

**SELECTIONS FROM OFFICIAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO THE LIFE OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY
VOL. I**

EDITED BY

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With an Introductory Memoir

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PREFACE

By his reforming activities Raja Rammohun Roy made many enemies among the orthodox Hindus as well as orthodox Christians. Some of his orthodox countrymen, not satisfied with meeting his arguments with arguments, went to the length of spreading calumnies against him regarding his character and integrity. These calumnies found their way into the works of some of his Indian biographers. Miss S. D. Collet has, however, very ably defended the character of the Raja against these calumnies in her work, "The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy." But recently documents in the archives of the Governments of Bengal and India as well as of the Calcutta High Court were laid under contribution to support some of these calumnies. These activities reached their climax when on the eve of the centenary celebration of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy on the 27th September, 1933, short extracts were published from the Bill of Complaint of a suit brought against him in the Supreme Court by his nephew Govindaprasad Roy to prove his alleged iniquities. These efforts to revive and rehabilitate the calumnies drew our attention to these documents. Even before our attention was drawn to the publication of these notes in the monthly journals, one of us (Dr. Majumdar) had been carrying on original researches in connexion with the life and works of the Raja at the request of the late lamented Mr. Kshitindranath Tagore, the Secretary and Acharya of the Adi Brahma Samaj, Calcutta. We got an opportunity to inspect and examine for ourselves the records of the High Court, which opened our eyes to the utter baselessness of the above allegations. This led us next to examine the

records of the Governments of India and Bengal. The encouragement and enthusiasm of the late lamented Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, the President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta, have also been great incentives in our work.

This volume owes its publication to the munificence of Kumar Narendra Nath Law, Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., a learned patron of learning, who has borne the entire cost of its printing, as well as to the co-operation of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, M.A., the editor of the *Modern Review*, who helped us to overcome many of our difficulties. We are also indebted to the liberality of the late Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, the Maharaja of Pithapuram, Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, the authorities of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta, Lady Abala Bose, Mr. Tapan Mohun Chatterjee, Bar-at-Law, Mr. Sudhangsu Mohun Bose, M.A., Bar-at-Law, Member of the Public Service Commission, Bengal, Prof. Amiya Kumar Sen, M.A. of the Calcutta University, Mr. Sarashi Mohun Roy, Solicitor, Mrs. Hemlata Tagore, Mr. J. De. I.C.S., Dr. D. M. Bose, Lt. Col. M. Das, I.M.S., and others.

The volume has been divided into three parts. The first part contains records relating to the private affairs of Rammohun Roy and his father and brothers. The second part contains records of cases brought against the Raja in the Supreme Court and the Sudder Dewany Adalut. The third part contains records of proceedings against the Raja's eldest son. The records embodied in the second and third parts are really annals of the Raja's long persecution, and these bring into clear relief the greatness and patriotism of the man, who, in the midst of these attacks to bring down ruin and disgrace on him, never lost sight of his self-imposed mission of uplifting his countrymen.

The records have been arranged chronologically, and though containing a large number of copyists' mistakes, which have been retained in most places as they were, would not prevent the intelligent reader from getting at their meaning or purport. The dates appended at the end of the two Supreme

Court cases would help the reader to understand their day-to-day development.

The records of the Revenue and Judicial departments that have been printed in this volume belong to the Government of Bengal.

Most of the records printed in this volume have been brought to the notice of the public for the first time, and all of them have been collected independently.

The documents contain a bewildering variety of spelling of proper names and Indian technical terms. The Glossary and Index of proper names may be consulted for the standard forms.

The preparation of this volume has been made possible through the kind help and generosity of various people, for which we take this opportunity to tender them our grateful thanks. In the first place, our debt of gratitude to Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, Kt., the Ex-Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, is very great indeed. He did Dr. Majumdar the unprecedented favour of giving him permission to take copies of the records of the two Supreme Court cases free of all costs. We are also indebted to the Hon'ble Sir Harold Derbyshire, Kt., the present Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, for permission granted to Dr. Majumdar to take photographs of the documents reproduced in the plates attached to Appendix I, and to the Registrar of the Appellate Side of the same Court for allowing Dr. Majumdar to inspect and take copies of the Persian judgments inserted in Appendix II. The Registrar of the Original Side and the Keepers of records of both sides of the Calcutta High Court have rendered us valuable assistance. Our thanks are also due to the Government of Bengal and the Collector of Burdwan for permitting us to search and take copies of their records, as well as to the Keepers of those records for all the help rendered to us in the prosecution of our work. In this connexion we have to acknowledge our special indebtedness to Mr. Lalita Prasad Dutt, late Keeper of Records of the Government of Bengal, and his staff

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Calcutta,
September, 1938

R. C.
J. K. M.,

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	i
Introductory Memoir	xix
1. The Collector of Burdwan to the Preparer of Reports re : non-attendance of Ramcaunt Roy & others. ...	1
2. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue approving of the terms of Ramcaunt Roy & others. ...	1
3. Statement of the amount jummah for the farm of Perg. Bairah &c. by Ramcaunt Roy. 	2
4. Statement of the terms offered for farming Perg. Bhursoot by Ramcaunt Roy & others.... ...	3
5. The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan approving of the offer of Ramcaunt Roy & others. ...	3
6. The Preparer of Reports to the Board of Revenue informing of sale by public auction of Perg. Chitwa. ...	4
7. Statement of sale of lands belonging to Keerpamoy Mustoffee. 	5
8. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue on giving possession of Hureerampore &ca. ...	5
9. The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan ordering to put Jugmohun Roy and others in possession of the several mehals of Chitwa. 	5
10. The Judge to the Collector of Burdwan re: a suit between Maharajah Tejchund and Ramcaunt Roy. ...	6
11. Collector of Burdwan's reply to the above. ...	6
12. Statement of the mehals let in farm to Ramcaunt Roy....	6
13. Petition of Jugmohun Roy to the Board of Revenue. ...	7
14. Account purchase of Govindpore & Rammesserpore. ...	7
15. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re : the petition of Jugmohun Roy. 	8
16. Statement showing the Jumma &c. of Hureerampore ...	9
17. Proceedings of a meeting of the Board of Revenue. ...	9
18. Petition of Jugmohun Roy. 	10
19. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue on Jugmohun Roy's above petition. 	11
20. Precept from the Registrar, Burdwan Dewany Adawlut, to the Collector of Burdwan. 	12

	Page
21. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue suggesting attachment of the lands of Ramcaunt Roy ...	14
22. The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan authorizing attachment of the lands of Ramcaunt Roy...	14
23. The Collector to the Judge of Burdwan asking to comply with the terms of his Perwannah. ...	14
24. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re : Ramcaunt Roy and Jugmohun Roy. ...	15
25. Report of the balance of rent due from Ramcaunt Roy.	16
26. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue on the postponement of sale of Hureerampore. ...	16
27. Statement of the Sudder Jumma and rent produce of Turruf Hureerampore....	17
28. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re : Hureerampore. ...	17
29. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re : the sale of Hureerampore. ...	19
30. The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan re : sale of Hureerampore &ca. ...	20
31. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re : the above letter of the Board. ...	21
32. Extract of a letter from the Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re : Hureerampore. ...	22
33. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re : Hureerampore. ...	22
34. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue transmitting account sale of a portion of Hureerampore...	22
35. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re : the sale of lands of Jugmohun Roy. ...	23
36. The Collector of Burdwan to the Collector of Midnapore re : Jugmohun Roy. ...	23
37. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re : the release of Ramcaunt Roy. ...	24
38. The Collector to the Judge of Burdwan re : the transfer of Jugmohun Roy & others to Midnapore Jail. ...	24
39. The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan. ...	24
40. The Collector of Burdwan to the Collector of Midnapore re : the transfer of Jugmohun Roy & others. ...	25
41. Precept from the Registrar, Burdwan Dewanny Adawlut, to the Collector of Burdwan. ...	25

	Page
42. Report on Jugmohun Roy confined in the Midnapore Jail.	26
43. Extract of a letter from the Board of Revenue to the Collector of Midnapore approving of the continuance in confinement of Jugmohun Roy. ...	27
44. Mr. Woodforde to the Board of Revenue informing of his taking charge of the Dacca Collectorship. ...	27
45. Mr. Woodforde to the Board of Revenue informing of Rammohun Roy being appointed Dewan of the Dacca Collectorship. ...	27
46. The Collector of Midnapore to the Collector of Burdwan re: Jugmohun Roy. ...	27
47. Reply of the Collector of Burdwan to the above. ...	28
48. The Collector of Midnapore to the Board of Revenue re: a petition of Jugmohun Roy. ...	29
49. The Collector of Dacca to the Board of Revenue informing of the resignation of Rammohun Roy. ...	30
50. Report of the case of Maharaja Tezhund against Jugmohun Roy. ...	31
51. The Collector of Midnapore to the Board of Revenue re: Jugmohun Roy. ...	33
52. The Collector of Midnapore to the Collector of Burdwan re: Jugmohun Roy. ...	34
53. The Collector of Burdwan to the Collector of Midnapore re: Jugmohun Roy's sureties. ...	35
54. The Collector of Midnapore to the Board of Revenue transmitting statement of the balances outstanding a/c Hureerampore. ...	35
55. The Collector of Midnapore to the Board of Revenue submitting a supplementary report on the above matter. ...	36
56. The Collector of Midnapore to the Collector of Burdwan re: Jugmohun Roy's affairs. ...	37
57. The Collector of Burdwan to the Collector of Midnapore re: Jugmohun Roy's affairs. ...	38
58. The Collector of Midnapore to the Collector of Burdwan re: Jugmohun Roy's affairs. ...	38
59. The Judge of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue transmitting copy of a decree. ...	38
60. The Collector of Burdwan to the Collector of Midnapore re: Jugmohun Roy's affairs. ...	39

	Page
61. The Collector of Burdwan to the Collector of Midnapore re : Jugmohun Roy's affairs. ...	39
62. The Collector of Midnapore to the Collector of Burdwan transmitting two Dustucks. ...	39
63. The Collector of Midnapore to the Collector of Burdwan transmitting two Perwannahs. ...	39
64. Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue informing of his having delivered over charge of office of Register & Magistrate of Ramgurnh. ...	40
65. Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue informing of his having taken charge of the Jessore Collectorship. ...	40
66. Governor General's resolution proposing Mr. Digby as Register of Bhagalpore Court. ...	40
67. Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue informing of his having delivered over charge of the Jessore Collectorship...	40
68. The Secretary to Government to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, informing of Mr. Digby being deputed to act as Collector of Rungpore. ...	41
69. The Secretary to Government to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, informing of Mr. Digby being appointed Collector of Rungpore....	41
70. Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue informing of his appointing Rammohun Roy as Dewan of Rungpore Collectorship. ...	41
71. Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue re : Rammohun Roy. ...	42
72. Mr. Digby's reply to the letter of the Board of Revenue re : Rammohun Roy....	43
73. The Board of Revenue to Mr. Digby re : Rammohun Roy. ...	44
74. Mr. Smelt to the Board of Revenue informing of his having received charge of the Rungpore Collectorship...	44
75. Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue informing of his making over charge of the Rungpore Collectorship. ...	44
76. Mr. Digby to Government informing of his intention to proceed to England. ...	45
77. Mr. Digby's further letter to Government on the same subject. ...	45
78. Certificate of the Accountant General re : claims against Mr. Digby. ...	45

79.	Government to Mr. Digby informing of the permission granted to him to proceed to England ...	45
80.	Extract of a letter from Government to the Court of Directors re: Mr. Digby. ...	46
81.	The Collector of Midnapore to the Board of Revenue re: a petition of Govindpersaud Roy. ...	46
82.	Enclosure from the Collector of Midnapore containing a statement of lands &c. divided between Jugmohun Roy and Rammohun Roy. ...	47
83.	The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Midnapore re: Govindpersaud Roy's affairs. ...	51
84.	The Collector of Midnapore to the Board of Revenue re: sale of Govindpersaud Roy's lands. ...	51
85.	The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan on the above matter. ...	51
86.	The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re: Govindpersaud Roy's affairs. ...	52
87.	Statement of the Lackeraj lands belonging to Govindpersaud Roy. ...	52
88.	The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Midnapore re: Govindpersaud Roy's affairs. ...	53
89.	The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan re: sale of Govindpersaud Roy's lands. ...	53
90.	The Collector of Midnapore to the Board of Revenue re: arrears due from Govindpersaud Roy & sale of his property. ...	53
91.	The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan asking for explanation re: sale of Govindpersaud Roy's lands. ...	54
92.	Reply from Mr. Digby to the board's above letter. ...	54
93.	Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue transmitting statement of the property of Govindpersaud Roy proposed to be sold. ...	54
94.	The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan re: balances due from Govindpersaud Roy. ...	59
95.	Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue re: sale of Govindpersaud Roy's lands. ...	59
96.	Board's reply to the above. ...	59
97.	The Collector of Hooghly to the Board of Revenue informing of the payment made by Govindpersaud Roy...	59

	Page
98. Bill of Complaint of Govindpersaud Roy. ...	63
99. Replication of Govindpersaud Roy. ...	76
100. Rejoinder of Rammohun Roy. ...	76
101. Interrogatories-in-chief on the part and behalf of Govindpersaud Roy. ...	77
102. Cross Interrogatories on the part and Behalf of Rammohun Roy. ...	84
103. Deposition of Becharam Sein on the part of Govindpersaud Roy. ...	93
104. Cross Deposition of Becharam Sein. ...	101
105. Interrogatories on behalf of Rammohun Roy. ...	110
106. Petition of Rammohun Roy for a Rule. ...	129
107. Deposition of Gopeemohun Chatterjee on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	130
108. Deposition of Gooropersaud Roy on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	140
109. Deposition of Manikram Mukerjee on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	154
110. Deposition of Ramtonoo Roy on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	156
111. Deposition of Buddinath Ghose on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	167
112. Deposition of Rajiblochun Roy on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	168
113. Deposition of Nundcoomar Beddalunkar on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	173
114. Deposition of Gooroodoss Mukerjee on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	175
115. Deposition of Golucknarain Sarkar on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	190
116. Deposition of Jussodanundun Ghose on the part of Rammohun Roy. ...	192
117. Affidavit of Govindpersaud Roy re: serving of a subpoena on witnesses. ...	193
118. Affidavits of Govindpersaud Roy & others re: serving of subpoenas on witnesses. ...	194
119. Cross Interrogatories on the part and behalf of Rammohun Roy. ...	197
120. Petition of Govindpersaud Roy to be allowed to sue in forma pauperis. ...	203

