, the terrible news has been cabled to us of a double murder in London committed by an Indian student, in which two valuable lives have been sacrificed; those of Colonel Sir Curzon-Wyllie, Political Private Secretary to Lord Morley, and Dr. Lalcaca, a distinguished Parsee Physician, practising at Shanghai, who was in London on furlough. The dastardly crime took place at the close of a brilliant "At Home" at the Imperial Institute. We are told by one who witnessed the assassination that the murderer smilingly engaged Sir William Curzon-Wyllie in conversation and then suddenly drew a revolver and fired five successive shots full in his face. The sixth shot struck Dr. Lalcaca accidentally, killing him also. Those who were cherishing the hope that the anarchical movement had died out have received a rude shock, and it is to be feared that troublesome times are before us.

The closing days of the quarter were made notable by the capture of India House by the London Police who have taken occupation of this den of iniquity. Numerous incriminating documents including a large amount of seditious literature was found which should serve as a clue to the arrest of those connected with the Anarchist plot. Steps have also been taken to bring the notorious Krishna Varma, the Arch-Seditionist, who is living in Paris, to justice, and we have no doubt the authorities in France will lend every assistance to render this easy of accomplishment. The capture of India House, the *Indian Sociologist* and Krishna Varma himself should

go a long way to stamp out the seditious movement. Meanwhile ugly revelations have come to light, showing the extent of the movement and the necessity there is of keeping a large number of Indian students under *surveillance*.

We congratulate those who have been the recipients of honour at the hands of His Majesty the King-Emperor. On such occasions it is said comparisons are odious, but we feel sure we are only voicing the sentiments of all classes of the community when we say that no honour to one of His Majesty's subjects has been more popularly received or more richly deserved than the Knighthood conferred on the Vice-President of the Calcutta Port Trust. Sir Frederick Dumayne's name is closely associated with the great developments which have marked the recent improvement in the Port, and which has permitted it to attract so large a percentage of the trade in spite of the physical disadvantages it labours under. The results of Sir Frederick Dumayne's foresight and grit in dealing with a difficult situation have already, as we have pointed out, borne fruit, but the full benefits of his labours will be more appreciated in the fullness of time when some of the works which are still in progress shall have been completed.

The news which has come from time to time from Afghanistan shows that there has been some trouble in the Amir's dominions, including, it will appear, a plot against the Amir himself, but the reports have been so conflicting that it is difficult to surmise the real position of affairs. The following, however, may be taken as a fairly creditable report of the condition of affairs in Kabul:—

It is quite futile to conceal the fact that a wave

of anti-British feeling has been sweeping over Kabul since last year, and His Majesty has had to exercise all his influence to keep the movement under control and ensure the safety of the few Europeans in his territories. Strange as it may seem some Afghan politicians are decidedly of opinion that the recent conspiracy against the Amir was the result of what they call British machination. They insist that it was intended to create disturbances in Afghanistan and thus pave the way for British interference and compel the Amir to sign the Anglo-Russian Convention. It is alleged at Kabul that meetings of conspirators were held almost every evening in the Habibiyah University building, and that certain Indian gentlemen were amongst them. It is a fact that more than usually large numbers of Afghan officials and gentry used to assemble in the building just a month or so before the alleged plot was said to have been unearthed, and it is stated that the Indian Director of Public Instruction used to invite officials of influence in Afghanistan there in order to win their support to the cause of modern education. This extremely laudable and innocent action, however, appears to have been misconstrued by the Kabulis, who refused to accept such an explanation. It appears from details given of the conspiracy that one of the conspirators betrayed his associates and laid the whole of the information before Habiullah. The Amir, however, did not swerve in the slightest degree from his usual custom and declined to believe in the allegations until proof positive was forthcoming. Thereupon an alleged copy of the Koran was unearthed, which bore the seals and signatures of about a hundred Afghans and five Indians. It is alleged, further, that upon this peremptory orders were issued for

the arrest of all the signatories at Kabul and Jelalabad, and that some eight or nine men altogether were instantaneously blown from guns or shot. Then began the investigation which is still dragging along, but it appears that the Amir came early to the conclusion that the affair was not so serious as had been first represented; that there had been some talk of compelling His Majesty to convoke a Parliament, surrender some of his arbitrary powers, and nothing more, and as the most influential ringleaders had been despatched, it was decided to try the other alleged conspirators in the usual dilatory manner. Some fierce spirits among the Afghans, however, refused to be appeased until one or two at least of the arrested Indians were imprisoned. It would seem, therefore, that the repeated reports about the release of the Indians who have been interned are not quite correct.

As we close our Review for the quarter we faintly would wish we could have said that
 Finale. the foul murder of Sir Curzon-

Wyllie, as the London Police averred, was the result of a personal grievance; but the statement made by the prisoner in Court in London shows that such was not the case. Madan Lal Dhingra, intoxicated by the sayings and writings of Krishna Varma and others of that ilk, poses as a patriot of his country and has developed such a state of mind that he sees no wrong in murders, and so we fear that his act is but part of the conspiracy which has been going on to overthrow the British Government in India.

Sir E. N. Baker, the Lieutenant-Governor, made a stirring speech as President of the
 The Warning. Bengal Legislative Council recently

on Anarchy. He pointed out that the time for talk had passed, and his concluding words, which we reproduce below, will, we hope, act as a warning in time and be taken to heart ere it is too late. He said:—"The time has come for action. It would be well if all those now present, and also all the greater audience outside, were to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the forcible pronouncement which was made on this subject a few days ago by Mr. Gokhale at Poona. He has laid down with perfect clearness the lines on which the people of India must act, if they desire to put a peremptory end to these ill-aimed atrocities whose only consequence must be the holding back of the national advancement of the country. They must not be content merely to talk. They must organise an active and universal campaign of co-operation with the Government. Parents and guardians must act. Those who hold the conduct of education in their hands must act. Above all, the student community itself must act. These three classes comprehend between them the power of the present and the control of the coming generation. If they will act, and act together, they will wipe out, as with a sponge, all traces of that mischievous movement which might almost be classed with comic opera if it were not on occasion homicidal. But if they fail to use the peaceful weapon that lies ready to their hands, if they abdicate their authority in favour of a handful of young men of immature age, of imperfect or non-existent education and of undisciplined emotions, they may rest assured the solution will come nonetheless, but it will be neither painless nor peaceful, and that in the application of the remedy there will be little room for nice discrimination between the innocent and the guilty."

Art. II.—THE GEETA OR THE HINDU BIBLE.

THE Bhagavat Geeta may not inaptly be called the Hindu Bible as it contains philosophical and ethical precepts and principles equal in importance and value to the precepts of Jesus Christ. It is a treatise on theology communicated by Krishna to his friend and pupil Arjuna during a short suspension of the engagement between the Pandava and Kuru armies. In point of poetical conception there is something peculiarly striking and magnificent in the introduction of this solemn discussion in the nature of the God-head and the destiny of man. According to Monier Williams, the Bhagavat Geeta lies in the Mahabharata like a pearl contributing with other numerous episodes to the tessellated character of that immense epic. The principal points discussed in the Geeta relate to the relations between soul and God, the universe and God, the properties of Nature and soul, the nature of the future existence, the nature of the steps—knowledge, work and faith—by which *yoga* or union of soul with God can be secured and the moral responsibility of man, etc.

THE RELATION BETWEEN SOUL AND GOD.

O Arjuna, elevate yourself, by concentrated faith, to the Supreme Being who pervades the universe and in whom all Nature is included.—*Chap. viii., v. 22.*

Purusha is that superior being who is called Moheshwara, the great God, the most high spirit, who in this body is the observer, the director, the protector, the partaker.—*Chap. xiii., v. 22.*

Since God is distinct from senseless matter (which is liable to destruction) and is superior to the human

soul, He is called Purushottama, the Supreme Being, not only in this world, but in the Vedas.—*Chap. xv., v. 18.*

The same view is expressed in the Upanishads.

Two beautiful birds rest on the same tree. They are mutual friends. One of them enjoys the fruit of good actions, the other fasts and is a mere spectator.—*Mundaka, Chap. i., v. 1.*

Ongkar is like a bow, the soul is like an arrow, and Brahma is the aim. Attain the Supreme Being even as an arrow reaches the object aimed at.—*Mundaka, Chap. ii., v. 8.*

The relation of soul to God has been likened to that of salt and water. As salt dissolves itself in water, the soul in its state of salvation becomes one with God.

THE RELATION BETWEEN GOD AND THE UNIVERSE.

According to the *Geeta*, the universe though distinct from God has been created by Him and rests in Him.

O Arjuna, know that God is the eternal seed of all Nature.—*Chap. vii., v. 10.*

There is nothing greater than God; and all things hang on Him even as precious gems upon a string.—*Chap. vii., v. 7.*

Understand that all things rest in God, as the mighty air passing everywhere rests for ever in the etherial space.—*Chap. ix., v. 6.*

According to the *Geeta*, God is not only the Creator but the Regulator of the universe. The action of nature is regulated by divine laws. Nature is handmaid to God, acting as it were under orders. By God's supervision Nature produces both the moveable and the immoveable. It is from this source that the universe is born.—*Chap. ix., v. 10.*

THE PROPERTIES OF NATURE AND SOUL.

Sri Krishna in one place has said that nothing is superior to God, but adopting the doctrine of the Sankhya Philosophy, has pronounced both Nature and Soul as eternal.—*Chap. xiii., v. 19.* If, according to the *Geeta*, Nature and Soul are eternal, then they stand on the same footing with God, that is to say, become co-eternal with Him. In that case God cannot be superior to matter; in other words, the universe resolves itself into an evolution of matter. How to reconcile this inconsistency? In order to understand the Hindu Shastras the apparently contradictory opinions must be reconciled by taking a comprehensive view of the provisions as a whole and not in parts. Thus in *chapter vii, verses 4 and 5*, we find the following exposition of the matter:—The divine principle is divided into eight elements: earth, water, fire, air and ether, together with mind, understanding and self-consciousness. But besides this, know that God has another superior principle distinct from this, which is of a vital nature supporting this world. Here the origin of Nature and soul is traced to God. When it is said that Nature and soul are eternal it must be understood that they have no ultimate source or origin. They emanate from the divine essence.

THE FUTURE EXISTENCE.

The *Geeta* lays down doctrines as to the existence of a previous and a future world, but it does not seem to inculcate that human souls animate the bodies of inferior animals. Man is born with the privilege to know God; how can he be born as a beast deprived of such privilege? A man, however depraved he may be, knows when he does anything wrong. When

he has the faculty of judging of what is right and wrong, how can he be degraded to the rank of brutes devoid of conscience?

As the soul in this mortal frame finds infancy, youth and old age, so in some future existence will it find the same.—*Chap. ii., v. 13.*

As men put on new clothes, putting off the old, so the soul inhabits a new body quitting the old.—*Chap. ii., v. 22.*

The observers of the Vedic ordinances, after enjoying great heavenly bliss, are born in this world after the stock of their virtues is exhausted. This process of going to and fro (death and re-birth) continues so long as they are under the influence of desires.—*Chap. ix., v. 21.*

There are differences of opinion on the transmigration of souls. The best course for us should be to rise above the pretensions of hostile sects, and without being terrified by the fear of future punishment or allured by the hope of future happiness, we should be content with such practical religion as consists in performing the duties of life; and uncontrolled by the dogmas of any particular creed we should strive to make the soul retire inward upon itself and by the efforts of its own contemplation admire the ineffable grandeur of the Being of beings, the Supreme Cause of all created things.

STEPS BY WHICH YOGA OR UNION WITH GOD CAN BE SECURED.

Knowledge. The soul cannot be pierced by weapons, burned by fire, dissolved by water, or dried up by air.—*Chap. ii., v. 23.*

The soul alone endures pain and pleasure.—*Chap. xiii., v. 20.*

So in the Upanishads. It is the enlightened soul that sees, touches, hears, smells, tastes, feels and acts.

It has been shown that the soul and the universe reside in the Supreme Being. When I know that my soul resides in God, I know also that the souls of others reside in Him. As I know I have a soul, so from the fact of seeing and hearing I know that there is something in me which sees and hears. I draw similar inferences with respect to the souls of others. As I know that all souls reside in God so I know that all senseless matter resides also in the Supreme Being. Thus the knowledge of soul is the foundation of all knowledge relating to God and the universe. This is the sublimest of all truths. Like Des Cartes, Vyasa Deb deduces in the Geeta the knowledge of God from a knowledge of the soul.

The Cartesian theory may be summed up thus:—

Nothing is certain but thought; nor are there any truths except those which follow from the operation of our own conscience. We have no knowledge of our soul except as a thinking substance, and it were easier for us to believe that the soul should cease to exist than that it should cease to think. As to man himself, what is he but the incarnation of thought? For that which constitutes the man is not his bones nor his flesh nor his blood. These are the accidents, the incumbrances, the impediments of his nature. But the man himself is the thought. The invisible I, the ultimate fact of existence, the mystery of life, is this: I am a thing that thinks. This therefore is the beginning, the basis of our knowledge. The thought of each man is the last element to which analysis can carry us; it is the

Supreme Judge of everything, it is the starting point of all wisdom. Taking our stand on this ground we rise to the perception of the existence of the Deity. For our belief in His existence is an irrefragable proof that He exists. Otherwise whence does this belief arise? Since nothing can come out of nothing, and since no effect can be without a cause, it follows that the idea we have of God must have an origin and this origin, whatever name we give it, is no other than God. Thus the ultimate proof of His existence is our idea of it. Instead therefore of saying that we know ourselves because we believe in God, we should rather say that we believe in God because we know ourselves. This is the order and precedence of things. The thought of each man is sufficient to prove his existence, and it is the only proof we can ever possess. Such therefore is the supremacy and dignity of the human intellect that even this highest of all matters flows from it as from its sole source. So that self-knowledge is the first step towards the attainment of true knowledge. The next step of *Jnana yoga* is equanimity of mind. The wise man is pleased with whatever he may, by chance, obtain, enduring heat and cold, devoid of malice, the same in prosperity and adversity, and is not subject to the bondage of this world though acting his part therein.—*Chap. iv., v. 23.*

Knowledge is superior to sacrificial offerings. Everything is perfected by knowledge.—*Chap. iv., v. 33.*

There is nothing so sacred on earth as knowledge; that is, purifies man so much as knowledge. The man perfected by *yoga*, learns it within himself in time.—*Chap. iv., v. 38.*

Having due regard for precepts and through diligent application and self-restraint, one acquires knowledge

which soon leads to the attainment of beatitude.—*Chap. iv., v. 39.*

As the tortoise can draw in his limbs, so when the yogee can exercise command over his passions so as to easily restrain them from their objects, his wisdom is confirmed.—*Chap. ii., v. 58.*

Work. Man does not attain freedom from action by not performing action. By asceticism also he does not attain to final emancipation.—*Chap. iii., v. 4.*

The proper course is to perform our duties leaving the consequences in the hands of God. The Geeta inculcates the golden rule; virtue is its own reward. He is the real *sannyasi* and yogee who performs his duties without any hope of reward. Doing wrong without regard to consequences is certainly reprehensible.

The objects of senses draw back from an abstinent person, but not so his passions; but the passions fly from him who has seen the Supreme Being.—*Chap. ii., v. 59.*

The injunctions of Manu are also to the same effect.

Attain your all-desired end by subduing the mind and the senses so that the body may not be enfeebled.—*Manu, Chap. ii., v. 100.*

It is not advisable to enfeeble the body by fasting and mortification of the passions. If such austerities produce a negative result by disabling one from the commission of sins, they at the same time prove obstacles to positive virtue. The principal use of the senses and faculties of the mind is to promote the progress of the soul in knowledge and virtue. Those

who instead of putting a proper check on the passions so that they may perform their legitimate functions try to destroy them altogether are certainly not wise.

Those who through indiscretion cause the outward and inward functions of the body to deteriorate must certainly be set down as of demoniac nature.—*Chap. xvii., v. 6.*

On the other hand, intemperance or indulgence should be avoided. The best course is to observe the golden mean between austerity and intemperance.

Neither surfeit nor fasting, too much sleep or utter absence of it, is favourable to the practice of *yoga*.—*Chap. vi., v. 16.*

The harmony and free development of life can only be attained by exercising its principal functions boldly and without fear. These functions are of two kinds; one set of them increasing the happiness of the mind, the other set that of the body. For every enjoyment by which no man is injured is innocent, and every innocent enjoyment is praiseworthy because it assists in diffusing the spirit of interest and satisfaction which is favourable to the practice of benevolence towards others.

Faith. The third step of *yoga* is faith. When the heart is purified by the performance of our duties and when a knowledge of our soul and of God is attained, faith spontaneously springs up in the mind. When we realise the relationship of father and son in God and ourselves we cannot fail to revere and admire Him and love our fellow creatures as brothers. Mere dry knowledge and unfeeling action without faith may lead to hardness of heart incompatible with that lowliness, benevolence

and piety which spring from faith. A harmonious observance of the three processes—knowledge, work and faith—is indispensably necessary for attaining success in *yoga* or devotion.

They alone are principal *yogees* who are devoted to God praying to Him with reverence.—*Chap. vii., v. 2.*

And prayer consists in loving God and doing His will.

God forthwith delivers those from the terror of this world of mortality who are devoted to Him and who leave all consequences of their acts in His hands, who contemplate and pray to Him with concentrated reverence.—*Chap. xii., vs. 6, 7.*

THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITY OF MAN.

Sin is an obstacle to *yoga*. Is it God that makes us commit sins or do we commit them of our own free will? There cannot be any doubt that we are the masters of our own actions whether sinful or virtuous. God gives us moral force to follow the paths of righteousness and resist temptations to vice. But it is inconsistent with Divine nature to corrupt mankind by wicked thoughts or evil influences. We cannot conceive the all merciful Father to be so cruel as to punish us for our sins, having himself incited us to them. Man himself is liable for his sins and reaps the fruit of his virtue. Men commit sins through the influence of lust and anger. This lust is an obstacle to salvation, being strong and insatiable.—*Chap. iii., v. 37.*

You should therefore first subdue your passions and get the better of this sinful destroyer of wisdom and knowledge.—*Chap. iii., v. 41.*

These extracts clearly show that the *Geeta* holds man responsible for his sins. The following *sloka* may

give rise to a different view, but a right reading of what follows and precedes it, reconciles this apparent inconsistency.

All propensities; good or evil, proceed from God. They are dependent on him, but he is not subject to them.—*Chap. vii., v. 12.*

But the 15th verse in the same chapter clearly lays down that delusion (*maya*) is the source of all ignorance and moral turpitude. They alone do not pray to and revere God who are sinful, ignorant and mean-minded, who have lost their wisdom through delusion (*maya*) and who are ungodly.—*Chap. vii., v. 15.*

God resides in the breast of every moral being, revolving with His supernatural power all things which are mounted on the universal wheel of time.—*Chap. xviii., v. 61.*

God does not influence us viciously, but uses us as instruments for the fulfilment of His good design. It requires purity of heart to know what is agreeable to Him.

THE NATURE OF PRAYER OR DIVINE SERVICE

PRESCRIBED IN THE GEETA.

Whatever may be the mode in which men pray to God, He serves them according to it.—*Chap. iv., v. 11.*

Thus the view of religion inculcated in the Geeta is not narrow or sectarian, but broad and Catholic. Those who pray with reverence to other gods in fact pray to God though irregularly.—*Chap. ix., v. 23.*

The Geeta lays much stress on the practice of morality as a means of securing the special favour of God and thereby attaining salvation.

One who bears malice to nobody, is friendly and kind towards all, exempt from pride and selfishness,

who is the same in prosperity and adversity, always cheerful, forbearing, constantly devout, self-restrained, and has a firm faith in God devoting his mind and wisdom to His service, is His favourite.—*Chap. xii., vv. 13, 14.*

According to Manu the ten essential features of virtue (*dharma*) are—patience, forgiveness, self-control, absence of cupidity, purity, subjection of the senses or passions wisdom, learning, truthfulness, equanimity or want of irritability.

Religion may be considered under two general heads: the first comprehends what we are to believe, the other what we are to practice for the regulation of our conduct and the discharge of our duties. The one is the province of faith, the other of morality. Faith seems to draw its principal, if not all its excellence, from the influence it has upon morality, and no article of faith can be true and authentic that weakens or subverts morality, which is the practical part of religion.

Religious rites and ceremonies are intended to produce moral results—to form an excellent moral character by purifying the heart. It cannot be said that purity of heart can be attained only by minute and punctilious observance of such rites and ceremonies and by no other means. Such being the case, want of uniformity in their observance is not of any practical moment. Moral efficacy is the true test of their usefulness, and if that is secured otherwise, religious antipathy or persecution based upon such want of uniformity is highly unjustifiable. Proselytising zeal to be of any value should be directed to make converts to ideas of sound morality which are invariable, and not to those of religious or customary formalities which are variable. Besides rites serve only to smother living

piety beneath mechanical forms. The moral standard being common to all forms of faith, can easily reconcile all differences in them and meet with little or no opposition.

WHAT IS RATIONAL HAPPINESS ACCORDING TO THE
GEETA.

Happiness has been divided into three classes as it is founded upon true knowledge or wisdom, covetousness or lust and ignorance or delusion. There are three qualities arising from nature; Satwa, truth; Rajas, passion; and Tamas, darkness; and each of them confines the incorruptible spirit in the body.—*Chap. xiv., v. 5.*

From the rational attribute (satwa guna) arises wisdom, from the carnal attribute (raja guna) covetousness or lust, and from the delusive attribute (tama guna) error, delusion and ignorance.—*Chap. xiv., v. 17.*

That is rational happiness which flows from habit, puts an end to miseries, proceeds from self-knowledge and though at first is bitter like poison, proves in the long run to be as sweet as nectar.—*Chap. xviii., vv. 36, 37.*

K. C. KANJILAL, B.L.

Art. III.—MISS MARY CARPENTER'S FIRST VISIT IN
CALCUTTA.

“MY first grand object,” wrote Miss Mary Carpenter on returning from her visit, “was to give to our fellow subjects in that great empire a token of true sympathy with them, and interest in their welfare; I believed that they may thus be assured, that not one, but many of England's daughters—especially those who have, like myself, had their love for the children of the same Father strengthened by long years of trial and discipline—have a deep and true feeling for their race, which they only desire an opportunity of testifying.” With this object in view Miss Carpenter started to visit India, the land of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. She sought to extend her knowledge of India, by enquiring into her special social wants and into the condition of prison discipline, and to promote the education of the masses, and of women, and the morals of juvenile offenders. Before reaching Calcutta she visited Bombay, Surat, Poona, Ahmedabad and Madras. She arrived in Calcutta on 20th November 1866 from Madras per S. S. *Erymantle* and was a guest of Dr. Chuckerbutty at 7/3, Chowringhee Road. Her presence in Calcutta served to evoke a deep feeling of enthusiasm for social reform both among Englishmen and the Hindus. All the educated Bengalis flocked to greet her. She learned the real state of the country from them. Her plans met with cordial approval from the educated classes of the community. The work she desired to accomplish was one of the most important that could possibly be undertaken in the interests of the country. How she was helped by the Bengalis may be judged by

the opinions of two distinguished men which she afterwards published in her "Six Months in India":—

The following expression of opinions, inscribed in my book, is a brief but true record of what was, frequently and strongly expressed to me by many.

"Your visit to this country, at a time when your valuable services are most needed here, seems to me to be Providential, and I heartily thank God for it. The Hindu female mind is just awakening from the death-like sleep, of ages, and has already shown in many quarters remarkable eagerness to receive the blessings of enlightenment. The means hitherto employed to promote native female education do not appear to me to meet all existing wants, and are not likely to achieve a desirable amount of success. The one thing needed is a Normal School for training up governesses for girls' schools and also for the *zenana*. I feel highly gratified, therefore, that you have at once directed your attention and energies towards the removal of this want. May God bless your efforts, and may you become an humble instrument in His hands for promoting the true welfare—intellectual, social and moral—of my unfortunate country women."

KESHUB CHANDRA SEN.

CALCUTTA,

21st December 1866.

"To promote female education in Bengal we must have *good* books and *good* teachers. The idea of educating females by Pundits must be abandoned. I cordially subscribe to Miss Mary Carpenter's sentiment that trained females must educate the females, and I should say that any education of a superficial nature is of little use—it is the *soul* which must be educated and elevated."

PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

CALCUTTA,

21st December 1866.

Miss Carpenter visited the Bethune School on the 29th November. Pundit Issur Chandra Vidyasagar, then Secretary to the School, showed her all the classes.

What struck her most was the absence of *female* teachers in the school. She proposed a scheme for diffusing female education in the *zenana* as well as in the school through the agency of peripatetic Hindu matrons well qualified for the onerous task.

