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THE

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LIFE

OF THE

HON'BLE RAI KRISTO DAS PAL BAHADUR, C. I. E.

BY

RAM GOPAL SANYAL.

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CALCUTTA:

PRINTED BY RAM COOMAR DEY AT
THE ENGINE ROOM EAST LANE, TO

1836.

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Photo, R.

PRESENTED BY

Dr. Dādabhāi Naoroji.

THE
LIFE

OF THE

HON'BLE RAI KRISTO DAS PAL BAHADUR, C. I. E.

BY

RAM GOPAL SANYAL.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY RAM COOMAR DEY AT THE BENGAL
PRESS, 33, NEWGHEE POCKET EAST LANE, TOLTOLLAH.

1886.

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To
His Highness
Sree Mirza Ananda
Gazapaty Ray Munya
Sultan Bahadur.
VIZIANAGRAM.

May it please your Highness—

I have the honor to dedicate this book to your Highness as the humble token of my deep gratitude to you for your princely donation of Rs. 500, in aid of my undertaking. Were it not for this pecuniary help, it would have been extremely difficult for me to have brought out the book so speedily, as I have been able to do. The Honorable Rai Kristo Das Pal Bahadur, C. I. E., spent his whole life in advocating the cause of the Princes and the People of India, and as your Highness is one of the foremost of Princes with a culture rare among them, I feel that by uniting the honoured name of your Highness with that of the great "Tribune of the people" I shall have marked the indissoluble union that subsists between the People and the Princes of this vast Empire, and the kindred sentiments by which they are animated in all their efforts to advance their country's good.

I have the honour to be,
Your Highness's,
Most obedient Servant,
RAMGOPAL SANYAL.

PREFACE.

To write the life of the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal fully and satisfactorily is by no means an easy task. He has left nothing in the shape of notes or diary, and the sources from which the facts of his early and domestic life may be obtained are scanty. The same difficulty occurs, though in a less degree, in regard to the events of his public career. Private letters received by him from high officials cannot be made use of for this purpose as they are all of a strictly confidential character, and as they reflect the personal, and perhaps the private opinions of men still living, and still in the service of Government.

More than two years had elapsed since the death of Baboo Kristo Das Pal, and yet not even a suggestion had been made by any one to write the biography of so eminent a man; and if abler men have not come forward, a humble friend may be excused if he undertakes a difficult task even at the risk of failure. Public encouragement was tardy at first, and far from re-assuring. Had it not been for the prompt pecuniary assistance rendered by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, His Highness the Maharaja of Vizianagram, and Her Highness the Maharanee Sarnamoye, the work could not have been undertaken at all. But pecuniary assistance was not all that was needed. I stood in need of literary help and information. I gratefully acknowledge that, but for the literary help rendered me most kindly by Baboos Shumbhoo Chunder Mukerjee, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Noren-

dra Nath Sen, and several other gentlemen, it would have been difficult for me to complete the work.

I am deeply sensible of the many imperfections which will be found in this work; but my chief aim has been to repay, in however inadequate a measure it may be, the debt of deep gratitude which I owe, in common with the rest of my countrymen, to the memory of the late Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal.

In honouring the memory of the great dead, we create those examples by which the living may profit, and which may guide the footsteps of succeeding generations in the difficult path of social and moral reform which may lie before them. Though the prophet and the saint should die, the immortal fire outlives the organ that conveyed it, and the breath of liberty is not extinguished but survives him. Thus spoke Grattan before a spell-bound audience of the Irish House of Commons. Kristo Das is dead; but his work is being continued, and his spirit still lives among his countrymen; and it is the hope that his example of moderation, sobriety and earnest enthusiasm for the public good may continue to instruct and stimulate his countrymen in all their patriotic efforts that has led me to undertake the difficult task of writing his biography. How far I have been successful in this task, how far I have described Kristo Das as he deserved to be—the undisputed leader of the transition epoch of modern Bengal, as Mr. Cotton describes him, it will be for the reader to say.

Perhaps I ought to add a word of explanation. It may be objected to my treatment that I have given undue prominence to persons living, and still more to those long since dead and gone. No one, I am sure, who feels the absence of a biographical literature in India,—no one, above all, who, with the best of us, deploras that fatal

desideratum towards the creation of Indian nationality, the absence of the history of our political noviciate, the absence, in particular, of the history of the Press, which has been and is still the best expression of that noviciate, will, I am sure, judge so captiously. Indeed, I have been encouraged and assisted by men, eminent for patriotism and for their efforts in raising our people. I am confident that the generality of my countrymen, however they may regret my want of ability—of which none can be more conscious than I am—will be glad to hear of the pioneers in Bengali political thought. For myself I was advised, and I felt, that no Biography of Kristo Das Pal could be complete without a notice of his contemporaries, and specially of the living publicist who was his earliest literary friend, who assisted weekly in the *Hindoo Patriot* during its best period—from 1866 to 1872—under his management, and who with himself constituted, in Kristo Das's own favourite expression, "the Beaumont and Fletcher of the Indian Press—," or without an account of the great man, early cut off by an inscrutable Destiny, who was the father of political thought in Bengal, who was the Gamaliel at whose feet they sat, who, in fact, moulded the career of both—I mean the late Hurish Chander Mookerjee. It is a national misfortune that we have no record of the latter's life or collection of his scattered writings.

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ERRATA.

Cheers *for* **cheer**, p. 28, line 21.

Extended *for* **extend**, p. 40, line 16.

Meeting *for* **Meetings**, p. 40, line 23.

Siobb *for* **Cob**, p. 36, line 19.

APPENDIX.