	Page
121. Deposition of Radhakistno Bonnerjee on the part of Govindpersaud Roy.	206
122. Cross Deposition of Radhakistno Bonnerjee.	210
123. Deposition of Ramchunder Bonnerjee on the part of Govindpersaud Roy.	216
124. Cross Deposition of Ramchunder Bonnerjee.	219
125. Deposition of Oboychurn Dutt on the part of Govindpersaud Roy.	224
126. Cross Interrogatories to be administered to Tarrenay Daby on the part and behalf of Rammohun Roy.	227
127. Petition of Govindpersaud Roy for enlargement of time for publication.	236
128. Court's Order on the above.	237
129. Petition of Rammohun Roy for discharge of Rules obtained by Govindpersaud Roy.	238
130. Petition of Rammohun Roy for making the Order nisi obtained by him absolute.	247
131. Decree of Tenth Day of December, 1819.	248
Dates	273
132. Bill of Complaint of Doorgah Daby.	278
133. Order of the Court for the issue of a Writ of Attachment against Rammohun Roy.	286
134. Petition of Rammohun Roy for the discharge of the Writ of Contempt.	287
135. Answer of Rammohun Roy.	287
136. Replication of Doorgah Daby.	296
137. Rejoinder of Rammohun Roy.	297
138. Court's Order for the dismissal of the Bill of Complaint for want of prosecution.	297
139. Order of the Court discharging the Order nisi obtained by Rammohun Roy.	298
140. Final order of the Court for dismissal of the Bill of Complaint for want of prosecution.	299
Dates	301
141. Proceedings of the case of Maharaja Tezchund against Rammohun Roy & Govindpersaud Roy in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut.	305
142. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue recommending the appointment of Debnarain Bose.	315

	Page
143. Government to the Judge & Magistrate of Burdwan asking to administer oath to Mr. Digby. ...	315
144. Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue intimating of his having nominated Shibnarain Roy. ...	315
145. Board's reply to the above. ...	316
146. Mr. Digby to the Board stating reasons for his refusing to give acquittance to Davypersaud Sircar. ...	316
147. Mr. Digby to the Board intimating of his having nominated Govindpersaud Roy. ...	319
148. Board's reply to the above. ...	319
149. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the nomination of Shibnarain Roy. ...	320
150. Board's reply to the above. ...	320
151. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the petition of one Shunnuk Loll Tewary. ...	321
152. Mr. Digby's further letter to the Board re: the petition of Shunnuk Loll Tewary. ...	322
153. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the petition of Debnarain Bose. ...	323
154. Mr. Digby's further letter to the Board re: Debnarain Bose's case. ...	337
155. Board's reply to Mr. Digby's above letters. ...	339
156. Board's reply to Mr. Digby's letter re: Shunnuk Loll Tewary's Petition. ...	339
157. Mr. Digby to the Board informing of his having nominated Koonjibhari Roy. ...	340
158. The Magistrate of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re: the case of Debnarain Bose against Radhapersaud Roy & others. ...	341
159. Mr. Molony's reply to the Magistrate's above letter. ...	343
160. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the petition of Davypersaud Sircar. ...	344
161. Board's reply to the above letter. ...	347
162. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the appointment of Shibnarain Roy. ...	348
163. Board's reply to the above. ...	349
164. Mr. Digby to the Board informing of the Burdwan Treasury embezzlement. ...	349
165. The Board of Revenue to the Governor General in Council reporting the above matter. ...	351

	Page
166. Governor General's reply to the above. ...	352
167. The Board of Revenue to Mr. Digby asking to hand over charge of his office to Mr. Armstrong. ...	352
168. The Board of Revenue to Mr. Armstrong asking to take over charge from Mr. Digby. ...	353
169. The Superintendent of Legal Affairs to the Board asking to furnish necessary papers etc. ...	353
170. Board's reply to the above. ...	354
171. The Board of Revenue to its Accountant giving instructions. ...	355
172. The Accountant's letter to the Board submitting estimate of the sum embezzled. ...	355
173. Mr. Digby to the Board informing of his having handed over charge of office to Mr. Armstrong. ...	356
174. Mr. Molony to the Magistrate of Burdwan re : the commitment of certain employees of the Burdwan Collectorship. ...	356
175. Mr. Molony's first report to Government on the Burdwan embezzlement affair. ...	357
176. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board forwarding copy of Mr. Molony's above report. ...	369
177. Mr. Molony to the Magistrate of Burdwan forwarding a memorandum re : Radhapersaud Roy's case. ...	371
178. Governor General in Council's reply to Mr. Molony's above report. ...	371
179. Government Secretary to the Board of Revenue forwarding copy of the above reply. ...	373
180. Board's reply to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan's letter re : Burdwan affairs. ...	373
181. The Acting Sub-Treasurer to the Board informing of his having received payment of one lac of rupees a/c Rajiblochun Roy. ...	375
182. The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan informing of the above payment. ...	375
183. Govt. Secretary's letter to the Board of Revenue forwarding copy of their letter to Mr. Digby. ...	376
184. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board re : durkhaust of Thakoordoss Huttee. ...	377
185. The Board of Revenue to Mr. Digby asking for explanation on several points in Mr. Molony's report on the Burdwan embezzlement affair. ...	377

	Page
143. Government to the Judge & Magistrate of Burdwan asking to administer oath to Mr. Digby. ...	315
144. Mr. Digby to the Board of Revenue intimating of his having nominated Shibnarain Roy. ...	315
145. Board's reply to the above. ...	316
146. Mr. Digby to the Board stating reasons for his refusing to give acquittance to Davypersaud Sircar. ...	316
147. Mr. Digby to the Board intimating of his having nominated Govindpersaud Roy. ...	319
148. Board's reply to the above. ...	319
149. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the nomination of Shibnarain Roy. ...	320
150. Board's reply to the above. ...	320
151. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the petition of one Shunnuk Loll Tewary. ...	321
152. Mr. Digby's further letter to the Board re: the petition of Shunnuk Loll Tewary. ...	322
153. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the petition of Debnarain Bose. ...	323
154. Mr. Digby's further letter to the Board re: Debnarain Bose's case. ...	337
155. Board's reply to Mr. Digby's above letters. ...	339
156. Board's reply to Mr. Digby's letter re: Shunnuk Loll Tewary's Petition. ...	339
157. Mr. Digby to the Board informing of his having nominated Koonjbihari Roy. ...	340
158. The Magistrate of Burdwan to the Board of Revenue re: the case of Debnarain Bose against Radhapersaud Roy & others. ...	341
159. Mr. Molony's reply to the Magistrate's above letter. ...	343
160. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the petition of Davypersaud Sircar. ...	344
161. Board's reply to the above letter. ...	347
162. Mr. Digby to the Board re: the appointment of Shibnarain Roy. ...	348
163. Board's reply to the above. ...	349
164. Mr. Digby to the Board informing of the Burdwan Treasury embezzlement. ...	349
165. The Board of Revenue to the Governor General in Council reporting the above matter. ...	351

	Page
166. Governor General's reply to the above. ...	352
167. The Board of Revenue to Mr. Digby asking to hand over charge of his office to Mr. Armstrong. ...	352
168. The Board of Revenue to Mr. Armstrong asking to take over charge from Mr. Digby. ...	353
169. The Superintendent of Legal Affairs to the Board asking to furnish necessary papers etc. ...	353
170. Board's reply to the above. ...	354
171. The Board of Revenue to its Accountant giving instructions. ...	355
172. The Accountant's letter to the Board submitting estimate of the sum embezzled. ...	355
173. Mr. Digby to the Board informing of his having handed over charge of office to Mr. Armstrong. ...	356
174. Mr. Molony to the Magistrate of Burdwan re : the commitment of certain employees of the Burdwan Collectorship. ...	356
175. Mr. Molony's first report to Government on the Burdwan embezzlement affair. ...	357
176. The Collector of Burdwan to the Board forwarding copy of Mr. Molony's above report. ...	369
177. Mr. Molony to the Magistrate of Burdwan forwarding a memorandum re : Radhapersaud Roy's case. ...	371
178. Governor General in Council's reply to Mr. Molony's above report. ...	371
179. Government Secretary to the Board of Revenue forwarding copy of the above reply. ...	373
180. Board's reply to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan's letter re : Burdwan affairs. ...	373
181. The Acting Sub-Treasurer to the Board informing of his having received payment of one lac of rupees a/c Rajiblochun Roy. ...	375
182. The Board of Revenue to the Collector of Burdwan informing of the above payment. ...	375
183. Govt. Secretary's letter to the Board of Revenue forwarding copy of their letter to Mr. Digby. ...	376
184. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board re : durkhaust of Thakoordoss Huttee. ...	377
185. The Board of Revenue to Mr. Digby asking for explanation on several points in Mr. Molony's report on the Burdwan embezzlement affair. ...	377

	Page
186. The Board of Revenue to the Judge at Burdwan re : Govindpersaud Roy's plaint. ...	382
187. The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan re : Govindpersaud Roy's plaint. ...	382
188. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board forward- ing copy of the proceedings held by him. ...	383
189. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board re : Burdwan affairs. ...	384
190. Mr. Digby to the Board asking to be supplied with copies of certain papers. ...	386
191. Board's reply to the above. ...	386
192. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board forward- ing copy of Mr. Molony's letter. ...	387
193. Mr. Molony's supplementary report to Government on the Burdwan embezzlement affair. ...	388
194. Governor General's letter to the Board forwarding Mr. Molony's above report. ...	401
195. Letter to the Board of Revenue from its Accountant forwarding a series of correspondence. ...	402
196. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board transmitt- ing names of officers nominated by him. ...	406
197. The Board of Revenue to Mr. Digby forwarding Mr. Molony's supplementary report on the Burdwan embezzlement affair and asking for necessary ex- planation. ...	408
198. Mr. Digby to the Board submitting explanations on several points in Mr. Molony's first report on the Burdwan embezzlement affair. ...	408
199. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board transmitting copy of his answer to Govindpersaud Roy's plaint. ...	425
200. Board's reply to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan's letter re : his adoption of certain measures in the Burdwan Collectorship. ...	426
201. Board's reply to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan's letter re : Burdwan affairs. ...	427
202. The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan asking to forward translation &ca. of Takoordoss Hattee's petition. ...	428
203. Board's reply to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan's letter re : Burdwan affairs. ...	428

204.	The Board of Revenue to Mr. Digby asking to expedite submission of his required explanations. ...	429
205.	The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board informing of the steps taken by him to bring the several departments of his office to order. ...	430
206.	Mr. Digby to the Board informing that he was preparing his required reply. ...	432
207.	Mr. Digby to the Board submitting explanations on several points in Mr. Molony's supplementary report on the Burdwan embezzlement affair. ...	433
208.	The Secretary, Government T. D., to the Board asking to expedite transmission of the required explanations from Mr. Digby on the Burdwan embezzlement affair...	451
209.	Board's reply to the above. ...	451
210.	The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan re: Ramlochun Dutt and Debnarain Bose. ...	459
211.	Reply of the Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the above. ...	460
212.	The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board transmitting the required copy of petition of Takoordoss Huttee. ...	461
213.	The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board re: his adoption of certain measures in the Burdwan Collectorship...	461
214.	The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan re: nomination of certain officers to the Burdwan Collectorship. ...	462
215.	The Board of Revenue to the Superintendent of Legal Affairs re: Govindpersaud Roy's plaint. ...	463
216.	The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan re: his proceedings. ...	463
217.	The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan re: Ramlochun Dutt. ...	464
218.	The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan informing of the leave granted to Mr. Digby. ...	464
219.	The Superintendent of Legal Affairs to the Board re: Govindpersaud Roy's case. ...	464
220.	Board's instructions to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan re: Govindpersaud Roy's case. ...	465
221.	The Board of Revenue to the Judge at Burdwan re: Govindpersaud Roy's case. ...	465
222.	The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan. re: Radhapersaud Roy's petition. ...	466

	Page
223. The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan re: Takoordoss Huttee. ...	466
224. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board re: appointment of certain native officers to his office. ...	466
225. The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan intimating approval of the apointment of Mirza Hyder Ally. ...	468
226. The Registrar of the Nizamut Adawlut to Government transmitting copies of a communication and its enclosures. ...	468
227. Petition of Petumber Chatterjee to the Board ...	470
228. Supplementary petition of Petumber Chatterjee to the Board. ...	475
229. The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan transmitting the above petitions with instructions. ...	476
230. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board submitting required explanations on the above petition of Petumber Chatterjee. ...	476
231. The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board submitting required explanations on the above supplementary petition of Petumber Chatterjee. ...	479
232. Mr. Molony to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan transmitting copy of a Kyfeut re: the embezzlement affairs ...	482
233. Abstract Translation of the petition of Debnarain Bose ...	484
234. The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan communicating their orders on the petitions of Petumber Chatterjea. ...	485
235. Mr. Molony's report to Government re: the Sessions trial of the Burdwan embezzlement case prisoners. With Enclo. ...	486
236. The Registrar, Nizamut Adawlut, to Government transmitting copy of a report of Jail Delivery for Zillah Burdwan, with enclos. ...	490
237. The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan forwarding copy of a petition of Ramtunoo Dutt and asking to conform to their order passed on it. ...	492
238. The Chief Secretary to Government to the Registrar, Nizamut Adawlut, asking to be supplied with the petition of Radhapersaud Roy. ...	495

239.	The Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the Board transmitting the required report on Ramtunoo Dutt's petition. ...	495
240.	Nizamut Adawlut's reply to the above requisition. ...	497
241.	Government's reply to the above. ...	501
242.	The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan transmitting copy of a petition of Ramtunoo Dutt. ...	502
243.	Reply of the Offg. Collector of Burdwan to the above. ...	502
244.	Board's reply to the above. ...	503
245.	The Board of Revenue to the Offg. Collector of Burdwan re: the appointment of a certain officer to the Burdwan Collectorship. ...	503
246.	The Registrar, Nizamut Adawlut, to Government transmitting copy of a report of Jail Delivery for Zillah Burdwan, with enclos. ...	504
247.	Mr. Molony to the Collector of Burdwan re: cases of Govindpersaud Roy and another. ...	507
248.	Mr. Molony's further letter to the Collector of Burdwan on the above matter. ...	507
249.	Radhapersaud Roy's letter submitting a petition to Government. ...	508
250.	Government's reply to the above. ...	520
251.	The Deputy Superintendent & Remembrancer of Legal Affairs to the Collector of Burdwan transmitting copy of a reply proposed to be filed by Government in Govindpersaud Roy's case. ...	521
252.	Mr. Hawkins to the Collector of Burdwan re: Govindpersaud Roy's case. ...	521
253.	Radhapersaud Roy to Government informing of his desire to publish the documents &c. connected with his case, with Government's remark. ...	521
	APPENDIXES ...	523
	GLOSSARY ...	551
	INDEX ...	561

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR

By Ramaprasad Chanda

The death of Raja Rammohun Roy on the 27th September, 1833, at Bristol, was followed by the publication of biographical notices by his English friends of which Dr. Lant Carpenter's sketch is the most informative. An "Autobiographical letter" of doubtful authenticity appeared in the *Athenaeum* of October 5, 1833. A longer memoir was contributed to the *Calcutta Review* of 1845 by Mr. Kissory Chand Mitra. Miss Mary Carpenter published a detailed account of the last phase of the life of Raja Rammohun Roy (1831-1833) in her *The last days in England of the Raja Rammohun Roy* first published in 1866. Nagendra Nath Chatterji, a missionary of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, published a biography of the Rajah with an account of his writings in the Bengali language in 1882. Miss Sophia Dobson Collet undertook to compile a complete biography in English after critically examining all the available sources of information afresh, but died on the 27th March, 1894, leaving her work unfinished. Before her death she had sent this message to Mr. Harold Collet: "I am dying. I can not finish my 'Life of Rammohun Roy.' But when I enter the Unseen, I want to be able to tell Rammohun that his life will be finished. Will you finish it for me?" Her *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* was completed and published privately in 1900. These and other biographical works deal mainly with the public life of Raja Rammohun Roy as a religious, social and educational reformer and a publicist. The documents published in this volume mainly relate to his private life from December, 1796, and furnish interesting details about the litigations, both civil and criminal, that were instituted against him and his son Radhaprasad Roy and greatly harrassed him during the busiest years of his public life.