A meeting was held on the 1st December in the Library of the Brahmo Samaj, in order to take into consideration the plan proposed by Miss Carpenter for establishing Normal Schools, where women may be thoroughly trained for the work of female education. The Chair was taken by Babu Peary Chand Mittra. Miss Carpenter proceeded to explain her scheme. She proposed that Government should establish a boarding institution, with two distinct departments, one for the Europeans and another for the Hindus. The inmates of each should be allowed to adopt their peculiar national or caste customs. An accomplished English lady must superintend the general working of the institution. The education and training should be conducted by a trained female teacher thoroughly conversant with all new educational methods of instruction. Both the English language and the Vernacular should be learnt by all the inmates of the institution, and a portion of each day should be spent in the actual teaching of children in some of the neighbouring schools. She hoped that by these arrangements great defects in the present *female* schools superintended by *male* teachers might be somewhat diminished, and that gradually female teachers would be prepared for the schools. No interference must be allowed with the religious sentiments of either teachers or scholars; both must be protected, and the religious feelings of Europeans must be regarded as well as those of Hindus. In concluding, she urged those Bengali gentlemen who were interested in female education

to co-operate with her, and to communicate with the Government, who were quite prepared to give them a favourable hearing. Several speakers followed, and a Committee consisting of Pundit Issur Chunder Vidyasagar, Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, Barrister-at-Law, Babus Keshub Chandra Sen, Dwijendra Nath Tagore and Peary Chand Mittra was formed to address the Government on the subject.

With reference to the proceedings of this meeting the *Indian Daily News* remarked thus:—On this occasion was presented the singular and not uninteresting spectacle of a venerable and benevolent English lady addressing in her native tongue an audience of Hindus, and receiving from them answers expressed in the purest English. To a person new to this country, it must be a matter for astonishment how successfully the educated natives contrive to master a foreign idiom and accent such as ours. A Frenchman or German may reside in England for a lifetime, yet it is most probable that immediately he begins to talk, his speech will betray him; whereas, the Bengali, whose intercourse with Englishmen is only occasional, will speak for an hour together with the purest accent, and in many cases quite idiomatically.

The Committee petitioned the Government on the subject. Miss Carpenter went on agitating, submitting a memorial to the Secretary of State in England until the Government was obliged to pass a resolution calling upon the Local Governments to help Miss Carpenter in giving effect to such an excellent proposal. An adult class was opened in connection with the Bethune Girls' School as a result of her efforts.

On the subject of prison discipline she had a vigilant eye. Visits to the jail formed an important part of her

programme at each place of her sojourn. She visited the Alipur Jail, and submitted a memorial to the Government stating that "education should be daily given by competent Native teachers with moral instructions."

Miss Carpenter was requested to give an address on female education, dwelling on the subject of the treatment of criminal children. Being, however, urged to give her views on a subject, which was indeed her life work, she delivered an address on the 11th December on "The Reformatory School System, and its Influence on Female Criminals" at a special meeting of the Bethune Society. The Hon'ble J. B. Phear took the Chair and there was a fair attendance of Indian and European members. Her mission was, after a few years, so told Miss Carpenter, rewarded with success, and the Legislature passed an Act in 1854 for the better care and reformation of youthful offenders in Great Britain. By this Act, when any person under 16 years of age is convicted of any offence punishable by law, in addition to the sentence passed as a punishment for the offence, he might be sent, at the expiry of the sentence, to some one of the Reformatory Schools, and there detained for not less than two nor more than five years, provided his sentence is not less than fourteen days' imprisonment. "In educating the young," she concluded, "a good wholesome moral influence must be ever at work, so as to secure that healthy habit and tone of mind, without which there can be no well-being in life. No lessons, however good, can produce any benefit unless their constraining influence keep up the effect of them; unless the pupils are placed under those who are loving and good. All depends on the teacher, and I can myself testify that all my exertions would have been useless if the teachers had not thrown themselves heart and soul into the work,

and if they had not been gifted with right moral principles. Several Hindu gentlemen have visited my Reformatory at the Red House. I may mention specially Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose and Mr. Ram Chandra Balkrishna, the latter of whom came purposely from London to Bristol to see it. Every Hindu who had been there has gone away most favourably impressed with the results obtained. If such an influence, they say, can be produced on coarse and vicious natures, what will be the results when such a system is carried out among Hindu girls, gentle and loving, and who have not the bad principles which were found in these young women."

The other speakers in the meeting were Rev. Messrs. Long and Bannerjee, Kishore Chandra Mitra, etc.

Miss Carpenter then petitioned the Viceroy for the formation of a Reformatory School where juvenile criminals might be sent, and Industrial Schools to which young vagrants and others in a state of proclivity to crime, could be committed to enable them to learn to gain an honest livelihood.

The absence of a Society on the model of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was greatly felt in Calcutta. Although the Bethune Society had a section, *Sociology*, its labours were not marked by any great success. The fact was, the Society was established for literary and intellectual recreation rather than for promotion of social well-being; for self-improvement rather than for improvement of the masses. The Rev. Mr. Long had already ventilated the question by delivering a lecture on "Social Science for India" at the Family Literary Society in April 1866, "much to the satisfaction of the ladies and gentlemen present." Among the Bengalis who took up the question warmly the name of Peary

Chand Mitra must be mentioned. The promoters, availing themselves of the interest created in social questions among Europeans as well as Indians by the visit of Miss Mary Carpenter, succeeded in placing the movement on a satisfactory basis. They laid their suggestions before her, and it was with sincere pleasure that she heartily seconded their proposal. Miss Carpenter lost no time in inviting a few of the leading European and Indian gentry to meet her at the rooms of the Asiatic Society, with a view to the discussion of the advantages to be derived from the establishment of a Society for Social Science in Calcutta.

A meeting was accordingly held on the 17th December to hear an exposition from this illustrious lady of her views in regard to the practicability of directing public attention to the subject of social science in India. Sir Cecil Beadon, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, occupied the Chair, the Viceroy also signifying by his presence the approval with which the movement was regarded by the Government. Among those present were Members of the Council, of the Bench and the Bar and of various services. Numerous Indian gentlemen were present, and seemed to take interest in the proceedings. Miss Carpenter sketched in pure and fluent diction the history of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science of Great Britain from its formation in 1854 together with its labours up to the present time, urging the expediency of organising a similar institution, either affiliated or otherwise, in this country. There were many questions deeply affecting the interests of the people which could only be properly considered by patient investigation, and enquiry into facts as a basis for legislation. Lord Brougham, she continued, had been a prominent member of the Association, and

had presided at most of its meetings, which had been eminently successful, and instrumental in effecting many improvements in the social condition of the people. In the organization of the Society they had eschewed questions of a religious and political nature, not that they undervalued religion and politics, but because they could never obtain that united action on those subjects which was needful to accomplish the objects of the Social Science Association. There were many objects affecting the welfare of our fellow creatures, which all might unite to promote, as for instance, education, the sanitary condition of the labouring population, improved homes for the poor, investigations into the effects of particular trades; the laws touching their well-being, their organizations and, in fact, whatever might come within the scope of the comprehensive term *social science*. By holding its meetings, in various towns, the Association arrived at sources of knowledge and of local peculiarities that could not have been reached by any other means.

The address was listened to with marked attention, and seemed to commend its objects to the favourable consideration of the audience. The chairman stated that the meeting was greatly obliged to Miss Carpenter for bringing the subject before them, and for the lucid manner in which her views had been expressed. He mentioned some of the difficulties which would have to be met with and overcome, even when there was the best disposition to do what was required. He admitted the supreme importance of the work, and trusted something might result from the meeting. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Seton Karr said that he had listened with great pleasure to the views of the philanthropic lady who had already made her name favourably known among the active benefactors of her race; and while he fully understood

the difficulties that were in the way of carrying out the objects of such a body as the Social Science Association, he had a still higher view of the importance of doing so. He thought, however, that something might be done, and with a view to the objects of the meeting, giving practical effect to move the following resolution, which was seconded by Babu Peary Chand Mittra :—

“That this meeting has listened with much interest to the address of Miss Mary Carpenter, for which it accordingly desires to thank her; and is of opinion that it is in every way desirable to consider carefully the practicability of forming a Branch Society to be affiliated to the Social Science Association of London for the purpose of pursuing social science investigations, so far as they have any relation to the people and circumstances of this country.”

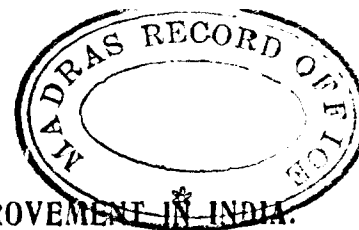
A Provisional Committee was appointed to consult further with Miss Carpenter on the subject, and to take such ultimate steps as might appear desirable, in pursuance of the conclusion arrived at by the foregoing resolution. The Committee appointed a Sub-Committee composed of Mr. Justice Seton Karr, Rev. J. Long, and Babu Peary Chand Mittra to draft a scheme for the constitution and organization of the proposed Society. The Sub-Committee was of opinion that the proposed Society should be an independent Society and not affiliated to the Society in England, inasmuch as the results of enquiry into many questions could not be equally interesting to persons in England, nor could sufficient interest in the proposed Society be kept up in India if its papers be only transmitted to the London Society, and be not published and discussed here without loss of time. A general meeting of the members was held on the 22nd January 1867 at the Metcalfe

Hall at which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal presided, and the Bengal Social Science Association was formed with Hon'ble Justice W. S. Seton Karr as President, and Mr. H. Beverley and Babu Peary Chand Mittra as Honorary Secretaries. The object of the Association was to promote social development in the Presidency of Bengal, by uniting Europeans and Indians of all classes in the collection, arrangement, and classification of facts bearing on the social, intellectual, and moral condition of the people. Its objects were not confined to the good of its immediate members, but in a catholic and cosmopolitan spirit it sought the amelioration of all classes throughout the country. At its meetings addresses were delivered, papers read and discussed, the result being that by these means important facts were elicited, new principles of action were laid down, and several beneficial measures for the good of society or particular classes thereof, brought to the notice of the Government. Europeans and Indians met in union and on equal terms, with the noblest of all objects before them—the amelioration and advancement of the masses. Its meetings proved a glorious success; some important measures of real service to the country were carried through its instrumentality.

Last, though not the least in importance was a deputation which Miss Carpenter received with an address from the *Bamabodhini Patrika* staff expressing gratitude and admiration to her for having exposed herself to countless dangers and sacrifices only for the good of India and specially for the good of Indian females.

During her sojourn in Calcutta Miss Carpenter visited Barnagore, Konnagore, Utterpara, Krishnagore, Ranaghat, etc., and inspected the local girls' schools there.

S. M.



Art. IV.—AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT IN INDIA.

II.

THOUGH years back the Famine Commission remarked that of his faults and shortcomings the Indian cultivator "is generally conscious, but they are largely due to his poverty, and it is of no avail to ask him to correct them as long as he is unable to buy and to feed more and stronger bullocks, to save his manure etc.," we are of opinion that in spite of his present poverty-stricken condition in which he is, through chronic indebtedness, in the grip of the money-lender, much can be done by instruction and example. And, in this matter, what has actually been done, is to what ought to have been done and what it is still possible to do "as the scratching of sparrows' feet to deep ploughing."

Agricultural improvement must mean increase in the produce of the land. We have already stated how there has been a fall in the average yield of fields. With the increase of population the Indian peasant can no longer allow the soil any rest, and thousands of acres have to produce two crops a year. Moreover, the surrounding jungles have gradually been ploughed up and people have to fall back on cow-dung for fuel. Thus the two great sources of manure have been cut off—viz., "the ashes from the wood which they formerly burned, and the ammonia and other volatile parts of the cow-dung which they now burn in place of timber." * This explains "the mournful forebodings of those who warn us that our real danger in India is not any temporary

* Hunter.—*England's Work in India.*

insolvency of the finances, but a permanent bankruptcy of the soil.”*

“Philanthropic manufacturers of agricultural machines, introducers of new forage plants, patentees of improved cattle-food and the like, overcome by the woes of the Indian ryot, are perpetually dinning into the ears of the authorities and the public their unselfish anxiety to regenerate the country by supplying it with their wares on a large scale.”† These expensive innovations are as difficult to introduce as their introduction is unnecessary here.

Our agricultural implements have attracted the attention of Europeans—in most cases superficial observers of the conditions of the climate, the soil, and the crops. Mill, the historian of British India, called our operation of ploughing “scratching.” But this Dr. Wilson, who had some Indian experience, ridiculed. He observed—“the deep ploughing of England is not needed in a soil in which seeds take root upon the surface, and the reappearance of vegetation is scarcely to be prevented by any care.”‡

In the matter of agricultural implements, America takes the lead. And there things are surely being overdone. “Nowadays there are few farming operations which cannot be done out west by machinery. Implement-makers are busy all the time inventing novelties and improvements. Each season brings with it new styles of ploughs, reapers, threshers, etc., as well as of cycles and motor-cars. Farmers buy them all as they come along, and it is becoming a craze among them to have a great display of machinery in their farm-yards

* Hunter.—*England's Work in India*.

† Hume.—*Agricultural Reform in India*.

‡ Mill took Tennant for his authority—*vide History*, vol. II, p. 24.

As a rule the machines are badly cared for when not in use, standing all the year round in the open air, rain or sunshine, and consequently they are, like the American locomotive, short-lived. It is taken for granted that long before they can be worn out something better will be in the market. Much as one may be compelled at first sight to admire all this, on further examination he will probably see that even labour-saving machinery may be overdone. The extent to which it is now carried in American farming borders on exaggeration. Throwing aside expensive implements merely because they are a little out of date may become wasteful. The American can afford to do it so long as he gets 70 or 80 cents per bushel for his wheat; but when wheat returns to 50 cents per bushel, as it is certain to do when all the new farms in the north-west begin to turn out their millions of bushels, there will be less to spare for the implement-maker.* The present effect, however, of these superabundant machines is marvellous. It has enabled the western farmers to make a great spurt in wheat-producing, and to meet a suddenly increased demand from Europe in a way that European farmers could never have done even if they had had a boundless prairie to draw on. But an organisation that meets an emergency with success may be found top-heavy when the emergency is over”† Such wasteful and exaggerated extravagance it is not for the Indian peasant to indulge in.

Moreover, American implements are not suited to the conditions prevailing in India. These implements

* We have already pointed out that in the matter of average yield of wheat per acre, the American farmer is not in a more advantageous position than the India peasant. His position seems decidedly disadvantageous when we learn that in America—“fifteen or twenty years of wheat or corn growing is as much as the best prairie soil will stand.” How different are the conditions of the soil in India!

† Lawson.—*American Industrial Problems*.

are too large for our fields. In India, we have already said, millions of peasants are struggling to live on half an acre. It never pays to use machines for such small plots where they can scarcely be made to wheel. And the outlay on such a machine cannot be made good in fifty years. Here in India the peasant does not engage hired labour for cultivating his fields. With the help of the members of his family—male and female—he does the work, and the work, needless to say, is done well. When additional hands become necessary they are secured by exchange of labour with neighbours.

Even if it were found necessary to employ hired labour in Indian agriculture, and labour-saving machines of a suitable size were to be had ready made for us by foreign manufacturers it would not be found profitable to introduce and use these machines to displace hand-labour. In America they cannot help using labour-saving machinery. Since the emancipation of the slaves the rate of wages in America has been persistently rising. There a day-labourer would charge about four rupees for a day's labour. Out west "hired help" may be said to be as great a luxury as diamonds. And the American must "get the work as far as possible to do itself." And, as they themselves express it, "we work hard to find out how to avoid work." It has a counter part with precisely the opposite effect in Great Britain. The motto of the British trade-unionist is,— "Make the work go round, and let as many men as possible have a share of it." If in Great Britain where hired labour costs about two rupees per head a day they persist in patronising hand-labour and can successfully compete in the markets of the world—why should not we in India where a day-labourer does not

generally earn more than four or five annas a day, abandon this cheap labour and go in for costly labour-saving machinery? Would not that, in our case, be "wasteful and ridiculous excess?"

Then it comes to this—in spite of the confident assertions of those unacquainted with the conditions of the country to the contrary, our peasants know their business, our implements are good for our purpose, and the methods of cultivation persisted in and the crops grown are not ill-suited to the conditions that prevail.

The chief and urgent necessity is, to increase the fertility of the soil or, at least, to give back to the land what we are taking out of it; and so check the increasing exhaustion of the soil. Better a timely check than a belated collapse.

"Owing to a variety of causes,* * * agriculture in India has become, and becomes daily, more and more what Liebig happily designates a system of spoliation. Deep as the purse may have been, and rich as much of our soil unquestionably was, it is clear that a time must arrive when, by continually taking out a great deal and putting back very little, both purse and soil are exhausted. Unlike the European peasant, the Indian husbandman more or less fully realises the evils of this system; it is only on compulsion that he robs his mother soil, and it is only in comparatively quite recent times that this spoliation has acquired the alarming intensity that now characterises it. Only fifty years ago, when jungles and grazing grounds abounded, when cattle were more numerous, when much wood was available as fuel, there was actually a much greater amount of manure available and a very much smaller number of fields on which to spread it. The evil is a

growing one, it is one of gigantic magnitude, and though, like all great causes, it operates slowly, no one who has really watched agriculture for years in this country can doubt that its effects are already showing far and wide; no one who understands the question can doubt that they will develop with most disastrously increasing virulence as years run on." *

If the prevailing conditions are allowed to continue the gradual deterioration of cultivated land is inevitable. This disaster must—at any cost—be avoided.

So the first and foremost requisite for agricultural improvement in India is—the *increased provision of manure*.

Cattle-dung is the mainstay of cultivators all over the world. Here meat-eating countries are in a much more advantageous condition than we are. There cattle are more numerous, and better fed. The dung they produce is larger in quantity and richer (for agricultural purposes) in quality. Here in India "speaking generally it may be said that during two-thirds of the year the cattle are kept just above starvation point—not * * * through the fault of the owner, who, as a rule, is merciful to his beasts." † And, as we have already pointed out, for want of wood to be used as fuel the scanty droppings of the underfed cattle are used as fuel. So except in the case of fields where floods and spates bring with them fertilising alluvium and nature does the work of manuring, want of manure is the chief defect that has to be remedied. The abundant supply of coal should help us here. With the introduction of coal as fuel in the interior, the peasant would be in a position to

* Hume.—*Agricultural Reform in India*.

† Lilly.—*India and its Problems*.

save his cattle-dung for manure.* And where that is found inconvenient or impossible other manures should be introduced. The results of experiments for twelve years with manure on paddy lands in the Burdwan Farm, will enable the reader to understand the advantages of manures:—

ages of manures.

Nature and quantity of manure applied per acre.	Outturn per acre. Average of 12 years (1891—1903.)		Profit per acre. Average of the last three years.		Cost of manure per acre. Average of the last three years.		REMARKS.
	Grain.	Straw.					
1	2	3	4		5		6
	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	
1. Cowdung (100 mds.)	3,556	4,479	86	5 0	4	6 0	The figures in columns 2 and 3 are calculated at the average of 12 years (1891-1892 to 1902-1903), and those in columns 4 and 5 at the average of three years (1900- 1901 to 1902- 1903).
2. Unmanured ...	1,374	2,174	16	7 0	0	0 0	
3. Castor cake (6 mds.)	3,123	4,628	50	5 0	12	0 0	
4. Cowdung (50 mds.)...	3,461	4,630	58	12 0	2	3 0	
5. Unmanured ...	1,492	2,559	18	13 0	0	0 0	
6. Bone-meal (3 mds.)...	3,663	5,124	80	15 0	5	8 2	
7. Ditto (6 mds.)...	3,962	5,509	84	10 0	11	0 0	
8. Unmanured ...	1,549	2,541	21	5 0	0	0 0	
9. { Bone-meal (3 mds.)... and Saltpetre (30 seers) ... }	4,389	6,178	105	0 0	9	4 0	

* "No accurate statement can be made as to the total amount of coal which occurs in India, chiefly owing to the want of information as to the exact extent of some of the fields, and of the thickness of the seams. Geologists are inclined to put the total coal area as occupying about 35,000 square miles. Having regard to the extreme thickness of many of the seams, which sometimes exceeds 100 feet, it is clear that India possesses, even after all allowances have been made for difficulties of working and other deficiencies, an enormous supply of fuel which will soon render her independent of other sources of supply, and which in time to come, may even be drawn upon by other nations whose coal deposits are now in process of depletion."—*The Coal Resources of India*—a paper read at a meeting of the Indian Section of the Society of Arts, by Professor W. R. Dunstan (1902).

Reel No.

And here we must remark that in introducing new manures the Department of Agriculture should be cautious, and should consult the conditions and even the superstitions and prejudices of the peasants. In one of his Viceregal Notes Lord Mayo wrote :— "In connection with agriculture we must be careful of two things. First, we must not ostentatiously tell Native husbandmen to do things which they have been doing for centuries. Second, we must not tell them to do things which they can't do, and have no means of doing. In either case they will laugh at us, and they will learn to disregard really useful advice when it is given."*

The question of manure takes us to the next cause of agricultural deterioration in India—*Cattle*.

"The Indian climate, varying as they do, appear to be specially favourable to cattle. Everyone who has kept cattle here knows that if moderately fed, and given plenty of work and kept away from contagion, they never seem to be sick or sorry, but work on, hardy and healthy, from youth to extreme old age. They are prolific too. If our poor beasts only had reasonably fair play, the whole empire would swarm with cattle, and cattle able to work the heaviest ploughs, and, in soils and situations where this was necessary or desirable, to plough as deep as you like"†

But "over a great portion of the empire, the mass of the cattle are starved for six weeks every year. The hot winds roar, every green thing has disappeared, no hot-weather forage is grown, the last year's fodder has generally been consumed in keeping the well bullocks on their legs during the irrigation of the spring crops,

* Hunter—*Mayo*—in the "Rulers of India" series.

† Hume—*Agricultural Reform in India*.

and all the husbandman can do is just to keep his poor brutes alive on the chopped leaves of a few trees and shrubs he has access to, the roots of grass and herbs that he digs out of the edges of fields, and the like. In good years he just succeeds ; in bad years, the weakly ones die of starvation. But then come the rains. Within the week, as though by magic, the burning sands are carpeted with rank luscious herbage, the cattle will eat and over-eat, and millions die of one form or other, of cattle-disease, springing out of this starvation, followed by sudden repletion with rank, juicy, immature herbage."*

In Bengal increase of population has necessitated the bringing of the worst land under cultivation with the inevitable result that repletion is unknown in the case of cattle. During the dry and dusty months of summer green is turned into gray, and nature makes the sky as iron and the earth as brass, the cattle plough the furrow on cracked fields where not a blade of grass is to be seen. These are trying months for the peasant when he can scarcely feed his own children. The cattle are more or less starved during this time. Then when the rains come and the green shoots come out the cattle cannot be let loose lest they would injure the crop. Even old and decrepit cattle which enjoy the forlorn freedom of neglect are put under some sort of restraint. Bernier has noted that in Bengal there are no pastures. In those days when fallow lands were abundant, and fields could be given rest it was not necessary to keep apart plots to be used as pasture land. But if it was not necessary then it is necessary now. And as "new occasions teach new duties" we should not fail to meet the new demands.

* Hume—*Agricultural Reform in India*.

European agriculturists will talk of growing sorgho, Guinea grass, etc. "But at present the condition of the people is such that it is doubtful whether even the most stringent legislation, worked by the most energetic executive, would secure any such growth of hot-weather forage as would, taking the country as a whole, materially ameliorate the miserable lot of our cattle." *

"But there is one thing that can be done—a thing that is entirely in accord with the traditions of the country—a thing that the people would understand and appreciate, and, with a little judicious pressure, co-operate in, and that is the planting up with trees of a certain sufficient area in every village in the drier portions of the country. The undertaking is a very large one, but presents no insuperable difficulties; it is a gigantic hill to cut away, but it is all earth and no rock, its greatness is purely numerical. There are an immense number of spadefuls to be lifted, but the lifting of each is perfectly easy. Energy, perseverance, and time are all that is necessary. Once a sufficient area planted in each neighbourhood as a communal forest, and the cattle difficulty is at an end, the forest would be closed till other fodder was consumed and the fields were bare, and then they would be opened to the village herds. In India, wherever you have a closed grove of trees, there spontaneously you have a luxuriant growth of herbage, and at the end of April, even in the hottest and driest parts of Upper India, where the whole country round is as bare as any desert, you will find in preserved groves (such as the more wealthy zemindars often keep for their own cattle and in view to the sale of the grass in neighbouring towns) a

* Hume—*Agricultural Reform in India*.

mass of hay above and green grass below, that is perfectly astounding." *

Of course it will be necessary for the Government to acquire land for this purpose. But "looking to all that depends upon the measure, looking to the impossibility of carrying it out without State interference. I do not think that the most ardent advocate of non-interference with private rights would deny that here was a case in which it was not only justifiable, but incumbent on the State to interfere" †

The necessary labour can be had free by convincing the villagers that they get the advantage of the fodder reserve and not the Government. In the East people have often contributed labour free for works of public utility; and truly does Dr. Stein remark—"are not all great engineering feats in the East due to this agency?" ‡

Then again rules will be required to regulate the use and prevent the abuse of these communal forests or groves. A system of management will have to be elaborated, "the leading idea of which must be to induce the people to act to the greatest possible extent for themselves." We need not enter into details. Everyone's ideas on such a subject must be crude until we actually begin to carry out the work in practice. It is to elaborate the practical details here as in other matters that we require a especial organisation.