The following copy of the Bengali Trust-Deed has been kindly placed at our disposal by Babu Prasad Das Dutt, the Executor and the Guardian of the minor son of Babu Kristo Das Pal.

টুপ্ত ডিড্

হিন্দুপেটিয়ট

শ্রীযুক্ত রাজা প্রতাপচন্দ্র সিংহ ও শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু রমানাথ ঠাকুর ও শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু যতীন্দ্রমোহন ঠাকুর ও শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু রাজেন্দ্রলাল মিত্র মহাশয়গণ বরাবরেষু ।

লিখিতং শ্রীকালীপ্রসন্ন সিংহ সাক্ষিক কলিকাতা জোড়াসাঁকো টুফি নামা পত্রমিদং কার্য্যানুষ্ঠানে আমি নানাবিধ বৈষয়িক কার্য মध्ये সদা সর্বদা আরত থাকায় হিন্দুপেটিয়ট নামক ইংরাজি সংবাদ পত্র সম্পূর্ণ রূপে দৃষ্টি করিয়া নির্বাহ করায় অশক্ত বিধায় উক্ত সন্যাস পত্র ও তৎসম্বন্ধীয় টাইপ অর্থাৎ অক্ষর মায় লওয়া জমা ও লহনা আদায়ের বিল প্রভৃতি আপনাদের হস্তে অর্পণ করিয়া আপনাদিগকে টুফি নিযুক্ত করিলাম । আপনারা এই সন্যাস পত্র ও অক্ষর ও পাওনা টাকা প্রভৃতির টুফি স্বত্রে মালিক হইয়া নীচের লিখিত নিয়ম প্রতিপালন পূর্বক ঐ কাগজের সমুদায় কথ্য স্মারকরূপে নির্বাহ করিবেন । যেহেতু আপনাদিগের হস্তে ঐ ছাপার কাগজ থাকিলে দেশের নানাবিধ উপকার হইবার সম্ভাবনা । এমতে স্বীকার করিতেছি যে উক্ত কাগজের অক্ষর ও লওয়া জমা দ্রব্য ও উপস্বত্বের প্রতি আমার স্বত্ত্ব রহিল না । কস্মিনকালে আমি কিম্বা আমার উত্তরাধিকারী কোন দাবী দাওয়া করিব না ও করিবেন না । যদি করি কিম্বা করেন, সে বাতিল ও না মঞ্জুর ।

নিয়ম।

১। অত্র পেট্রিয়ট কাগজের গত এডিটার ৩ হরিশ্চন্দ্র মুখোপা-
ধ্যায়ের নামে স্থায়ী থাকা জন্য এই হিন্দুপেট্রিয়ট নাম কখন পরি-
বর্তন হইবে না। যে পর্য্যন্ত এই কাগজ আপনাদের হস্তে থাকিবে,
তাবৎকাল ঐ কাগজের নাম হিন্দুপেট্রিয়ট নামে প্রচলিত থাকিবেক।
এবং আপনারা ঐ কাগজ অন্য কোন সম্বাদ কাগজের সহিত যোগ
কিছা মিশ্রিত করিতে পারিবেন না।

২। কস্মিনকালে এই হিন্দুপেট্রিয়টের কৰ্ম নির্বাহ কালে আপনা-
দের কর্তৃত্ব কালে কোন রকমে ক্ষতি হইতে পারিবে না। আর ঐ
কাগজ ও তাহার গুড উইল ব্যতীত তৎ সম্বন্ধীয় অক্ষর আর লওয়া
জমা বিক্রয় করিতে আপনাদের ক্ষমতা থাকিবে। কিন্তু ঐ মূল্যের
টাকা আপনারা নিজে ভোগ না করিয়া প্রেসের দেনা শোধ বাদ
আর অবশিষ্ট টাকা হরিশ মেমোরিয়াল ফাণ্ডে অর্পণ করিবেন।

৩। অন্য কোন কাগজ পেট্রিয়টের সহিত মিশ্রিত করিলে কিছা
আপনারা স্বয়ং কোন যুদ্রা যন্ত্রালয় প্রভৃতি ক্রয় করিয়া পেট্রিয়টের
কাগজের সহিত মিশ্রিত করিলে সেই কাগজের আপনাদিগের ক্রয়
করা যন্ত্র কি অন্য পদার্থ আপনাদিগের স্বেচ্ছানুসারে বিক্রয় করিলে
তদ্রূপস্বত্ব আপনাদিগের ইচ্ছা মত ব্যয় করিবেন।

৪। হিন্দুপেট্রিয়ট কাগজের কৰ্ম চালাইবার আয় ব্যয়ের হিসা-
বাদি আপনাদিগের নিকটে আমার লইবার ক্ষমতা রহিল না।

৫। হিন্দুপেট্রিয়ট কাগজ ও তাহার গুড উইল বিক্রয় করার ক্ষমতা
রহিল না। ঐ কাগজ মায় গুড উইল দেশের উপকারার্থে কেহ
প্রার্থনা করেন তাহা উপযুক্ত বিবেচনা করিয়া দান করিতে পারিবেন।

৬। আপনাদিগের কাহারও কোন লোকান্তর হইলে কিছা কেহ
আপনার ইচ্ছা পূর্বক টঙ্কির ভার পরিত্যাগ করিলে যাঁহার উপ-
স্থিত থাকিবেন তাঁহারাই ইচ্ছামত পরিত্যাগ কিছা মৃত টঙ্কির পরি-
বর্তে ততুল্য ক্ষমতাবান অন্য টঙ্কি নিযুক্ত করিতে পারিবেন।