RAMKANTA ROY

Ramkanta Roy, father of Rammohun Roy, was the fifth of the seven sons of Brajavinod Roy of Radhanagar, a village then in the Burdwan, and now in the Hugli, district in Bengal. Brajavinod Roy evidently held a responsible office under the Subahdar (Viceroy) of Bengal, for, in a letter addressed to Rammohun Roy in 1828 King Akbar of Delhi refers to the good services rendered by his (Rammohun's) grandfather to his late Majesty at the time of his residence in the Eastern Provinces.¹ Emperor Shah Alam came to the Eastern Provinces as heir-apparent in 1759, and continued there even after his succession to the imperial throne till 9th April, 1771. After the death of Brajavinod Roy, Ramkanta and his brothers did not live together as a joint Hindu family, but were divided in food, estate and interest (p. 141). Deeds were drawn up and executed by Ramkanta Roy and his brothers when this division and partition of estate took place (p. 142). Ramkanta was married to three wives, the eldest of whom was named Subhadra Devi, the second Tarini Devi, and the third Rammani Devi. He had two sons, Jagamohun and Rammohun, and a daughter, by his second wife Tarini Devi, and a son, Ramlochan, by his third wife Rammani Devi (p. 63). There is considerable difference of opinion about the date of Rammohun Roy's birth. In the inscription on his tomb carved in 1872 his birth is put down in 1774. Our earliest authority for this date is Mr. John Digby's introduction to Rammohun Roy's English translation of the *Cena Upanishad* and the *Abridgment of Vedant* reprinted in London in 1817 wherein it is said that the age of the author at that time was "about forty-three years,"² which indicates 1774 as the date of his birth. Dr. Lant Carpenter in his biographical sketch, first published in 1833, says, Rammohun Roy "was born most probably about 1774." On the strength of more

1 Political Consultations, 26th March, 1830, no. 97.

2 Miss S. D. Collet, *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, edited by Hem Chandra Sarkar, Calcutta, p. 15.

definite informations Miss S. D. Collet puts down the date of Rammohun Roy's birth on May 22, 1772.³ This earlier date suits the early activities of Rammohun Roy's life better than the later one. So his birth synchronised with the decision of the East India Company to stand forth as Dewan and undertake the administration of Bengal and Behar directly.

Documents published in this volume furnish no information about the career of his father, Ramkanta Roy, till the year 1791 when Rammohun was in his twentieth year. A reference in a letter of a later date (no. 10) shows that Ramkanta Roy was sued by the Maharaja of Burdwan ten years earlier (1780-1781). But as the papers relating to the suit could not be traced in the Collectorate of Burdwan (no. 11) we do not know what it was about. Before 1791 Ramkanta Roy held in farm pargana (estate) Gopbhum or Goalabhum in the Burdwan district on an annual rent of Rs. 51,931-11-9-2 from government. From April 1791 (1198 Bengali era) he took in farm another government estate, pargana Bhursut, in the same district for a term of nine years on an annual rent of Rs. 1,01,389 as one of the "four of the most responsible men in the district" (nos. 2-5). His eldest son Jagamohun Roy stood as his security. Jagamohun Roy was evidently associated with his father in the business of farming estates, and by 1791 had achieved an independent position in recognition of which he was accepted as a security of his father. In 1792 Ramkanta Roy removed with his family from his ancestral house at Radhanagar to a new house which he built in a neighbouring village, Langurpara or Nangurpara. The house included a few brick built structures and was surrounded by a brick wall (no. 82). In July, 1796, he purchased in public auction at the Board of Revenue office a mahal or taluk called Harirampur in pargana Chitua paying a net revenue of Rs. 25,883. 14. 12 for Rs. 9970 in the name of his son Jagamohun Roy.

3 Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 1 note.

Towards the end of 1796 Ramkanta Roy took a step that greatly influenced the career of his second son, Rammohun. He divided the bulk of his immoveable property among his three sons by a deed of partition executed on the 1st December, 1796 (19th Agra-hayana, 1203). He assigned the house at Langurpara jointly to Jagamohun and Rammohun, and his share of the ancestral house at Radhanagar to his youngest son, Ramlochan. Among other properties he allotted the entire taluk Harirampur to Jagamohun, and a "house with a pond bounded by four boundaries purchased of Ramcrishna Set and others at Jorasanco in Mauza Calcutta" to Rammohun. In the concluding paragraph of the deed of partition Ramkanta Roy states, "A small part of my self acquired property and the Burdwan lodging House remain my own exclusive of the shares of Ishwar which devolved from my father remains yours three Persons in equal shares. All the Idols and Worship connected with the Worship which I have established myself, remain mine, you have no concern therewith" (pp.71-75).

The deed of partition was duly registered by the Kazi of Krishnanagar (p. 255) and given effect to. Ramlochan Roy with his mother Rammani Devi went to live in the house at Radhanagar allotted to him six months after the partition (p. 142). Ramkanta Roy went to Burdwan and resumed his duties as a farmer of revenue. Besides Gopbhum and Bhursut farmed of government he probably held in farm three parganas within the Zemindary of the Raja of Burdwan. Maharaj Tejchand was then the owner of the bulk of the Zemindary of the Burdwan Raj. But some of the parganas included in that Zemindary were owned by his mother, Maharani Vishnukumari. Probably three parganas owned by her were held in farm by Ramkanta Roy. The Collector of Burdwan speaks of him (no. 15) as possessing "the uncontrolled management" of the Rani's affairs, and elsewhere he is called the *Mokhtar*, agent, of the Rani's estate (p. 32).

Tappa or pargana Barda was offered for sale for the

balance of the revenue of 1203 B.S. (1796-1797) in May, 1797. As the purchasers could not pay the whole of the purchase money, a private purchase was made by them (Ramnidhi Ghose, Svarupchand Roy, Ramchandra Sen) of the three following mahals,—Rasikpur, Purangang, Purulia. Jagamohun Roy, now separated from his father, purchased these three mahals from these three persons for Rs. 36,000 by registered deeds of sale (no. 13). But it was then "well known," we are told by the Collector of Burdwan, that the three mahals had been purchased by Maharani Vishnukumari in the name of those three persons, and that their transfer to Jagamohun Roy by deeds of sale was arranged by his father Ramkanta Roy who then possessed the management of the Rani's affairs (no. 15).

In the year following the purchase of these three taluks happened an event that turned the tide of the fortune of Ramkanta Roy and Jagamohun Roy and led to their ruin. Maharani Vishnukumari of Burdwan died in 1205 B.S. (from about the middle of April, 1798, to the middle of March, 1799). Tappa or pargana Barda in which *huda* or taluk Purulia was included was offered for sale for the arrear of revenue of 1205 B.S. Jagamohun Roy submitted petitions praying that the three taluks purchased by him should be separated from the pargana and treated as independent revenue-paying taluks, and that Purulia should not be sold for the arrears of Barda (nos. 15, 17-19). In his letter of the 12th July, 1799, the Collector of Burdwan refers to a *darkhast* or petition from Maharaja Tejchand of Burdwan requesting that no private transfer of any land made by Ramchandra Sen be separated, because all lands purchased in the name of that person are *benami* purchases or purchases made in his name for another party, and were really the property of his mother, late Maharani Vishnukumari, and as her heir he himself was entitled to their possession (no. 19). Maharaja Tejchand dispossessed Jagamohun Roy of taraf Rasikpur. The latter filed a suit in the Burdwan Dewani Adalat

(civil court) for recovering possession of that mahal against him and his agent Syamsundar Roy (no. 20). On the 13th of July, 1799, Maharaja Tejchand as plaintiff filed a title suit for the possession of Rasikpur, Purangang and Purulia against Jagamohun Roy, Ramkanta Roy and Ramnidhi Ghose in the Zillah court of Burdwan. The Zillah judge disbelieved the evidence produced by Jagamohun Roy that he had purchased the taluks from Maharani Vishnukumari and gave judgment in favour of the plaintiff with costs payable by Jagamohun and Ramkanta Roy. They appealed to the Provincial Court of Calcutta against the decision of the Zillah judge. The Provincial Court reversed the decision of the Zillah Court and allowed Jagamohun Roy to retain possession of the lands. Maharaja Tejchand appealed to the Sadar Dewani Adalat against the decision of the Provincial Court. The judges of the Sadar Dewani Adalat delivered judgment on the 16th September, 1803, four months after the death of Ramkanta Roy, when Jagamohun Roy was in confinement in the Dewani (civil) jail of Midnapur (no. 50). They concurred with the Zillah judge, reversing the decision of the Provincial Court, and ordered the payment of costs in each of the courts by Jagamohun Roy.

The title suit for recovering possession of Rasikpur, Purangang and Purulia was not the first law-suit brought by Maharaja Tejchand of Burdwan against Ramkanta Roy and Jagamohun Roy. The Collector of Burdwan writes in his letter of the 14th November, 1799, of Ramkanta Roy, "having with him (his son Jagamohun Roy) absconded to avoid the operation of some decrees passed against him in the Adawlut" (no. 21). These decrees were evidently obtained in the Dewany Adalat of Hugli (nos. 41 and 46). In another letter (no. 24) it is stated that the Raja of Burdwan has a large demand against Ramkanta Roy for which he knows he would be detained. Again, in a letter of the 30th May, 1803 (no. 47), the Collector states that he has learnt from Ramlochan Roy, the youngest son of Ramkanta Roy, that the latter owes Rs. 80,000 to the Raja of

Burdwan. Evidently the heavy debt (Rs. 80,000) referred to is the "large demand" mentioned in the other letter (no. 24), and originated in the decrees referred to in the letter of the 14th November, 1799. As the execution of the decrees was apprehended only in the latter half of November, 1799, it may be presumed that the money suits were instituted by Maharaja Tejchand after the death of his mother, and probably Maharani Vishnukumari herself was the original creditor of Ramkanta Roy, and, had she been living, she would not have sued him for the dues. Our only sources of information, statements of the Collector of Burdwan based on hearsay, do not enable us to unravel the details of the transactions between Ramkanta Roy and Maharaja Tejchand.

The fear of the execution of the decrees obtained by the Raja of Burdwan paralysed the normal activities, collection of rent from the tenants of the taluks and farms, of Ramkanta Roy and Jagamohun Roy. Bengali year 1206 ending in March 1800 was the last year of Ramkanta Roy's lease of Bhursut. During the previous eight years he had paid the revenue regularly. When he absconded after the pronouncement of the decrees against him in the civil court, the Collector of Burdwan apprehended arrears (no. 21). At the end of B.S. 1206 a balance of Rs. 2851-6 fell due from Ramkanta Roy. Jagamohun Roy failed to pay the revenue of Harirampur for B.S. 1207 (April 1800 to March 1801), and a balance of Rs. 9600-8-1 was due from him in the beginning of the following year (no. 28). Ramkanta Roy was put in confinement for the arrears of Bhursut in the beginning of May, 1800 (no. 23), and remained in jail till the end of September, 1801, when his dues amounting in principal and interest to Rs. 3338-2-5 were recovered partly by a sale of the lands of his security, Jagamohun Roy, and partly by receipts from himself. Jagamohun Roy also was confined in the Dewani jail of Burdwan in June, 1801, at first as the security of his father. When the latter was released on payment of his dues on the 1st October, 1801, Jagamohun Roy was detain-

ed for the arrears of Harirampur (nos. 36 and 46) and later on transferred to the Midnapur Dewani jail (nos. 38 and 40) where he remained in confinement for a further period of over three years till February, 1805.

After his release from the Dewani jail of Burdwan early in October, 1801, Ramkanta Roy had little peace. In the absence of Jagamohun Roy confined at Midnapur he had to conduct the case relating to the ownership of Rasikpur and two other taluks brought on by Maharaja Tejchand. In a petition for release from jail submitted in March, 1803, Jagamohun Roy says of Ramkanta Roy, he "is very much in debt to the Raja of Burdwan, who obtained decrees against him in the Dewanny Adawlut of Hooghly, kept him some time in confinement there, then got him transferred to the Dewani Jail of Burdwan and has since been able to recover little or nothing from him owing to poverty" (no. 46). The Collector of Midnapur requested the Collector of Burdwan to make inquiries about the affairs of Ramkanta Roy. In his letter of the 30th March, 1803 (no. 47), the Collector of Burdwan writes in reply that he could not meet Ramkanta Roy who was not at Burdwan; but his youngest son, Ramlochan Roy, made this statement :

"He stated that his father has been able to pay the Rajah of Burdwan only 500 Rs. since his release from confinement a year and a half ago; that he still owes him 80,000 Rs. payable by instalments in the course of 11 years; that the only chance he has of being able to pay this amount, consists in his obtaining a profit from a farm of a lac of rupees per annum which he holds from the Rajah; that the dependence of the whole family is on this farm" (no. 47).

On the contrary, in his explanation attached to the Report on Jagamohun Roy dated the 14th January, 1803, the Collector of Midnapur writes of Ramkanta Roy, he "is said to be worth near two lacs of Rupees" (no. 42). This statement represents the general opinion of the day. Ramkanta Roy died in May, 1803, a little over a month after his youngest son Ramlochan

made the statement quoted above to the Collector of Burdwan. The only assets left by him were, (1) the house at Burdwan worth about seven or eight thousand rupees. The Raja of Burdwan took possession of it for arrears due to him (pp. 159 and 178). (2) Lakheraj (non-revenue-paying) and Brahmottar lands reserved for himself at the time of partition and left by him for the service of a certain idol and applied to that purpose by his widow Tarini Devi. (3) Money decrees in the Zillah Courts of Burdwan and Hugli for two thousand five hundred to three thousand rupees partially recovered by Jagamohun Roy after his release from confinement in the Midnapur jail (pp. 159 and 178).

Such small assets against a heavy debt owed to the Raja of Burdwan indicate the total ruin of Ramkanta Roy. Ramlochan Roy in his statement quoted above puts down Ramkanta Roy's liability to the Raja of Burdwan at Rs. 80,000, for which he executed a kistibandi (fixtute of instalments) bond undertaking to pay the whole amount in course of 11 years. To enable the debtor to pay up his debt in this long period the creditor granted him a farm at the annual rent of one lac of rupees forgetful of his past default.