We may, in passing, remark that—as an experimental measure—the new Village Unions may be placed in charge of these communal forests or groves. Being in touch with the people it will be easy for them to

* Hume—*Agricultural Reform in India*.

† Hume—*Agricultural Reform in India*.

‡ Sand-Buried Ruins of Khotan.

explain to the people the necessity and the advantages of changes and improvements in the existing state of affairs.

"The work that is performed by the great agricultural societies of Europe must be performed in India by the Government, or not at all" for, "the Government of India, in its peculiar relative position to the cultivator, has very responsible obligations to discharge."* And though as far back as 1854 quoting the words of Dr. Mouat, the Hon'ble the Court of Directors stated that there was "no single advantage that could be afforded to the vast rural population of India that would equal the introduction of an improved system of agriculture"† little, as we have shown, was done in the matter. The expense of a properly organised department was considered too much by the Government, though it is certain the investment would return cent. per cent and more. Mr. Hume was indignant at the policy of the Government, and remarked:—"The policy of the Government of India in these matters....can only be likened to that of some nobleman, who, with his magnificent palace slowly burning beneath his gaze, first, after much hesitation, allows you to hire a boy with a penny squirt, as a beginning, to prove that water *can* extinguish fire, and then, this simple fact established, directly you urge the hire of a powerful steam fire-engine to take up the work of extinction in earnest, shudders at the expense and will hear nothing further on the subject."‡

* Schrottky—*The Principles of Rational Agriculture applied to India.*

† Despatch on the Subject of Education (July 19th, 1854.)

‡ Hume—*Agricultural Reform in India.* Compare with the half-hearted measures of the Government of India, the ample programme of the Government of

As Lord Curzon once remarked, in another connection, "only by slow degrees has Government, which is at all times and seasons a tardy learner, warmed to its task." We seem to live in better and more liberal times. In 1905 "the representatives of the people" in the Council of the Governor-General of India applauded the action of the Government in granting 20 lakhs for the development of agricultural experiment, research, demonstration, and instruction. Lord Curzon called agriculture India's "greatest living industry." "The grant of 20 lakhs," said a member, "for agricultural research, experiment, and instruction, and the announcement that the ultimate aim of Government in this matter is 'the establishment of an experimental farm in each large tract of country, of which the agricultural conditions are approximately homogeneous, to be supplemented by numerous demonstration farms, the creation of an agricultural college teaching up to a three years course in each of the larger provinces, and the provision of an expert staff in connection with these colleges for purposes of research as well as education,' indicate that the Government at last have made up their minds to recognize

Egypt. There the Agricultural Department will not only establish experimental farms to deal with manures and methods of cultivation, but will introduce agricultural banks among the village communities. It will have a weather bureau, forecasting seasons and weathers and disseminating information with the aid of wireless telegraphy. There will be a bureau of animal industry improving the breed of cattle and "studying compositions of butter suitable for hot countries," a bureau of plant industry, introducing useful fertilising insects and destroying harmful ones, and a bureau of soils mapping the soils of the whole Nile Valley. Forestry, of course, will be considered. There will be a bureau of foreign products. "Its trained agents will be travelling over the whole world, and forwarding to Egypt from every quarter of the globe, grains and plants which give promise of being useful in the Nile Valley." This bureau will introduce labour-saving machines of every kind, it will study the world's market and instruct the country in profitable and unprofitable crops. Another section of the Agricultural Department will study pisciculture. Finally, the collection of statistics, which are essential to the proper distribution and growth of agricultural products, will be entrusted to trained experts.—*Vide—Some Economic Aspects of British Rule in India* by G. Subramania Iyer.

in a practical manner the supreme importance of scientific agriculture in this land" *.

"The great impetus," said another, "which the subject of agricultural development has received during the last three years, and the care which is now being bestowed upon the subject by the Government, engender the hope that the improvement of this industry in India has a very great future before it." The importance of this subject is such that it should constitute by itself a separate Department divorced from that of Land Records and Statistics, and be placed under officers who should devote their whole time and undivided attention to matters relating to the advancement of agriculture." †

It is the establishment of such a Department—a Department in which there would be as little writing and as much actual work as possible—that Lord Mayo contemplated, Mr. Hume advocated and all India wants. And the sooner it is established the better for the people and the Government. When established it will find itself face to face with a great amount of work to be done. For, in India, "starved is the soil, starved is the tiller of the land, starved are his cattle. The soil craves for food, the man and the beast likewise crave for food." ‡ In addition to the questions of the introduction of manures suited to the conditions of the soil and the people, the importing and acclimatising of better cattle, the provision of cattle food, the improvement, where necessary, of the implements, it will have to deal with other, but, perhaps

* Mr. Gokhale's speech on the occasion of the discussion of the Financial Statement for 1905-1906 in the Legislative Council.

† Speech of Rai Sri Ram Bahadoor on the occasion of the discussion of the Financial Statement for 1905-1906.

‡ Schrottky—*The Principles of Rational Agriculture applied to India*.

not less important, questions such as the rotation of crop and the selection of seed. It will also have to make the results of its experiments widely known by means of farms and exhibitions.

Of rotation of crop the Indian peasant knows just a little, and should be taught more. The different kinds of crop grown, may broadly be divided into two groups—grass and pulse. In England they usually grow two cereals (such as wheat and barley) intervened by one root crop and pulse crop (such as clover). Some such arrangement, suited to the conditions in India, will be found of immense benefit to the Indian agriculture. And it should be the endeavour of the Department to find out the arrangement best suited to the conditions of the country.

In the matter of the selection of seed it is not enough to discard unripe or worm-eaten grains or grains "withered, thin, and blasted with the east wind." By a judicious selection of seed the cultivator can get an early or a late, a bumper or a poor, a hardy or a weak crop. And especial care should be bestowed on the subject. As for the selection of large and well-developed grains for seed, its importance cannot be over-estimated. "Until the first leaves are produced, the plant depends entirely on the nourishment contained in the seed for the formation of the organs which subsequently absorb food from without. The number and strength of these organs will be in exact proportion to the amount of nourishment contained in the seed: a large, well-developed seed will produce during the course of germination large and vigorous organs, while a poor, imperfectly developed seed will not only take much longer to germinate, but the rootlets and leaves produced will be weak and fewer in number. That is,

to say, by the time the assimilating organs of the small seed become sufficiently strong and numerous to push on the growth of the plant, the large seed will have raised a strong, vigorous plant several inches above the ground. This difference of growth will be perceptible in all the further stages of development, and the grain produced will also be of the same nature as the seed." *

The advantages, therefore, which the farmer derives from a judicious selection of the seed are evident. And, as we have said, by a judicious selection of seed it is possible to grow an early or a late, a bumper or a poor, a hardy or a weak crop. This the Department will be able to demonstrate and teach the cultivators of the country.

The rock-a-head on which the work of the Department is likely to suffer shipwreck, is its exclusive attention to the introduction of exotics. Years back a writer on Indian agriculture referred thus to the model farms then in existence :—"We fail to see the benefits they are effecting. Do they show the ryots how to improve their crops, how to enhance their yield, how to manure this peculiar soil and effect the permanent improvement of others? Is it not their obvious duty, before all other considerations, to apply the recognised Principles of Modern Agriculture to the staple products of the country, and adapting them after close observation, to the peculiarities of the climate? Should they not, first of all, exercise their practical and scientific knowledge to effecting an improvement in the soil of the surrounding country, as well as of the different crops grown, and try to diffuse agricultural knowledge among the native cultivators? Instead of doing all

* Schrottky—*The Principles of Rational Agriculture applied to India.*

this, however, they only keep experimenting upon the introduction of all sorts of exotic plants—experiments which occupy much valuable time, and are very seldom attended with satisfactory results or any benefit to the country. It should be observed, however, that I fully recognise the usefulness of such experiments; but they should be treated as of secondary importance, the improvement of indigenous products being of primary consequence. That is to say, we should first endeavour to improve the indigenous staple products, and only turn our attention to experimentalizing on exotic plants when everything necessary is accomplished for the former, and no further improvement is possible." *

In other countries they attempt to improve the staple products while we want to import exotics and introduce them—a very expensive practice. And in our case it is of the utmost importance that exclusive attention should, in the first place, be given to the improvement of the staples. At present we are not in a position to utilize fully our raw products in the manufacturing centres of the country. We supply others with them. For the sale of our raw materials we must, till thriving home industries are established in the countries and raw products utilized, go to the world's market. That being so it is more profitable for us to improve the staple products for which there is an existing demand than to attempt to introduce new varieties for which we shall have to create a new demand in the market. And this creation of a demand for a new commodity must require a command over push and purse which it is beyond the dream of the Indian agriculturist to possess.

* Schrottky—*The Principles of Rational Agriculture applied to India.*

So we should, first of all, pay more attention to the improvement—in quality and quantity—of rice and wheat, of jute and sugar-cane than to the introduction of beet-root from Germany, flax from Belgium and sunflower from Russia—exotics which are, in some cases, unsuited to the conditions of the country and, in some cases, unnecessary for us at the present moment.

The results of the experiments in the model farms should be made widely known by inviting cultivators to see the results for themselves, by explaining to them the advantages of improvements and their methods, and by the distribution of leaflets explaining these. These leaflets should be written in the vernaculars. The *Agricultural Ledger*, so diligently published by the Government is of no use to the cultivators, being written in English.

With the possession of the requisite knowledge, added to the advantages of a tropical climate where everything favours the luxuriant growth of vegetable life, the Department of Agriculture can here—in India—achieve far more satisfactory results than are obtained in more temperate climates. And it ought not to be unreasonable to hope that in the near future the Indian Agricultural Department will be able to render signal service to mankind as did Holland in the past.*

But while asking the Government to do all that it should, we must not forget that the people—especially those who have received the advantages of education—have a duty to discharge by their own countrymen.

* Dutch agriculture, by transferring the potato and turnip from the garden to the field, created a new winter food for men and cattle. (*vide* Roger's *Holland*.) Commenting on this, Hunter remarks:—"This change made possible the growth of population in Modern Europe, feeding threefold the inhabitants of areas which had barely supported one-third in frequent peril of famine, and contributing more than any other cause to banish leprosy from Christendom."—*A History of British India*.

Being in closer touch with the people they are even better fitted than the Department to introduce, by example and precept, better methods of cultivation by which it will be possible to obtain, with the smallest outlay and least labour, the most abundant harvests without any detriment to the soil, and without injuring or crippling the resources of the land.

Considering the important issues involved, it is certainly the duty of the people to direct their attention to the subject of agricultural improvement. "The soil has become exhausted, and the products raised therefrom, so far from showing improvements, as we notice in other countries, have become reduced in quantity, and consequently both man and beast, have degenerated."* This process of degeneration will go on as long as the prevailing conditions are not changed. This is serious—this national degeneration which can yet be arrested.

"Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade,
A breath can make them as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd can never be supplied."

This is especially applicable to India where agriculture is the greatest living industry and the agricultural population the back-bone of the nation. We agree with Mr. Schrottky when he remarks:—"It is my opinion that Government, single-handed, will be unable to accomplish much for the advancement of Indian Agriculture, but that our first step must be the establishment of an *Agricultural Society*, composed of members sincere and zealous in their aims, and who recognise fully the importance of the work to be undertaken." We want sincere and earnest workers among every community—but chiefly among the Indian community—actuated by

* Schrottky—*The Principles of Rational Agriculture applied to India*.

a desire to ameliorate the condition of the vast peasant population of the country, to co-operate with one another in the work of agricultural improvement in India.

The reason of the improvements effected in Europe and America in the methods of cultivation as well as in the implements used, is to be found in the fact that there agriculture has always been considered a noble art, and "Kings and Cæsars have mounted the throne from the plough, and have laid aside the cares of State for an agricultural life." Our ancestors called themselves Aryans or tillers of the soil in contradistinction to the barbaric tribes who led a nomadic life. And Parâsara whose ordinances are the law for the Hindoos in the present age says, that even a Brâhmana may plough the land provided he uses strong and healthy cattle and does not overwork them, and devotes part of the proceeds of cultivation to purposes of charity.

The Brâhmanas formed the glorious aristocracy of learning in ancient India, and the law-maker ordained that they should—in agriculture as in other spheres of human activity—set an example to the people, hence the injunction about using strong and healthy cattle and never overworking them. India cries aloud to the new aristocracy of learning—the educated community of India—to do likewise. Will they turn a deaf ear to her cries?

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

Art. V.—RAMAPROSAD ROY.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND PARENTAGE.

"LIVES of great men" have not only a value of their own, but also serve as models to others, so that by imitating them "we can make our lives sublime." They are like the Pole-star enabling us by their friendly beacon-light to steer our course safely through the perilous sea of life. Real greatness, however, which is of so much importance to erring humanity, must from its very nature be very rare, indeed, and is, as a matter of fact, found only in a favoured few. Of the three kinds of greatness which the national poet of England speaks of, natural greatness holds the first and foremost place, acquired greatness the next; and as for greatness which is only thrust upon a man, it is in reality no greatness at all, but is only an apology for one, it is like a clown tricked out in the robe of a king. The subject of this Memoir is an instance of greatness of the first kind. Ramaprosad owed his wonderful power and influence chiefly to nature and only a little to his individual efforts. His acquirements were not of the highest order; in fact, they were only a shade better than those of the ordinary man. He rose so very high, not because he had laboured hard to climb, but principally because of his natural parts which were considerably above the average. He was one of Nature's minions,—men whose number might be counted on one's fingers. Not satisfied with making him the inheritor of some of the good qualities of his illustrious father, the grand old

Mother gave him some others which were wanting in the latter. Thus to a rich inheritance, Ramaprosad joined a store of his own, and by this happy combination, rose to a position which might excite the envy of any of India's noblest sons.

Ramaprosad came from a Brahman family of the Bannerjee sept, whose original seat was an obscure village in the Muxudabad district. Ramaprosad's great-great-grandfather, Krishna Chandra Bannerjee, was a man of note. He having done some good services to the Local Government was honoured with the title of "Roy," and as this title was made hereditary the family has ever since come to be known as the "Roys," the humbler designation of "Bannerjee" having been merged, as it were, in the prouder one. Shortly after the receipt of this titular distinction, Krishna Chandra was entrusted with the collection of the revenues of the districts of Hooghly and Burdwan, and as this important office necessitated the making Khanacool Krishnagore, within the former district, his headquarters, he built a house at Radhanagore situated on the banks of the Kana Darkeswar, and removed thither with his family.

Like Krishna Chandra,* his son Brojo Binode, was also a man of mark. He served under Seraj-ud-dowla, and his official career was synchronous with that stirring "fateful" epoch—which witnessed the struggles of a "handful of merchants" with the Nawab—struggles which ultimately resulted in the establishment of a mighty and magnificent Empire. Brojo Binode had seven sons, of whom Ramkanta held the first place in his father's heart, though he occupied only the fifth in

the family pedigree. It is said that Brojo Binode had made Ramkanta the sole absolute heir to all his estates, but ultimately the property was, as a matter of fact, equally divided among all the seven brothers. Ramkanta, bent as he was on increasing his patrimony, had taken *ijara* of Radhanagore and several other villages in the Hooghly district, and as the powerful Raja of Burdwan, Tej Chandra, was in some way interested in those villages, he got involved in constant feuds with him. But the contest not being an unequal one, the weaker party had to suffer a great deal. In fact, the Raja harassed Ramkanta so much that he almost gave up all connection with temporal concerns, leaving the management of his property in the hands of his wife, Tarini Devi, better known as "Phul Thacoorani." Ramkanta, however, did not cleave to one wife, he had two other partners of his life. These, it is true, shared his affections, but they had no hand in the management of his affairs, which was wholly entrusted to Tarini Devi. This lady gained her husband's heart not only by her superior ability, but also by her having borne him two sons,* Jagomohan and Rammohan. Up to this time the family had lived in amity and peace, at any rate it was so to all appearance; but now for some reason or other, the rival wives quarrelled and rendered joint residence impossible. When things took such a bad turn, Ramkanta, who was more attached to Tarini Devi than to his third wife, the first wife having died, removed with her and her two sons to Nangalpara, adjoining the classic city of Khanacool Krishnagore. Of these two sons, Jagamohan was much older

* Krishna Chandra had three sons, of whom Brojo Binode, though the youngest, was the best.

* Besides these two, Ramkanta had another son, Ram Lochan, by his third wife, who died early.

than his brother, Rammohan. The exigencies of business having compelled Jagamohan to stay away from home, he took his younger brother with him, in order that he might be in a better position to look after his education, their father Ramkanta having in a manner retired from all worldly affairs. But unfortunately for the family, Jagamohan was involved in a litigation with Raja Tej Chandra, which engrossed most of his attention for years. The suit which was one for establishment of title to, and possession of, certain lands, was instituted on 13th July, 1799, and it dragged its slow length along for years, until it came to an end on 16th September, 1808. The late Sadar Diwani Adalat decided the case in the Raja's favour casting Jagamohan in heavy costs.* This discomfiture gave a severe shock to Jagamohan from which he never recovered.

Not long after he died leaving a son, named Gobinda Prosad.† One very painful circumstance rendered his death worthy of special notice, his devoted wife having burned herself on his funeral pile. This circumstance made a very deep impression on the mind of Rammohan, and it was one of the proximate causes which in his maturer years led him to put forth strenuous efforts for the abolition of the horrible *Sati* rite.

As for Rammohan, he had a very eventful career, in the course of which he rose to be one of the greatest men in the world.‡ It appears that he was born a

* See Sadar Diwani Adalat Reports, Vol: I, pp. 257-259.

† Gobinda Prosad left two sons, Sreepati and Bhupati. The latter distinguished himself in the Subordinate Judicial Service as a Principal Sadar Amin.

‡ A writer in the *Calcutta Review* says:—"Rammohan Roy was emphatically a great man. His talents were not only varied and brilliant but of an eminently useful kind. He had a sound judgment, a large disciplined mind. In variety of knowledge, in depth of reasoning, in correctness of taste, he was

reformer of his country. Even when he was in his early teens, he showed a deep dislike of idolatry by first assailing it in a Bengali tract entitled *The Idolatrous Religious System of the Hindus*.* This gave offence to his father who was a great bigot, slavishly tied down to the customs and superstitions of his country. As is natural, a rupture took place between the father and son, the result of which was that Rammohan had to leave his paternal abode and to plunge himself alone and without help on the wide, wide world. In this way he spent some four years, in travels far and wide. He even visited distant Thibet, where the freedom of his remarks gave much offence to the Lama worshippers. Prudence might have dictated a different line of conduct, but his frankness and sincerity at this early age gave free vent to his real sentiments which consisted in the rejection of the claim of that pretended deity—a living man—to God-head. Indeed, by such indiscretion Rammohan found himself closely beset with dangers and difficulties, so much so that but for the help of some kind-hearted females of the place, he might have lost his life. This timely succour, coming as it did from a quarter whence it was least expected, made a very deep impression on his mind and he ever after became a warm friend and staunch advocate of the tender sex. At length, the heart of the father was moved and yearned after the misguided boy, and, accordingly, Rammohan was invited back to his natal soil. When he returned

rivalled by none of his countrymen. Both intellectually and morally, he would rank very high among his species. . . . Indeed, among the philanthropists and reformers to whom alone the title of 'great' should be confined and kept sacred, and who alone should monopolize all the places in the Temple of Fame, a high place must unquestionably be assigned to Rammohan Roy." Vol. IV., p. 392, 1845.

* This little work he brought out in his sixteenth year. It was published in Persian, with an Arabic preface.

to Hindusthan he was met by a deputation from his father, and was received by him with great consideration. Rammohan had early acquired a knowledge of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit besides his own vernacular, but as yet he was a perfect stranger to English, which he now in his twenty-second year commenced to learn, though for some years he made but little progress. About this time he was also initiated into some other foreign languages, namely, Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

Ramkanta, judging of others' mind by his own, had hoped that Rammohan, having learnt a bitter lesson by sad experience, would come round to orthodoxy again. But in this he appears to have reckoned without his host, and the result was sore disappointment. The sturdy young reformer, again took up the hatchet against idolatry and launched on his career of reform with redoubled ardour and energy. When to his utmost regret the old man, backed as he was in this respect by his equally bigoted wife, Tarini Debi, found that things did not at all fare better, his indignation knew no bounds, and snapping off all tender links of love and kinship, again turned his wayward son out of hearth and home, firmly resolved never to see his face again.

When Rammohan was thus thrown adrift on the world without means, he naturally sought for employment. By this time he had become a family man and had to support not only himself but also some others. In the very year in which he was cast out of his paternal abode, he had a son born to him. This was his first child, who was named by his mother Radha Prosad, after Krishna's favourite wife. Fortunately for the discarded young man, it was not long before he got a clerkship in

the Rungpore Collectorate. As Rammohan was a man of parts and diligence, he made a rapid rise until in a few years he got to the top of the ministerial department by being made Dewan, since called *Sheristadar*. The position of this officer was at that time much higher than it is now. He was the chief ministerial officer of the district and wielded very large powers. He had generally considerable influence over his Civilian master, and, if the latter happened to be a somewhat easy-going man, was almost all in all. Rammohan spent ten years of his life as Dewan, and even after he had left service he was still called the Dewanjee, until ennobled by the Emperor of Delhi by being created a Raja. Rammohan's last Government appointment, like his first, was in Rungpore, when he found himself in a very favourable position. Mr. John Digby,* the Collector of the district, was, as was usual with the generality of the Civilians, not much disposed to work, and he was only too glad that his energetic Dewanjee, whom he on his part never made to feel the "insolence of office," placed such ample leisure at his command. Rammohan thus acquired great influence over his official superior. Indeed, he was the *de facto* Collector and did what he pleased in the administration of the district. The position of affairs being in this wise, ample opportunity was given him to make money, and he largely availed himself of it. It was said that in Rungpore alone, Rammohan had got-together by fair means and foul, so much as three lakhs.† With this large fortune he was well able to retire from service,

* This gentleman, it seems, was of a literary turn of mind and a great admirer of his quondam Dewan. He edited Rammohan's "Abridgment of the Vedant and Kena Upanishad."

† By thus going in with the corrupt practices of those days, Rammohan, like another Bacon, exhibited a melancholy illustration of the union of intellectual greatness with moral littleness, I had almost said, meanness.

and retire he did in the beginning of the year 1814, when he was about forty years of age. With a large portion of this money, he purchased an estate yielding an income of rupees ten thousand a year, and took up his abode in Calcutta, the seat of Government, where he purchased a garden with a house built in the European style in the Upper Circular Road at the eastern extremity of the city. Thus, we see that, at the age of forty, he carried into effect his long-cherished plan of retiring from business, and consecrating the latter portion of his life to philosophy and religion. His love of retirement amounted almost to a passion. He used to say that a man after acquiring competence, should spend his life in the enjoyment of philosophic ease. "Old as I am," said he once to a friend, "I wish I may retire to a solitary cave and there apply myself to the study of the Vedant and Masnavi."*

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

By this time Ramkanta† had paid the debt of nature and gone up to give his last account before the

* The Masnavi is a work of Maulana Rumi, a celebrated Persian poet. It treats of religion, morality and politics. "It is an astonishing work," says Sir William Jones, "and the highest flights of sublimity can be found in it." See Article on Rammohan Roy in Vol. IV of the *Calcutta Review*, p. 366.

† A writer in the *Calcutta Review* for 1845 says that Ramkanta died in the Bengali year 1210, corresponding to A.D. 1803 (see Vol. IV, p. 363), while Dr. Lant Carpenter in his short Memoir of the Raja places the event a year or two later. But neither of them has been able to state the truth. It appears that in Joista 1215 B.S., Ramkanta had in conjunction with one Madan Mohan Roy taken a putni of Lot Nagah from Raja Tej Chandra of Burdwan. Two years after, that is, in 1217 B.S. (A.D. 1810), the Raja having taken out summary proceedings for realization of the rent of the said putni, got Ramkanta arrested and put in prison. This deep disgrace was too much for the weak frame of the old man and he succumbed to it some time after. The suit, however, which the Raja brought after having failed to gain his end in the summary way, was not finally decided until the 9th January 1832. (See Sadar Diwani Adalat Reports. Vol. V, pp. 157, 158.)

Supreme Judge of all. His was a very miserable life, at any rate it was so in its latter part. The heterodoxy of his son Rammohan, it is true, had pained him much, but the harassment by the Raja of Burdwan pained him more. Death, however terrible it is to man, was not unwelcome to him, indeed, he considered it a relief and met it with something like cheerfulness. Although Rammohan was his only surviving son and heir-at-law, his property did not immediately come to his hands, but remained, as before, in the management of his wife, Tarini Devi, Rammohan's mother. This lady, able and intelligent as she was, was of an imperious turn of mind and as she had in consequence of her son's heterodoxy alienated her heart from him, it was no wonder that she proved all but a step-mother to Rammohan. When the son, to his deep regret, found that he could not pull well with his mother, he built a house of his own at Raghoonathpore, not far from Radhanagar.* It was in this house that his youngest son, the subject of this Memoir, was born. This happy event took place in the year of grace 1818, and thus Ramaprosad was younger than his brother Radhaprosad by eighteen years, the latter having first seen the light in the Radhanagar house in the opening year of the nineteenth century, the year in which Rammohan was turned out of his father's house for the second time.