৭। টঙ্কির সংখ্যা তিন জনের কম ও পাঁচ জনের অধিক হইবে
না ও টঙ্কি নিয়োগের নিমিত্ত আমার মতের প্রয়োজন হইবেক না।

ও আমি আপনাদিগের পরিবর্তে কখন অন্য ট্রুষ্টি নিযুক্ত ও আপনাদিগকে রহিত করিতে পারিব না।

৮। আপনারা এক্ষয় হইয়া সর্বদা ট্রুষ্টি কর্ত্ব নিৰ্দ্ধার করিবেন। আপনাদিগের মধ্যে মতের অনৈক্য হইলে অধিকাংশ ট্রুষ্টির যেরূপ অভিপ্রায় হইবে সেই মত কার্য্য নিৰ্দ্ধার হইবেক।

৯। যদি কোন ট্রুষ্টি ইনসলভেন্ট জয়েন কিম্বা কোন রকমে অক্ষম হইয়া অথবা অন্য কোন অপকর্ত্ব করেন তবে তাঁহাকে বহিস্কৃত করিয়া তাঁহার স্থানে আপনারা অন্য ট্রুষ্টি নিযুক্ত করিতে পারিবেন।

১০। এই ট্রুষ্টি নিৰ্দ্ধার করিবার নিমিত্ত আমি একজন ট্রুষ্টি আপনাদিগের সহিত থাকিলাম। এবং আপনাদিগের তুল্য ক্ষমতাপন্ন হইয়া ট্রুষ্টির স্বরূপ উপরের লিখিত নিয়ম সকল প্রতিপালন করিব। যদি উপরের লিখিত নিয়ম সকল অন্যথা করি তবে নয় দফার সৰ্ব্ব আপনারা আমার প্রতি খাটাইতে পারিবেন।

১১। উপরোক্ত নিয়ম সকল প্রতিপালন পূৰ্ব্বক হিন্দু পেট্রিয়টের কার্য্য নিৰ্দ্ধার হইবেক ও দুই দফায় লিখিত অনুসারে বিক্রয় করা আবশ্যিক হইলে বিক্রয় হইবেক। এতদর্থে পেট্রিয়ট কাগজ ও অক্ষর মায় লওয়া জমা মালিকত্ব পরিত্যাগ করিয়া ট্রুষ্টি নামা লিখিয়া দিলাম। ইতি সন ১২৬৯ সাল ৪ঠা শ্রাবণ।

কলিকাতা

শ্রীকালীপ্রসন্ন সিংহ

১৯ জুলাই ১৮৬২ সাল

সাক্ষী

শ্রী নবীনচন্দ্র যুথোপাধ্যায়

শ্রী কৃষ্ণদাস পাল

Translation of the Trust-Deed of the Hindoo Patriot.

To

Srijuta Raja Protap Chandra Shingha and Srijuta Babu Romanath Tagore and Srijuta Babu Jotindra Mohun Tagore and Srijuta Babu Rajendra Lal Mitter.

Written by Srijuta Kaliprasanna Shingha, of Calcutta Jorashanka, is this trust-deed.

Being always variously engaged, and being unable to fully supervise and conduct the work with regard to the *Hindoo Patriot*,—an English newspaper so named,—the said newspaper and the type, fittings, and furniture of the same, together with the power of realizing outstanding bills, &c., do I hereby make over to you and do hereby appoint you trustees of the same.

You, holding the newspaper and the type and the debts &c. as trustees, shall, in the following manner, following the undermentioned rules, conduct all business connected with and arising in the management of the paper, duly and satisfactorily; as in your hands the paper will likely be of service to the country. I do hereby admit that henceforward I shall have no right or property or share in the returns of the same paper, type, furniture &c.

That at no subsequent time shall I, or my heirs, or assigns claim the same or hold the same to be subject to any claims. If I, or any of my heirs, assigns do set up such a claim it shall be null and void.

RULES.

(1). That, during the time of the late editor, the late Babu Hurrish Chunder Mukerjee,—this paper, the *Hindoo Patriot*, having been so named and established, the name *Hindoo Patriot* shall never be changed. That so long as the paper shall remain in your trust, the said paper shall be published under the name of the *Hindoo Patriot*, and that you shall not incorporate or amalgamate the same with any other newspaper or newspapers.

(2). That you shall, at no time, injure or prejudice the working of the same, during the period of your management. That moreover excepting the said newspaper and the good-will for the same you are hereby empowered to sell the type, fittings, and furniture of the same. But that you shall, without enjoying the money so realized by sale, pay out of the same the debts of the paper and make over the balance, if any, to the Hurrish Memorial Fund.

(3). If you amalgamate the *Hindoo Patriot* with any other newspaper, or if you incorporate with the same *Hindoo Patriot* any Printing Press &c., such press, types, fittings and furniture &c., you shall be at liberty to sell at your will, and employ the returns of the same in whatever manner you may please.

(4). That I shall have no power to call for the accounts or make you accountable for the receipts and disbursements as account of the same paper.

(5). That you shall have no right to sell the newspaper namely the *Hindoo Patriot*, or the good-will of the same. But you are hereby empowered to make over the said newspaper and the good-will of the same to any person or persons who may, in your judgment, seem fit and proper for the purpose of doing good to the country, and if they so apply.

(6). At the decease of any of you or if any of you withdraw from the trust, the surviving trustees may at their will resign or appoint in his place another trustee of like abilities and influence.

(7). That the number of trustees shall not exceed five nor be less than three. Nor shall it be necessary to consult me with reference to the appointment of trustees. I shall have no power to appoint other trustees in your place, or hinder you.