Twenty years after the death of Ramkanta Roy, on the 16th July, 1823, Maharaja Tejchand of Burdwan filed in the Provincial Court of Calcutta three suits based on three kistibandi bonds executed by him on the 1st of Ashar, 1206 B.S. (13th June, 1799) for Rs. 12,624, Rs. 28,403-13-12 and Rs. 7501 respectively for arrears due from three different parganas held in farm and payable on the 15th of Asvin, 1207 B.S. (29th September 1800) against Rammohun Roy and Govindaprasad Roy (son of Jagamohun Roy). The statements made in these suits tell a different tale from the statement of Ramlochan Roy made in March, 1803, quoted above. In these suits the total amount of principal money owed by Ramkanta Roy to Maharaja Tejchand was stated to be Rs. 48,528 and not Rs. 80,000 as stated by Ramlochan Roy, and payment by instal-

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"He stated that his father has been able to pay the Rajah of Burdwan only 500 Rs. since his release from confinement a year and a half ago; that he still owes him 80,000 Rs. payable by instalments in the course of 11 years; that the only chance he has of being able to pay this amount, consists in his obtaining a profit from a farm of a lac of rupees per annum which he holds from the Rajah; that the dependence of the whole family is on this farm" (no. 47).

On the contrary, in his explanation attached to the Report on Jagamohun Roy dated the 14th January, 1803, the Collector of Midnapur writes of Ramkanta Roy, he "is said to be worth near two lacs of Rupees" (no. 42). This statement represents the general opinion of the day. Ramkanta Roy died in May, 1803, a little over a month after his youngest son Ramlochan

made the statement quoted above to the Collector of Burdwan. The only assets left by him were, (1) the house at Burdwan worth about seven or eight thousand rupees. The Raja of Burdwan took possession of it for arrears due to him (pp. 159 and 178). (2) Lakheraj (non-revenue-paying) and Brahmottar lands reserved for himself at the time of partition and left by him for the service of a certain idol and applied to that purpose by his widow Tarini Devi. (3) Money decrees in the Zillah Courts of Burdwan and Hugli for two thousand five hundred to three thousand rupees partially recovered by Jagamohun Roy after his release from confinement in the Midnapur jail (pp. 159 and 178).

Such small assets against a heavy debt owed to the Raja of Burdwan indicate the total ruin of Ramkanta Roy. Ramlochan Roy in his statement quoted above puts down Ramkanta Roy's liability to the Raja of Burdwan at Rs. 80,000, for which he executed a kistibandi (fixtute of instalments) bond undertaking to pay the whole amount in course of 11 years. To enable the debtor to pay up his debt in this long period the creditor granted him a farm at the annual rent of one lac of rupees forgetful of his past default.

Twenty years after the death of Ramkanta Roy, on the 16th July, 1823, Maharaja Tejchand of Burdwan filed in the Provincial Court of Calcutta three suits based on three kistibandi bonds executed by him on the 1st of Ashar, 1206 B.S. (13th June, 1799) for Rs. 12,624, Rs. 28,403-13-12 and Rs. 7501 respectively for arrears due from three different parganas held in farm and payable on the 15th of Asvin, 1207 B.S. (29th September 1800) against Rammohun Roy and Govindaprasad Roy (son of Jagamohun Roy). The statements made in these suits tell a different tale from the statement of Ramlochan Roy made in March, 1803, quoted above. In these suits the total amount of principal money owed by Ramkanta Roy to Maharaja Tejchand was stated to be Rs. 48,528 and not Rs. 80,000 as stated by Ramlochan Roy, and payment by instal-

ments spreads over fourteen and half months instead of eleven years (pp. 305-11). The ruin of Ramkanta Roy is as inexplicable to us as it was to his contemporaries.

EARLY LIFE OF RAMMOHUN ROY

A.D. 1772-1796

The documents published in this volume tell us nothing about the early life of Rammohun Roy from his birth till his twenty-fifth year except the following significant statement made by Nandakumar Vidyalkar in his deposition before the Supreme Court :—

“Saith that he hath known the defendant Rammohun Roy from the time that the said defendant attained the age of fourteen years and hath ever since been on the most intimate terms with him” (p. 174).

On the date of his examination as an witness on behalf of the defendant (Rammohun Roy), 24th April, 1819, Nandakumar Vidyalkar was “aged fifty-six years or thereabouts,” that is to say, he was born about 1763 A.D., and was senior to Rammohun Roy by at least nine years. Nandakumar Vidyalkar was with Rammohun Roy either in Calcutta or at Burdwan when, on the 7th Paush, 1206 B.S. (20th December, 1799), the latter transferred two taluks, Ramesvarpur and Govindapur, to Rajiblochun Roy by a deed of sale written in Persian (plate I), and when Rajiblochun Roy executed a deed of agreement addressed to Gurudas Mukherji in the Bengali language stating that he purchased the above-named two taluks *benami* on behalf of Gurudas Mukherji. Nandakumar Vidyalkar signs his name as an attesting witness on this agreement (p. 525, plate II) as Nandakumar Sarma. He was also at Rangpur with Rammohun Roy when, on the 14th January, 1812, Gurudas Mukherji retransferred the said taluks, Ramesvarpur and Govindapur, to Rammohun Roy by a deed of sale written in Persian (plate III), for Nandakumar Sarma also signs this document as an attest-

ing witness. In the first-named document Nandakumar mentions Raghunathpur as his place of residence. This is evidently the village of the same name in the neighbourhood of Radhanagar where Rammohun Roy was born and brought up. In the Vaisakh (April-May) issue of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika* of the saka year 1767 (A.D. 1845) appeared a short biography of Pandit Ramchandra Vidyavagish, a follower of Raja Rammohun Roy, and the first minister of the Brahmo Samaj. Herein it is said that Ramchandra Vidyavagish, son of Lakshmikanta Tarkavagish, was one of the younger brothers of Nandakumar Vidyalkar, and was born at Palpara on the 29th Magh in the saka year 1707 (9th February, 1786). So Palpara or Pallapara, where Ramchandra Vidyavagish was born, was the ancestral home of Nandakumar Vidyalkar. In 1799 he was evidently living at Raghunathpur; but in 1814 he was living with Rammohun Roy at Rangpur, and has named his paternal home at Palpara as the place of his permanent residence. It may be asked, why was Nandakumar Vidyalkar living at Raghunathpur instead of at Palpara in 1799? In the biographical sketch of Ramchandra Vidyavagish referred to above it is stated of Nandakumar Vidyalkar, "He renounced the life of a householder and entered the order of the sannyasis or ascetics and became well-known as Hariharananda Tirthasvami Kula-Avadhuta." *Avadhuta* is an ascetic who follows the teachings of the Tantras. *Kula* is the name of a particular *achara*, form of Tantric worship, also known as *vāmāchāra*, left-hand form, *virāchāra*, heroic form, as distinguished from the *dakṣhināchāra*, right-hand form, *paśvāchāra*, beastly form. The *kula* form of worship includes offering of fish, meat and wine to the deity, and even enjoins sexual intercourse as part of the worship. The close association of Rammohun Roy with this strange ascetic from the age of fourteen must be recognised as one of the determining factors of his religious life.

The most authentic connected account of the adolescence of Rammohun Roy is found in the Biographical Sketch compiled

by Dr. Lant Carpenter based on "communications received from the family with whom the Raja resided in London and from the Raja personally" and first published in 1833 in his *Review of the labours, opinions and character of Rajah Ram-mohun Roy*. Dr. Carpenter writes :—

"Under his father's roof he received the elements of native education, and also acquired the Persian language. He was afterwards sent to Patna to learn Arabic; and lastly to Benares to obtain a knowledge of Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos. His masters at Patna set him to study Arabic translations of some of the writings of Aristotle and Euclid; it is probable that the training thus given strengthened his mind in acuteness and close reasoning; while the knowledge which he acquired of the Mahommedan religion from Mussulmen whom he esteemed, contributed to cause that searching examination of the faith in which he was educated, which led him eventually to the important efforts he made to restore it to its early simplicity.

"His family was Brahminical, of high respectability; and, of course, he was a Brahmin by birth. After his death the thread of his caste was seen round him, passing over his left shoulder and under his right. His father trained him in the doctrines of his sect; but he very early observed the diversities of opinion existing even among the idolators; and that while some exalted Brahma, the Creator, others gave the ascendancy to Vishnu, the Preserver; and others again to Siva, the Destroyer. It is scarcely possible, too, but that his mind must have been struck by the simplicity of the Mahommedan faith and worship; and at any rate it early revolted from the frivolous or disgusting rites and ceremonies of Hindoo idolatry. Without disputing the authority of his father, he often sought from him information as to the reasons of his faith. He obtained no satisfaction; and he at last determined, at the early age of fifteen, to leave the paternal home, and to sojourn for a time in Thibet, that he might see another form of religious faith.

He spent two or three years in that country, and often excited the anger of the worshippers of the Lama by his rejection of their doctrine that this pretended deity—a living man—was the creator and preserver of the world. In these circumstances he experienced the soothing kindness of the female part of the family; and his gentle, feeling heart dwelt, with deep interest at the distance of more than forty years, on the recollection of that period; these, he said, had made him always feel respect and gratitude towards the female sex, and they doubtless contributed to that unvarying and refined courtesy which marked his intercourse with them in this country.

“When he returned to Hindostan, he was met by a deputation from his father, and received by him with great consideration. He appears, from that time, to have devoted himself to the study of Sanscrit and other languages, and of the ancient books of the Hindoos. He had frequent discussions with his father: through awe of him, however, he never avowed the scepticism which he entertained as to the present forms of their religion; but from some indirect reproaches he received, he imagined that he had fallen under his father’s suspicions.”⁴

Persian was then the court language, and as a grandson of Brajavinod Roy and a son of Ramkanta Roy, Rammohun was first required to learn his mother tongue and Persian. But it is doubtful whether his father would have required him to learn Arabic and Sanskrit unless his own inclination and perhaps the influence of Nandakumar Vidyalkar had not led him to do so. In his heterodox religious views and his leaving home for a journey to Tibet we may recognize the influence of the same ascetic. Rammohun Roy’s Unitarian friend and disciple, Mr. William Adam, writes of him in 1826, “He seems to have been religiously disposed from his early youth; having proposed to seclude himself as a *Sannyasi* (ascetic), or devotee,

4. Miss Mary Carpenter, *The Last days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 2-5.

at the age of fourteen, from which he was only dissuaded by the entreaties of his mother."⁵ Evidently Rammohun's proposal to turn an ascetic synchronised with the beginning of his intimacy with Nandakumar. Though his mother succeeded in dissuading him from turning a Sannyasi in his fourteenth year, she failed to dissuade him from leaving his paternal home in the following year for a journey to Tibet. Those who take Tibet as synonymous with Lhasa may consider this journey an impossible feat for a boy of fifteen. But Mount Kailas (22000 feet) to the north of Lake Manasorawar, is in Tibet, and is a favourite place of pilgrimage with the Hindus. Young Rammohun must have entered Tibet with a band of pilgrims, and, instead of returning with them, stayed there for two or three years. It is evidently referring to his visit to Tibet Rammohun Roy writes in the opening sentence of the Arabic preface to his Persian pamphlet, *Tufatul Muwahhidin* (1803 or 1804), "I travelled in the remotest parts of the world, and in plains as well in hilly lands." On his return to India in 1788 or 1789 he was welcomed by his father. He must have visited Patna and Benares on his way to Tibet via Hardwar and Badrinath. After his return home he again proceeded to Patna to study Arabic and to Benares to study Sanskrit, particularly the Upanishads and the Vedanta. Rammohun Roy was back again to Langurpara to be present when his father executed the deed of partition of his immovable property among his three sons on the 1st December, 1796, and to put his signature to it. Ramkanta Roy allotted a fair share of his immovable property, and afterwards never required him to share his losses and troubles. But from statements made by Rammohun Roy's European friends it appears that his religious views, particularly his hostility to idol worship, annoyed his father. Mr. W. J. Fox says in *A Discourse on the occasion of the death of Rajah Rammohun Roy* (London, 1833):

5 Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

"So strongly were his feelings wrought upon by the alienation which then commenced, that through life, under the pressure of dejection or disease, the frowning features of his father would rise unbidden on his imagination."⁶

Mr. William Adam in his Memorandum of 1879 gives a different account of the impression that the religious discussions between father and son left on the mind of the latter. Mr. Adam writes :---

"It is not often that we get an insight into Hindu family life, but his (Ramkanta Roy's) son gave me a slight glance at least in referring to the amicable differences that arose between himself and his father on this subject. I inferred from what Rammohun Roy said that he always left it to his father, as the head and most venerable member of the family to open the question which he thought fit to moot, and when he had finished his immediate argument, he was generally willing to listen to his son with patience, which sometimes, however, forsook him. The son's response after the necessary preliminary admissions, usually began with the adversative particle 'But' (*kintu*). 'But notwithstanding all this, the orthodox conclusion you aim at does not follow.' The father complained of this, and on one occasion, at least, burst out in the tone of remonstrance, as of an injured party. 'Whatever argument I adduce you have always your *Kintu*, your counter-statement, your counter-argument, your counter-conclusion to oppose to me.' The son recounted this to me with half a smile on his lips and a touch of humour in his voice, but without any expression of disrespect to his father."

Perhaps the original communications of Rammohun Roy on which the statements of Messrs. Fox and Adam are based related to different periods of his early life. He must have had discussions with his father, not only before his departure for Tibet, but after his return from Tibet, and also after his return

6. Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

7. Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

from Patna and Benares till his final separation in 1797. In his answer to the Bill of Complaint filed by the Maharaja of Burdwan on the 16th June, 1823, Rammohun Roy stated that "he had during the life-time of his father separated from him and the rest of the family in consequence of his altered habits of life and change of opinions" (p. 306). In his altered habits Rammohun Roy probably refers to his reluctance to participate in the worship of images actively before his formal abandonment of idolatry.

RAMMOHUN ROY IN BUSINESS AND SERVICE

About nine months after partition, in September, 1797 (p. 142), Rammohun Roy left Langurpara and went to reside in Calcutta, leaving his two wives in charge of his mother Tarini Devi. In Calcutta Rammohun Roy engaged in money lending business and appointed one Goloknarayan Sarkar as his clerk. Goloknarayan was produced as a witness on his behalf before the Supreme Court and was examined on the 11th May, 1819. He deposed that about twenty-one or twenty-two years ago, when he was serving Rammohun Roy as a sarkar or clerk, the latter lent to the Honourable Andrew Ramsay of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service Rs. 7,500 and sent the amount to the office of the attorney with him (no. 115). Twenty-two years before May, 1819, carry us back to May, 1797, and twenty-one years to May, 1798. So it seems that Rammohun Roy may have been carrying on money-lending business in Calcutta even before he received a share of his father's immovable property in December, 1796. He must have acquired the capital that enabled him to do so before the partition. But our documents throw no light on his earlier activities. Ramkanta Roy states in his deed of gift and partition, "I have not given any cash to either of you three." He allotted to Rammohun the house in Calcutta probably because it was already in his (Rammohun's) occupation as his place of business.