After leaving Government service Rammohan settled down in Calcutta and devoted himself to social and religious reforms. He had, as we have

* Radhanagar was one of the three Commercial Residencies in the Hooghly district, and it continued to be so until 1833 when the Residencies were abolished, an event which, it would seem, was brought about by the nature of the new Charter which was granted to the East India Company in that year.

already stated, purchased a fine garden house at the metropolis, but he did not take his family there for good. They generally resided at the Raghoonathpore house. Like his father, Rammohan was thrice married. His first wife having died young, he was made to take a second by his father. This was Srimati Devi, who bore him two sons, Radhaprosad and Ramaprosad. During the lifetime of Srimati, Rammohan, took a third wife named Uma Debi. This lady was the eldest sister of the late Madan Mohan Chatterjee of Bhowanipore. Rammohan was too good a husband to make any distinction between his two wives; indeed, he treated them equally well, and if any distinction was at all made, it was made in favour of the elder, who was the mother of two sons. . . .

As was the custom in those days, Ramaprosad took his first lessons in Bengali from a guru mohasay of the old type. The education then given in the pathsala was of the commonest kind possible, and the teacher thought that he had fully done his duty towards his pupil if he had sufficiently initiated him in the Three R's, as they are called, namely, Reading, 'Riting and 'Rithmetic. Ramaprosad, however, was not allowed to remain long under the care and tutorship of such a teacher of the primitive kind. He was taken to Calcutta where he lived under the guardianship of his brother, Radhaprosad, at a house in Amherst Street, his father residing in his garden house in Circular Road. By this time Rammohan's second wife, Srimati Devi, had died. She had remained in the Raghoonathpore house in the suburbs of the classic city of Khanacool Krishnagore, and it was there that she closed her eyes for the last time. News

of her serious illness had been sent to Rammohan at Calcutta, and he lost no time in sending his eldest son, Radhaprosad, to Krishnagore, carefully warning him against giving the customary fire-brand to his mother's face in the event of her death. Ramaprosad was then only eight years of age, and so he was denied the pleasure of doing his last offices to his beloved mother. Srimati died and Radhaprosad came back to Calcutta with the melancholy intelligence. It would appear that Rammohan had been living in his garden house with his third wife from before, and that was probably the reason why Radhaprosad with his younger brother were living in a different house. The sons were not on bad terms with their father. Indeed, Radhaprosad was very obedient, and whatever he was asked by Rammohan to do, whether it tallied with his own individual views or not, he did it without demur or hesitation. Though he was not at one with Rammohan in the matter of reforms attempted by him against the time-honoured customs and superstitions of the Hindus, still he oftentimes made his conscience yield to parental command and, accordingly, when his mother, Srimati, died, he in strict compliance with his father's behest, did not apply the funeral torch to her face, as has ever been the custom amongst us from time out of mind. We do not know how the mourning ceremony was observed or the *Shrad* performed, but the probability is that neither of them was done in the right orthodox mode. Radhaprosad on his part was not unworthy of such a father. He was well-educated, and in after-life, cut a good figure in Calcutta society. He was a prominent member of the Landholders Association and took part in all its proceedings. No wonder, then, that he regarded his father—a father who made all other fathers

venerable—with the greatest respect. One other striking instance of his implicit obedience we would fain notice here. When his only son, Protap Chand, died, or rather was believed by the many to be dead, Raja Tej Chandra was sunk in the deepest sorrow. He bewailed the loss very sorely and gave up all connection with temporal affairs, leaving the management of his vast estates in the hands of his Diwan. At this time Radhaprosad, who considerably resembled the much-lamented prince in form and features, was living at Burdwan on some business. Having by a pure accident seen Radhaprosad, the bereaved Raja's grief swelled tenfold, whereupon he sent some of his principal *Amlas* to the latter, saying that if he would remain constantly by his side, he would there and then make him a grant of one half of his property, and appoint him manager of the other half. Radhaprosad said that as he was not his own master, he could not give a definite answer without consulting his father. Rammohan who, though shabbily treated by his father, Ramkanta, yet shared in his feelings against the Burdwan Raj, wrote to his son in reply that, should he accept the Raja's proposal, he would not only incur his grave displeasure but also forfeit all rights of sonship with the benefits and privileges attending it. Radhaprosad, like the really good and obedient son that he was, made no hesitation in giving a flat refusal to the Raja's request, thereby losing a very glorious opportunity of enriching himself. If, on the contrary, he had acceded to the royal request, the affairs of the Burdwan House would have taken quite a different turn from what they are now.*

* This anecdote is given in a little brochure in Bengalee, entitled "Some Anecdotes from the Life of Raja Rammohan Roy," written by Nanda Mohan Chatterjee, a collateral descendant of the Raja.

A few days after his arrival at Calcutta, young Ramaprosad was placed in the Parental Academy, now represented by the Doveton College. This has been an institution for the education principally of European and Eurasian youths, only a very small sprinkling of the *bonâ-fide* natives of the soil are found to be grinding their alphabets in it. It does not appear why the Hindu boy was sent to that foreign institution instead of to the Hindu College, which had been only recently established* for the higher education of Hindu lads. But the probability is that as Rammohan had alienated from him the hearts of the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta by his heterodox views and propensities, he might have thought that these men would not like the idea of his son being educated in the institution which they had established for the education of the sons of orthodox parents like themselves. But whatever might have been the motive of Rammohan for sending his son to the Parental Academy, Ramaprosad prosecuted his studies there for a considerable period, and it was mainly to this circumstance that he owed his thorough knowledge of English, which did him such yeoman's service when he entered upon the arena of the world. Ramaprosad wrote and spoke English remarkably well, and it is a well-known fact that his command of that foreign tongue was oftentimes the theme of admiration with the Judges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Indeed, Ramaprosad possessed to an eminent degree the gift of the gab, and it was really a pleasure to hear him arguing cases in Court. What Moonshee

* This College was established in the year 1817. Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, took a prominent part in the matter of its establishment.

(afterwards Nawab) Ameer Ali, a brother pleader at the Sadar, was in Hindi, Ramaprosad was in English. Both of them were consummate masters of the oratorical art, and were listened to with rapt attention, not unaccompanied by silent wonder and admiration. Indeed, their forensic eloquence was of a very high order and seldom failed to make a very deep impression upon the minds of the Judges. No wonder, then, that they succeeded well at the bar and acquired a large fortune. But as the learned Moonshee was a perfect stranger to English, he was left far behind in the race for fame and fortune. Indeed, Ramaprosad rose to the very top of the profession, and reigned there supreme for a considerable period. Though he continued long in the Parental Academy yet he did not complete his education there; that honour was due to the Hindu College, which he joined after his father's death. It does not appear how long he remained in that College, but this is clear that, that gave the finishing touch to his scholastic training. Ramaprosad turned out to be an excellent English scholar, and in this respect he might be said to have peered above his illustrious father. But though in his knowledge of English he rose superior to Rammohan, he fell considerably short of him in his linguistic and theological acquirements, which had a very wide range and compass. Ramaprosad, it is true, greatly excelled in his own profession, *viz.*, the learned profession of law, and was regarded as the prince of pleaders in his time; but taking all things together, and weighing the merits of both in golden scales, one would be inclined to place the father above the son. The twain were luminaries in the world of letters, but the lustre of the one was more varied and brighter than that of the other.

After his father's death, Ramaprosad, as we have already stated, joined the Hindu College, where he studied for at least a couple of years, if not more. Leaving College for good, he retired to his family seat at Nangalpara, just as Milton had retired to Horton after leaving Cambridge, and commenced studying Persian and Sanskrit, in both of which he acquired a competent knowledge. He was also initiated in zamindari affairs, which afterwards proved so very useful to him in the matter of the settlement of disputes with his tenantry. About this time Ramaprosad and his brother were involved in difficulties, and the aspect of things became so very gloomy, that he was obliged to take service under Government. He made an application to the proper authorities, and his prayer was readily listened to. Indeed, it could not have been otherwise, seeing who the applicant was, and what his qualifications were. Unlike the sons of rich folks generally, Ramaprosad was the very reverse of an aristocratic noodle; he was naturally very intelligent and was also well grounded in knowledge. On being appointed Deputy Collector on a salary of Rs. 200 a month, he went to Goari Krishnagar, the headquarters of the Nadia district. We do not know what the precise nature of the work he was entrusted with was, but there is no doubt that whatever it was, the young Deputy did it well and became popular with all classes of people. Indeed, the beginning was unusually hopeful, and it is very likely, if not absolutely certain, that had he stuck to Government service, Ramaprosad would have highly distinguished himself in it.

Having done good service at Krishnagar, where he remained only for a few short months, Ramaprosad seemed to have established his claim to get a station nearer home, and, accordingly, he was transferred to the Sadar station of Hooghly, the very district in which his family residence was situated. He was entrusted with survey and settlement work in connection with the Government Khas Mehals. His settlements with the tenants were gladly accepted by them as being fair and equitable, and were also considered by his official superiors as quite satisfactory. He thus became a great favourite with the district Collector, Mr. George Percival Leycester.* In fact, the latter was so highly pleased with the manner in which Ramaprosad discharged his duties that he delegated to him almost all the powers which he could do consistently with law and practice, so that the Deputy became the *de facto* Collector of Hooghly. While at this place Ramaprosad took part in all proceedings which were set on foot for the well-being and improvement of the district. On the 5th June, 1840, a very important meeting was held by the inhabitants of Hooghly, Chinsura and Chandernagore,† for the purpose of considering whether Hooghly was ripe for having some sort of local self-government being given to it. Mr. Edward Alexander Samuells, ‡ who had preceded Mr. Leycester in the Collector's chair, presided at the meeting. The meeting

* Dr. Crawford, however, says that Mr. Leycester as well as his predecessor, Mr. Samuells, was Magistrate only. (See *Medical Gazetteer* of the Hooghly District, Chapter XIV.). But he does not appear to be correct.

† British Chandernagore, as distinguished from the French Settlement of that name.

‡ This gentleman afterwards became Commissioner, and ultimately rose to be a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat.

was fairly successful, inasmuch as at it the first Municipal Committee was elected, and three members were appointed for each of the three places represented therein. Thus, the germ of local self-government was first laid in Hooghly in 1840, and though there were circumstances which threatened to nip it in the bud, it at last took firm root, and has now grown up to a flourishing young tree which, if properly manured and watered, is sure to become as strong and lasting as English oak.

After Mr. Samuells left the district, Mr. Leycester took his place. Ramaprosad, as we have already stated, became a great favourite with the latter, whom he helped materially in his work. In 1842* the Collector having fallen ill, Ramaprosad was placed in charge of the District. Mr. Toynbee in his interesting work on the Hooghly district has remarked that this was probably the first instance of a native Deputy Collector being in such charge. In 1843 Ramaprosad was deputed to test the measurements made of lands required for a part of the Cuttack road between Uluberia and Midnapur, and also to fix the rates. After he had done the work so entrusted to him, Mr. Samuel Wauchope, the Assistant Collector, who afterwards so highly distinguished himself in the Police line, was in the following year deputed to test his report. The result redounded to the credit of Ramaprosad, and, thus,

* While serving at Hooghly, Ramaprosad now and then came down to Calcutta. He was present at the meeting which was called by Raja Krishna Nath Roy at the Theatre of the Medical College on the 17th June for the purpose of commemorating the memory of that great educationist, David Hare. At that meeting, it was resolved that a statue should be raised by public subscription among the native community. Ramaprosad was a member of the Committee proposed to be appointed for the purpose of carrying into effect the resolution of the meeting. (See Bholanath Chunder's *Life of Raja Digamber Mitra*, p. 22.)

matters wore a very smiling and cheerful aspect for him. But soon a change came over the whole scene, and it was decidedly a change for the worse. The harmony which had hitherto existed between the Collector and his Deputy was disturbed and things were found to be out of joint. The great man suddenly got offended with his subordinate, not however in consequence of any defect in the discharge of his duties, but for a purely private reason, and he showed his deep displeasure by reporting Ramaprosad to the higher authorities for his dismissal, basing his report upon some fancied flaws which he thought he had found in his work. When Ramaprosad came to know how the wind was blowing in the official sky, he lost no time in informing his brother of it. Radhaprosad at once called on Mr. Dampier, the then head of the Police, and they both saw Mr. Harvey, the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, who managed matters in such a way that the report which Mr. Leycester had made against Ramaprosad was in a manner shelved, at any rate, it was not acted upon. However, as it was not deemed desirable to keep the latter any longer under Mr. Leycester, he was transferred to the district of 24-Parganas as Sunderban Deputy Collector. But in his new post as he had to deal with more than one official superior, Ramaprosad soon found that it was anything but a bed of roses, and that it could not be held by him without compromising his position as an officer of rank and importance. He, accordingly, thought, for the first time, of entering an independent profession. When this idea was communicated to the old servants and well-wishers of the family, they were quite alarmed and earnestly besought him not to harbour such an unrighteous thought in his mind. In course of time, however,

when they saw the thing in its true light, they all came round and assented to his joining the Sadar Diwani Adalat. But here, again, a difficulty arose which for a time threw an obstacle in the way of his desire being fulfilled. The Court asked him to produce a testimonial as to his fitness and competency for being made a pleader. This rule had been only recently enacted, and Mr. John Russell Colvin, the Chief Judge, did not deem it prudent or advisable to relax it almost at the very outset. Ramaprosad brought the matter to the notice of Ram Gopal Ghose, better known as orator than as merchant, which he was by profession, who on his part lost no time in seeing Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, the Law Member of the Supreme Council, and a very influential man in other respects. This gentleman, who never failed to express deep regret for having opposed Rammohan Roy in his efforts to suppress the *Sati* rite, readily caught hold of this opportunity to do a good turn to his son. He immediately wrote to Sir John Littler, the then Deputy Governor of Bengal, pointing out to him the flagrant injustice which the Sadar Diwani Adalat was going to perpetrate. Notwithstanding its indignant tone, the letter was otherwise happily worded. Mr. Bethune began his letter by asking the question—"Would a son of Nelson ask a ship from the British Line, should he be refused!"—and concluded it by saying that "the British people here would be guilty of a great injustice if they prevented Raja Rammohan Roy's son from working in their Court when he would depend upon his own exertions for his livelihood." This letter at once disarmed all opposition and Ramaprosad was forthwith enrolled as a pleader of the Sadar Court in the year of grace 1844.

CHAPTER IV.

RAMAPROSAD'S EARLY CAREER AT THE SADAR COURTS.

Ramaprosad's early days at the bar were not unlike those of the few who had preceded him as well as of the many who followed him. They were hard and dreary days, no doubt, for, while one has to keep up his position, he does not have the wherewithal to do so. Such a disagreeable state of things can be more easily imagined than described. Ramaprosad got so awfully vexed with the idle indolent life of one who, though anxious for work, cannot yet get any, that he thought of reverting to his former post, which he could well do, as he had not resigned it, but had only left it on furlough for six months. But in this he was strongly, though not unbecomingly, opposed by his Persian moonshee and trusted servant, who, at last, persuaded him to wait a few days there. It was also about this critical time that he was threatened with total loss of his property. The few estates that still remained to the family were about to be sold for arrears of rent. But luckily for him, he somehow managed to tide over the difficulty and, thus, the little remnant of his vast patrimony was saved from the dreaded hammer of the auctioneer. His prospect at the bar, too, looked up. On entering the bar, as he had for some time very little business at Court, Ramaprosad had made good use of his ample leisure by studying the current laws and circulars and had gained a fairly competent knowledge of both; and as he possessed a sufficient mastery of the English language and was to a considerable degree gifted with the power of eloquence, he commenced making that impression in Court which ultimately made money flow into his hands in profuse streams.

When Ramaprosad entered upon his professional career—a career which afterwards brought him so prominently to the fore—Mr. J. G. Waller and Prasanna Kumar Tagore were the recognized leaders at the bar of the Sadar Court. The latter was also the Government pleader,* and besides his extensive practice, which was almost without a parallel, had considerable influence in the native community at Calcutta. Finding that young Ramaprosad possessed real sterling merit, Prasanna Kumar took him by the hand and gave him his powerful support. This proved a tower of strength to Ramaprosad, and hence he rose rapidly in practice, and at length found himself well able to hold his own against his “friend, philosopher and guide.” Cases were not few in which he had to show fight to Prasanna Kumar, and surely the combat was often like that between two stalwart knights of the Middle Ages for the favour of the same beautiful Lady.

Prasanna Kumar had been pretty long at the bar and it is, therefore, not to be wondered at that he had made an immense fortune. Indeed, his professional income was very large, much larger than that of the Chief Judge himself. He had also vast influence outside the precincts of the Court. Thus, taking all things together, he was almost a power in the land, and it is, therefore, only natural that the slightest aspersion cast on the character of such an eminent personage should seriously hurt his *amour propre*. The Court having in an unguarded moment made a somewhat disparaging remark about him, Prasanna Kumar, sufficiently thick-skinned as he was, nevertheless took it to heart and at

* He succeeded Mr. Neil B. C. Baillie, who was the first Government pleader of the Sadar Court, just as Sir John Day was the first Advocate-General of the Supreme Court. Mr. Baillie, however, is better known as an author of some very learned and useful works on Mahomedan Law than as Government Advocate.

once threw up his Government pleadership which was such a fruitful source of honour and emolument to him. But though he resigned the Government pleadership, he did not at once bid adieu to Government service for good. Some time after, when the Legislative Council of India was constituted under the presidency of Lord Dalhousie, he was offered by that distinguished Governor-General the office of Clerk Assistant to that Council, which he gladly accepted. This was not an honorary appointment, but had a pay of Rs. 1,200 a month attached to it. Prasanna Kumar did good service in his new sphere of life and proved very useful to his official superior, Mr. William Morgan, the great lawyer. He also assisted Sir Barnes Peacock and his colleagues in the final settlement of the Penal Code and revised the vernacular translation of the Code in conjunction with a few select Oriental scholars. Indeed, Prasanna Kumar was a very useful, honourable and prominent man of his time, and when, at last, in 1868, he left this world, he left it full of years and honours.

(To be continued.)

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

Art. VI.—THE LETTERS OF A GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, 1839-1841.*

(Continued from page 212.)

14.—RIGHT HON'BLE, STEWART MACKENZIE,

etc., etc., etc.

DHAPOORIE, NEAR POONA, 4th August 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 11th ultimo, with its enclosure, which was despatched with our mail of yesterday for England. I shall always be happy to take charge of your correspondence, as I have already written to you. I am happy to tell you that my fall from my horse was attended with no consequence of any importance. Whenever anything happens to persons in the position which you and I occupy, it is usually much exaggerated; such is the case frequently in public events, and it never was more exemplified than in the reported conspiracy in this place. It turned out a mere nothing, and I have heard less of plots since my arrival, in fact we are in a state of most satisfactory tranquillity in the territories subject to this presidency,—and as far as I know, it is so everywhere else, within our own possessions. Not so as regards our external relations. I have had a *confidential* communication from the Governor-General about the Burmese, with whom I fear we shall be compelled, by the threatening attitude they have assumed, by the assemblage of forces on our frontiers, to come into collision by some act of aggression on their part. I mention this to you, in the spirit of the communication to me, not only because I know you to be interested in our proceedings in India generally, but because I think it possible that Lord Auckland might in the contingency of a war with Burmah, look to your Government for some aid, either in the way of shipping or in

* The letter copy book in which these letters are entered was purchased by Mr. Firminger at a book sale by auction at Calcutta. The letters are copied neatly, by a clerk, but one or two seem to be in Sir James' own hand.

some other respects. The *Jupiter* I hope has long since returned to the Admiral at Trincomalee; she would be an admirable thing to carry troops from Madras to the opposite coast. We could not tell why she was sent here except it was to join the Admiral, in the supposition that he was in the Persian Gulf. Our news from England by the June Mail is less interesting than usual. Lord Melbourne and his former colleagues still in office, but the radical section of his supporters, very much dissatisfied with the "frivolity" principle. A coalition of Whigs and Conservatives, seems to be the probable result of this state of things; some change, I apprehend, must take place after the dissolution, an event expected in the course of the autumn. I have a letter from Sir John Keane, dated Kandahar, 16th June, the army was to advance to Kabul, at latest by the 20th, and it was reported, and pretty generally believed, that Dost Mahomed would sue for terms. At Lahore the family feuds which had followed the death of Runjeet Singh had been quite reconciled, and his eldest son acknowledged by all parties. This is very satisfactory, now that we have so much on our hands. The Nepaulese are not well disposed towards us, but their internal dissensions are fortunate at this crisis. I beg you will recommend me to Mrs. S. Mackenzie, in which Lady Carnac joins me.

And believe me, my Dear Sir,

Most truly yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

15.—HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUT.-GENL. SIR JOHN KEANE,

K. C. B., G. C. H.,

Commander-in-Chief,

etc., etc., etc.,

Kandahar.

PRIVATE.

DHAPOORIE, 11th August 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I know not whether this will reach you in the insecure state of our communications. I thank you sincerely for your kind letter of the 16th June which reached me a few days ago. I rejoice to see that you

are going forward amidst many difficulties to a successful result of the important service committed to your hands. Many were the due prognostications of disastrous failure when I left England; nothing less in the imaginations of some than the repetition of the French retreat from Moscow, but in these feelings I did not in the least participate. I always felt the necessity of Lord Auckland's policy and I knew that the service would be nobly executed. I am therefore one of those, and there were not many, who have from the first been a warm admirer of the energy and decision of those by whom the policy was projected. The result already has ensured tranquillity in India and thrown Russia back a century in her ambitious designs. It has done even more, it has humbled Russia in the eyes of Europe and developed to its nations the vast resources and power of England. I am induced to think you will have no resistance at Kabul. It would be better that Dost Mahomed should make a fight to give the Affghans some idea of your prowess and invincibility. The worst which I apprehend is that the Sirdars may fly into exile and keep up excitement. Our local difficulties will begin when the expedition terminates. We must not think, for a time at least of leaving the Shah to the defence of his moderately disciplined levies. His Battalions may be brought into a good state but his Hindoostanee Cavalry will turn out inefficient on the pay assigned to them. I have some doubts also as to the climate suiting any troops from Hindoostan. The Cavalry Corps should, if possible, be composed of Affghans or such sort of men as exist or did exist in Skinner's Horse. But there are much better judges on these points than I can pretend to be. I hope that our Governor-General who has done so much in diplomacy will yet get the Sheik to restore Peshawar to Shah Shujah. It will do very much to conciliate the people to his sway. We should have Attock and construct a fort there on the best scientific principles, and this with Bakhur and Karachee and Tatta will shape a line of defence for our Empire here of inappreciable value. I concur with you in your views regarding Scind. No dependance can be placed on the Ameers, and the effect of our occupation of their country in the first instance, when we had ample ground for

hostility, would have rendered the tribes to the west of the Indus subservient to our ultimate purposes. In this Presidency we are more quiet than in most of the counties of England. I have come up here to have personal intercourse with the Sirdars and the people and to endeavour to settle the Sattarah Affair.* I am going there in a few days and as my policy is to forget and forgive, I hope that I shall effect my object with some securities for the future. The Rajah, however, is not a reasonable man and he is deluded by adventurers and misled by the Free Press. I understand that strongest orders are coming out to empower Government summarily to dismiss officers detected in and writing against authority in the newspapers. The difficulty will be to detect them. The *Gazette* here has already begun to abuse me: this is really "too bad." I would not mind if they spoke the truth and their misstatements are too contemptible to be noticed: in reply it would only be making the paper more saleable. I cannot bear who is to succeed Sir Henry Fane. I have heard your name mentioned and it would be a matter of course if you would accept it. Sir Henry, as you are aware, is here, and I like him much: we see each other almost daily and his straightforwardness is quite to my taste, while at the same time, he is a model of a perfect gentleman. We are to have the 15th Hussars at Poona, until affairs are more settled in your quarters. They are to be mounted, and, when they can, be spared to relieve the 13th Dragoons at Madras, the horses are to be transferred to the 4th Dragoons to supply its casualties. We can I think spare you some troops for Scind or elsewhere should you be in want of them. I have directed all officers belonging to corps in the field to join forthwith on the opening of the season. There are some with Bheel Corps, which cannot be spared.

I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you at Bombay on the termination of the service. I owe you many acknowledgments for your kindness to me on many occasions.

I have this morning appointed Captain Erskine to the Poona Horse vacated by the promotion of Major Cunningham,

* The reader is referred to an article in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. x., Sept. 1848. "Satara and the British Connection therewith."

and Lieutenant Lock of the 1st Cavalry to be 2nd in Command. I hope you approve of the selection. Pray write me. Lady Carnac joins in best respects and believe me in a hurry, ever truly yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

16.—HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL SIR HENRY FANE, G. C. B.,
etc., etc., etc.

PRIVATE.

DHIAPOORIE, 20th August 1839.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—I now return with best thanks the several interesting papers which you have been so good as to allow me to peruse. I have ventured to take a copy of those relating to the substitution of camels for bullocks in the transport of artillery, in order that I may have the advantage of the information they contain when the question is brought before this Government. I hope that you have no objection to my doing so, as it is not my intention without your permission to make any public use of them.