(8). That you shall conjointly and in agreement conduct the business. If there be any variance of opinion the paper shall be conducted according to the opinion of the majority.

(9). If any trustee be declared insolvent, or if he be in any way incapacitated or commit felony (or do a misdeed) you shall remove him and have the power to appoint a new trustee in his place.

(10). To do the trust duties I remain with you as a trustee and shall have like powers as yours and follow the abovementioned rules. If I conduct myself otherwise than as herein laid down, you shall have the power to carry out the requirements of para. nine of this deed.

(11). The abovementioned rules shall be followed in the working of the *Hindoo Patriot*, and further if as laid down in para. two it be necessary to sell, it shall be sold.

For these reasons I renounce all proprietary right and claim to the *Hindoo Patriot*, the type, fittings, and furniture &c.; and write this trust-deed—this the 4th of Sraban of 1269 Bengali year.

CALCUTTA: } (Sd.) SREE KALIPRASANNA
19th July, 1862. } SHINGHA.

Witness.

Sree Nobin Chunder Mukerji.

„ Kristo Das Pal.

COPIES OF PRIVATE LETTERS ADDRESSED TO
THE BIOGRAPHER.

(1st Letter.)

CALCUTTA,

Dated 26th September, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR,

You are quite right. I was very busy of late, as I told you often I am a bad correspondent, being no master of my own time, and that I therefore beg of my friends to excuse me for my inability to answer the notes as frequently as I could wish. But of this you may be assured that every line addressed to me commands my best attention.

Sidney Smith's allusion to "Kyme" you will find in his contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* on Indian Empire. I read it when I was in the College.

Thanks for your budget of news. Permit me to tell you that I can publish those items only that is not communicated to other papers. The *Patriot* always claims priority. Thanks for your kind wishes. Wishing you in return the compliments of the season and health and prosperity.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) KRISTO DAS PAL.

BABU RAM GOPAL SANYAL,
Krishnagar.

*(2nd Letter.)*108, BARANASHEE GHOSE'S STREET,
5th July 1876.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am not surprised to hear of the difficulties thrown in your way. This is the fate of all persons who have the temerity to write for the Press from the dark Mufussil. Those whose deeds are dark shun the light. I would, however, advise you to take care of yourself. Do not compromise your own interests in order to serve the Public. The circumstances of every man do not allow him to assert the right of a free man. I shall always be glad to hear from you and you may rest assured that your confidence will be never abused by me. At the same time take care of the traps which may be laid to catch you.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) KRISTO DAS PAL.

BABU RAM GOPAL SANYAL.

 ANECDOTES.

*Babu Kristo Das Pal's visit to Ranaghat and Krishnaghar
in the District of Nuddea.*

It was in the year 1881 the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal visited the above places. Neither pleasure nor curiosity was the motive of his personal visit to these places of historic renown. Krishnaghar is one of the ancient seats of Hindoo monarchy in Bengal, having obtained the name from the immortal Maharaja Krishna Chunder Roy Bahadur, who took a conspicuous part in the revolution which placed the Government of Bengal in the hands of the East India Company.

Ranaghat is no less famous, being the native village of that Great Incarnation of Charity, I mean the famous Kristo Panti of immortal fame. Occupied as Babu Kristo Das was with the various duties of a journalist and a public man, he had neither the time nor the inclination to go on a visit to villages in order

to enjoy rural scenes. He was a man of stern reality and not given to pleasure-hunting. The greatest aim of his life was, to devote his whole time and energy to ameliorate the condition of his fellow countrymen, and in trying to achieve that end, he died a martyr, it might be said, to the cause of this great country. His popularity may be judged from the circumstances on account of which he was obliged to go to these places. A man named Deno Nath Goswain personated himself as a Deputy Collector to levy tax for the Afghan War from the people of Ranaghat and other adjoining places, under orders from the Government. Knowing that the name of the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal would carry great weight with the people of Bengal, he gave out that the appointment had been procured for him by the Hon'ble Kristo Das from Lord Ripon himself, and he produced forged letters of appointment bearing the signatures and the initials of His Excellency the Marquis of Ripon, and his Private Secretary, Mr. Primrose.

The forgery was easily detected by the then Sub-divisional officer of Ranaghat, Babu Ram Charan Bose, and the culprit was brought to trial. In the course of this trial, Kristo Das was summoned as a witness in the Ranaghat Deputy Magistrate's Court. Kristo Das appeared before the Court, and denied having the least knowledge of the pseudo-Collector Denonath. He respectfully represented to the Court that as he was a very hard-worked and busy man, his presence could have been easily dispensed with, and when the Court replied that his evidence was considered material in the case, Kristo Das respectfully submitted, why was not the evidence of the Governor-General and his Private Secretary considered in the same light? The Deputy Magistrate then facetiously asked, whether it was desirable that the Governor-General should be summoned, and Kristo Das smiled and said nothing. The elite of the native community of Ranaghat headed by the popular zemindar Babu Surendra Nath Pal Chowdhry, one of the grandsons of Kristo Panti gave him a cordial welcome. His cordial manners, suavity of temperament, and courtesy won the golden opinions of all the people assembled on that occasion, and made a deep impression on them.

Denonath was committed to the Sessions Court of Nuddea for trial and there, too, Kristo Das was unwilling to go for pressure of business. The leaders of the native community of Krishnagar tried their best to bring him to Krishnagar on this occasion and to shew their respect to him. He became the guest of the Government pleader, Babu Ram Chander Mukerjee, and there he came in contact with almost every man of importance in the town. It is related by Babu Ram Chander Mukerjee himself, that at a select dinner party in his house, Kristo Das astonished the assembled guests when he refused, following the time-honoured custom amongst the Hindus, to take anything before the Brahmans took their *gondos*.