Two years and half after partition Rammohun purchased two taluks, Govindapur and Ramesvarpur, in the Burdwan district, that formed the basis of his future prosperity. These two taluks were sold by auction for arrears of revenue of 1205 B. S. (1788-1799) (no. 14). Govindapur was purchased by Gangadhar Ghose for Rs. 3100 and Ramesvarpur by Ramtanu Roy for Rs. 1250. The sale took place early in April. Rammohun Roy purchased these two taluks for the same prices from the original purchasers on the 30th Ashar, 1206 B.S. (12th July, 1799). Like all taluks and parganas in the Burdwan and Midnapur districts, the Government revenue of these two taluks was highly assessed leaving a small margin of profit for the owner. The annual revenue payable to Government for Govindapur was Rs. 9789-5-1 and for Ramesvarpur Rs. 10,965-1-17. Therefore in revenue sales taluks and parganas in these districts fetched low prices.

A few months after purchasing these taluks Rammohun Roy decided to proceed to Patna, Benares, and other provinces far away from Calcutta. For the proper management of the taluks in his absence he nominally (*benami*) transferred them to Rajiblochun Roy, an influential zemindar of Burdwan whom he calls a "confidential friend," by a deed of sale written in the Persian language (plate I) on the 7th Paush, 1206 B. S. (20th December, 1799). On the same date Rammohun Roy also caused Rajiblochun Roy to sign an agreement (*ikrarnamah*) that he had purchased the taluks *benami*, in his own name, really on behalf of Gurudas Mukherji. The object of this agreement, according to Rammohun Roy's Answer to the Bill of Complaint of Govindaprasad Roy, was that as he had then no child, he desired that his nephew Gurudas Mukherji should inherit the taluks in the event of his death away from home (p. 259). According to the statement of Rajiblochun Roy Rammohun Roy's first son, Radhaprasad Roy, was born six months after the execution of the deeds referred to above (p. 172), that is, about July, 1800. But Rammohun Roy's

nephew Gurudas Mukherji states in his deposition that Radha-prasad was born in 1208 B. S. (1801-1802) (p.186).

After nominally transferring Govindapur and Ramesvarpur to Rajiblochun Roy, Rammohun Roy got Rajiblochun's name registered in the book of the Collector of Burdwan as the proprietor of the taluks. Rajiblochun Roy paid over the income of the taluks to Rammohun Roy "after deducting the Government rent and the expenses incurred in managing the same." He managed the taluks nominally as his own property from 1207 to 1218 B. S. In the month of Jyaistha 1218 (1811) he executed a deed of transfer of these taluks in favour of Gurudas Mukherji (p. 95) and on his application they were registered in the name of Gurudas in the book of the Collector of Burdwan (p. 171). But Rajiblochun still continued to manage them and pay the net income to Rammohun Roy. The latter got the taluks transferred to himself by Gurudas Mukherji by a deed of sale executed and registered at Rangpur on the 14th January, 1812. (plate III). Then his own name was registered in the book of the Collector of Burdwan as the proprietor of Govindapur and Ramesvarpur in 1221 B. S. (1814-15). The taluks were then let out in farm to Rajiblochun Roy at a net rent of Rs. 5,500 per annum (p.96) "exclusive of the rent to Government and the expences of collection," and he was holding the taluks in farm on the same terms on the date of his deposition before the Supreme Court (20th April, 1819).

Rammohun Roy probably left for Patna, Benares and other places early in 1800 and returned to Calcutta before the end of the year and appointed one Gopimohun Chatterjee his tehvildar or cashier (no. 107). In 1801 he made the acquaintance of one of the best of his friends, Mr. John Digby of the East India Company's Civil Service.⁸ In the following year, 1209 B.S. (1802), he lent Rs. 5,000 to Mr. Thomas Woodforde of the Civil Service. Besides money-

8. Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

lending Rammohun Roy also "employed himself in dealing with Company's papers" (p. 184) or buy Company's paper in his own name (p. 136). He first entered into service evidently as *khas-Munshi* or private Persian assistant of Mr. Woodforde. On the 1st February, 1803, Mr Woodforde took charge of the Collectorship of Dacca, Jalalpure (Faridpur) (no. 44). Kishen Chand (Krishna Chandra), the Dewan of the Collectorate, resigned and Mr. Woodforde appointed Rammohun Roy to officiate for him (no. 45). Two months after, when Mr. Woodforde was relieved of his duties as Collector of Dacca, Jalalpure on the 14th May, 1803, Rammohun Roy also resigned his Dewanship (no. 49) and returned to Calcutta, and thence proceeded to Burdwan where his father Ramkanta Roy lay seriously ill. He later told Mr. William Adam "with much feeling that he had stood by the death bed of his father, who with his expiring breath continued to invoke his God—Ram! Ram!" Rammohun Roy performed the *sraddha* (funeral) ceremony of his father either at Burdwan or in Calcutta. His mother, Tarini Devi, performed the *sraddha* of her husband at Langurpara evidently with pomp by pawning the jewels of her grandson (daughter's son) Gurudas Mukherji (p. 229).

Mr. Thomas Woodforde was appointed Registrar of the Appellate Court of Murshidabad from 11th August, 1803.⁹ Rammohun Roy evidently accompanied him to Murshidabad as his private munshi, and his first pamphlet, *Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin*, was published there. We know nothing more about the year 1803, and the year 1804 is a blank one. In the year 1805 Rammohun Roy entered the service of Mr. John Digby. In May 1805 Mr. Digby was appointed Registrar of the office of the Magistrate of Ramgarh, then headquarters of the Hazaribagh District, and Rammohun Roy accompanied him to

9. Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

10. Dodwell and Miles, *Alphabetical List of the Bengal Civil Servants*, London, 1839.

Ramgarh evidently as his private munshi. He remained with Mr. Digby as his private munshi continually for ten years, and there sprang up a close friendship between these two men that lasted throughout their lives. Mr. Digby served at Ramgarh till December, 1807, when he was transferred to Jessore as Collector (no. 65). At Ramgarh Rammohun Roy acted as the Sheristadar of the Fouzdary Court for a period of three months when Mr. Digby officiated as the Magistrate of that district (no. 71). He accompanied Mr. Digby to Jessore (nos. 65 and 72), Bhagalpur (no. 66), back to Jessore and finally to Rangpur, when the latter was appointed to act as the Collector of Rangpur in June, 1809 (nos. 67-68).

The Dewan of the Collectorate of Rangpur resigned in October, 1809. Mr. Digby appointed Rammohun Roy Dewan in his room and wrote to the Board of Revenue requesting them to sanction the appointment (no. 70). The Board refused sanction on the ground that the nominee had no experience of Revenue matters (no. 71). In his reply of 31st January, 1810 (no. 72), Mr. Digby expressed sorrow at the Board's paying "so little deference" to his recommendation and concluded:—

"Being thoroughly acquainted with the merits and abilities of Rammohun Roy, it would be very repugnant to my feelings, to be compelled so far to disgrace him in the eyes of the natives as to remove him from his present employment in which I have continued him as officiating in the hope that the character which will be given of him by the natives, to whom the Board are referred, and the knowledge of his business which I have declared him to possess, will induce them to confirm him in the appointment of Dewan of my office for which I am confident he is perfectly well qualified."

In their reply (no. 73) the Board not only refused to alter their decision, but greatly disapproved of the style of Mr. Digby's letter and warned him that they would be compelled "to take very serious notice of any repetition of similar disrespect towards them." Rammohun Roy evidently did not feel disgraced by

his removal from the Dewanship, but remained at Rangpur with Mr. Digby for four years and a half longer till the latter was relieved of his office on the 20th July, 1814, (no. 74). He accepted service with Thomas Woodforde and John Digby, evidently not for the emolument and official advancement, but with other objects in view. As we have seen above, he was engaged in money-lending business in Calcutta. Taluks Ramesvarpur and Govindapur must have been yielding him an annual income of about Rs. 5,500 under the able and faithful management of Rajiblochan Roy. His own share of his father's landed property that was allotted to him probably enabled him to meet all the expenses at Langurpara. When he took service with John Digby in 1805 he did not abolish his Calcutta business, but left a cash-keeper (Gopimohun Chatterji) in charge of it. His annual savings from all these sources must have been considerable. He purchased the four following Patni taluks in the years and at prices named in the following list (pp. 97-98, 263-64):—

B. S. 1210 (1803-04)	Langurpara	
B. S. 1215 (1808-09)	Beerlook (Birluk)	Rs. 11,000
B. S. 1216 (1809-10)	Kissenagore (Krishnanagar)	Rs. 7,100
	Serampore (Srirampur)	Rs. 725

These four taluks jointly yielded a profit of Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000 annually (p. 98). As we have already stated, Rammohun Roy also dealt in Company's paper. He of course received good salary as Khas Munshi from his admiring employer, Mr. Digby. His cash-keeper at Calcutta, Gopimohun Chatterji, says in his deposition, "Rammohun Roy at different times sent sums of money from Rungpore to Calcuta" (p. 137). But when he decided to take service with Mr. John Digby leaving his business in Calcutta in charge of his cash-

keeper, he took risk of loss of which the emoluments of service could hardly have afforded adequate compensation. Therefore he must have had also other objects in view than mere monetary gain when he decided to go out of Calcutta as the private munshi of English Civil Servants. One such object was learning the English language and studying the English character. Mr. Digby writes in his preface to *Abridgment of Vedanta* already referred to :—

“At the age of twenty-two (really twenty-four, i.e. in 1796) he commenced the study of English language, which not pursuing with application, he, five years afterwards (1801), when I became acquainted with him, could merely speak it well enough to be understood upon the most common topics of discourse, but could not write it with any degree of correctness. He was afterwards employed as Dewan, or principal native officer, in the collection of revenues, in the district of which I was for five years Collector, in the East India Company’s Civil Services. By perusing all my correspondence with diligence and attention, as well as by corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen, he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language as to be enabled to write and speak it with considerable accuracy. He was also in the constant habit of reading the English newspapers, of which the continental politics chiefly interested him.”¹¹

Rammohun Roy had an insatiable desire for acquiring knowledge. Soon after retirement from Mr. Digby’s service he formed the plan of proceeding to England and entering one of the English Universities. In a letter addressed to Mr. Digby, then in England, towards the end of 1816 and published in the preface to the London edition of *Abridgment of Vedanta* he writes :—

“This engagement has prevented me from proceeding to Europe as soon as I could wish. But you may depend upon my setting off for England within a short period of time ; and if

11. Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

you do not return to India before October next, you will most probably receive a letter from me, informing you of the exact time of my departure for England, and of the name of the vessel on which I shall embark."¹²

Lieut-Col. Fitzclarence (Lord Munster) in his account of Rammohun Roy in his *Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt to England, in the year 1817 and 1818*, writes, "He is desirous to visit England and enter one of our universities where I should be most anxious to see him, and to learn his ideas of our country, its manners and customs."¹³

The civil suit filed by his nephew Govindaprasad Roy in the Supreme Court on the 23rd June, 1817, evidently prevented Rammohun Roy from carrying out this plan. About the time when he came to settle in Calcutta in 1814 he purchased two houses in the town, a two-storied (upper-roomed) garden house at Simla for Rs. 13,000 and another two-storied house and ground at Chowringhee for Rs. 20,317 (p. 266). His garden house at Maniktala was probably built or purchased later. During his stay at Rangpur from 1809-14 his income from his six taluks, about Rs. 11,000 a year, must have been accumulating and enabled him to purchase and build these houses in Calcutta. It is possible to account for all the investments he made in landed and house property without taking into account the salary he earned as the private munshi of Messrs. Woodforde and Digby. He started the great mission of his life in Calcutta that involved heavy pecuniary sacrifices for a man of his limited means with a net income of about Rs. 11,000 to 12,000 a year. He owed this decent income to the judicious management of his business in Calcutta and of his taluks by his trust-worthy agents and his loyal and faithful friend Rajiblochan Roy.

Mr. Digby made over charge of his office of Collector of Rangpur, as stated above, on the 20th July, 1814. Early in

12. Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

13. Miss Mary Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 57

January 1815, he applied for permission to proceed to England by the next ship for the re-establishment of his health and the settlement of his private affairs (nos. 76-78). The permission was duly received, and Mr. Digby resigned his service in accordance with the usage of those days and embarked for England (nos. 79-80). Rammohun Roy, now aged 42 years, settled in Calcutta to carry on the great mission of his life for which he had been for so long so diligently equipping himself.

RAMMOHUN AND HIS MOTHER

As stated above, after dividing the major portion of his immoveable property among his three sons in December, 1796, Ramkanta Roy went to Burdwan to look after the parganas he held in farm. Jagamohun evidently went to Midnapur to manage his taluks. Tarini Devi, mother of Jagamohun and Rammohun, took charge of the house at Langurpara. Her elder co-wife, Subhadra Devi, lived with her and so did the wives of her two sons. From the time of partition Jagamohun (so long as he could) and Rammohun contributed equally to the fund from which the expenses of the household of Tarini Devi and of all religious ceremonies performed by her were met (pp. 256-57). The fund arose from the rents and issues of certain lands which were set apart for that purpose by the brothers (p. 100). Jagamohun Roy, who, as we have already seen, was confined to the Dewani jail of Burdwan in June, 1801, and later on transferred to the Dewani jail of Midnapur, evidently remained in confinement till February, 1805, and was released on payment of Rs. 1,000 in cash and undertaking to pay the balance, Rs. 3458, by instalments at the rate of Rs. 100 a month (nos. 56-58, 60-61). The sum of Rs. 1,000 that Jagamohun had to pay in cash for procuring his release was advanced to him by Rammohun Roy (p. 527). Jagamohun Roy lived at Langurpara after his release, and died seven years later about the month of Chaitra, Bengali san 1218 (March-April, 1812) (p.

257), leaving as his sole heir his son Govindaprasad, then aged about 14 (pp. 100, 200). His half-brother Ramlochan Roy died two years earlier, in Paush, B.S. 1216 (Dec.-Jan., 1809-10) (p. 65).