With regard to the papers conveying the opinions of the Duke of Wellington on the prosecution of the operations of the army destined for Affghanistan, perhaps you will allow me to make transcripts of such valuable documents for record in the Secret Department. As far as I can presume to judge you appear to have anticipated the suggestions of that great man, and there is no one in the Empire who will more rejoice than his Grace to find that the expedition, under your general superintendence and direction of its movements and equipments, has been attended with such signal success. I am delighted to observe the opinion of the Duke that we should cover the Indus with steamers; he describes with wonderful foresight the inappreciable advantages of such a measure. It will be a greater blow (excuse my presumption in venturing an opinion) to the power of Russia in Central Asia—and so the counteraction of any designs she entertains on India—than any other means which could be devised west of the Indus, where we should meddle as little as possible after Shah Sujah is established on his throne. On the necessity of our present interference in

Affghanistan I never entertained the slightest doubt. A little more forbearance and we should have had India in a ferment, while the establishment of Russian influence in Candahar and Kabool would have cost us more money and anxiety than a dozen expeditions in that quarter. Lord Auckland's policy, therefore, entitles him, in my humble judgment, to the gratitude of his country. In the conversation we had the other day I apprehend that you did not concur with me as to making the Indus our line of defence to the westward. I am no advocate for territorial aggrandisement, we have quite as much of territory as we can manage. I would not take an acre from the Ruler of the Punjab and annex it to our own possessions. But then the Indus would be a base for military operations, so much facilitated by the power of Steam, which would ensure security to our dominions from the sea to the Indian Caucasus. Effectually to accomplish this, we should permanently hold Karachee, Bakhur and Attock, at which last place it appears to my untutored mind that a fortress should be constructed on the best scientific principles capable of holding out against any force till relief could be afforded,—we should thus be in possession of all the portals of India to the west and have complete command of the whole navigation of the Indus. It is I think very expedient that the Seikhs should be withdrawn from their conquest of Peshawar. It would conciliate the Affghans to their new ruler and consolidate his power: indeed it would ultimately be worth our while to give something to gain Kurruck Sing's consent: thus, while Shah Sujah would command all the great passes in his country, India would be impregnable from the double barriers of those passes and our command of the Indus. I must ask your indulgence to my obtrusion of my sentiments on a question which perhaps is far beyond my comprehension. I beg you to excuse this scrawl, written under many interruptions and in the preparations for my departure to Sattarah to-morrow morning.

Believe me,
Yours most truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

17.—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OVANS,

etc., etc., etc.

DHAPPOORIE, 6th September 1839.

½ past 6 A.M.

MY DEAR COLONEL,—Mr. Willoughby has this moment communicated to me your letter of yesterday, reporting your measures for the seizure of the Rajah and the accomplishment of that object. I cannot allow myself to postpone the expression of my warmest acknowledgments to you, for the firmness, judgment and discretion which has attended the whole course of your proceedings in this painful case. To these qualities I attribute the accomplishment of the Rajah's capture without accident or bloodshed, which to my feelings is a comfort that I cannot describe. Accept my fervent congratulations on the happy termination of your many anxieties, and my wishes that the public service may long have the advantage of your valuable assistance.

I am sure that it is only expressing your own inclination, when I say that it is my earnest desire that the unfortunate Rajah should be treated with every kindness and consideration, consistent with his present situation. The understanding which you have come to with his successor, on several points of future administration is most judicious, his consent not to countenance or permit the practice of suttee in his dominions is a most grateful concession and for which you are eminently entitled to my thanks. I had heard when at Sattara, that this abominable sacrifice was of frequent occurrence at Mahowlie on the river, and that the generous exertions of our Government to put it down in our own territories, were often defeated by the victims repairing to those of Sattarah for the consummation of their purpose. You will no doubt see that the Rajah is vigilant in this matter; I am also glad to find that we are to have nothing to say to the ceremonies of the Dussera except by way of compliment to the Rajah personally.

I can enter at present on no other observations on your general proceedings, which have my perfect approbation.

Believe me, my dear Colonel,
Most faithfully yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

18.—SIR RICHARD JENKINS, G. C. B.

PRIVATE.

DHAPPOORIE, 9th September 1839.

MY DEAR JENKINS,—On the day before yesterday I had the satisfaction to receive your letter of the 15th July. This mail came in a few days later than usual, and we began to apprehend some misunderstanding had taken place with Mahomed Ali of Egypt. I have been sorry to hear of the "Association of British India" whatever it may mean: it will do no good, here or in England. Decidedly mischief in the country, and as you say, if it flourishes, of which I have my doubts, it would contribute to our downfall in course of time. ~~But~~ there is another view in which it may be considered, and it behoves the Court of Directors and the home authorities, to be vigilant. Some, and I hope many, are influenced by philanthropic motives, however mistaken; others, by ambition and a desire of domination and dictation under the garb of humanity. You must not allow yourselves to be told by irresponsible parties, great as their names may be, what is your duty, or you had better abdicate your functions at once. Parliament is the only authority to which the authorities at home are amenable, and I should, in your place, always refer the Association to that tribunal for the hearing and redress of any presumed grievance, which it may set forth. It is, however, a dangerous society to the peace of India and will be the nucleus of the disaffected.

I have been here for the last five weeks. I came up to see the Sirdars of the Deccan, and to be amongst the people whose minds were in a very unsettled state. I believe that my presence has been very useful, for now all seem contented and general tranquillity prevails. My main object, however, was the settlement of the Satara affair, which has been settled, but in a way very different from my original intention and wishes.

After a studied examination of the evidence, I reluctantly came to the conclusion, that it was irresistible as to the Rajah's guilt on the three charges against him.

While on my voyage out, the Governor-General and every member of the Government of India had declared the Rajah

deserving of deposal, which it is more than probable would have been done, and the Sattara territory annexed to ours, had the orders not reached India, that the consideration of the question should be postponed, until my arrival. I regret that the matter was not allowed to take its usual course, though by this I am far from meaning that I shrink from the responsibility of what I have done. In place of proceeding to extremities against the Rajah I proposed to the Governor-General that we should grant him an amnesty of the past under certain conditions, which in the end were as follows: 1st that he should hereafter abide by his Treaty of 1819; 2nd that he should dismiss from his counsels his minister who has been in Poona Jail for the last two years; 3rd that ~~he~~ should restore the allowances of his brother ~~which~~ he had stopped I believe when he took shelter in our Cantonment; and lastly that he would not injure or persecute those of his subjects, on whose information to us, his misconduct had been exposed. I must refer you and our friend Bayley, for the details to my minute reporting the whole proceedings, which goes by this steamer. I went to Sattarah in the midst of the rains, and when cholera was prevailing in those parts by which I lost three of my escort while at the place, with a sincere desire to come to an amicable settlement, by bringing the past in oblivion, but the Rajah was resolute in his determination to reject the moderate terms proposed to him. and the consequence was that he has been deposed, and his brother proclaimed, without accident or disturbance of any kind, a vast satisfaction to me. I abstain from particulars in this letter, because they are fully stated in my report, and if there should be any who dissent from or denounce the transaction all I want is, that the whole of the papers should be published, and then none but partizans, can find a just ground for complaint. I have alluded to what I conceive (in my minute) to have been the causes of my failure, to bring the Rajah to a sense of his situation. Among them are the Agents, European and Native, and the delusions practised on him by our famous free press. Among the European agents who are prominent, you will see in Colonel Ovan's report that Captain Cogan and Dr. Milne are the most prominent on the

present occasion. Mr. Baker was reported an active defender of the Rajah, before I came to Bombay, but I have seen nothing of it in my proceedings; he has resigned the service, and is going home in a month or two. Captain Cogan returns by this steamer, having come out in some public capacity from Her Majesty's Government, to the Imaum of Muscat (by the bye hereafter all our relations with the Imaum, as well as Chiefs in the Persian Gulf should only be subject to the Government of India and perhaps you will talk this over with Sir John Hobhouse), and I have no doubt of his being a sturdy advocate of the deposed Rajah. He will I daresay soon be enrolled in the "British India Society," particularly as I see that among the persons enumerated as having been in the platform at the first meeting, are two Mahomedans who are the vakeels from Sattara. I wish you attentively to look at the "intercepted correspondence" forwarded by Colonel Ovens, and that Sir John should do the same and draw your own conclusions; it is appended to my minute. I hope you will relieve my anxiety to have your opinion, (I mean that of the Secret Committee or the Court) as soon as you can, though I have no doubt of the approval of Lord Auckland and the Government of India. I am already attacked by the partizan newspapers, and expect to be violently abused by certain parties at home. It will I suspect be said by them that I am most unfit for my office, and there will be no end to detraction, by natives, and perhaps our own countrymen here; but a public man who does his duty, must not be deterred by such considerations. The reputation of the British Government required that the unworthy contumacy of the Sattara Rajah should be made an example of: having myself gone to Sattara and asking nothing but what was most moderate and in no way penal: to have done nothing afterwards, would have made our Government the laughing stock of the whole country, and encouraged intrigue and disaffection dangerous to its future peace.

I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on our triumphant success in Afghanistan: the capture of Ghuzni was a splendid achievement, and reports from Lahore, where a grand salute was fired on the information received there, state,

that a decisive battle was fought on the 1st and 2nd August near Kabool, when Dost Mahomed was signally routed, one of his sons killed, and his cannon left on the field. He is said to have fled into Toorkistan with a few Cavalry and that we entered Kabool on the 4th in grand state with the Shah. We have already official advices of our possession of the Khaiber Pass, which was gallantly achieved by Colonel Wade and the Seik Auxiliaries. What will the croakers say now? Lord Auckland's administration will be highly distinguished in the annals of history; he has consolidated our power and the peace of India for generations. In the Punjaub, all is perfectly tranquil, no outbreaks on the succession of Kurrack Singh and he zealously co-operates with us. With the Ameers of Sind, the amended Treaty has at last been signed, the effect no doubt of our success with Shah Sujah. The Nepaulese and Burmese, more pacific, though I trust the Governor-General will take a good opportunity of humbling them; the monsoon capital this year throughout India, the Revenues improving and in spite of our large expenditure, there has been no new loan. India generally tranquil, and our army efficient and contented. You allude in your letter to the Parsee question in Bombay. I found the Parsees in great excitement, as well as the Hindoo community when I arrived: the religious mania was running high, but now all is right: only say as little about these matters in England as you can. I mix much with the natives, the principal natives always attending my parties, and access to me, permitted at all times. They know my sentiments, observe what I do and publicly avow, and the face of things appears changed. We hear nothing, now too, of plots and conspiracies, which were rife when I came, and if we are let alone at home, I will take care, where my power extends, that missionaries or conspirators shall do no harm. It will please you to learn that with the new Rajah of Sattarah I have been so fortunate as to arrange that he will permit no suttee in his territory. Whenever parties in our territories wished the possible ceremony to take place, they had nothing to do, but to go to Sattarah, situated in the very heart of our own country, and there burn at pleasure. I have made no formal engagements

for its discontinuance as that I think would be interfering too prominently, and defeat my view of other states following what would appear an act of the Sattarah State itself. I have also got him to dispense with such part of the ceremonies at the Dussera festival, as would bear the construction that we in any way participated in its idolatrous usages. He has now only to be complimented when *he* makes his appearance, with a royal salute from cannon—no troops to be paraded or join in the procession.

We are and have been working hard in the dock yards to construct our steamers for the Indus, working on Sundays, as far as the natives were concerned, after a little opposition to ~~the~~ measure from my worthy colleague Farish, who though straight laced, is a good man. The iron steam boats sent from London are most shameful and an investigation ought to be made. The boats from Liverpool excellent, *mark this*. Lord Auckland wants fewer boats on the Indus than I think should be there; that river to speak figuratively ought to be covered with steam boats. It strikes me that our friend the great Lord, looks at the question, more with reference to a nascent commerce, than in a political point of view, but I say this with great deference to his means of superior information and his enlarged understanding. The relations in Scind, it appears, are to be kept under the direct control of the Supreme Government, though everything is to be supplied from Bombay. We are all ready to lend good aid in the way of steam, in the event of a Burmese war, and yet to manage to keep up our communications with you. I wish the Court had taken the proposal of the Company for comprehensive steam navigation, being of course previously satisfied of their ability to perform their engagements. Be assured that the more steam is extended in India, the greater the stability of your power. You should even give encouragement to an experiment in this way: you know that I do not relish judging on State matters, on the "dot and go one" principle. You will see how matters stand in the Persian Gulf, where we ought to maintain our supremacy. Aden in my humble opinion has been a foolish acquisition: we should have supported the old Sultan and made all the use we want with his harbour. As it is it

will be an expensive possession to us, excite the jealousy of the Arab tribes, and yield nothing at all events for a very long while to come.

I believe that I have now said all my say, except as to the Guicowar who behaves as ill as ever. The Governor-General calls upon me to say, what should be done with him: it is not very easy to tell him, and I hope he will not wish me to go to Baroda; but I am ready to do anything, that is desired. I suspect the Sattarah affair will have its effect on Sevajee as well as on many others of his kind. You will allow me to send copy of this to Sir John Hobhouse—it saves me and my fingers pain and trouble. Kindest regards to Bayley, to whom I have not time to write by this opportunity and I know he will excuse me. Kind ~~regards~~ to Lady Jenkins.

Ever yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

N.B.—We shall soon settle Joudpore and Kurnool detected in intrigues. Forces on a large scale are moving upon these places, and will come into operation in another month or so. Lord Elphinstone is very efficient by all accounts and largely partakes of the many excellent qualities of his distinguished uncle. He is very popular at Madras.

J. R. C.

19.—RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE,
etc., etc., etc.

DHAPOORIE, NEAR POONA, 9th September 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I shall keep this letter open to the latest moment for our mail on the 12th in order that I may give you any fresh intelligence, which I may intermediately receive. On the day before yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 15th of July: most delighted was I to find you at the India Board and long may you be there for the interests of this country. You send me the correspondence from Bombay to Sir Charles Forbes about the Parsee conversion: I found the Parsees violently agitated

about it, and the Hindoos too, but it is all forgotten: still I think that some legislative protection should be given to the natives of this country against minors being converted, though I am quite aware how delicate a question it would be to handle in England. The natives know my sentiments well, and it has been my policy to mix much with them personally. They come in numbers to my parties, and can see me when they please. They all express perfect confidence in me, and have had proofs by my acts and my language on public occasions, that in matters of religion I am for entire toleration. At the same time I do very well with these missionaries, as far as I can tell, and will, so long as they do nothing unlawful. The religious mania at Bombay, also seems to have somewhat subsided. I will hear ~~nothing~~ *nothing out of reason*. I will have work done in our Dock yards of a Sunday on an emergency (as exists at this time in regard to the construction of our iron boats for the Indus). I would not give way to the proposition that all Government work should cease on the sabbath, under this Presidency, though those who perform it, are not Christians: these and some other matters of the kind, show that I am not *bitter*. Do not be alarmed that we shall have a religious feud here. I have told the natives of rank, that if they are afraid of their children becoming Christians, they should not send them to schools where professedly the Christian faith was inculcated. They have now all resolved that their boys shall only be educated at seminaries where that system is excluded—and this they are doing. I would much deprecate the subject of the Parsee boys being revived at home in any meeting, be it Parliament or elsewhere. I enclose copy of my letter to Sir Richard Jenkins, which, pray let me ask you to read, it will preclude the necessity of a long recapitulation on a subject of which I am wearied. You will see that I have been to Sattarah, and that the Rajah is deposed and his brother proclaimed. My minute sent by this mail, gives lengthened particulars. I may fairly say that no public event of my life has ever given me so much pain—but my duty, and our reputation in India, left me no alternative. I hope you will approve, and the sooner you determine, the better for me. I must in a word, call your attention to this

agency system; it has entirely been the ruin of this unfortunate Rajah and will also be the ruin of others. I am sorry indeed to find by the "intercepted correspondence" that Captain Cogan has been so active an agent. He came here on your service, that is, Her Majesty's, and he had done better, if he had meddled with nothing else. I expect of course in this Sattarah business, to make many opponents, and possibly enemies where I had friends.

Our success in Affghanistan is hand over hand and your object (for after all I do not know any one who has more right to the credit of our having adopted this trite and bold policy than yourself) is attained. I look upon it that the security and peace of India has now been attained for generations to come and that Lord Auckland's Administration ~~can~~ ^{can} suffer no disparagement, by a comparison with that of Hastings, or even with the splendour of the Wellesley rule. My letter to Sir Richard gives every thing I know up to this date, and my opinion of the general state of India which is most satisfactory. When we get your augmentation to the army, we shall have means enough to do anything further you may require of us. I suppose, when the service in Affghanistan is so far settled as placing Sujah on the Kabool throne, our generous and magnanimous Sovereign may condescend to notice some of the individuals engaged in it. If so—excuse me for saying that Colonel Pottinger has rendered considerable service. I do not personally know him or correspond with him, but judge him, as I do Mr. Russell of Madras now in England, by his public acts. If baronetries were to be given, both these men seem to me to deserve them, for their distinguished Indian Services, as well as Macnaghten if it is impertinent in one to say anything in such matters, I must trust to your good nature to excuse me. This time twelve months I was with you at Erle Stoke, and frequently think of that happy time, and my blundering shooting, to which Mr. Poulett Scrope will testify. By the bye, in a few days his friend Captain Stanton will be appointed to a situation he much covets. Captain S. is a good man and his family staunch Whigs he tells me.

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

20.—SIR CHARLES FORBES,*
etc., etc., etc.

DHAPOORIE, 10th September 1839.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—The interest which you took in the case of the Rajah of Sattara when I left England induces me now to trouble you with a few lines. I have been to Sattarah and did all in my power to save the Rajah: unhappily he would not attend to my advice, and the consequence has been his deposal. No event of my public life has given me so much pain, but there was no alternative of which I could consistently avail myself. You will I am sure reserve your opinion on my proceedings until you may have had an opportunity of being acquainted with all the circumstances: in the meantime I need hardly say, that every regard is shewn to the comfort and convenience of the late Rajah, compatible with his present situation, etc., etc., etc.

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

21.—SIR ALEXANDER BURNES,
etc., etc., etc.

PRIVATE.

DHAPOORIE, 12th September 1839.

MY DEAR SIR ALEXANDER,—A few days ago, I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 26th of July, and return you my best thanks for the expression of your kind wishes on the occasion of my arrival in this country. I have been in the Deccan for the last six weeks, and do not purpose being at Bombay before the middle or end of November. The Sattarah affair has been settled, but in a way different from my original wishes and intentions. I went to Sattarah to try to bring the infatuated Rajah to reason, and my offers to him of an amnesty for the past were accompanied by the most moderate conditions. He obstinately refused them, and the consequence has been his deposal and the succession of his brother. So much for Bombay intelligence, and now let me turn to a more gratifying topic, the splendid

* See Article in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. He had been the head of Forbes & Co., of Bombay: was made a Baronet in 1823, and died 20th November 1849.

success of our arms in your quarter. The accounts of the fall of Ghuzni and the occupation of Kabool reached us within a week of each other. I congratulate you most heartily upon these events and on what I now look upon to be a termination of the campaign. The desertion of Dost Mahomed's troops, is a proof that the people have no sympathy in the fortunes of the Barukyzes. And I should think that his power of doing mischief would be comparatively insignificant. A just and good government by the Shah ought to ensure permanent tranquillity with but little aid from us. I rather doubt the policy of his entertaining too many Hindoostanees in his army if Affghans could be depended upon and submit to some sort of order and discipline. I question, too, whether Hindoostanees, particularly infantry, would be round very efficient in such a climate. Could some satisfactory arrangements be made by which the Shah should again possess Peshawar, and all in that direction west of the Indus, it would greatly add to his popularity and strengthen his authority. I conclude of course that you will be the British representative at the Shah's Court, to which distinction you are so well entitled by your services and experience. I am a great advocate with the Governor-General for sending to the Indus as many steam boats, well-armed and equipped as we can provide. I have several now constructing at Bombay, some of which will I hope be at Karachee before the close of the year; they will give confidence and security: in a political and commercial point of view, a flotilla of steam boats to fly along the whole line of the Indus from Attock to the sea, would in my opinion be invaluable.

I hope you will sometimes give me the gratification of hearing from you and that you will freely make your suggestions on any point in which you may think that the Bombay Government can be of assistance. You are aware, perhaps, that from the first I have been a strenuous supporter of the policy in which you have taken so active and distinguished a part, and which happily has now been brought to a successful termination. In England, there were many forebodings of disaster and eminent men pronounced the enterprize as insane. I believe that no event

in the annals of Indian history, has tended so much to the security and peace of our Indian Empire, had we paused much longer in the energetic measures which were adopted, our days of supremacy in the East would have been numbered. Have you observed the account in the newspaper that Vickowitch, your competitor at Kabool, having destroyed *all his papers*, shot himself after his first interview with Count Nesselrode. I believe the statement to be true and it speaks volumes against Russia. There is a luminous article in the *Quarterly Review* of June, *defending* Lord Auckland's policy. I am getting it published in the Indian papers, for it contains in a small compass a mass of facts supported by most able arguments. I wish that I could send it to you. Can I be of any use to you in Bombay? you may without hesitation command my best services.

Believe me always,

• MY DEAR SIR ALEXANDER,

Sincerely yours,

• (Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

22.—HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

SIR JOHN KEANE, K. C. B.

DHAPPOORIE, 20th September 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Your packet for Lord Hill and your letter for me of the 11th of last month arrived at Bombay just a few hours after the steamer of the 13th had departed. I shall therefore only be able to forward your most interesting communication to his Lordship with its enclosures by the next opportunity, which will be on the 7th October. I thank you cordially for your kind note, and for your friendly consideration in allowing me to peruse its accompaniments. I do from my heart congratulate you on the noble termination of the arduous service on which you have been employed. I will venture to say that there has been no service in this part of the world, which more eminently demanded all the best qualities of a soldier, than the expedition in Affghanistan, which you have conducted to an issue so honourable to the

military reputation of our country, and so conducive to the security and stability of our Indian Empire. The capture of Ghuzni will be a memorable event in the annals of war and rank you among the heroes of our times. All are in praise of the vigour and judgment which distinguished the conception of the enterprize, and of the promptitude and gallantry with which it was executed. The Affghans may well exclaim, that the most formidable fortress between the Indus and the Caspian was reduced by magic, when we ourselves are amazed at the celerity of its reduction. The moral effect, even in the councils of the Russian Autocrat, which will be produced by the event is incalculable. It will demonstrate to the nations of Europe and Central Asia, the sort of power they would have to deal with in the East, of which they have been supremely ignorant. I have no doubt, that the fall of Ghuzni struck terror into the Affghan nation and deprived you of another opportunity of adding to your laurels by a defeat in the field of the army of Dost Mahomed. It will do more to confirm Shah Sujah on his throne of Kabool than the knowledge only, that he was befriended by the English. Most sincerely therefore do I felicitate you on the glory you have reaped, nor can I less congratulate all who have an interest and stake in India, on the consequences which your success in all stages of your expedition will produce in the consolidation of the power of the Indian Empire.

The advices of your proceedings went to England on the 13th; they conveyed information of the capture of Ghuzni and of your entry into Kabool. Due honour has been done to these great events in all parts of India, and perhaps more *here* as you are *our* Commander-in-Chief than elsewhere. Sir Henry Fane had all the troops paraded at this station and the notification of the fall of Ghuzni, was read to them in his presence. I gave a ball to the society of this Presidency in commemoration of the event, and our clergy in all the Churches have made your success the subject of their discourses. I hope in a short time to have the pleasure of seeing you in Bombay, I trust not the worse for your anxieties and fatigues.

I have every reason hitherto, to be satisfied with my position, my colleagues and the Secretariat giving me every

assistance. I have been obliged to depose the Rajah of Sattara and (the particulars of which you shall have when we meet) and have got and am to get a vast quantity of abuse in that vile paper the *Bombay Gazette*. It is a low, scurrilous, libellous publication which for its interested purposes, strives to awe the Government, and gives currency to any species of slander by every disaffected vagabond in the country. This is the fruit of the boasted free press, and I know not how it is to be controlled. Sir Henry Fane is at Kirkee anxiously waiting for his successor. By my letters of the 15th of July, it was said, (as you declined the command of India) that Sir Richard Bourke was confidently spoken of for that station. I have had great pleasure in making Sir Henry's acquaintance, from whom I have received many civilities and derived considerable information. His presence and that of his staff, who are high bred gentlemen, has contributed to the gaiety of Poona.

Believe me,
MY DEAR SIR JOHN,
Ever sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

23.—COLONEL POTTINGER,*

Resident, etc., etc.,
Cutch.

DHAPOORIE, 24th September 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—Mr. Danvers has this moment communicated to me your letter to his address reporting the death of your Surgeon. He also submitted to me your private recommendation of Mr. Winchester, and I hasten to assure you that it will afford me pleasure to attend to your wishes. I am sorry to observe that your health is still indifferent, your labour and anxieties have been great, but in return you have the consolation of knowing that you have rendered most important service to your country which I hope and feel assured will be highly appreciated in England as it has been

* Col. (afterwards Sir) Henry Pottinger. See article in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

approved of by the Governor-General. Begging you to accept my best wishes for your early recovery, believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

24.—MAJOR J. S. MACDONALD,
45th Madras N. I.,
Madras.