It is hardly necessary to add that Kristo Das won the respect of the Krishnagar people. We shall finish this anecdote by relating another circumstance which concerns the writer himself. It will shew beyond doubt the large-mindedness of the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal. During his short stay at Krishnagar, Kristo Das did not forget to pay a visit to the poor family of the biographer who was then absent from home. It was purely a friendly visit, and this act of condescension on his part might be appreciated by those who know the worth of real friendship.

The following anecdote of his life is taken from the *Hindoo Patriot* of the 30th November, 1886 which contains an extract from the *Indian Spectator* of Bombay:—

“If any one deserved a faithful record after his death of what manner of man he was when living, it was Babu Kristo Das. The son of a commoner, Rajas and Princes and other elites of the land delighted to be seen in his company and to be reckoned amongst his friends. Not a measure was thought of or discussed in Council by Government, but the first question was to know what would Kristo Das say to it. There was not an European, official or non-official, but had recourse to the Babu in any case requiring consultation. Yet with such an enviable position, the Babu never lost his balance. Mr. Gladstone has reviewed Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay* in the *Quarterly*, and in the course of the review he mentions that Macaulay, though courted by royalty and fawned on by the aristocracy,

never thought of keeping an equipage of his own till after his return from India. The same was the case with Babu Kristo Das. Though moving in the highest circles, he was simple and inexpensive in his taste to the last, and was always seen going to the Council Chamber in Government House on meeting days in a common hackery or a hired palanquin. It is related of Dickens that on one occasion he received a £1,000 note from the famous Holloway with a request that the novelist would but introduce Holloway's name in one of his works. Dickens, without making fuss about the matter, quietly returned the money without any note or remark. A similar anecdote is related of Babu Kristo Das. On one occasion a grandæ of the land, whose case was shortly to come on before Government, which involved the grant of a large amount of money, bespoke the Babu's advocacy of his cause in the *Hindoo Patriot* by sending him a large *douceur* in advance. The Babu, however, knew himself too well. He took one or two intimate friends into his confidence in regard to the circumstance, and then quietly sent back the money to the donor with the intimation that if his cause was just, the *Hindoo Patriot* would require no inducement for its advocacy. Well may Calcutta be proud of such a man, and well may the Bengalis preserve such a career in amber. But we have recourse again to the same question—What have our friends over the way done in this matter ?

It may not be generally known on this side, that Kristo Das's immediate predecessor in the editorial chair of the *Hindoo Patriot* was a man of no ordinary mark. Hurish Chander Mukerjee enjoyed no ordinary reputation both amongst Natives and Europeans by the conduct of his paper. During the Mutinies, the *Patriot* in the Babu's hands, was more than a match for the combined strength of all the English papers of Bengal, and during the Indigo Rebellion, as it is called, the Babu piloted the cause of the *Jaquerre* in such a masterly way that he extorted respect even from his opponents. He too was cut off prematurely, and strange as it may appear, Calcutta owes the record of his life to a Bombay man. This life is contained in a book entitled *Lights and Shades*

of the East. We may also add that towards the subscription which was got up in honour of the deceased, Bombay sent its quota—the Bombay subscription being promoted by Mr. Sorabjee Shapurjee Bengali. A reading room known as Hurish Reading Room, attached to the office of the British Indian Association, is the form of the Babu to the present generation.”

SPECIMEN OF BABU HURISH CHANDER
MUKERJEE'S WRITINGS IN 1857.

THE HINDOO PATRIOT.

Thursday, December 31st, 1857.

In making these extracts from the writings of this renowned Journalist, we may be permitted to say that the old files of the *Hindoo Patriot* before the year 1857 cannot be found neither in the rooms of the British Indian Association nor in the Metcalf Hall, and we are therefore, so far as our space permits, content with transcribing the following articles from his writings in 1857 and 1858.

“The year 1857 will form the date of an era unsurpassed in importance by any in the history of mankind. For us who are living in the midst of those scenes which have stamped this epochal character on the year, it is impossible to realize in its fullest measure the interest that will attach to it in the eyes of posterity. Our minds are too full of the incidents of the rebellion—of this siege and that massacre, the battle, the retreat, the ambuscade, mutinies, treacheries and treasons—they are far too agitated,—to receive a fair image of the present. The rebellion came upon us with a shock for which no class of the community was prepared. It has taken by surprise the country—not excepting the vast body of the rebels themselves. For eight long months it has ravaged the land in its length and breadth, spreading crime and misery of every hue and form. And when now its strength has been broken and its end has made itself visible, it bids fair to leave the nation a legacy of prolonged and yet unknown troubles.”

“The dawn of the year 1857 disclosed to us prospects than which more hopeful could not be conceived in the destiny of a people. The country was tranquil at home and at peace abroad. The reckless spirit of territorial aggrandisement which absorbed the energies of Government for the previous eight years had passed away. The condition of the people, the great social interests of the nation had become an object of earnest attention. A healthy political spirit characterised the proceedings of the intelligent classes of the community, who were prepared and disposed to support the views of an enlightened legislature. Grand schemes of law and social reform propounded by men of the greatest ability, were in agitation. Education, public works, and material improvements were receiving a stronger impulse than ever urged them forward. The public finances were slowly recovering from the exhaustion into which they had fallen. Plans of retrenchment had been set on foot with the best chances of success. Never did the country enter upon a new year with brighter hopes or in better spirits.”