Rammohun Roy transferred his half share of the paternal house at Langurpara to his nephew Gurudas Mukherji in Agrahayana, 1221, November-December, 1814, (p. 110) as a compensation for the loss of the right of inheriting Govindapur and Ramesvarpur. He had a garden laid out and a pukka (brick) house built in a neighbouring village, Raghunathpur (p. 99), where he removed his family in Magh, 1223, (January-February, 1817) (p. 101). Perhaps this was the last straw that broke the camel's back—drove the mother to desperation and engage in active hostility. When Rammohun Roy began his crusade against idolatry, he must have stopped payment of his share of the cost of the idolatrous religious ceremonies performed by his mother. One of the rules of his Atmiya Sabha founded in 1815 required it. In the Church of England *Missionary Register* for September, 1816, it is stated of Rammohun Roy and his early followers:—

"They call themselves a society, and are bound by certain rules, one of which is, that no man shall be admitted into their number except with this condition, that he renounce idol worship. Of these rules however, they do not seem to be very uniform in the observance. One of the society, though he professes to have renounced idolatry, yet keeps in his house a number of gods, as well as two large pagodas; his society granted him a dispensation on this head, because he possesses a certain quantity of land from the King of Delhi for this purpose, and if he were to destroy his idols, he might lose his land."¹⁴

The repudiation of idolatry by Rammohun Roy evidently provoked his nephew Govindaprasad, supported of course by Tarini Devi, to excommunicate him and his family. Becharam

14. Miss Mary Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Sen who was a mohurrir in the service of Rammohun Roy from 1215 (1808-1809) to 3rd Agrahayana, 1223, (17th November, 1816), and was cited as a witness of Govindaprasad Roy, says in his deposition :

“Saith that he was discharged from the said (Rammohun Roy’s) service on the third Agraun in the year one thousand two hundred and twenty three owing to this deponent having sided with the complainant Govindpersaud Roy in matter regarding their cast in which they differed but that he was not discharged for any misconduct in service Saith that four or five days after he was discharged from the service of the defendant (Rammohun Roy) he entered the service of the complainant”¹⁵ (p. 103).

Presumably difference regarding caste arose on account of abandonment of idolatry by Rammohun Roy, and when Govindaprasad Roy decided to declare his uncle an outcaste on this ground, Becharam Sen supported him. Govindaprasad Roy, then an inexperienced young man of 19 or 20 years, did not stop there. He filed a suit in the Supreme Court in its Equity Division on the 23rd June, 1817, laying claim to half the entire property, movable and immovable, belonging to Rammohun Roy as the “only son, heir and legal personal representative of Juggomohun Roy.” In the Bill of Complaint or plaint, after referring to the deed of partition executed by Ramkanta Roy on the 1st December, 1796, Govindaprasad Roy

15. In the original deposition (p. 103) it is said that Becharam Sen served as Mohurrir of Rammohun Roy from 1215 “to the third of Agraun in the year one thousand two hundred and twenty three”; but one line below the date of Becharam Sen’s discharge is given as “third of Agraun in the year one thousand two hundred and twenty four.” The first date, 3rd Agrahayana, 1223, appears to be the correct date of Becharam Sen’s discharge, and the order of events appears as follows, 3rd Agrahayana, 1223, (November, 1817), Becharam Sen’s discharge on account of siding with Govindaprasad Roy; Magh, 1223 (January-February, 1817), Rammohun Roy’s removal to Raghunathpur house; 23rd June, 1817, suit filed by Govindaprasad Roy in the Supreme Court.

states that when Jagamohun Roy, Rammohun Roy and Ramlochan Roy took possession of the shares allotted to each of them in the instrument of partition, Ramlochan Roy separated himself from the family and went and lived apart and divided. But Ramkanta Roy and Jagamohun and Rammohun, immediately and shortly after the partition re-united and lived together as an Hindoo family, and became again and were joint and undivided in food property and in all other respects until the death of Ramkanta Roy sometime in Jyaistha (May-June), 1803. Jagamohun Roy and Rammohun Roy continued joint and undivided in food, property and in all other respects after the death of their father until the death of Jagamohun Roy in Chaitra (March-April) 1812 (p. 64). After his father's death Govindaprasad Roy also continued to live with Rammohun Roy as an undivided Hindu family at the family house at Langurpara until the 16th Magh, 1223, 27th January, 1817 (p. 68) when Rammohun Roy removed to his newly built house at Raghunathpur. Govindaprasad Roy then discovered that Rammohun Roy was seeking to injure and defraud him and to deprive him of his share of the joint estate. He therefore prayed to court that he might be declared entitled to one full half share of the joint estate; Commissioners might be appointed to execute a partition of the immovable property; and the defendant (Rammohun Roy) might be ordered to come to an account with him relating to the joint movable property.

This suit instituted by Govindaprasad Roy against his uncle was a very serious and a very expensive affair. A young man of 19 or 20, and of limited means, just emerging from minority, can hardly be expected to undertake the risk of such litigation at his own initiative. Whence came the suggestion and the promise of support? Rammohun Roy's answer to this question may be gathered from one (eleventh) of the cross interrogatories intended to be put to his mother Tarini Devi who was cited as a witness by Govindaprasad Roy

and filed at the court on the 6th September, 1819. We learn from these interrogatories that Tarini Devi had serious disputes and differences with Rammohun Roy on account of his religious opinions. She instigated and prevailed upon Govindaprasad Roy to institute the suit in the Supreme Court against Rammohun Roy, as a measure of revenge, because he (Rammohun) had refused to practise the rites and ceremonies of the Hindu religion in the manner in which she wished the same to be practised or performed. Tarini Devi, Govindaprasad Roy and other members of her family had cut off all intercourse with Rammohun Roy on account of his religious opinions and writings. She had repeatedly declared that she desired the ruin of Rammohun, and that there would not only be no sin, but it would be meritorious to effect his temporal ruin, unless he resumed or followed the religious usages and worship of his forefathers. She had publicly declared that it would not be sinful to take away the life of a Hindu who had forsaken idolatry and ceremonies of Hindu worship. Tarini Devi knew well that the suit in the Supreme Court would not have been instituted if Rammohun Roy had not acted in religious matters contrary to her wishes and entreaties and differently from the practices of his ancestors. Even after the institution of the suit Tarini Devi made a last attempt at reconciliation. She went in person to Calcutta and met her son Rammohun Roy in his house at Simla and requested him to make a grant of a piece of land the profits whereof might be applied towards the worship of an idol. The son refused to comply with this request and thereby encourage the worship of idols, but offered to his mother instead a large sum of money to be distributed in charity to the poor. Tarini Devi was exceedingly displeased with her son for his refusal to comply with what must have appeared to her a very modest request and left for Langurpara uttering threats (p. 234). These questions indicate that mother and son showed equal ardour in upholding their own views, and the unexpected character of her son's uncompromising hostility to

idolatry totally upset her and led her to adopt a vindictive course..

The suit was filed, as stated above, by the complainant Govindaprasad Roy on the 23rd June, 1817: Rammohun Roy's answer is missing from the original file, but a summary of it is incorporated in the Decree (pp. 255-272). Herein Rammohun Roy states that his father's deed of partition was duly registered by the Kazi of Krishnanagar. He admits that the family of his brother Jagamohun Roy and his own family lived at Langurpara under the superintendence and management of his mother, both the brothers contributing to the support of her household from their separate earnings and funds. They were separate in all other respects. Interrogatories or questionnaires for his own witnesses were filed on behalf of the complainant Govindaprasad six months after the institution of the suit on the 27th January, 1818, and seven witnesses were sworn to these interrogatories on the 12th February, 1818 (p. 83). The defendant filed his cross interrogatories for the cross examination of two of these, Becharam Sen and Krishnamohun Dhara, on the 5th March, 1818. Becharam Sen's examination-in-chief took place on the 26th and 28th March, and 9th April, and his cross-examination on the 9th and 10th April, 1818. We have already stated that Becharam Sen was a mohurrir in the service of Rammohun Roy continually for eight years, and then, on being discharged for espousing the side of Govindaprasad Roy against his employer in social dispute, he entered the service of Govindaprasad in November, 1816 (p. xliv). He accompanied Govindaprasad to Calcutta when the latter came to reside there evidently to conduct the case against his uncle (p. 102). Regarding the main question at issue in the suit, whether Jagamohun Roy and Rammohun Roy re-united and "were joint in food, property and in all other respects," Becharam Sen says in his examination-in-chief that from the date of partition (1st December, 1796) to his death, Jagamohun Roy, and after his death till 1223 (1816-17) his son, Govindaprasad

Roy, lived with Rammohun Roy "undivided as to food but that their property always continued distinct which he this deponent knows from being now in the service of Govindaprasad Roy and from having seen his books" (p. 95). Becharam Sen also says that Govindapur, Ramesvarpur and other taluks claimed by Govindaprasad Roy as joint property in his Bill of Complaint had been purchased by Rammohun Roy from his separate fund and were in his sole possession. So there is no material difference between Becharam Sen's deposition and Rammohun Roy's Answer except on a few minor points.

After the deposition of Becharam Sen who gave away his case, Govindaprasad Roy could not produce any other witness. Examination of witnesses on behalf of the defendant, Rammohun Roy, began at the end (28th) of September, 1818, and continued till May 14, 1819. Cross interrogatories on behalf of the complainant had not been filed, and Rammohun Roy's witnesses were not cross-examined. When the examination of witnesses for the defendant was closed, Govindaprasad Roy made an affidavit (no. 117) on the 11th June, 1819, stating that his Attorney caused subpoenas to be issued by the court on the 1st October, 1819, on Tarini Devi and eight other witnesses, but that he hath not been able to procure the attendance of any of them for examination although he hath used all due diligence for that purpose. He added that Hiram Chatterji, Bipraprasad Roy, Sobhachandra Roy and Tarini Devi were material witnesses without whose evidence he could not safely proceed to a hearing in this suit. He therefore prayed that he might be given one month's time within which he expected to procure the attendance of those witnesses. The prayer for a month's time was granted.

At the end of the month's time, on the 10th July, 1819, Govindaprasad Roy again made an affidavit praying for two month's more time for compelling the attendance of witnesses without whose testimony he could not safely proceed to a hearing of the case, viz., Tarini Devi and eight others (no. 118).

Two persons, Ramdhon Mukherji and Matuk Sardar, employed for serving the subpoenas, made affidavits on the same date that they had been severely beaten by two of these witnesses, Ramdhan Degree and Raghubir Degree, and the subpoena had been torn and thrown down on the ground. Only five out of the seventeen persons to whom subpoenas had been issued on the 12th June came to Calcutta to attend the court. This prayer also was granted. In the meantime three witnesses, Radhakrishna Banerji (31st August and 1st September), Ramchandra Banerji (2nd September), and Abhaycharan Datta (6th September), were examined on behalf of the complainant Govindaprasad Roy. The first of these men, Radhakrishna Banerji, aged about 35, was the Purohit or domestic priest of the family. In his examination-in-chief he admits "that he had not the means of knowing or being acquainted nor was he acquainted with the affairs and concerns of the said family either during the life of the said Ramkanta Roy or since his death other than as such matters became notorious and known to everybody in the neighbourhood" (p. 207). Later on Radhakrishna Banerji says more explicitly that he does not know on what terms Jagamohun and Rammohun lived after the partition and he never heard of any re-union between the parties.

Ramchandra Banerji, aged about 30, also states, like Radhakrishna Banerji, "that he had not the means and opportunity of knowing and being acquainted with nor was he acquainted with the affairs and concerns of the family" (p. 217). On one point only he lends support to the claim of Govindaprasad Roy, though on hearsay. He says, taluks Krishnanagar and Birlook "were generally considered as the joint property of the said Juggomohun Roy and Rammohun Roy," but he does "not know who actually made the purchase or out of whose or what fund the same were paid for" (p. 218).

Abhaycharan Datta, aged 70, also had not the like opportunity of knowing and being acquainted with the affairs and transactions of the family after the death of Ramkanta Roy

(p. 225). He made one important admission. He said that the mother of Rammohun Roy had told him that the taluks Govindapur and Ramesvarpur had been purchased by Ramtanu Roy and Gangadhar Ghose, and Rammohun Roy purchased these taluks from them (p. 226).

If these three witnesses did not give away the case of the complainant like Becharam Sen, their depositions were of little help in proving his case. Govindaprasad Roy filed another petition to the court on the 15th September, 1819, praying for a further period of fifteen days to enable him to procure the attendance of Tarini Devi and three other witnesses to give evidence (no. 127). Nothing came of this petition. Govindaprasad Roy had also petitioned the Court to be allowed to conduct the case as a pauper (*in forma pauperis*) on the 24th August. The prayer was granted on the 14th September. Rammohun Roy filed a petition to the court for the discharge of the order and made an affidavit on the 23rd September. He was supported by seven witnesses who also made affidavits. The permission to conduct the case as a pauper was finally cancelled on the 6th October, 1819 (nos. 129-130).

While the complainant Govindaprasad Roy practically failed to produce evidence, either oral or documentary, in support of his case, Rammohun Roy succeeded in proving his case to the hilt. By making the admission in his Answer that his family lived with the family of his brother Jagamohun Roy jointly as regards food at Langurpara under the management of his mother as stated in the Bill of Complaint, he had taken upon himself the burden of proving that he and Jagamohun Roy were not joint in property and in other respects. In support of his case Rammohun Roy produced ample evidence, both oral and documentary. Men who had had excellent opportunities of being acquainted with the affairs and concerns of the family appeared as witnesses. Rammohun Roy's first cousins belonging to the Radhanagar family, Guruprasad Roy and Ramtanu Roy, and his nephew Gurudas Mukherji, gave accounts of the internal

affairs of the family. Rajiblochan Roy, a wealthy zeminder, who held in farm most of the taluks of Rammohun Roy, bore witness to the fact that whoever might be the nominal proprietor of the taluks, their net income was always paid over to Rammohun Roy. The cashier of Rammohun Roy's Calcutta office stated that business was carried on there in the name of Rammohun Roy alone. Valuable documents were produced to show that Jagamohun Roy's transactions were carried on separately by himself on his own behalf. The handwriting of Jagamohun Roy on these documents was duly identified by several witnesses.

The case came up for final hearing on the 10th December, 1819. No person appeared for the complainant. The counsel for the defendant argued the case and the judgment was delivered in his presence. After giving summaries of the Bill of Complaint of the complainant and the Answer of the defendant, and briefly describing the proceedings, the Decree is thus concluded:—

"The Court doth think fit to adjudge Order and Decree that the said Bill of Complaint of the complainant in this cause do stand absolutely dismissed out of and from this Court with costs" (p. 271).

The Decree is signed by three judges of the Supreme Court, the Hon'ble Sir Edward Hyde East, Kt., Chief Justice, the Hon'ble Sir Francis Macanaghten, Kt., and the Hon'ble Sir Antony Buller, Kt., Justices.