DHAPOORIE, 26th September 1839.

MY DEAR MACDONALD,—I have been so completely occupied with a variety of public and important duty that I have not, till now, had time to read your memorial with its accompaniments, or to reply to your friendly letter of the 25th August last.

I am happy to gather from your letter that though not altogether well at ease in certain worldly circumstances in consequence of the acts of former Madras authorities you retain your wonted warm feelings and high spirit. In speaking of myself, which you do in very kindly terms, you do me bare justice when you say that no apology is necessary for writing to me on the present occasion—nor I am sure can any ever be necessary when the subject of communication involves the interests, welfare or prosperity of an old friend.

It is true that, as Governor, a stern sense of duty must often compel me to do violence to my private feelings, for whenever the interests of the State or of individuals come before me, either for consideration or adjudication, I endeavour to the best of my ability to do my duty firmly, fairly and conscientiously, without fear, favour or affection.

All this, however, in my private and extra-official relations, I find quite compatible with the indulgence of the current affections, and sympathies of those about me, and with the recollection of old friends whether absent or present.

In this spirit then, I shall frankly in a few words tell you what I think of your memorial.

You have been well advised not to forward this proposed appeal to the Supreme Government, for under the circumstances I do not see how that authority could come to any decision

that would be of any service to you. They would doubtless give you all the credit you claim for eminent and long service as well as for high literary attainments and talent—for these are on record and may not be disputed. But in the requisites for a Staff Officer Government might say that there are other elements essential in addition even to the highest species of talent and acquirement. It does not appear to what extent your letter to the Secretary to Government was in itself objectionable—but as Brigade Major in Malabar and Canara your writing at all *direct* to that functionary on any matter connected either with the economy or discipline of the army was irregular, and your “commenting” in it on the Commander-in-Chief was surely not “prudent.”

The proceedings of the Government of the 18th July 1835 therefore appear to me, in the absence of full information on the subject, rather summary and harsh—but after the censure they had passed on you only two months previously (12th May) and which, unless the forms of office are very slow, indeed you ought to have been for some time in possession of, I feel it quite possible that my opinion of their treatment of you may be wrong, and that, consistently with what was due to its own authority and the discipline of the army, they could not well have acted otherwise. My opinion then is do not forward this memorial.

Your talents and various acquirements will, I sincerely hope, be ere long taken advantage of; and the expression of Lord Auckland's sentiments on your case and wish to be of service to you tend to make this hope very sanguine.

Believe me,

With every good wish,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

25.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBBHOUSE, BART,
etc., etc., etc.

PRIVATE.

DHAPOORIE, 5th October 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—As the steamer is likely to be despatched early on the 7th, I am obliged to change my

intention of writing you at the latest moment to-morrow for fear of my letter being too late. I have had the pleasure to receive your kind communication of the 3rd of August. It informs me of your intention of affording us further military resources if the state of affairs in your part of the world should appear to require it. I am happy to think that no such necessity will arise, as the accounts we have from Colonel Campbell at Cairo give us hope that Mahomed Ali will shape his course according to British interests, and abandon his design on the coast of Arabia and Bagdad. Should it be otherwise, we can spare from this Presidency a respectable force to meet such an exigency, without crippling our means for its internal protection. Had I felt that I had the power, I should long ago have augmented our force in the Persian Gulph, were it only to overcome Koorshid Pacha, and to give confidence to the Arab chiefs. Karrack, in the present aspect of affairs in Egypt and Persia, is a valuable possession to us, and I hope it may never be relinquished. It is capable of being made a strong military post as well as an excellent naval station, and I have no doubt that the most strenuous exertions will be made, even by Russia as well as Persia, to get us out of it. You are so well acquainted with its general advantages that I need not refer to them. I speak under submission, but I question the expediency of our occupation of Aden: it will be expensive and its greatest value to us is as a Depôt for coal. We may have occupied it for aught I know to prevent the Egyptians or Americans from doing so—in that view we had better have given it to the Imaum of Muscat, securing all that we wanted. The advices by this opportunity will tell you that a large portion of our troops are returning from Affghanistan, by the way of Candahar and Kohat, as far as concerns the Bombay Division. Having chastised the Kohat Chief, which will give us little trouble, it will have a respectable force in Upper Scind and the remainder it is calculated will reach Bombay by February. So you see that we shall have plenty of force to execute anything you may desire us to do. I must ask you to take the trouble of reading a short minute which I have accorded on Lord Auckland's proposed arrangements in Affghanistan and Scind. I have there stated my

opinion that our military and political affairs in Scind should be immediately subject to Bombay. I wish you would take this into consideration in an ultimate arrangement. I hope you will not suppose that I want unduly to aggrandize this Government: as far as I am personally concerned, I have enough to do already, nor do not imagine that I am actuated by any paltry feeling of jealousy. I forget what expression I could have used in my letter to you of the 3rd of June (to which you allude in yours under reply) that has created an idea that I might possibly have such a feeling. But let me assure you that it never existed and never can exist, and I have every reason to be most thankful to Lord Auckland for his generous confidence in all subjects connected with his important proceedings in India. I require only to be told what is expected of me and it shall cheerfully be done. India is tranquil everywhere, and our success at Ghuzni and Kabool has intimidated the Nepaulese and Burmese, but the day I hope is not distant when Lord Auckland will settle accounts with these perfidious powers. The moral effect produced throughout Hindoostan by our success with Shah Suja has done more to establish our power, than the great events in the times of Wellesley and Hastings. I have constant personal intercourse with the natives and every Mahomedan I have conversed with would hardly believe it possible that Ghuzni was taken in two hours or that the Shah was on his musnud; they calculated on our discomfiture when we came to grapple with Dost Mahomed, and had we met with a reverse were it but temporary, there would have been some hot work for us on this side of the Indus. But all is right now. I have not yet heard from the Governor-General on my Sattarah proceedings. In a private letter dated from Simla on the 15th ultimo in answer to one from me while my negociation was in progress, he says "I am sorry that, the Rajah of Sattarah is forcing strong measures upon you, but I anticipated no otherwise from his own folly and the reckless mischief of his advisers." The ex-Rajah is still near Sattarah under a guard, but of course treated with every becoming indulgence and consideration. I am waiting for the Governor-General's orders for sending him to Benares. In the meanwhile one of the Bombay newspapers

is furious, and as for the fellows his agents, the loss of their gains has driven them to desperation. It is a sad system sprung up of late years, of European adventurers mixing themselves with the concerns of native powers. It must end in the ruin of these powers, while the huge sums which these agents receive brings discredit on our national character. Is there no way of stopping it? The Guicowar is worse than ever by this time. I expected to have heard from England about him. I am about to prepare by desire of the Governor-General a minute on our Baroda relations. I understand Syvajeer says that when he sees me, he will do all we desire but I doubt him being in the hands of agents, barristers, etc. I hope Lord Auckland will not want me to go to Baroda: if such measures are called for it will be rather hard, that I should have to repair summarily all the mischief of a temporizing policy of former times. This mail carries Mr. Farish's explanation on the Parsee conversion question. The chief allegations in the Petition of the natives of Bombay are disproved—they have obviously acted on misinformation under highly excited feelings, and it would be better now, to say as little on the subject as possible. All allusion to the question had subsided somewhat after my arrival, but it has somewhat revived again, since the Court's letter came to us. It was a pity that the Court should receive any petition except through the local Government and more to be lamented that they should pass judgment on such an *ex parte* statement. It tends to weaken the authority of your Government, and it will provide you with plenty to do, now that you have got at home a British India Society and Brougham, O'Connell and Co., the champions of suffering India. I think you will say that Mr. Farish's explanation is satisfactory on the most important charges against him. Our first steamer for the Indus will be off in ten days, as the monsoon appears to have terminated—we are doing our best in getting the others ready, but we find much obstruction from the Supreme Court whose sittings are in the immediate neighbourhood of the dockyard. It is true that the noise of revetting the boats is almost intolerable, and when our factory is established in the yard, the Supreme Court must be removed to another spot. This will entail expense.

We shall have the *Hugh Lindsay* undone or two sloops of war ready at a few hours' call to go to the Persian Gulph or to Bengal if required for the Burmese. In the way of internal improvement, we are going on very satisfactorily with our Revenue Surveys in the Deccan: leases of 30 years will be introduced. I have got a limited sanction from the Court for making two bridges near Poona and for the construction of some roads, but I wish they had given me more means, as such improvements will make an ample return. The subject of cotton and silk are also engaging our attention, but with sugar we can do little until individuals of capital will undertake it. Only one native has attempted to manufacture sugar to a small extent; he sent me the other day, a lump of loaf sugar produced on his little estate, and it was very good, the colour not being quite so white as sugar of the same description in England. I cannot help bringing to your notice the depressed state of the Civil Service at this Presidency. There are instances of men of 17 years' standing having but Rs. 700 a month, quite unknown at Bengal or Madras; among these instances is Mr. Campbell about whom you wrote to me by desire of Lord John Russell. I have yesterday appointed Captain Stanton (Mr. Poulet Scrope's friend) to a permanent Staff situation, which appears greatly to have pleased him: the other one to which he was to have been nominated was an acting situation and independent of its being temporary was not so good as the fixed station he now has. The gentleman about whom Lord Holland wrote to you is a King's or rather Queen's officer, and our rules here disabled me from doing anything for him, but I will not fail to show him every attention in my power.

Believe me,
MY DEAR SIR JOHN,
Very truly yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Lord Auckland we hear goes to Calcutta in all November and the world have it that he will leave India in February 1841. I am sorry to hear it.

Colonel Pottinger goes home in January.

(Sd.) J. R. C.

26.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

DHAPOORIE, 6th October 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I take the chance of this reaching the steamer. Since I dispatched my letter to you of yesterday's date, I have received the enclosed from Mr. Macnaghten written on the 2nd of last month, the latest advices I have from Cabool. It is very satisfactory as to the state of affairs in that quarter. He speaks in doubt of the result of the state of parties in the Punjab, which as I expected from the first, will sooner or later lead to the establishment of a subsidiary force with its ruler, an event on every consideration desirable. We should in that case occupy *Attock*. Some papers have passed between Sir Henry Fane and me on that subject, he opposing and I humbly advocating it, when the opportunity offers. Perhaps one of these days I may send you our views on the matter. Sir Henry knows more about India, particularly of our N.-W. Provinces than most men who have been our Commander-in-Chief, but it appears that he is not easily diverted from any opinion he has formed. Sir Jasper Nicolls is fortunate, but his experience of this country and his habit of sober thinking will render him a valuable colleague in the Government. I have known him well the greater part of my life. It is an odd coincidence that we were brother Aide-de-Camp at Bombay, living in the same family; he with his uncle then Commander-in-Chief at this Presidency, and I with Mr. Duncan, the Governor. The Joudpore affair is said to be settled by the unconditional submission of the Rajah; he was wiser than our Rajah of Sattarah, but there, he had *no agents*.

Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

27.—SIR RICHARD JENKINS, G. C. B.,
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABULESHWAR, 23rd October 1839.

MY DEAR JENKINS,—Our dispatches to the Secret Committee convey every intelligence of the state of affairs in India, which are very satisfactory. There is little doubt of

extensive combinations of disaffection having existed in various quarters which would have been actively developed had we met with reverse in our Northern operations. Joudpore has been well settled and Kurnoul has also been occupied without a blow. In the latter place, it is said, that a large quantity of arms and ammunition have been found buried. Every day is disclosing the implication of the ex-Rajah of Sattarah in intercourse with different states and I am quite satisfied that the course, which he compelled me to take with him, was urgently demanded. His deposition has had the best effect, for though his power was insignificant, the influence of his name made him in times of trouble of more consequence than some of the most important states in the country. I am here preparatory to the installation of the new Rajah after the Dewallee which falls about the middle of next month. It is good policy to give every *éclat* to this ceremony, on which occasion, I shall meet the different jaghiredars and make my personal acquaintance with them. The Guicowar is more unruly than ever; he is I suspect somewhat frightened and thinks it wise to conceal it by "bullying a little, but we must proceed to deal with him directly our troops from Affganistan get back to us. I have not been in a hurry in my operations, hoping that the fate of the Sattarah Rajah might have a salutary effect on him. I now hear that Sevajee says in answer to some remonstrances he has had from his favourite wife, that he will do everything when he sees me—but I doubt him, as he has very recently engaged a barrister of Bombay to go to Calcutta to consult with his profligate servant Veneeram, and eventually it is reported this Barrister is to proceed to England. The sum he has paid this gentleman is something very considerable, and doubtless, he will be furnished with the means of paying well when he gets to his ultimate destination. The Sattarah correspondence will shew you what mischief these agents effect, and something should be done about it at home. I suspect, too, that the British India Society will give you no little trouble and vexation. It has established corresponding branches with natives at the three Presidencies, and presently we shall have them dictating to you how this Empire is to be governed.

I have lately been very ill used by "the Government of India" and the Court will have to decide the question. It has arisen out of the dispatch of the *Berenice* last month without the mails of the 26th and 27th August from Calcutta. By my own orders the steamer was detained several hours beyond the time fixed for her departure—and indeed until Captain Oliver declared that he would not be responsible for another hour's delay. The Calcutta community were thrown into a great ferment by their last mails not having been in time (owing I suspect to the unusual heavy monsoon this year) or rather by our not having waited for them. The consequence was that a requisition for a public meeting signed by more than 700 was convened, while the press teemed with abuse of the Bombay authorities. The President in Council appears to have succumbed to the "fourth estate," and published a letter to the Government in the newspapers, *our first knowledge of which was from that source*, conveying his rebuke of our proceedings, and requiring us, as occasion might call for it, to detain the steamers for Suez 48 hours to receive the Bengal mails. The letter is discourteous in itself, but the publication of it in the journals of the day is a *monstrous*, and happily unprecedented proceeding: it is pandering with a vengeance to the growing disposition of the boasted free press to make Government subservient to their opinion, and most objectionable has been the conduct of the President in Council in this view. I dispute, however, the legality of the orders they have sent us without the slightest communication with the Governor-General, and this is a point for your consideration and decision. It is impossible that I can obey the instructions from Bengal without disobeying the orders of the Court of the 3rd of July. If I am to be responsible for the regular dispatch of the mails to England, the control of them should be vested solely in this Government, as it is with the Postmaster-General at home: your orders on this point should be clear and explicit for your own sakes. This mail goes by the *Hugh Lindsay*, which luckily I had down from the Persian Gulph supposing it probable that something might turn up with the *Burmese*. I say luckily, because the *Atalanta* took fire in the harbour

a few days ago and it was a wonder she was not totally destroyed. As it is only the after-part of the waters edge was burnt and no part of the machinery in the least damaged. She will require three months to set her to rights. A strict enquiry is taking place into the cause of the accident : sufficient is known to require a severe example : in fact the Indian Navy is in a very relaxed state of discipline and order among its officers, and I will see it remedied by some stringent orders and regulations. Since writing the foregoing, I have finished my minute on the unmerited treatment we have received from the President in Council, to which I beg your particular attention, as it goes by this opportunity. I enclose for your satisfaction, copy of a statement privately sent me by the Accountant-General which exhibits our deficit as considerably less than what it was estimated : so far so good. I shall send copy of this to our friend Sir John Hobhouse, as most likely when it arrives, he will be in the country. Kindest regards to Bayley and Lock and all my friends around you, and believe me

Most sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

28.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE BART,
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABULESHWAR, 25th October 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have waited to the last moment in expectation of the receipt of the August mail, which we calculate as being due some days ago.

In a separate cover I have sent you copy of my letter to Sir R. Jenkins, and that portion of our newspapers that contains the correspondence which has passed with the Government at Calcutta on the subject of the despatch of the *Berenice* steamer on the 13th of last month, without the last mails from Bengal.

When you review all the proceedings in this case, I think you will admit that this Government has been ill used by the President in Council. He has not only unjustly rebuked us

but has published, before he sent it to us, in the newspapers, the letter conveying his displeasure, a course as discourteous, as it is happily unprecedented.

Since I wrote the above I have received an order dated the 10th of this month requiring me *not* to despatch the steamer on the 28th instant until the Bengal mails of the 12th had arrived in Bombay. This order is in the teeth of the information we gave them, that importance was attached to the mail under dispatch arriving at Suez on the 19th of November, pursuant to the positive directions received from the Court of Directors. Of course I shall not obey the directions of the President in Council, but it will shew the urgent necessity of this Government being placed beyond the controul of Calcutta, as far as regards the mail for England, and that an order from home, should be published to that effect in this country. I question the legality of the proceedings of the Bengal Council, but on this point I must ask you to read my minute which goes by this opportunity. I have nothing of public news in addition to what our letters to the Secret Committee report. I hope that you find us diligent in communicating to you the latest intelligence, and that you are pleased with the regularity of our mails. I think the route by the Euphrates will answer very well in the next monsoon. We have no official accounts of the *Urania* and other steamers you are sending to that quarter by the Persian Gulf. But Lieutenant Lynch applied lately to the Commodore on that station, in expectation of the steamers, but he could afford none. I immediately directed men to be entertained here for general service, and ordered the Superintendent to be ready with all the assistance in his power, at the same time he was ordered to place these boats, when they arrived at their destination, under the sole command of Lieutenant Lynch,* who would receive his orders from the President at Baghdad, to the Secret Committee.

We shall have the Admiral in Bombay in another fortnight, to act as circumstances may require, either in the Persian

* Henry Blesse Lynch, a person with an exceedingly interesting career. See Buckland's *Dictionary*.

Gulf or in China. I conclude we shall hear something from you on one or both of these points by the expected steamer.

Believe me,
Yours most truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

29.—REAR ADMIRAL SIR F. MAITLAND,*

K. C. B.,
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABULESHWAR, 6th November 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had yesterday the pleasure to hear of your arrival at Bombay and I trust that your Excellency has found on your landing that proper attention has been shewn for your accommodation. I hope towards the end of this month to return to Bombay. The late mail brought us no instructions respecting our affairs in the Gulph nor can I ascertain that the Cabinet had come to any decision on our position in China. The next packet probably will enlighten us upon that point as regards the Gulph. I think that matters will settle down in that quarter and obviate the necessity of our active interference.

I hope that you have found us to have done all in our power to set forward the building of the line of battle ships, for which we have had orders from home. I am sure that our excellent Superintendent will spare no exertions to apply the means at our disposal to the accomplishment of that national object and you have but to say what you desire the Government to do to command its cheerful co-operation. Previous to my departure from England I had one or two interviews with Lord Minto and his colleagues on the subject of ships which they desired should be built in Bombay: there seemed to be among them a decided predilection for teak ships from the experience of their superiority in point of durability and the consequent facility with which they could be brought into service on an emergency. I should esteem it a favour to be apprized of your wishes with reference to the assistance which I could render on this subject.

* Admiral Maitland was the officer in command of the H. M. S. *Bellerophon* which brought Napoleon a prisoner of war to England in 1815.

Hoping that I may have the pleasure of meeting you at Bombay, believe me,

My Dear Sir,
Faithfully yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

30.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

MAHABULESHWAR, 11th November 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—The last packet brought me your letter of the 16th September. Our secret despatches will convey to you every little of intelligence we have, which is derived from public sources and various private letters which we receive, on which perfect reliance can be placed. I hope that since I have been in this Government you will have found no reason to complain of remissness on our part in this respect, and that you will also have been satisfied with our punctuality in the dispatch of the mails. The Bengal people continue dissatisfied with us and their newspapers teem with sneers at "the subordinate Presidency" whose propositions one of the leading speakers at their grand public meeting represented as being in nine cases out of ten treated with perfect contempt. This pretty well shews the animus in Calcutta against Bombay, and as far as the steam arrangements are concerned there is no way but taking the whole under your own directions, and telling us what you wish to be done.

The *Urania* with the steamers on board, for the Euphrates, but into Bombay for water, and there the Captain must have told his destination and its object, for a day or two after his arrival it was all in the newspapers. We shall do all that lays in our power to assist Lieutenant Lynch in the construction of the vessels. I apprehend that Karrack should be the place for putting them together, because Bussora at certain seasons is very unhealthy. However, this must be determined by Mr. Lynch and the Resident at Baghdad. We shall have the *Atlantic* ready again in a couple of months, perhaps a better ship than she was before the accident which befel her.

I am going to Sattarah in a few days, to attend the formal installation of the new Rajah. We have got the Governor-

General's approbation of my proceedings, and of the deposition of the ex-Raja, who will soon be *en route* to Benares: this has been an extraordinary affair at Kurnool; that a petty Chief in the heart of our dominions should have carried on the most extensive preparations for war for some years, and we know nothing of them, shews in what an insecure state we have been reposing. This is one of the fruits of the precious system of non-interference, which, if persisted in, will be our ruin some fine morning when we least expect it. It is very obvious that the Kurnool preparations have been aided by other powers, and have not the slightest doubt, that the Rajah of Sattarah, insignificant as he was as to extent of territory, was cognizant of them—for it is remarkable that his misconduct was simultaneous with the commencement of these preparations. I am quite satisfied that the dethronement of this man will be an excellent example to all the princes of India.

I hear that there has been a great discussion in the Court of Directors, about the policy to be pursued towards the Guicowar. That they threw out the Chairman's proposition to remove Sivajee and to establish a Regency, and what they are to propose now, we are to see: these differences, of which, of course, we hear, as everybody else appears to do, have been the cause for my waiting, before I proceed to deal with the Guicowar. It is a pity that my friends in Leadenhall Street, do not rely more upon their executive in this country, in political matters at least: but you will, of course, correct any apparent defect in the policy which is prescribed, and I will venture to act, under the Governor-General's orders, as appears to me most desirable for the public interests.

You appear to have been amazed at my having wished for an opportunity to shew the Affghans what sort of stuff they had to deal with in British soldiers. They had never been in contact with them, and the lesson they had at Ghuzni has not only taken down their national conceit, but it has produced admirable effects through Central Asia, and all over India. I did not mean fighting for the mere love of it,—far from that. But one good dressing to these swaggering Affghans would save hundreds of lives.

The apprehensions entertained at Cabul of Dost Mahomed's power to annoy us, had, by the last accounts, very much subsided and there had been no fresh disturbances in the Punjab.

Believe me,

Yours most truly,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

Sir Henry Fane is, I fear, far from well. He was attacked while here with asthma, and I was told, some spitting of blood. He is now at my house in Bombay, where the climate seems to agree better with him. He goes home by sea the first week in January.*

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

31.—H. E. REAR ADMIRAL SIR F. MAITLAND, K. C. B.

MAHABULESHWAR, 13th November 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have this morning had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 11th which gave cover to a letter to your address from Lord Auckland.

I had lately directed copies of the last communications which had reached us from the Persian Gulf to be sent to you, and submitted at the same time our opinion of the great advantage of having some ships of your squadron in that quarter.

I am aware that in the absence of all information respecting the views of the Home Government about China, you, may find some difficulty in diverting your means to another service, but I think that great advantages would accrue from strengthening our naval power in the Gulf, and by promptly putting down the incipient tendency to piratical acts lately manifested there.

It is at all times promotive of our general influence over the maritime chiefs in the Gulf, as well as of our ascendancy in the Councils and proceedings of Mahomed Ali, that some British men-of-war should occasionally shew themselves in

*Sir H. Fane, who had strongly opposed the Affghan policy championed by the writer of these letters, died on the way home, off the Azores, on 24th March 1840.

those seas; and that they should act in conjunction with the Resident at Karrack, who being in direct communication with the Secret Committee, is sometimes made aware of their intentions sooner than we are.

I conclude, however, that the next steamer will not only impart to us the probable turn which affairs may take in Egypt and Turkey, but that we shall hear the course which is to be taken with the Chinese.

I am compelled to proceed on the 16th to a neighbouring native state for a few days, but I shall afterwards hasten to the seat of Government and hope to have the pleasure of welcoming you to Bombay. In the meantime, I am happy to hear that you have found every arrangement to render your residence there agreeable.

Believe me,

My dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

32.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.

MAHABULESHWAR, 23rd November 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I had the pleasure to write you a few lines on the 11th of this month. I left this on the 16th to attend the inauguration of the Rajah of Sattarah, from which place I returned last night. The affair went off admirably in all respects. There was a great show and parade on the occasion and during the various subsequent ceremonies. I took the opportunity of this visit to suggest to the Rajah the institution of a College at Sattarah, and the establishment of village schools—also an Hospital, and the improvement of roads and construction of bridges, all of which he will do. He cannot dispose of his surplus Revenue and of the funds in his treasury to better advantage than for purposes of general advantage in his own dominions—he will soon change the face of it by the improvements he has in contemplation, and in which he appears to take great interest.

The great Jaghire class and some of the Sirdars of the Deccan attended his installation, and crowds of people came

from the surrounding country—their conduct fully testified that the recent change at Sattarah was not unacceptable, for they seemed to join in rejoicings with cordiality. I had the opportunity of making personal acquaintance with many chiefs of high rank and influence.