“But the calculations of man are as nought in the course of Providence. We shall not presume to enter into speculations as to the causes of the mutinies. It is too early to determine how the Sepoy mind became so strongly imbued with the idea that the Government was resolved to destroy their religion, and that they were strong enough by themselves to wrest India from the hands of the British. These causes would extend over a number of years, and their examination will be the business of history, not journalism. Nor shall we enter into a narrative of events, the memory of which is so terribly fresh in the minds of our readers. We may be content with noting what effect these events have had upon national progress during the year.”

“First of all we have suffered in character from the effect of these mutinies. Despite multitudinous traducers, the national character of the Hindoos stood high in the eyes of the world. If we were described as superstitious, we were allowed to be an intellectual people. Against our want of patriotic and military

order, a whole host of virtues was allowed to be more than a set-off. We have always suffered, history could produce no instance of our having inflicted suffering. If an account were cast up between us and the rest of the world, it would be found that the balance of benefits would be largely in our favour. There was much in our annals, institutions and literature which interested the scholar and the statesman alike; and made cultivated men in general view our nation with eyes of really affectionate regard. For the time, every sentiment of goodwill and respect that foreigners entertained for us is in a state of annihilation. The atrocities which have followed in the wake of the mutinies have been truly described as unspeakable. They have been charged most untruly and unjustly to the whole nation. We shall not deny the responsibility of the mutineers for every act of outrage which in the disorganization caused by their mutiny became possible of commission. But we deny that the moral character of the nation is to be estimated by the acts of the felonry of the country—the refuse, the dregs, the unhung scoundralism of the population. For the time this fact, so probable, so vraisemblant (?), is indignantly ignored; and we are charged with, besides an unlimited capacity for crime, having deceived the world for three thousand years by concealing from it that capacity.”

“Along with the forfeiture of the good opinion of the civilized world, we have incurred another loss, if not equally great, more closely affecting our interests. For the time, the estrangement between the native races and the mass of the English people has become complete. We are objects not merely of suspicion; we have become objects of the bitterest hostility. Our British fellow-subjects firmly believe that we have embarked in a contest, the aim of which is their extermination. Extravagant as this belief is, it is too momentous in its consequences to be ridiculed. With their aid, we have secured many substantial benefits.”

“The time had just come when by more intimately commingling our interests with theirs, we were about winning many more. The commencement of the year saw our countrymen in hot con-

test with their British fellow-subjects for the acquisition of equal laws and equal rights. There was some bitterness in the contest, but there were the very best chances of success in our favour. The object once gained, the quarrel would have speedily faded from memory, and a community of interest would have engendered feelings that would have completely washed away the bitterness and soothed the antagonism of race. The mutinies have made coalition for a time impossible, and reconciliation a thing of distant hope."

"Our second great loss has been in the item of civilization. For a time, and that we fear no short a time, our path of social progress is completely barred. We cannot mend a barbarous, or a cruel, or an irrational custom, however large the majority anxious to do it, if the reform be one to need the aid of the law. The Widows' Marriage Act is an instance to prove the advanced position which the legislature had taken in respect to social matters. A law to restrain polygamy was on the tapis, and merely awaited a few formalities to have effective penal force throughout the country. Other abominations live which it were unpatriotic to expose to the gaze of idle curiosity. All these have gained a long lease of existence. All hopes of their extirpation lie for the time dashed to the ground. The legislature stands committed to a policy of inaction so far as regards them. It may give us good courts of justice, unexceptionable judicial procedure, and well-framed systems of taxation; but to draw out and destroy evils that are eating into the very core of social morals and happiness, our legislators have become—owing to the mutinies alone—utterly powerless."

"The extent of purely political loss that the mutinies will have inflicted upon the country yet remains to be estimated. Those aspirations after equality with the most favoured of the sovereign's subjects which so justifiably animated our political efforts, now seem vain and extravagant. The authorities themselves have given way to the pressure of the times, and succumbed to influences which are yet to attain their fullest development. The Directors have already countermanded the enactment of a law sanctioned by

the approval of the greatest jurists and statesmen of the age, that should place the Briton and the Bengali upon the same footing in the eye of the law. That is but a sample of what possibly may yet be in store for us. It may yet be our lot to be trampled upon, to be thrown into the lowest stage of political existence that a conquered nation can be held down to, to be made to hew wood and draw water for conquerors who shall be our oppressors, to expiate in one long noviciate of serfdom sins not our own. These are gloomy forebodings, but the most sanguine, when he marks the temper of the times, cannot help now and then giving way to them."

"All material improvement is for the present at a halt. Our Railways instead of progressing have been partially destroyed. The electric telegraph which this time last year flashed messages across a continent, now lies mangled and torn. Irrigation and roads, works of utility and of ornament, schemes intended to succour and raise famished millions, have all been abandoned in the struggle for self-preservation. The heavy loss of life and property, and the heavier loss which insecurity and terrorism may yet occasion, remain to be counted. Computation is baffled in the attempt to determine the amount of physical suffering and sacrifices that the rebellion will have cost the natives of India. The list might be prolonged had the need been. But the painful task has become superfluous owing to the very universality of the suffering which prevails. There is not one among the inhabitants of this continent who, if not labouring under the mania of insurrection, does not feel and deplore in body, mind or estate its consequences. Generations of our countrymen will yet have to bear a share of the same sufferings. From contemplations like these we are driven for consolation to the immutable laws of Providence. The man of true historic faith sees in every event a stepping-stone for society to advance by in the path of progress. All is for the best. The Indian rebellion, with all its horrors, cannot be exempt from the operation of the historic law. And the year 1857, commemorated in characters of blood and fire, is probably destined to usher in an era of unexampled progress and happiness for a tenth of the human race."