Thus ended a suit that should never have been instituted and that proved ruinously expensive to both the parties. It must have exhausted the resources of Tarini Devi and broken her heart. Early in the following year, 1820, she decided to retire from Langurpara and spend her last days at Puri in the service of Jagannath, the presiding deity of that most holy place. Before she set out on her last pilgrimage she bade good-bye to her son. Dr. Lant Carpenter gives the following sketch of her character and the following account of her last interview with

her illustrious son in his Biographical Sketch of Rammohun Roy:—

“Every member of his own family opposed him; and he experienced even the bitter alienation of his mother, through the influence of the interested persons around her. In his early days, his mother was a woman of fine understanding; but, she had been among his most bitter opponents. He, however, manifested a warm and affectionate attachment towards her, and it was with a glistening eye that he told us she had ‘repented’ of her conduct towards him. Though convinced that his doctrines were true, she could not throw off the shackles of idolatrous customs. “Rammohun,” she said to him, before she set out on her last pilgrimage to Juggernath, where she died, “you are right, but I am a weak woman, and am grown too old to give up these observances which are comfort to me,” she maintained them with the most self-denying devotion. She would not allow a female servant to accompany her; or any other provision to be made for her comfort or even support on her journey; and when at Juggernaut, she engaged in sweeping the temple of the idol. There she spent the remainder of her life—nearly a year if not more; and there she died. He recently stated, however, that before her death she expressed her great sorrow for what had passed, and declared her conviction in the unity of God, and the futility of Hindoo superstition.”¹⁶

Tarini Devi died, not a year, but two years, after her arrival at Puri, on the 21st April, 1822. The news of her death was published in Rammohun Roy’s Bengali paper, *Sambad Kaumudi*. The following summary of the news was published in the *Calcutta Journal* of May 13, 1822:—

Sambada Kaumudi, No. 23. “Died on the 21st April, at Khettru (Jagganaut) where she had resided for two years, the mother of Dewan Rammohun Roy; and her obsequies were to be performed on the 4th May.”

16. Miss Mary Carpenter, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

Litigation did not cease with the retirement of Tarini Devi. Durga Devi, widow of Jagamohun Roy and mother of Govindaprasad Roy, filed another suit in the Supreme Court in its Equity division on the 13th April, 1821, to recover possession of the taluks Govindapur and Ramesvarpur. In the Bill of Complaint in his own suit Govindaprasad Roy had stated that these taluks were originally purchased by Gangadhar Ghose and Ramtanu Roy at a public sale for arrears of revenue on behalf of Ramkanta Roy with the joint moneys and fund of himself and his sons, Jagamohun Roy and Rammohun Roy; and then Ramkanta Roy caused them to execute deeds of sale of the same taluks in the name of Rammohun Roy but in trust for and for the joint benefit of himself (Ramkanta Roy), Jagamohun Roy and Rammohun Roy. Govindaprasad Roy claimed half the share of these taluks as the sole heir of Jagamohun Roy. But his mother Durga Devi tells a different tale in her Bill of Complaint. She states that she lent Rammohun Roy Rs. 4,500 which enabled him to purchase the taluks Govindapur and Ramesvarpur. The latter (Rammohun Roy) then transferred the taluks to her by a deed of sale executed on the 5th Sravan 1206 (19th July, 1799), and took them to farm upon lease for six years by executing a Kabuliyat or deed of agreement on the same date. Both the documents bearing the signature of Rammohun Roy were enclosed with the Bill of Complaint and their English translation reproduced in it. Rammohun Roy executed another Kabuliyat addressed to Durga Devi on the 27th Jyaistha, 1215, taking in farm the same taluks for a further term of seven years. But he refused to deliver possession of the taluks to her at the end of the term and withheld the rent due to her. The complainant prays to court to compel the defendant Rammohun Roy to give back her taluks together with title deeds and other documents and to pay her dues. The second Kabuliyat bearing the signature of Rammohun Roy was also enclosed with the Bill of Complaint and its English translation reproduced in it (no. 132).

This case was instituted with the full knowledge of Govindaprasad Roy who signs his name as an attesting witness to Durga Devi's warrant of attorney of the 29th September, 1820. Rammohun Roy filed his Answer to the Bill of Complaint on the 5th September, 1821, wherein he declared that the statements regarding his borrowing Rs. 4,500 from Durga Devi and other connected transactions were untrue and denied the execution of the deed of sale and the two Kabuliyats (no. 135). Durga Devi failed to produce a single witness to prove her case. The three alleged original documents submitted by her with the Bill of Complaint are attested by the three witnesses, Gangadhar Ghose, Becharam Sen, Hingunsho. None of these three persons appeared before the court to give evidence. The complaint of Durga Devi was therefore finally dismissed with costs for want of prosecution on the 30th November, 1821 (no. 140).

SEVEN YEARS OF POLEMICAL WAR 1817-1823

The story of the civil and criminal cases instituted against Rammohun Roy and his son Radhaprasad Roy that the documents published in this volume unfold were directly or indirectly provoked by his activities as a religious reformer, and the polemical war that he carried on in that capacity. So the portrait of the man that these documents reveal will be incomplete without a short account of the controversies that he was engaged in.

In a short biography of Rammohun Roy published in the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* it is said of his early religious tendencies, "He assiduously practised Vaishnava rites, and his devotion to Vaishnavism was so great that he would not drink water without reading a chapter of the Srimad-Bhagavata daily."¹⁷ As we have already seen, his intimacy with Nandakumar Vidya-

17. *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, Vaisakh (April), Saka year 1768, A.D. 1846.

lankar, an ascetic, began when he "attained the age of fourteen years" (May, 1884). Study of the Arabic translation of Aristotle's logic at Patna evidently shook his faith in all religions based on revealed texts. This stage of the development of his religious views finds expression in his Persian pamphlet with an Arabic introduction, *Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin* referred to above (p. xxxvii). In this pamphlet Rammohun Roy explains that faith in One Being "who is the source of creation and the governor of it is universal," but peoples differ "in giving peculiar attributes to that Being" and other matters pertaining to religion. As all these divergent views cannot be true, so logically all must be false. "Hence falsehood is common to all religions without distinction."¹⁸ The author's want of faith in the peculiar attributes assigned to the Supreme Being discloses the influence of the Vedantic conception of the Nirguna (attributeless) Brahma. The reason why Rammohun Roy wrote this pamphlet in Arabic and Persian was, as he explained later, he could not write English at the time of its composition.¹⁹ Deeper study and meditation in course of time led to the partial modification of his opinion regarding the scriptures of the different religions. He came to recognize the revealed character of those scriptures,—the Hindu Sastras and the Bible "that declare God to be One and above the apprehension of internal and external senses."²⁰

After his retirement from Rangpur and settlement in Calcutta in 1814 Rammohun Roy began his campaign of religious reform by publishing a Bengali translation of the *Vedantasutras* of Badarayana according to Sankara's commentary in 1815, the *Vedantasara* in Bengali, the *Abridgment of*

18. *Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin* or *Gift to Deists* by Late Rajah Rammohun Roy, translated into English by Moulavi Obaidullah El Obaide, Calcutta, 1884.

19. *Appeal to the Christian Public* (1820), *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1901, p. 89.

20. *Isbopanisbad*, English translation, Preface.

Vedant in English, and the Bengali and English translation of the *Isa* and the *Kena* Upanishads in 1816, and the Bengali translation of the *Katha*, *Mundaka* and *Mandukya* Upanishads in 1817. In the introductory chapters of these publications he lays under contribution other Hindu Sastras, the Smritis, the Puranas and the Tantras, and refutes arguments in favour of idolatrous rites with vigour. He began his campaign against the Sati or burning widows alive by publishing his first tract in 1818 showing that the cruel rite was disapproved by the most authoritative Brahmanic codes. His denunciation of idolatry evoked replies and led to acrimonious controversies with the champions of popular Hinduism that raged continuously for seven years from 1817 to 1823.

While engaged in polemics with the advocates of idolatry and Sati, Rammohun Roy broke new ground and provoked another and more arduous controversy with Christian missionaries by publishing *The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness extracted from the books of the New Testament, ascribed to four Evangelists* in 1820. A few observations in the short introduction to this little volume raised a storm. A writer in *The Friend of India* (no. 20) who signed his name, "A christian Missionary" called the compiler of the *Precepts* a "heathen" and an "injurer of the cause of truth." Dr. Marshman, the editor, supported the Christian missionary in an editorial. Rammohun Roy published a reply to these criticisms in a pamphlet entitled *An Appeal to the Christian Public, in defence of the Precepts of Jesus* by "A Friend to Truth" in the same year (1820). In this first Appeal he avowed his faith "in the truths revealed in the Christian system" (Bible) and in the divine message of the Jesus of Nazareth, but declared the incomprehensibleness of the mysterious doctrine of three Gods in one Godhead. Dr. Marshman published his reply to this first Appeal in *The Friend of India*, Quarterly Series, no. 1. Rammohun Roy published an elaborate rejoinder, *Second Appeal to the Christian Public* in 1821 wherein he endeavours

to prove the unscriptural character of the Christian doctrines of Trinity and atonement—Jesus sacrificing his life for the expiation of the sins of mankind.

While Dr. Marshman, the head of the Serampur Baptist Mission, was engaged in preparing his rejoinder to Rammohun Roy's Second Appeal, a letter appeared in the *Samachar Darpan* of the 14th July, 1821, a weekly newspaper in Bengali printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Serampur, attempting to show the unreasonableness of all the Hindu Sastras and thereby disprove their authority. It was stated at the end of the letter :—

“Whoever writes a proper answer may have it printed and everywhere distributed by sending it to the Shreerampore printing office.”

A reply to the letter written in the Bengali language was sent to the editor of the *Samachar Darpan* in the name of Siva-prasad Sarma by Rammohun Roy. As the editor refused to insert the reply in his paper, Rammohun Roy published it in two numbers of a bilingual tract called *Brahmansevadhi* in Bengali and *Brahmunicipal Magazine* in English. In the concluding paragraph of the Magazine no. II the author returned to his attack on the doctrine of Trinity. A reply appeared in English in the *Friend of India* no. 38. Rammohun Roy published a rejoinder in the *Brahmunicipal Magazine*, no. III.

While engaged in these controversies, Rammohun Roy undertook a fresh translation of the four Gospels into Bengali language with the co-operation of two members of the Baptist Mission of Serampore, Rev. William Yates and Rev. William Adam. Mr. Yates withdrew his co-operation on account of difference of opinion. In a letter of May 7, 1821, Mr. William Adam writes to Mr. Wright, “It is now several months since I began to entertain some doubts respecting the Supreme Deity of Jesus Christ, suggested by frequent discussions with Rammohun Roy, whom I was endeavouring to bring over to the belief of the Doctrine, and in which I was

joined by Mr. Yates, who also professed to experience difficulties on the subject."²¹ Mr. 'Adam's doubts regarding the divinity of Jesus Christ turned into certainty, and by the latter end of 1821 he publicly avowed Unitarianism.²² This shocked the European Christian community who called the new convert, "the second fallen Adam." In September, 1821, the Calcutta Unitarian Committee was organised of which Rammohun Roy and his friends Dwarkanath Thakoor and Prasanna Kumar Thakoor, and his son Radhaprasad Roy were the Indian members. In January, 1822, a house was rented and Mr. Adam conducted there Christian worship regularly.

Dr. Marshman's reply to Rammohun Roy's *Second Appeal* appeared in No. 4 of the Quarterly Series of *The Friend of India* December, 1821. Rammohun Roy's rejoinder, *Final Appeal to The Christian Public*, was published a year later, printed at the Unitarian Press, Dhurmtollah, and not at the Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road, like the *Precepts* and the first two *Appeals*. The Preface of the *Final Appeal* is dated Calcutta, January 30, 1823. In a Notice attached to the first edition of the *Final Appeal* it is stated, "The acting proprietor of that (the Baptist Mission) Press having, since the publication of the *Second Appeal*, declined, although in politest manner possible, printing any other work that the author might publish on the same subject, he was under the necessity of purchasing a few types for his own use."

The opposition that Rammohun Roy's criticism of Christianity provoked was not confined to the Missionaries of the Baptist Mission of Serampore or the proprietor or proprietors of the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta, but spread to other quarters. He writes in his Preface to the *Final Appeal*, "I am well aware this difference of sentiment has already occasioned much coolness towards me in the demeanour of some whose friendship I

21. Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

22. *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Vol. III, p. 115.

hold dear." If Rammohun Roy's friends grew cold, those Europeans who knew him only by his writings on Christianity, must have grown hostile. In the Preface to the *Final Appeal* Rammohun Roy proposed to establish a monthly periodical publication devoted to Biblical Criticism to be printed and circulated at his own expense wherein the grounds of both Unitarian and Trinitarian doctrines might be explained by their advocates. The proposal led a lay champion of the divinity of Christ, a pugnacious medical man, Dr. Tytler, to challenge Rammohun Roy to meet him and discuss the question face to face. Rammohun Roy refused to take him seriously and poured ridicule on his views under the name of Ram Doss in the columns of the *Bengal Hurkaru* of May, 1823. The last shot fired from the Baptist camp was a tract in Bengali issued from the Mission Press, Serampore, criticising Vedanta and Unitarianism. Rammohun Roy vigorously defended both the systems and again pointed out the errors of 'Trinitarianism in the *Brahmunical Magazine*, no. IV (November 15, 1823).

The year 1823 was one of the busiest years in Rammohun Roy's public life, and the one in which his all-round unpopularity for his zeal for all-round reform reached its height. The bitterest attack on him on behalf of Hindu orthodoxy, *Pashandapiran* (persecution of the heretic), and his reply, *Pathyapradana* (medicine for the sick), were published in this year. On the 14th March, 1823, Mr. John Adam, the acting Governor-General, issued a Rule and Ordinance curtailing the liberty of the press. Rammohun Roy and his friends submitted a memorial to the Supreme Court praying that the Ordinance might not be registered, that is to say, might be disallowed, and engaged counsels to plead the cause of freedom of the press before the court. The Supreme Court rejected the memorial. Rammohun Roy not only submitted an Appeal to the King in Council against the decision, but stopped the publication of his weekly newspaper in Persian, *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, as a protest. Even this negative protest was resented. "The *Asiatic Journal* of

January, 1824, in recording the announcement, objects to it as having a direct tendency to reflect on the act of Government,"²³

The treatment meted out to Rammohun Roy's famous Letter on English Education addressed to Lord Amherst at the end of 1823 (11th December) best illustrates the official attitude towards him at this period. The government had undertaken to appropriate public funds for the promotion of education among Indians. Rammohun Roy had expected that this fund would be utilised in establishing a seminary where mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, and other useful sciences "which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of the other parts of the world" would be taught. But when he learnt that the Government were establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pundits to impart such knowledge as was already current in India, he wrote protesting against the proposal and showing the futility of the different branches of Sanskrit learning as instruments of secular education, and sent the letter to Lord Amherst through Bishop Heber. The letter was forwarded to the General Committee of Public Instruction by the Secretary to Government in the Persian Department with a covering letter. The Committee in their meeting of the 14th January, 1824, passed this resolution:—

"Under the discretion vested in the Committee with respect to addressing any observations on the Letter of Rammohun Roy either to himself or to Government the Committee resolve that it is unnecessary to offer any Remarks. The erroneous impressions entertained by the author of the letter are sufficiently adverted to in the letter from the Secretary to the Government; but had the views taken in the letter been less inaccurate the Committee would still conceive it entitled to no reply, as it has disingenuously assumed a character to which it has no pretensions. The application to Government against the cultivation of Hindu

literature, and in favour of the substitution of European tuition, is made professedly on the part, and in the name of the natives of India. But it bears the signature of one individual alone, whose opinions are well known to be hostile to those entertained by almost all his countrymen. The letter of Rammohun Roy does not therefore express the opinion of any portion of the natives of India, and its assertion to that effect is a dereliction of truth, which cancels the claim of its author to respectful consideration."²⁴

MR. JOHN DIGBY AT BURDWAN
1822—1823

Mr. John Digby returned to India from England in November, 1819, after an absence of over four years. As we have already stated, he did not forget Rammohun Roy during his absence, but reprinted his *Abridgment of Vedant* and the English translation of the *Cena Upanishad* with a suitable introduction in London in 1817. On his return to India he was out of employment throughout 1820 and the greater part of 1821 when he received a subsistence allowance of Rs. 325. During this period of unemployment Mr. Digby must have very often met Rammohun Roy in Calcutta. In September of 1821 he was appointed acting Collector of Burdwan, and early in February, 1822, he was confirmed in his appointment (no. 143). Some time before Mr. Digby came to Burdwan as the Acting Collector an important change had taken place in the ministerial establishment of the Collectorate. In May, 1821, Debnarayan Bose, who had served as Naib or assistant Sheristadar for 23 years, and had been in that office for 32 years, was appointed Head Sheristadar or head of the minis-

24. *Proceedings of the General Committee of Public Instruction*, Vol. 5. (1823-41), pp. 45-48.