The ex-Rajah with his followers was at a village seven miles from Sattarah—he was represented as quite indifferent to what was passing, in the confidence that orders from England would reverse all that had been done. I made arrangements for sending him off in ten days to Benares, the expense of which is to be altogether borne by the Sattarah State. I have nothing to tell you, except that we are quiet in India, and particularly so in the territories subject to this Presidency. Myhee Kanta has been brought into some order for once, and I hope we shall keep it so. I am attending particularly to our Revenue surveys, and to the improvement of our police system in the Mofussil. Also to making useful lines of road which will amply repay, but the Court of Directors should be more liberal to us for this object. I wish your attention to it since the results will be an hundred fold in money, and a thousand times as much in reputation. I cannot give a better proof of the increase of internal commerce, than the rapidly increasing proceeds of the toll in the Bhore Ghaut. The only toll I believe in India, and which should be extended to other Ghauts.

I enclose copy of an interesting letter from Lord Elphinstone. There is still great mystery about Kurnool, and we must not be satisfied till we get to the bottom of this formidable conspiracy. What will you say to the two young officers Lord E. mentions as having pulled a Rajah out of his palanquin and broke his idols? I trust he will at once send them home: an example is wanted to counteract the influence of the Saints in England in their mistaken zeal, with the Bishop of London at their head.

I also send copy of my letter to Lord Auckland, who asked my opinion on the subject of Lord Howick's warrant, and desired that I would communicate it to you. The longer we delay to act on our own sense of what is right in this matter, the worse it will be. Affairs in the Punjab are not

satisfactory, the contest going on there for power and the incapacity of Karrack Sing will bring it to a precious state of confusion. I should have been glad to have taken advantage of Runjeet's death, to introduce our influence. I *guess*, that it must come to that at last, but then it will be under less favorable circumstances. I have no idea of the Governor-General's policy—he wrote me the other day, that we had a strong party in the Seik State.

Tatta in Scind, has, as I expected, turned out *most* unhealthy. I suggested to Lord Auckland that we should keep an European regiment at Karachee, and I hear that he intends doing so. The Indus steamer is just despatching to that river, and I will send the others when ready.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

P. S.—To my great disappointment and mortification I have still been unable to purchase any horses suitable for her Majesty, the information as yet has been scanty and of an inferior description, it is said to be owing to the political state of affairs in the Gulf, and to obstacles from the Persian Government. I shall not fail to keep in mind the Queen's commands. It is no less my duty than my inclination to attend to them on this and every other occasion on which I may be honoured.

(Sd.) J. R. C.

33.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART.!

MAHABULESHWAR, 26th November 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Having written to you so lately I have but little more to do now, than to reply to your letter of the 22nd September which reached me yesterday with letters from London by Marseilles of the 14th of October.

I think you may say with great truth on the opening of the session that we were never in so prosperous a condition in India as at the present time. Our power is paramount and we have nobody to fear, nothing is required of us, but vigilance and good Government, and the great resources of

this vast Empire will be developed. The Punjab is getting into anarchy and we must get among them to set matters to rights: it would perhaps have been better, had we done so at first. The Guicowar, I heard yesterday from the Resident, is making advances to a reconciliation which he has not done for many years. I suspect the Sattarah business has had the effect I expected it would. Be that as it may we will take advantage of his good disposition, but when are we to hear from the Court of Directors? Your plan that we should undertake to discharge the allowances under our guarantee is what I always advocated, and would be delighted to find authorised: it would be politic nay more it would be *just*. We may well be contented to pay from the profits of his territorial cessions to us. They originally were ceded at 28 lacs, and we now get more than 40 from them, at the lowest calculation. If you come to this determination about these allowances, it should be done by the Secret Committee if possible, because Sevajee would be intolerable in his arrogance if he was informed that the arrangement was ordered or even suggested from England; and I fear he would be sure somehow or other to hear of it, if the Court have to discuss the question. I will attend to your caution about sending extracts from your letters to Lord Auckland.

You perhaps may remember the opinion I ventured to give you about Aden, when I first heard of our having taken possession of it. It was a *bad move*, and will be a constant source of expense and trouble to us. I should be glad if you ordered us to give it up making due arrangements there for our steam purposes. Mahomed Ali of Egypt, however, will not easily forgive us, for this, and some other obstacles to his ambition. I am sending some troops to Aden which are eventually to relieve our native Corps there, which has been very sickly, and I think we need fear little from the attack of the Arabs, after the lesson they have received.

I have ordered stores to be sent to Mr. Lynch some time ago, for the new steamers at Bussorah, and tried to get European crews, but we cannot find them, Captain Oliver says. But he generally makes difficulties, all I said was, that the crews *must* be found, luckily we have some time

before us for this purpose. I fear poor Sir Henry Fane is not long for this world. He is staying at my house in Bombay from whence I received the enclosed to-day, which is as bad an account of him as could be. The Admiral, too, is ill, but not seriously.

Believe me,
Most sincerely yours,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

34.—THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE, BART,
etc., etc., etc.

MAHABULESHWAR, 26th November 1839.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Since writing to you an hour ago, the contents of a letter from a lady in China, dated 4th September, have been communicated to me, they are so important, that I think it right you should know them. She says, that all Europeans had embarked from Macao, and that Captain Elliott had absconded to the great dissatisfaction of everybody. That a boat had been attacked with an English Merchant on board, his ear torn off, and his hands cut to pieces and six lascars killed: all would have been murdered on board, had not an armed boat of ours made its appearance. This occurred ten days before the date of her letter. I look upon this as open war by the Chinese,—surely something should be done, a naval blockade might effect all that is wanted at present, the arrogance of Commissioner Lin has been increasing ever since we gave up the opium, and he wants a good drubbing to bring him to his senses, nothing short of this, I fear, will restore our valuable commerce; at all events, we should *blockade* until redress was afforded.

Believe me,
Yours most truly,
(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

35.—THE HON'BLE JAMES SUTHERLAND, ESQ.,
etc., etc., etc.

BOMBAY, 7th December 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure last evening to receive your letter of the 30th ultimo, and hasten to say that

the submission of Sevajee has delighted me. It was never my wish to proceed to the last extremity, or to have recommended such a course for adoption, except in the event of his continued contumacy actually leaving no alternative. Early associations would have rendered his removal painful to me, however unavoidable it might have been, and it is now most satisfactory to think that his seasonable repentance of his past misconduct will supersede the necessity of resorting to extremity. You have very naturally been anxious to receive instructions for insisting on full satisfaction from him, but the quiet course I have adopted, since my assumption of this Government, was well considered. I did not on the one hand wish to irritate, while on the other my passiveness left him in perplexing doubts as to what I should eventually require of him, or what I should do. In the interim I wished him to digest the measures, into which I had been driven in the Deccan, and to form his inference on them, in regard to his own position. He has been impressed with the belief (as the late Rajah of Sattarah unfortunately was), that the local Governments of India had not the power, or perhaps, that they had not the daring to take a decided line of action however provoked, and such impressions had no doubt been instilled by his profligate adviser Veneeram, and some European agents to whom he had recourse. It was as well to let him see the utter insignificance of such counsellors and the dangerous precipice to which they had led him. Seeing this and also observing the firm and deliberate line, which you have so judiciously and effectively pursued in your intercourse with his Government, I attribute to these causes, the altered tone and temper he has now assumed. Nothing but his conviction that he would at length have to deal with a different policy from that which from the kindest considerations had been pursued towards him would have worked the happy change you have reported.

You will soon have instructions officially for taking advantage of his new disposition, and in the exigency I must venture to give them to you, without previous reference to the Governor-General. In the meanwhile I wish you to give every proper encouragement to Sevajee, to renew friendly

communications with him, and to impress him with the belief that I am disposed to give him full credit for the recorded declaration of his readiness to concede to all the demands we may make upon him. At the same time he must not indulge the slightest expectation, that our readiness to accept his proffered submission will in any degree induce me to relax from what I may consider the British Government entitled to require. Of course you will perfectly satisfy yourself that his total abandonment of his vicious minister is in good faith; that he agrees to respect all the guarantees, personal or otherwise, in which we are involved, and that he consents to our furnishing at his expense, a proportion of the house to be determined hereafter, which he is bound by treaty to provide, and which never have been furnished, according to the terms of his engagement. As to his future minister, I agree with you that this is a fundamental consideration, and that upon the selection will materially depend future harmony and good Government in the Baroda State. I should rather that we avoid the nomination of the man to fill this important post, and should be glad that Sevajee made his own choice, to which you could see no objection. For my own part I think from my long knowledge of Mees Surferauz Ali, there could not be a better selection. In this, I quite concur with you, who have had opportunities of observing his capacity and conduct in later times; he came on a visit to me soon after my arrival from England and has attended me during the whole of my tour in the Deccan. I must do him the justice to remark, that though smarting under grievous injuries, he has never uttered a word of complaint against Sevajee, and when he did speak of his unmerited sufferings, they were attributed to the pernicious influence of Veneeram, and not to the personal hostility of Sevajee. I may say, that when he had an opportunity of speaking of the Guicowar in casual conversation, he always tried to extenuate his errors, and gave him credit for qualities which I hardly believe him to possess. I do not think you will have much difficulty in making arrangements about the semblances of our participation in the observances of the religious festivals you allude to. I had none at Sattarah on this point, where moreover, the

abolition of suttee has been accomplished. I should like to be favoured with your opinion whether my coming to Baroda would be likely to have any good effect. In the meanwhile I beg you to be assured of my entire confidence in your zeal talents and discretion and my full approbation of your proceedings since my official connection with you.

Believe me, with great regard,

My Dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

36.—LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

MIHAR, ON MY ROUTE TO BOMBAY, *2nd December* 1839.

MY DEAR SIR ALEXANDER,—I had yesterday the pleasure to receive at Mahabuleshwar your acceptable letter of the 31st October the information you have been good enough to send me is most interesting, and its importance will be appreciated at home. I will forward a copy of your letter by the next steamer to Sir J. Hobhouse, except the part of it relating to your present situation. I think I can see that it cannot be long before you are placed in charge of all our interests in Afghanistan, and to abler hands they could not be committed this opinion I have often expressed, and in writing to Sir J. Hobhouse I shall repeat it. I do not pretend to know what arrangements are contemplated by Lord Auckland, but I hope that the public will have the advantage of Mr. McNaughten's great talents and experience in the high office of Lieutenant-Governor at Agra, and that you, as a matter of course, will be his successor as our minister with the Shah. Public opinion, here and in England, will consider you to have earned this distinguished station, whenever it may become vacant. You know perhaps that from the time when I was first in the chair at the India House, I was a strenuous advocate for the policy of establishing our influence over all Afghanistan. I deemed it a *sine qua non* for the present security of our interests in India and eventually essential in the preservation of our Empire. I did not apprehend immediate aggression from Russia, but the establishment of her influence

in countries so near to us and the effects of her dexterous diplomacy would very soon have made India too hot for us to hold, as it was the very belief that Russia and Persia were approaching raised a general conspiracy against us by the native powers, which our success in Affghanistan only prevented from simultaneously exploding. A little more delay and we should have had so much to do east of the Indus, that we could not have ventured beyond it, then, Russia would completely have accomplished her purpose. It will now require considerable skill and vigilance to keep this power from dangerous encroachments. I have long been satisfied of her hostile disposition. For the present, her game is to creep on silently (as she unfortunately was permitted to do with respect to Turkey and Persia) and then from her position to trust to the chapter of accidents for assuming a menacing attitude. I trust, however, that the days of temporizing policy are at an end, that policy which has enabled her to pronounce at pleasure on Constantinople and Ispahan. An attempt to conquer Khiva and thus establish herself on the Oxus, should be met by the thunder of our navy in the Baltic and Black Seas. We should now deal with her from England, in the meantime I trust we shall be consolidating our strength in Affghanistan by rendering the Shah's rule acceptable to the people and strengthening the natural defences of his country and those of Herat. In this latter respect we should not, by the way, overlook the passes into Cashmere though it is subject to the Punjab. Nothing ought to induce us to surrender Karrack; by its occupation, we command the Tigris and Euphrates and what is an important point it is a rallying point to southern Persia and neutralizes the opposing power of that monarchy. No wonder then that Count Nesselrode, lays strength on its relinquishment, on the hollow pretext that his Government might then mediate for the restoration of our friendly relations with Mahomed Shah which, by leaving him a little longer in his difficulties, he will be willing enough to renew without Russian intervention. Circumstances render Karrack of vast value to Russia, and as relates to that power, we should never consent to give it up. I shall hope frequently to receive your valuable communications,

you may rely on my discretion in imparting their contents to the best advantage.

We are generally quiet in India, but I am disposed to think that the fall of Ghuzni has been in good measure the cause of existing passive conduct both of the Nepaulese and Burmese, even a temporary failure there would have been a serious affair to us, and the wonderful celerity with which it was captured has had a tremendous effect, and on none more than on the Mahomedans. I am straining every nerve to send several steam boats to the Indus, the more the better in my humble opinion.

I hope Mr. MacNaughten will get one or two of them in the upper part of the river and will manage to have more lower down, under the Governor-General's sanction.

Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,

(Sd.) J. R. CARNAC.

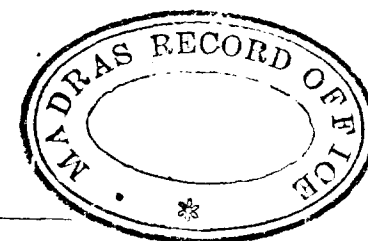
Would the Shah publish a tariff, levying a moderate duty on British manufactures and a heavy one on those of Russia, we should then begin a brisk trade with you.

I lament to say that our gallant Admiral Sir F. Maitland died off Bombay harbour on the 30th: he is a great loss especially at this crisis.

(Sd.) J. R. C.

WALTER K. FIRMINER, B. D.

SHILLONG, }
May 1909. }



Art. VII.—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF INDIAN ANTIQUARIANS.

No. IV.

Professor Râmkrishna Gopâl Bhândârkar, M.A.,
Ph. D., C.I.E., Hon. M.R.A.S.

BIRTH AND EARLY SCHOLASTIC CAREER.

THE eminent Indian scholar, who is the subject of this memoir, was born on the 6th July 1837. His father was in humble circumstances, having been a clerk under the Mamledar of Malwan whence he was transferred to the Office of the Mamledar of Rajapur. As neither of these places possessed an English school, he was unable to afford any education to his son Ramkrishna, who has since won his laurels, specially, in the domain of Indian archæology and philology and, generally, in all departments of Oriental research. So his father's transfer in July 1847 to a post in the District Treasury of Ratnagiri was a turning-point in the future career of the young subject of this biographical sketch, as it enabled the former to give his son an English education by reason of the fact that there was a Government English school at Ratnagiri, into which he was admitted as a day-scholar. The late Rao Sahib Viswanath Narayan Mandlik, the late Mr. M. V. Barve, and others were also alumni of the same school, all of whom, subsequently, left it to prosecute their studies in the Elphinstone College at Bombay. The very successful career of these latter students in this college, which had attracted favourable notice and won the encomiums of the educational authorities of that time, inspired Ramkrishna with a

desire to go to Bombay and finish his education there. But, in those pre-railway days, Bombay was considered to be so distant from Ratnagiri that the people of the latter place did not think it advisable to send their children to the Western capital for education. Coupled with this sentimental objection, his father's want of funds was also another bar in the way of Ramkrishna's going to Bombay. But Ramkrishna was determined to carry his cherished plan into effect, and his father having, ultimately, given his consent, he proceeded to Bombay in 1853. On his arrival there he was admitted into the Elphinstone College. In this institution, he received his training from such eminent educationists as Dr. Harkness, Professor Sydney Owen, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and others.

HIS COLLEGE CAREER.

He prosecuted his studies here most diligently. He would often devote part of the time set apart for study to discussing, with his fellow-collegians, subjects connected with the influence of Western civilization on Indian life and thought, but he used to make up for the lost time by keeping up at night. In order that he might not fall asleep, and, thus lose the opportunity of making up the arrears in his studies, he resorted to the strange device of tying his scalp-lock to a chair so that, should he doze off the tug at his hair would awaken him. He assiduously studied English literature, history and natural science; but he preferred mathematics most of all. Remarkable as he was for diligence in his studies, he was also well known for his accuracy in what he read and wrote, so much so that, on the occasion of an examination, Professor Dadabhai Naoroji granted him very high marks for the extraordinary

accuracy and correctness of his answers to the questions set. Bhândârkar passed his scholarship examinations with great success. When the course of his studies was finished, he was duly elected a Dakshina Fellow of his college in January 1859, from which institution he was subsequently transferred to the Deccan College. He held this Fellowship till August 1864. While he was in the latter institution, he was induced to devote particular attention to the study of Sanskrit language and literature, under Mr. Howard, the then Director of Public Instruction. In those days, so many difficulties stood in the way of the student who betook himself to Sanskrit studies that many were deterred by the same. But, nothing daunted, Bhândârkar began the study of Sanskrit with the same enthusiasm as he displayed in other subjects, notwithstanding the pressure of his tutorial work as a College Fellow.

When the University of Bombay was founded, Mr. Howard called upon all the Fellows of colleges, including Bhândârkar, who had only gone through the curriculum of studies as taught in the older institutions, to appear in the new examinations inaugurated by the University, on pain of losing their Fellowships, should they fail to pass the same. Accordingly, Bhândârkar complied with the Director's requisition and passed the Matriculation Examination in 1859, the F.A. in 1861, and the B.A. in 1862. An untoward event occurred at the B.A. Examination which nearly cost him his Fellowship. The marks, which had been allotted to a fellow-examinee, were, by mistake, entered against his name; and it thus came to pass that Bhândârkar was thought to have been plucked. On this unfavourable result of his examination being published, he was ready to resign his

Fellowship. But, fortunately for him, Sir Alexander Grant, who was one of the examiners, considered that Bhândârkar's answers to the question paper set, which he had himself examined, entitled him to a larger number of marks than those allotted to him for the whole paper. An enquiry was at once set on foot which resulted in the discovery of the mistake, and Mr. Bhândârkar was declared to have passed. Only four candidates, including the subject of this sketch, were successful that year in the B.A. Examination; and it was thus that Mr. Bhândârkar had the unique distinction of being one of the four first graduates of the Bombay University. He went in for the M.A. Examination in 1863, which he succeeded in passing in English and Sanskrit. He then intended to qualify himself for the legal profession and, accordingly, joined the Law School; but he gave up his legal studies within a year in order that he might be enabled to devote greater attention to the discharge of his official duties and to the study of English and Sanskrit literature. In 1864, he published his *First Book of Sanskrit*.

HIS CAREER AS A PROFESSOR AND AS AN EXAMINER OF THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.

It was in August 1864 that the Head-Mastership of the High School at Haidarabad in Sind was offered to Mr. Bhândârkar, which he, at once, accepted. During his tenure of this office, he succeeded in preparing two students for the Matriculation Examination, both of whom passed from that school for the first time. It was in May 1865 that he was transferred from Haidarabad to Ratnagiri in the capacity of Headmaster of the Government School there, in which he himself had received his scholastic training about ten

years previously. The affairs of this institution were, then, in an unsatisfactory condition, but things were soon set right under the able management of Mr. Bhândârkâr. Towards the close of 1865, he sent up the first batch of candidates for the Matriculation Examination. Among these was his favourite pupil, Mr. Yashvant Vasudev Athale, whom he had specially coached in Sanskrit and who succeeded in winning, as the result of his success in that examination, the first Jagannath Sankarshet Sanskrit Scholarship. This pupil subsequently became Naib Dewan at Baroda. Under Mr. Bhândârkâr's able teaching, the *alumni* of the Ratnagiri School continued to win one or both of the University scholarships in Sanskrit. During his incumbency here he published his *Second Book of Sanskrit*. Both this book and the one he had published in 1864 have since gone through several editions, and are extensively used as text-books for beginners in Sanskrit, not only throughout India, but also in Europe. By way of showing its appreciation of his ripe scholarship in Sanskrit, the University of Bombay, for the first time in its annals, appointed Mr. Bhândârkâr one of its examiners in Sanskrit language and literature in 1866. It was in this year that, at one of the University Examinations, Telang (subsequently Mr. Justice) attracted Mr. Bhândârkâr's notice by the sound knowledge which he displayed in answering the questions set to him. Mr. Bhândârkâr continued to be elected one of the Examiners in Sanskrit at some one or other of the University examinations for a number of years. He remained as Head Master of the Ratnagiri School till December 1869. In January 1869 he was, under Dr. Bühler's advice, appointed Acting Professor of Oriental Languages at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, in place

of the aforementioned Doctor. Subsequently, the Professorship of Sanskrit at the same College having fallen permanently vacant, Dr. Peterson was appointed to fill it; and Mr. Bhandârkâr was appointed his assistant, in which capacity he was employed till December 1881. In 1879 Mr. Bhândârkâr had been appointed to officiate for one year in the place of Dr. Kielborn as Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College at Poona. On the latter's retirement from the Government service towards the end of 1881, Mr. Bhândârkâr was permanently appointed in his place as Professor of Oriental Languages in that College from January 1882. This post he held till he retired from the public service in order to spend the remainder of his life quietly and easily in the salubrious climate of Poona.

HIS SERVICES TO THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.

Mr Bhândârkâr was elected a Fellow of his *Alma Mater*—the Bombay University—in April 1866. He was first appointed a Syndic in Arts of the same learned body in March 1873, since which year, till his transfer to the Deccan College in 1882, he used to be elected to that office every year. By his single-minded devotion to the affairs of the Bombay University, he rendered valuable services to that body. In recognition of his ripe scholarship and the yeoman service he had rendered to the cause of education in the Western Presidency, he was in 1893 elected Vice-Chancellor of that University.

HIS CONNECTION WITH OTHER LEARNED BODIES OF INDIA, EUROPE AND AMERICA.

Mr. Bhândârkâr is one of the oldest and most prominent members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, having been elected as such

so long ago as 1865, and has contributed to its *Journal* many papers and dissertations embodying the results of his antiquarian, historical and philological researches. In 1874 he was invited to be present at the International Congress of Orientalists held in London. For private reasons, he was unable to accept the invitation; but he sent a paper on the Nasik Cave Inscriptions to be read before it, which was much admired for the lucidity of its exposition and the depth of scholarship displayed therein. Some years afterwards Dr. Hœrnle proposed a fresh reading of the inscription, No. 17 of Mr. West's Series, of these epigraphic records in the Nasik caves, in which reading that scholar found fault with Dr. Bhândârkar's translation, saying that the latter had mis-translated it. In order to enable Orientalists to judge whether Dr. Hœrnle or Dr. Bhândârkar had mis-translated it, the latter discussed the matter over again in an article entitled: "*On Dr. Hœrnle's Version of a Nasik Inscription and the Gâthâ Dialect*," contributed to the twelfth volume of the *Indian Antiquary*. In this paper Dr. Bhândârkar has given the following description of the circumstances and difficulties under which he studied the aforementioned inscriptions:—"In the middle of 1874 I spent about six weeks in deciphering and translating the inscriptions in the caves at Nasik, and prepared a paper and submitted it to the International Congress of Orientalists, held in London in that year. The paper has been published in the *Transactions* of the Congress. The reading of these inscriptions was a work of great difficulty, since some of them are in the Pâli or Prâkrit dialect, and others contain a mixture of Sanskrit and Prâkrit." In recognition of his ripe scholarship and profound knowledge of the Sanskrit language

and literature, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland elected him one of its Honorary Members in 1875. Thereafter his reputation as an Indian antiquarian went on increasing, and honours were showered upon him thick and fast by the various learned Societies of Europe and America. In 1885, the University of Gottingen (in Germany) conferred on him the honorary degree of Ph. D. In 1886, the Government of Bombay, on behalf of the Chief of Kathiawar, selected him to represent the Bombay Presidency at the International Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna. In response to this invitation, he went to Vienna and read a paper which is published in the transactions of that body. In 1887, he was elected a Corresponding Member of the German Oriental Society, an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society, and of the Asiatic Society of Italy, which latter Society was established in November 1886 by Comte Angelo de Gubernatis, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Florence. In January 1887, he was created a Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire in appreciation of his valuable services rendered to the cause of education and the advancement of Sanskrit learning. In the same year, the Government of India elected him a Fellow of the University of Calcutta. In 1888, the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg elected him one of its Corresponding Members.

He has, also, been elected a Corresponding Member of the French Institute and a Foreign Member of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences. Recently (August 1903), the Senate of the University of Bombay has conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. in appreciation of his profound learning and services to the cause of education in the Western Presidency.