SPECIMEN OF BABU HURISH CHANDER
MUKERJEE'S WRITINGS IN 1860.

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIGO PLANTERS
AND RYOTS.

HINDOO PATRIOT.

February 4th, 1860.

The well-known Calcutta Barrister Mano Mohun Ghose, Esq. has pointed out this article written by Babu Hurish Chander during the Indigo Crisis of 1860 :—

"Anarchy in Bengal.—They speak what is literally a truth who speak of the prevalence of anarchy in some of the districts of Bengal. It is anarchy when a few men, by the mere force of the strong arm lord it over millions, and bar them from the benefits of government. The external show of courts, policemen, and officials, is a mockery in regions where the oppressed man cannot approach the law but by permission of his oppressor. It is anarchy there where lattiaism is an institution for the maintenance of which its patrons openly contend with the legislature—where the iron will, the brave heart, and brute force will ensure their possessor complete supremacy.

And why should it be so? These districts, the seat of this anarchy, are within eyesight of a Government the strongest in Asia. The people are a race who require the least amount of government to keep their society together. It is a country of old traditions, which has known regular laws and courts of justice for nearly a century. One single tax of four millions is borne by the people themselves to the public exchequer with a punctuality not observed by the seasons. Religion reigns in the land with more than ordinary force. And yet there is anarchy in Bengal.

The phenomenon is easily explicable. No branch of the internal administration of Bengal is so inefficient as the police and penal judicature. The ordinary magistracy has always been found incapable of coping with crimes of any magnitude. Whenever a

form of great crime has to be put down, a special organization becomes needed. Weak in numerical strength, the magistracy is weaker in action. The discreditable low aim which the District Magistrates propose to themselves is pursued with a total lack of energy and vigour. The District Magistrate is satisfied if his superiors do not report him worse than his predecessor. He is more than satisfied if he keeps his district in no worse order than it was when he stepped into his office. The hard task of maintaining the very existence of peace is postponed to the less exacting duty of superintending roads and ferries, and tampering with the prospects of subordinates. Wanting confidence in himself, and perhaps in his official superiors too, he dares not grapple with the larger evils, or provoke the enmity of a powerful wrong-doer. The sufferings of a black man can never be an object of anything but occasional pity to a true son of Japhet. But the white Magistrate placed over a population of black men is so habituated, to sights of suffering and oppression, that they do not excite in his breast even that fashionable little sentiment. Genuine callousness of heart would pass for judicial impartiality, and indolence shelters itself under the guise of a constitutional respect for the law.

But the Magistrate, though the chief custodian of the peace in his own district, is after all, it may be said, a responsible officer. He is but a subordinate in a hierarchy of many grades. There is his diocesan, the Commissioner of the Division. What does he do? It is his duty to see that the Magistrate performs his duty. To that end he moves from station to station, the doing which he calls his tour of inspection. Inspect he often does, as the shelves of the fouzdar's record-room and the roads of the cutcherry compound at seasons abundantly testify. Control the Magistrate he does; or why does every darogah, mohurrir, jemadar, or burkundanz, who has been fined, suspended, or dismissed, feel that he does himself injustice until he has appealed to the Commissioner? No Commissioner of Division, however, feels it necessary to enquire into the state of the more vital matters affecting the well-being of his district. It is no business of his to goad the indolent, instruct the

inexperienced, or to check the aberrations of the corrupt. With his subordinates he shares the sweet calm of a disposition not to be ruffled by sights of suffering and oppression.

The Commissioner again is but a suffragan. There is his metropolitan, the Government of Bengal. The Government of Bengal was a few years ago composed of the leisure moments of a statesman whose proper duties occupied him twelve hours a day, and of the weaknesses of a Secretary who would be outcasted if he wrote a strong letter of censure of his own accord. Since the conversion of the Government of Bengal into an entity, it has indeed made itself individually felt. The first incarnate Government of Bengal was a man whose knowledge of the country was unbounded. High hopes were entertained of him. His first act raised those hopes higher than ever. He recorded his opinion in sententious terms, that everywhere the Strong oppressed the Weak. The opinion—a truism—had all the charms of a discovery when it proceeded from Mr. Halliday's mouth; for it was universally believed that the truism was soon to be converted, in a great measure at least, into a myth in the dominions of the Government of Bengal. People expectantly waited for the remedy. That was soon proposed. It was to destroy the Strong—to leave none but the Weak. The strong proved too strong for the destroyer. It was not the idiosyncrasy of the vigorous minute-writer to take action after the publication of his minute. The Strong everywhere continued to oppress the Weak.

With one branch of the Strong family the first Government of Bengal cultivated relation which affected the condition of the Weak very materially. The first Government of Bengal was considerably in advance of the rest of mankind in his views of policy; and the development of the resources of the country was an extremely favoured object of his political sympathies. Therefore, and for another reason, namely, that the said Government was very pardonably ambitious of a British fame, he patronized with all his might the branch of the strong family which made indigo and coal. He knew how indigo and coal were made. But he tolerated all,

and discouraged every attempt of everybody that interfered with the production of indigo and coal.

Mr. Halliday's successor has been but a few months in the office. That he has already grown so popular is as much due to the fact of his being Mr. Halliday's successor as to the unqualified respect entertained for his character, and the boundless confidence felt in his impartiality and love of justice. This last is an advantage which will stand him in good stead whenever his acts offend a class or injure a pampered interest. He has already taken the first step towards the restoration of law and order in the seats of anarchy. There is no doubt that it will not be the last. But we doubt whether even Mr. Grant will be able to cow his subordinates to co-operate with him in the great task. They are not accustomed to believe that anarchy needs to be removed, whilst the "station" is safe and the revenues are paid in. They have no idea that the anarchy can be removed, or any good will come out of anything being substituted for it. They object to the novelty and the troublesomeness of the task sought to be imposed upon them. Some of quicker instincts see political danger in the entire suppression of anarchy in the land. Others believe that the development of the resources will cease. All will vote Mr. Grant a bore.

The question has become a serious one. The ryots, if they have not learnt that Mr. Grant has forbidden the cultivation of indigo, have learnt that Mr. Halliday is no longer Governor. Mr. Tottenham's magistracy of a few weeks has given them the idea that justice is not always unattainable. A spirit, such as we never in our weakest moments anticipated, has made its appearance in the indigo-growing districts. The poor fellows may in the end succumb. But between the date and this there will occur a series of social collisions which will simply disgrace established authority. We supplicate our rulers to ward off these occurrences."

SPECIMEN OF BABU KRISTO DAS'S
WRITINGS IN 1858.

THE HINDOO PATRIOT.

January 21st, 1858.

THE LATE BABU RUSSICK KRISHNA MULLICK.

For want of space we make the following extract from his contributions to the *Hindoo Patriot* in 1858. Besides this Kristo Das wrote the review of the novel called *Alalghurer Dulal* by the late Babu Peary Chand Mitra and several other articles :—

“ Something more than a formal paragraph notice is due to the memory of the man whose life was the history of the early struggle which marked native progress in the beginning, and the leading fact of whose existence was to sustain the character his intelligence, energy and courage obtained for him. Babu Russick Krishna Mullick lived in the commencement of an intellectual and moral revolution, yet in course of completion, and was himself a brave leader in it. Perhaps Bengal had then received a greater shock than whole India has met with in this gigantic revolt of the Sepoys. Rammohan Roy was teaching pure lessons of Holiness and God, and throwing doubts and questions upon the veracity and purity of the doctrines of the Shasters and Poorans. The war between Brahminism and Brahmoism, between principle and prejudice, between liberty and despotism, between prescription and progress, then commenced. English education was sending forth its triumphs in a noble set of young Bengalees, with enlightened ideas of society and of civilization, and with courage and energy to follow and disseminate them. David Hare was memorializing his life by a career of enlightened zeal and usefulness inducing the children of our fathers to taste the fruits of knowledge, and to receive light wherewith to dispel the darkness which enveloped their country. Dr. Duff, with his youthful buoyancy and young missionary enthusiasm, had then newly commenced to

inveigh against the idolatry of the people and to preach the merits and transcendancies of Christianity. Such was the morning of the era, the noon of which we now dimly see. Although the lamented deceased was not the only person who seconded the spirit of the time, he was one of those who placed themselves in advance of the general run of their countrymen by shewing a bold front to all cold threats and disheartening attacks. Those who remember the time which saw this early contest of civilization with deep-rooted prejudice and inexorable antagonism of feeling in the same race, will be at no difficulty to imagine that Babu Russick • Krishna Mullick was thrown upon his own resources by his family which was then in a highly prosperous condition for pursuing knowledge with an unflagging perseverance, and for framing the conduct of his life after the principles which English authors inculcated. But his zeal was unconquerable; his courage indomitable. With a rich and fertile mind, replenished with the sentiments of the best English authors, and disciplined to an admirable training he was a pride to the old Hindu College. He early attracted the notice of Dr. Wilson, and was marked out by Sir Edward Ryan as one far above the average of Bengali scholars. His ready elocution won for him deserved applause at the Academical Society, the first Native Club, patronized at the time by highly distinguished public servants and the most eminent men of education of the day. His desire to diffuse the blessings of education led him along with other friends to start the *Guananeshun*, an Anglo-Bengali Journal, through the medium of which the soundest maxims of morals and the most useful lessons of life were promulgated. He was one of the few literary enthusiasts who formed the circle of which H. V. Derozio and Dr. Adams were the centre. The age was indeed a golden age. Education was a new gift, and was accordingly valued at even more than its proper worth, and Lord William Bentinck even did not feel it derogatory to his dignity as Governor-General of India to associate with an educated native of however humble origin. There was then less of that mean pride and petty jealousy

which form so disagreeable a feature in the character of nine-tenths of both the official and non-official classes of the European community in this country. Babu Russick Krishna Mullick began life as a teacher in Mr. Hare's school and closed it with the highest honours which an Uncovenanted servant could obtain. Although the best part of his life was spent in the dark arena of the mofussil, he used seldom to omit any opportunity during his visits to Calcutta to lend his aid and energy to the cause of the class of which he was truly a representative man. His opinions on public men and measures, were such as every enlightened man would respect. He rarely appeared before the public in the capacity of a speaker, but when he did, his admirable fluency and pure English used to carry the minds of the audience. But he was extremely modest in the estimate of his own worth, and he never aspired to the position of one of the public characters of Bengal. The goodness of his heart may be appreciated by the fact that he bequeathed at the time of his death a sum of five thousand rupees to the District Charitable Society. In him we have lost one of the links which connect the days of Rammohan Roy and David Hare with ours. We are told he has left a manuscript book containing thoughts of Religion, and we hope his friends will in justice to the memory of the author, publish it. Other contributions from his pen to the Indian Press, though displaying to no small advantage the talent and intellectual attainments of the writer do not, we think, possess a durable interest. We, however, deeply deplore his death which is a personal loss to us and to a large circle of friends. Peace be to his memory!"

The above article has been shewn to us by Babu Shumbhoo Chander Mukerjee, the Editor of the *Reis and Ryut*.

FINIS.