HIS ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

Some of the greatest men of letters and scientists have been led to compose their masterpieces or to make their epoch-making discoveries by the merest accident or by the observation of a most trifling incident. Sir Isaac Newton was led to the discovery of the Law of Gravitation by the simple observation of an apple falling from a tree. Gibbon was struck with the idea of writing his famous "*History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*" while he was sitting, one evening, amidst the ruins of the capital at Rome and musing on the vicissitudes of the fortunes of nations. Dr. Bhândârkar was led to the study of Indian antiquities by the merest accident. In 1870, a Parsi gentleman, the late Dr. Manekji Adarji, unearthed an inscribed copper-plate in a village in the Surat Collectorate, and made it over to Dr. Bhândârkar for purposes of decipherment. It was inscribed with the old Devanagari characters, of which Dr. Bhândârkar had not the slightest knowledge, nor did he know where he could find the requisite information about it. But he soon got hold of the antiquarian works of Prinsep, Thomas and others, carefully perused them and mastered the alphabets of the old scripts and the archæological matters explained therein. He was, thus, enabled to decipher the aforementioned copper-plate inscription, and to embody the results of his study thereof in his maiden paper entitled: "Transcript and Translation of a Copper-plate Grant of the 5th century of the Christian Era, found in Gujerat" which he contributed to the tenth volume (pages 19 and following) of the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. This grant recorded the gift by King Dadda II. of the Gurjjara Dynasty, in Saka 417 (9th

June 495 A. D.) of a village named Rachhchhavam, in the district of Anukulesvara, in Gujerat to a Rigvedi Brahman named Narayan of the Kasyapa Gotra. The seat of this Dynasty was at Broach. In this second paper entitled: "A Devanagari Transcript and Date of a new Vallabhi Copper-plate" (published at pp. 66 ff of Vol. X of the J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.), he reconsidered the contents of a land-grant by King Dharasena IV. of the Vallabhi Dynasty, and gave a new interpretation of the figured dates on the published grants of the same line of monarchs. His translation, with remarks, of this plate had previously appeared in the first number of the *Indian Antiquary*. In his third paper entitled: "Revised Transcript and Translation of a Chalukya copper-plate" (contributed to Vol. XIV, pp. 16 ff., of the same Journal), he described a document evidencing a gift of land by King Naga Vardhana of the Chalukya Dynasty and offered remarks on the genealogy and chronology of the early kings of the same line.

In his fourth paper, contributed to Volume XVII, pp., ff. of the *Journal* of the Bo. Br. R.A.S., he described a very interesting Sanskrit inscription from Java, which commemorates the fact that the Guru or Preceptor of King Sailendra having established his influence on the great King Pananikarana, caused a splendid temple of Tara to be constructed in the reign of the son of King Sailendravarma. This Sailendra is identified with "Sela Prasat"—a name mentioned in one of the lists of Hindu sovereigns of Java, given by Sir Stamford Raffles (p. 86, Vol. II). Pananikarana is identified with the next king in the same list, namely, Jaya Lankara.

According to the united testimony of all writers about the island, Central Java is full of statues,

inscriptions and ruins of buildings, all of them being vestiges of the flourishing Hindu civilization of the island. The sculptures and detailed ornamentation of the finest buildings, the Boro Bodor, present such close resemblance to those in the Nasik Ajanta, and Kenari Caves, that, in the opinion of the late Mr. Fergusson, it points to an identity of workmanship and workmen. There are a few inscriptions in Sanskrit. In the fourth volume of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 356), two small Sanskrit inscriptions from East Java are published, the characters in which are South Indian; while the present inscription is in the Nâgari characters of the North, especially of Magadh and Bihâr, thus showing that Hindus both from Northern and Southern India went and settled in the island. The inscriptions from Cambodia, recently published by Mr. Barth are all in South India characters, and in them one or other of the Brahmânic Gods, Siva, Vishnu, etc., is invoked. Cambodia was, thus, colonized by Hindus from Southern India. The Hindu settlements of Java were not made once for all; but there must have been a constant communication between the island and India; and Indians went to Java and settled there from time to time. The earliest notice of the Hindu civilization of the island, which is unquestionably historical, is that by the Chinese Buddhist Pilgrim Fa-Hian, who in 413 A. D., returned to China from Ceylon by sea, and passed four months in a country, which he calls *Yepoti*, which is the Chinese transliteration of *Yavadvîpa*—the Sanskrit name of Java.

In the Sanskrit literature of India, however, Java is very rarely noticed. The "Yavadvîpa adorned with the seven kingdoms," and Suvarnavîpa, which has been identified with Sumatra, have been mentioned in the Kishkindhâkânda of the Râmâyana; and, in the

Kathâsaritsâgara. Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvarnavîpa and other islands named Nârîkela or Cocanut island, Karpûra or the Camphor Island and Katâha. The Kathâsaritsâgara is professedly a translation of, or a compilation based on, Gunâdhya's Bribatkathâ a work composed in the 1st or the 2nd century A. C. If this work contains reference to Suvarnavîpa and other islands, the connection of India with those islands must have begun very early. Probably, some princes or chiefs of the Sâka or Scythian race, which established itself in India about the beginning of the Saka era, and had adopted Indian civilization, as is evident from coins and inscriptions of the Satrap dynasty of Ujjayim and Kattiawar, established the first Indian colony in Java a short time after the foundation of the era in India. The same enterprising spirit, which prompted the Sâkas or Scythians to invade India, must have impelled them to go to the Far East.

The lessons drawn by Dr. Bhândârkar from the study of the foregoing interesting inscription are that, if from the first century of the Sâka era to about the 12th, Brâhmans and other Hindu castes set at naught the prohibition of the Shastras against crossing the sea, and went on voyages lasting for 90 days and more, there is no reason why they should not do so in the latter days of the 19th century of that era, and go to Europe and America. The amount of energy, that the Hindus of those days displayed in thus keeping a constant intercourse with Cambodia and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, establishing colonies there and imparting to the natives of Polynesia their own civilization, ought, in the midst of a great deal in the present condition of the Hindu race, that is very discouraging, to fill all Hindus with hope about the innate capacities of

their race. If, according to the interpretation of the Javanese tradition, it was in consequence of their contact with the Sâkas that the Indian Aryas first showed those qualities, the latter have by their side, at the present day, the sturdy Anglo-Saxon race to spur them on.

It appears that, on account of the proselytizing spirit of the Mahomedans, they have succeeded in converting the whole of Java to Islam, and Hinduism has been compelled to lead a sort of hole-and-corner existence in the small island of Bali, where it is prevalent at the present day.

Dr. Bhândârkar also contributed to the *Journal* (Vol. XI, p. 43, new series) of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, a paper embodying the results of his study of the Pali inscriptions engraved on the walls of the Nasik Caves. A crystal casket containing relics was discovered in the Buddhist stupas in a mound on the Brahmapurî Hill near Kolhapur. The relics consisted of articles of Buddhist worship, coins, gold ring etc. The casket was enclosed in a stone-box bearing an inscription on its lid. Dr. R. G. Bhândârkar studied these relics, coins and inscription and drew up, as the result of his examination thereof, a memorandum which is published in the 14th Volume, pages 147 ff of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

HIS LITERARY RESEARCHES.

A European scholar, Colonel Ellis, having expressed his opinion that that great epic poem of the Hindus—the Mahabharat—is a comparatively modern work, having been written in the 16th century of the Christian era, and basing his opinion on a copper-plate inscription purporting to record a grant of land, made on

the 7th April 1521, by Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit of the Pandava race, Dr. Bhândârkar devoted his attention to the problem of approximately fixing the date of the composition of that epic, and of proving the spuriousness of the aforementioned copper-plate grant. The results of his study of this question are embodied in his paper entitled, "Consideration of the date of the Mahâbhârat, in connection with the correspondence from Colonel Ellis," which has been published in the *Journal* (Vol. X, pp. 81 ff.) of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S. The depth of scholarship displayed by the great Hindu *savant*, are remarkable. He has combatted Colonel Ellis's opinion and advanced his own arguments thus :—In the ninth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, Colebrooke has noticed a copper-plate inscription purporting to record a grant of land by Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, of the Pandava race. But owing to the modernity of the characters and the incorrectness of the language, he pronounced it to be a forgery. But this conclusion rests on the assumption that the Mahâbhârata, which describes the great serpent-sacrifice held by Janamejaya, alluded to also in the grant, is a very ancient work. The antiquity of this work, however, may be denied, in which case there is nothing in the grant itself to show that it is spurious. Colonel Ellis, however, considers the grant to be genuine and refers the composition of the Mahâbhârata to a period subsequent to its execution. On the day on which the grant was made there was a partial eclipse of the sun, which the Rev. G. B. Gubbins and Professor Airy have calculated to have taken place at about 11 A.M. on Sunday, the 7th April 1521. If the grant is genuine, and the Mahâbhârata was written after 1521 A.D., it would certainly contain a picture of

the state of society in the sixteenth century, and not such an archaic condition as the poem discloses. At the same time, an epic only 350 years old could not have worked itself into the thoughts and feelings of all the Hindus throughout India. Such reasons are sufficient to prove the spuriousness of the grant; but Colonel Ellis does not consider them to be weighty. If Colonel Ellis's opinion is correct, the greater part of the classical literature of India must be supposed to have been written after 1521 A.D., because there are few works which, directly or indirectly, do not allude to the Mahâbhârata or the principal characters in the poem. But such a conclusion is inadmissible, for there are some dates in the history of India and the history of Sanskrit literature which cannot be called in question. The principal testimonies to the existence of the Mahâbhârata are contained in various Sanskrit authors and in ancient inscriptions. By numerous quotations from Patanjali, Dr. Bhândârkar has shown that a work describing the war of the Kurus and the story of the five Pandavas was popular in Patanjali's time, and that this work could be no other than the Mahâbhârata. Now, Patanjali, the author of the Mahâbhâshya or the great commentary on Pânini's grammar lived, according to Goldstücker, in the second century before Christ, and, according to Dr. Bhândârkar in the reign of Pushpamitra, the founder of the Sung Dynasty, who reigned from B.C. 178 to B.C. 142. Pânini must have preceded Patanjali by about three centuries or even much greater. The S'ranta and Gribya Sutras of the three Vedas preceded the work of Pânini, or, according to some scholars, some of them were written at about the same time. Now the Mahâbhârata is mentioned in a Sûtra of the Asvalâyana Gribya Sutra.

Then, from the evidence of a Chalukya copper-plate grant dated 472 A.D., translated by Professor Dowson (*J. R. A. S.* Vol. I n.s. pp. 269-70), a Gurjjara copper-plate grant dated 495 A.D., translated by Dr. Bhândârkar, and of an inscription dated 584 A.D. in a temple at Feoullee in Dharwar and Mysore districts, it would appear that, in the latter part of the sixth century, the war of the Mahâbhârata was considered to have taken place about 4,000 years before.

It also appears from certain passages in the writings of Bâna, author of the Harshacharitra, that the Mahâbhârata existed in a complete form in his time, *i.e.*, in the first half of the seventh century.

Certain passages in the writings of Sankarâchârya also mentioned the Mahâbhârata. Some scholars are of opinion that Sankarâchârya flourished in the sixth century. The Mahâbhârata must, then, have existed in the sixth century.

Then, again, the Mahâbhârata, or the incidents or characters thereof, are also mentioned in the Mrichchakatika, the Venîsambâra by Bhatta Nârâyana, the Kirâtârjunya of Bhâravi, and the Sisupâlavadha of Mâgha. All these authors must have flourished before the tenth century of the Christian era.

There are many quotations from the Mahâbhârata in the Dâvakanda of Hemadri, a minister of Mahâdeva—a Yâdava King of Devagiri, who, according to Sir W. Elliot, ascended the throne in 1260 A.D.

The great epic is also mentioned in the Jnânesvâra, a Mârâthî commentary on the Bhagavadgîtâ, which was finished in 1290 A.D.

Sâyana, minister to Bukka, King of Vijayanagara who was reigning in 1334 A.D., quotes from the Mahâbhârata in all his writings.

Sârngadhara, who must have flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century, quotes, in his *Padhati* or *Anthology*, from the *Venisamhâra*, *Kirâtârjunîyâ*, *Sisupâlavadhâ*, *Bhagavadgîtâ*, and other episodes of the *Mahâbhârata*.

Now all this literary and epigraphic evidence proves beyond the shadow of a doubt, that *Mahâbhârata* existed from the time of *Pânini* and *Asvalâyana* i.e., from the fifth century B.C. to the time of *Sârngadhara*, i.e., the fourteenth century A.D. The antiquity of the *Mahâbhârata* being, thus, established, the grant which, according to Professor *Airy's* calculations, was made in 1521 A.D., must be a forged document.

In 1872 Dr. *Bhândârkar* contributed to the first volume of the *Indian Antiquary* a paper entitled: "*On the Date of Patanjali and the King in whose Reign he lived*," in which he came to the conclusion that *Patanjali* lived in the reign of *Pûshpanitra* and that he probably wrote the third chapter of his *Bhashya* between 144 and 142 B.C.

In his next paper, published in the *J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 199, he has expounded his views about the date of *Patañjali*, in reply to certain remarks made by another scholar, Dr. *Peterson*, on the same subject. He has recorded the impressions of his visit to the International Congress of Orientalists held in 1886 at Vienna, in another paper contributed to the seventeenth volume of the same *Journal*. In the *Journal* (Vol. XIX; p. 537, n.s.) of the Royal Asiatic Society of London he published a paper in which he summarised the progress made in Europe in the study of the Sanskrit language and literature.

Early in the seventies of the last century the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society published

very little, and that even after long intervals. Mr. *James Burgess*, then Archæological Surveyor of the Bombay Presidency, suggested to that Society that it should utilize the grant of money made to it by the Government of Bombay by publishing its *Journal* quarterly, if not every two months, and, thereby, justify its existence. But this proposal having been scouted by the Society as chimerical, Mr. *Burgess* started, in 1871 or thereabout, the monthly magazine entitled: *The Indian Antiquary*, for the publication of papers on Oriental literature, history, philosophy, religion, archæology, numismatics, folklore and cognate subjects. To ensure the success of his undertaking he enlisted the co-operation of Dr. *R. G. Bhândârkar*, as also of other eminent European and Indian savants. To this appeal for literary help, Dr. *Bhândârkar* responded liberally, and has contributed several papers, among which may be mentioned his two essays on "*The Manrya-Passage in the Mahâbhâshya*" (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI, p. 156, p. 172). In these two papers he has rebutted the objections raised by Dr. *Kielhorn*, in the first number of the *Vienna Oriental Journal* against the interpretation of the *Manrya-Passage* in the *Mahâbhâshya*, by other scholars including the subject of the present memoir.

In 1879 Dr. *Bhândârkar* was entrusted by the Government of Bombay with the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in that Presidency. The results of his researches in this fresh field have been published in the five volumes of Reports. The report of the operations carried on during 1882-83 was originally published in the *Oesterreichische Monats schrift für den Orient* and, subsequently reprinted in Bombay in 1884. In this report, Professor *Bhândârkar* has given a scholarly

summary of the most important historical and literary data, which a cursory examination of his numerous purchases, 762 manuscripts, revealed, and has added in Appendix II. such extracts from the originals as are required in order to substantiate his assertions. It mentions, among other works, two manuscripts entitled: *Rājavalabhamandana* and *Vastumandana*, which are manuals for stone-masons and architects composed in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. Regarding his Second Report of the search for Sanskrit manuscripts carried on in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84, Dr. G. Bühler is of the following opinion: Dr. Bhândarkar's Second Report is a worthy successor of the first. It shows the most conscientious devotion to the search, and is full of instructive and interesting matter. . . . In conclusion, I cannot but give expression to my conviction that Dr. Bhândarkar has again proved by his Second Report how eminently useful the search for Sanskrit MSS. may be made for Oriental philology, and that he is entitled to the gratitude of all his fellow-workers for his patient industry and for the ability with which he has utilized his materials.* The last two of these five volumes of Reports are specially characterised by a vast amount of painstaking antiquarian research.

HIS PHILOLOGICAL RESEARCHES.

In March 1870 the Managing Committee of the Wilson Testimonial Fund handed over to the University of Bombay the sum of Rs. 23,500, for the endowment of a Philological Lectureship, in honour of the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., Vice-Chancellor of that University. This Lectureship was, accordingly, founded and

* Vide Dr. G. Bühler's lengthy review of this work at pp. 184-192 of the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII. (1889).

called "The Wilson Philological Lectureship," in connection with which it was decided that a short series of Lectures should be delivered, in consecutive years, by a competent European or Native scholar, annually selected for the purpose, on any one of the following classes of languages and the literature in which they are embodied:—

- I.—Sanskrit and Prakrit languages derived from it.
- II.—Hebrew and the other Semitic languages.
- III.—Latin and Greek.
- IV.—English, viewed in connection with Anglo-Saxon and its other sources.

The Lectureship having come into operation in February 1876, Dr. R. G. Bhândarkar was elected the first Wilson Philological Lecturer in 1877, and delivered a series of lectures on "Development of Language and of Sanskrit;" "Pali and other Dialects of the Period;" and "Relation between Sanskrit, Pali, the Prākritis and the Modern Vernaculars," all of which have been published in the sixteenth volume of the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was, subsequently, elected in the same capacity for the second time, and delivered two courses of lectures on "The Prākritis and the Apabhramsa" and "Phonology of the Vernaculars of Northern India," both published in Vol. XVII. of the same *Journal*. These learned lectures show a vast amount of original research and are the result of very careful and painstaking studies of the Sanskrit and Prākrit languages, and the modern vernaculars of India.

HIS HISTORICAL RESEARCHES.

Dr. Bhândarkar has written "An Early History of the Deccan," in which he has attempted to give a

connected historical account of the various dynasties of Kings, namely, the Chalukyas, the Vallabhis, Rashtrakutas, the Gurjjaras, the Yadanas, the Traikutakas and others who have at various times ruled over the Deccan, and a description of the political, social and economic condition of India during their periods of reign and before the establishment of the Mussalman régime in that part of the country. It was originally written for the *Bombay Gazetteer* and has, since, received the honours of a second edition, the first one having been published in 1884.

In a paper entitled: "The Epoch of the Gupta Era" (published in the *Journal* of the Bo. Br. of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVII., p. 80), he replied to certain objections raised by Mr. Fleet to the correctness of the initial date of the Gupta Era, fixed by himself. In an historical paper entitled: "*The Râshtrakuta King Krishnarâjâ and Elâpûra*," published by Dr. Bhândârkar in Vol. XII. of the *Indian Antiquary*, he established the facts that Krishnarâjâ caused a temple of extraordinary beauty to be constructed on the hill at Elurâ and that Krishnarâjâ reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Saka Era, i.e., between 753 and 778 A.D.

HIS EDITIONS OF THE SANSKRIT CLASSICS.

The *First and Second Books of Sanskrit*, written by Dr. Bhândârkar, have already been noticed *supra*. In 1876 he published his edition of the Sanskrit drama, *Mâlâtî Mâdhava* by Bhavabhûti and displayed a good deal of critical acumen and profound scholarship therein. Subsequently, he was entrusted with the task of translating the *Vayupurana* for Professor Max Müller's series of *Sacred Books of the East*. But the translation, so

far as it was made, was not published in that series, on account of disagreement about certain of the conditions of publication. This translation is still in manuscript; and it is a great loss to Sanskrit literature that it should remain in this state so long. Early steps ought to be taken by some learned body to publish this work by one of the greatest scholars that India has produced.

HIS CHARACTERISTICS AS A TEACHER.

Dr. Bhândârkar has, always, been a *persona grata* with his students, who looked upon him as their faithful guide, philosopher and friend. He used to assist such of his pupils as gave promise of a brilliant career in the future, not only with advice, but also with money and other aid. During the working hours of the day and night he was always accessible to his pupils who desired to have difficulties removed. He always acted as arbitrator in disputes among his students, who had such unswerving confidence in the integrity of his character and his good sense that they invariably referred their quarrels to him for amicable settlement, and gladly abode by his decisions. On one occasion, a rather serious dispute was referred to the learned doctor for arbitration; and he settled it by the simple expedient of drawing the disputants' attention to the Yerrowda Jail as a fit place of residence for them as violators of the rules of student life, as it was for these unworthy members of the community who had infringed the laws of society. By giving wholesome advice to his pupils on the right conduct of life, by earnest and conscientiously imparting instruction to them, and by helping them pecuniarily in their difficulties, he displayed his deep affection for, and anxious solicitude for their welfare. So deep was the interest he used

to take in the subjects which he lectured upon to his students, that the latter could not help feeling the same interest therein. It was his constant habit to thoroughly master a subject he was to lecture upon, before he taught it to his class. He always adopted the analytical and synthetical methods in his lectures and thus, succeeded in obtaining an attentive hearing from every one of his pupils. The result of all this care and painstaking by Dr. Bhândârkâr in teaching the young ideas under his charge was that very few of his pupils left their college without learning to take a fervid interest and to feel the utmost delight in all the subjects which their learned Professor had so zealously and lucidly taught them.

HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Dr. Bhândârkâr is a true type of academic culture. His studies are to him as the breath of his nostrils. His favourite subjects of study exercise a fascinating influence on him, so much so that, while he is engaged in them, he becomes completely absorbed in them. Consequently, all his writings are very accurate and up to the mark. He does not rest contented with simply gaining a superficial knowledge of the subject he is engaged upon, but he will dive deep to the very beginnings thereof, till he has thoroughly mastered it in all its details.

Dr. Bhândârkâr is credited with the possession of a scientific imagination, and can generalize theories on antiquarian questions so skilfully that they will stand the test of the most rigid criticism. Being a firm believer in the usefulness of the maxim: "The whole man to one thing at one time," he does not rest satisfied until he carries the matter in his hand, whether it be a

subject of study or a matter of controversy, to a successful issue. He was, thus, a very dangerous opponent to contend with, and it is, always, a very tough work to demolish his arguments. Notwithstanding all this, he has, always, encouraged his younger fellow-workers in the fields of Oriental research, and has been ever foremost in bringing their work to the notice of the learned. It was he who induced the late Mr. Justice Telang to betake himself to archæological studies. It was he who brought to the notice of the Bombay University and the Educational Department the sterling merits of Professor Kathwate as a Sanskrit scholar.

Another characteristic of the learned Doctor is that, whether as a Syndic of the University, as a Professor of Sanskrit, or as a Member of the republic of letters, he has always been actuated by a sincere desire to introduce new workers into the fields of his activities. It was for this reason that he refused to remain a Syndic and a University examiner for a longer period than he thought proper, so that, on his vacating those posts, new and younger men might fill the same. It was from the same motives that, during the last two or three years of this service, he desired to resign his Professorship in the interests of the younger members of the Educational Department.

In addition to archæology and Sanskrit, which are his favourite subjects of study, he is, as has already been stated above, a voracious reader of English literature, especially poetry and philosophy. Wordsworth's poems delight him most, while the philosophical writings of Kant and Martineau are one of the solaces of his life.

As a private individual, Dr. Bhândârkâr is a man of deep feeling, a serious and earnest thinker, and has the courage of his convictions. He is deeply

religious, and possesses a good deal of moral fervour. He has been one of the earliest members of the Bombay Prârthanâ Samaj, as also of the Poona Samaj. The high codes of Buddhist and Christian morality, the transcendentalism of the *Upanishads*, the faith and conduct of life taught in the *Bhagvadgita*, the highest thoughts of the best English literature, and last, though not least, the religious fervour of the Mah-ratta poet, Tukaram, are his principal sources of strength and fortitude in life.

His rectitude of character is such that not even his greatest enemy dare make the slightest insinuation against him. When he was a Dakshina Fellow at the Deccan College, the then principal, Dr. Wordsworth, accused him of framing the time-table of college studies to suit his own convenience and not that of others. Dr. Bhândârkâr was not the man to brook such an insinuation against him and, at once, wrote to the Principal explaining his conduct, and, at last, succeeded, after a good deal of correspondence, in convincing the latter of his mistaken impression. He is a man of independent spirit and has never courted favour from others, nor has he placed himself under obligations to anybody; and has never sought for fame. By his deep and disinterested devotion to learning, by the high and unblemished rectitude of his character, by his constant practice of the principles of plain living and high thinking, Dr. Bhândârkâr has rendered himself a bright and worthy exemplar for the admiration and imitation of his countrymen.

HIS CAREER AS A SOCIAL REFORMER AND HIS POLITICAL VIEWS.

One grand lesson, which Dr. Bhândârkâr learnt

from his visit to England, was that he became sensible of the shortcomings and defects of his own countrymen; and whenever an opportunity has presented itself to him he has always availed himself of it to rouse their sense to those failings. He is firmly convinced that, so long as the Hindus will allow themselves to be fettered with the trammels of caste, and cling to superstitious beliefs and usages, they cannot be a nation.

Dr. Bhândârkâr is one of the most prominent Hindu social reformers of the present day. He has, always, shown the courage of his opinions as a social reformer, by carrying the same into practice. He set an example to the lip-advocates of social reform in this country, by marrying his widowed daughter in May 1891, and has, thereby, strengthened the hands of its sincerest advocates.

Although Dr. Bhândârkâr has not taken any part in the political movements of the day, still he is not altogether unmindful of the political aspirations of his countrymen. While he sympathizes, generally, with those aspirations, he has, always, advised that the demands for political rights and privileges should be urged in sober and moderate language. But he has always disapproved of the views of those of his countrymen, who think that the Indians should agitate solely for political rights and keep clear of the questions of moral and social reform. In advocating this sober method of carrying on political agitation, Dr. Bhândârkâr was at one with the late Mr. Telang, Mr. Nulkar, and Mr. N. M. Parmanand.

Dr. Bhândârkâr is now in his seventy-third year. May he live longer to further advance the causes of education and Sanskrit learning in India.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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