The meeting of the Committee was attended by the following members:—Mr. Harrington, President, Messrs Larkins, Morton, Bayley, Lumsden, Shakespear, Mackenzie, Prinsep, Stirling, Wilson (Secretary).

terial staff (no. 142). When Mr. Digby took charge of the Burdwan Collectorate he found the office of the second or Naib Sheristadar vacant and nominated one Neelmony (Nilmani) to officiate. As Nilmani resigned, he appointed Radhaprasad Roy, son of Rammohun Roy, Naib Sheristadar (p. 419). As already stated (p. xxxv), two somewhat divergent statements are found in the records of the case brought by Govindaprasad Roy against Rammohun Roy, relating to the date of birth of Radhaprasad; one made by Rammohun Roy's intimate friend Rajiblochan Roy, and another by his nephew Gurudas Mukherji. The latter, a member of Rammohun Roy's family, was evidently better informed of the two witnesses, and we may take his statement that Radhaprasad was born in the Bengali year 1208 (beginning from about the middle of April, 1801 and ending about the middle of April, 1802), as the correct date of his birth. So he was a young man of 21 or 22 years at the time of his appointment as the Naib Sheristadar of the Burdwan Collectorate.

Mr. Digby found the Collectorate of Burdwan a hotbed of intrigue and corruption. On the 31st August, 1822, he examined the treasury and found the total cash short of the recorded cash balance and other irregularities (p. 317). He, therefore, dismissed the Khajanchi or Treasurer, Deviprasad Sarkar, under orders of the Board of Revenue. Deviprasad requested Mr. Digby to appoint his nephew in his room. The latter refused to do so and nominated Sibnarayan Roy, the eldest son of Rajiblochan Roy, as the Treasurer. Debiprasad Sarkar, who entered the service of the Raja of Burdwan after his dismissal, attributed the nomination of Sibnarayan to the interest and exertions of Radhaprasad Roy, and conspired with the Head Sheristadar, Debnarayan Bose, against him. Three suits of bribery were instituted against Radhaprasad before the Magistrate of Burdwan. The first case was brought by Deviprasad's brother-in-law, the Daroga of Stamps, alleging that he (Radhaprasad) had received a bribe

of Rs. 373 from the mofussil vendors of stamps; the second, by Deviprasad's nephew, for demanding a bribe of Rs. 50 for obtaining an *amulnamah* or power of possession of the Khundghoshe Chakran (service) lands; the third, by Deviprasad's Mokhtar, for demanding a bribe of Rs. 25. Anonymous letters were also sent to one of the newspapers of Calcutta and to public officers of Government filled with the most abusive language against Mr. Digby and foulest charges against Radhaprasad Roy. Mr. Digby alleges in his letter of the 8th October, 1822, that Debnarain Bose, the Head Sheristadar, was notorious as a writer of anonymous letters (pp.318-319). Evidently no harm came to Radhaprasad Roy from these complaints. His first cousin Govindaprasad Roy was appointed Abkaree (excise) Tehsildar (collector) of Burdwan by Mr. Digby in November, 1822 (nos. 147-148). Early in the following year (1823) Deviprasad Sarkar submitted a petition to the Board complaining that Mr. Digby had not given him receipts for the amount of money left by him in the Treasury when he was relieved of his office as Treasurer and concluded by stating that all his difficulties were due to the enmity of Radhaprasad Roy (no. 160).

Mr. Digby appointed Sibnarayan Roy, the eldest son of Rajiblochan Roy, acting Treasurer immediately after the dismissal of Deviprasad Sarkar, and in his letter of the 3rd September, 1822, addressed to the Board, recommended him as "a man of very respectable character and family, modest and gentlemanly in his manners and appearance" (no. 144). The Board in their reply (20th September) refused to recognize these qualifications adequate, and wanted to know "the nature of the proposed Treasurer's past employments the character which he has maintained in them " (no. 145). Mr. Digby sent his reply to the Board's letter of the 20th September four months after, on the 26th December, 1822, and reported that during five months' tenure of office as the acting Treasurer Sibnarayan had performed his duties satisfactorily, and, that before his

appointment he had managed his father's large estate for three years (no. 149). Sibnarayan himself declared his age to be 25 years at the time of his appointment (p. 412). In their reply (no. 150) of the 14th January, 1823, the Board again refused to sanction the appointment of Sibnarayan on account of his youth and want of mature experience of public service, and requested Mr. Digby to select a person "less liable to this objection" (no. 150). Mr. Digby wrote his reply to this letter about a year after (2nd December, 1823). Herein he puts down the age of Sibnarayan as 26 and says in effect that he is the best man available (no. 162). In their reply the Board confirmed the appointment of Sibnarayan Roy "trusting that you would not involve in a responsibility so serious as would be that of recommending in the very high and strong terms" Sibnarayan Roy, "were he not entirely deserving of the high character and qualification you describe him to possess" (no. 163). What really led Mr. Digby to take so favourable a view of the character of Sibnarayan Roy is thus explained by him in his explanation of the 22nd September, 1824, after the latter had thrown him and Radhaprasad Roy overboard:—

"With regard to the manner of his (Sibnarayan's) appointment, his father Rajiblochan Roy in whom, having long known him, I had reposed confidence, earnestly solicited this situation for his son, and representing him as perfectly qualified and offering to pledge his whole Estates for his son's fidelity in the discharge of his duties" (p. 411).

The real source of trouble in the Collectorate of Burdwan when Mr. Digby assumed charge of the office of Collector was not corrupt practices of the ministerial staff for which there was remedy, but deep-rooted party spirit with powerful outside support. Maharaja Tejchand of Burdwan had a son named Pratap Chand who died leaving widows who claimed property belonging to their deceased husband as their heritage. This claim was opposed by their father-in-law. When Mr. Digby assumed charge of the office litigation was proceeding between

Maharaja Tejchand and his daughters-in-law for the possession of Ganga-Manoharpur (Gunga Mannohurpoor) taluk. Debnarain Bose, the Head Sheristadar, was a partisan of the Maharaja and the Ranis also had their friends in the Collectorate. Gurudas Mukherji, nephew (sister's son) of Rammohun Roy, was the Dewan of Pratap Chand, and after his death acted as the vakil (agent) of his widows and conducted the law-suit instituted by the Maharaja on their behalf (pp. 307 and 447). When Radhaprasad Roy entered the Burdwan Collectorate as Naib or assistant Sheristadar, closely related as he was to Gurudas Mukherji, he was viewed with suspicion by Debnarain Bose, and naturally found himself identified with the party of the Ranis. Ganga-Manoharpur taluk was registered in the Collectorate in the name of the Ranis. With a view to establish Maharaja Tejchand's claim to this taluk Debnarain Bose endeavoured to procure Mr. Digby's signature as Collector to a receipt (chalan) for Rs. 1275 offered to be paid on the part of the Maharaja as the revenue of the taluk. Mr. Digby writes : "But fortunately I had been warned of this intrigue by the friends of the Ranees and consequently refused to sign any receipt for revenue from a person in whose name the estate was not registered in the record and returned the sum offered" (p. 323). Radhaprasad Roy probably sided with the friends of the Ranis, as Mr. Digby writes in his explanation of the 9th October 1824, that he assisted them (p. 447).

Now to return to the story of Debnarain Bose, by his misconduct in connection with the payment of the revenue of Ganga Manoharpur taluk by the Raja of Burdwan he lost the confidence of Mr. Digby who thenceforward ignored him and consulted Radhaprasad Roy and other officers. Formal complaints also were made charging Debnarayan Bose of corrupt practices. One such complaint was that he had accepted a bribe of Rs. 25 from one Rammohun Majumdar (p. 327 &c), and the other was that he held in farm chakran land under a fictitious name and thereby caused loss of revenue to government (no. 151). When

Mr. Digby was carrying on investigation into the complaint of Rammohun Majumdar in open Court, Debnarain Bose's son and nephew caused him (Rammohun Majumdar) to be arrested in his presence by the bailiff in execution of a decree in favour of the Raja of Burdwan (pp. 324 and 326). Debnarain Bose, instead of waiting for Mr. Digby's report to the Board as a result of his investigations regarding complaints against him (Debnarain), that is to say, being on the defensive, himself took the offensive by submitting a petition to the Board against Mr. Digby in April, 1823. The Board forwarded this petition to Mr. Digby with their letter of the 2nd May calling for his explanation. Mr. Digby's explanation was conveyed in his letter of 13th June, 1823 (no. 153), and additional explanation in his letter of the following day (no. 154). Mr. Digby thus concludes his second letter :—

“Under all these circumstances and in consideration of the general conduct of the present Head Sheristadar as particularized in my letter of yesterday's date I am obliged to withhold all confidence upon him; and as the Board consider me responsible for my proceedings, I am under the necessity of suggesting to the Board the expediency of removing him from his situation and of authorising me to nominate another person in his place” (p. 338).

The Board in their letter of the 20th June, 1823, permitted Mr. Digby to remove Debnarain Bose from his office and to nominate his successor (no. 151). Mr. Digby nominated Kunjabehari (Koonjbeharry) Roy, for several years Sheristadar of the Dewani Adalut of Zila Ramgar and of Furruckbad for the vacant post (no. 157). The Board duly confirmed the appointment of Kunjabehari Roy as the Head Sheristadar of the Burdwan Collectorate in the place of Debnarain Bose (18th July, 1823).

When Rammohun Majumdar's complaint to Mr. Digby against Debnarain Bose for taking bribe was under investiga-

tion, Debnarain instituted a criminal case against Radhaprasad Roy and Rammohun Majumdar for conspiracy and perjury in the court of Mr. J. R. Hutchinson, Magistrate of Burdwan. Mr. Hutchinson held the trial on the 1st July and forwarded the proceedings to Mr. Digby with his letter of the 5th July requesting him (Mr. Digby) to refer to the Board the result of his inquiry into the charges brought against Debnarain Bose, and, at the same time, to adopt such measures as might lead to a prosecution and conviction of Rammohun Majumdar and Radhaprasad Roy. Mr. Digby refused to do either in his letter of the 9th July "not only on account of its (Mr. Hutchinson's inquiry) having been entered into in opposition to the Regulation which I have pointed out, but on account of the Board having as stated in their letter, removed that man from office, merely in consequence of my not reposing any trust or confidence in him" (p. 342). In his reply (14th July, 1823) Mr. Hutchinson writes to Mr. Digby that the inquiry held by him created such strong suspicion of conspiracy against Radhaprasad Roy in his mind and disclosed such proof of perjury against Rammohun Majumdar and others "that I conceived you would as an act of justice to Debnarain Bose have immediately adopted such measures as might in the end at least have exculpated him from the charge of Bribery; and have rendered him fit to be employed again in the public service" (p. 343). Failing to induce Mr. Digby to adopt any such measures, Mr. Hutchinson approached the Board of Revenue in his letter of the same date (no. 158). The Board replied (on the 25th July) that they observed with regret that Mr. Hutchinson's proceedings in the case of Debnarain Bose were extra-judicial and not required by any existing regulation; but they were convinced that his proceedings had been influenced solely by an anxious desire to further the ends of Justice. It is very doubtful if Mr. Hutchinson's anxious desire to further the ends of Justice would have been stimulated so far as to undertake extra-judicial and illegal proceedings if the aggrieved party had been any other person than Debnarain Bose.

Perhaps any other aggrieved party would not have ventured to lodge such complaint with the Magistrate.

Not long after Rammohun Majumdar complained against Debnarain Bose for taking bribe, in May, 1823, a man signing his name as Shunnuk Loll Tewary (Sanak Lal Tewari) submitted a petition to the Board of Revenue with a view to make known the malpractices of Radhaprasad Roy, Peshkar of the Collectorate (p. 457). The petitioner gives high praise to Debnarain Bose, the head Sheristadar, and complains that Radhaprasad has endeavoured to get him removed from his situation by means of a false complaint; Radhaprasad Roy has abstracted a large sum of money from the Treasury with the connivance of the acting Treasurer; he has received Rs. 18000 from Sibnarain Roy for procuring him the post of Treasurer; he has embezzled stamped paper to the value of Rs. 11000; there is a decrease of excise revenue owing to his corrupt practices; he has given away great part of the money deposited in the Treasury to persons who had no just claim (pp. 457-459). On receipt of the Board's letter of the 3rd June communicating to him the content of Shunnuk Loll's petition, Mr. Digby immediately examined the Treasury, counted in person the cash and the stamped papers and found no deficiency. He promptly reported to the Board the results of his examination and promised a full report relating to other charges after due inquiry (nos. 151, 152 and 156). He duly carried on inquiries into other charges and drafted a report. Its transmission to the Board, however, was delayed by the preparation of the translation of the various depositions and documents to be enclosed with it. But other urgent business, particularly proceedings against Debnarain Bose, interrupted the work of translation, and when those proceedings were at an end, Mr. Digby forgot to forward the report to the Board with the enclosures (p. 410). The draft report was left at Burdwan and was submitted with his explanation of the 22nd September, 1822 (no. 198). In this report Mr. Digby says that the signature (Shunnuk Loll Tewary) is

evidently fictitious, and indicates that Debnarain Bose is the source of the string of accusations brought forward in the petition. He had no difficulty in showing the baselessness of the charges against Radhaprasad Roy (pp. 423-425). If this report with the necessary enclosures had reached the Board in time, perhaps much of the troubles that befell himself and Radhaprasad Roy might have been avoided.

In his explanatory letter of the 13th June, 1823, relating to the petition of Debnarain Bose, Mr. Digby gives instances of collusion between the Raja of Burdwan and the former (no. 153). Maharaja Tejchand also engaged in open hostility with Radhaprasad and his father. He (Tejchand) submitted a petition to the Board against him in May, 1823. Mr. Digby writes in his letter of the 9th October, 1824, "This hostility (of intriguers of Burdwan) was powerfully instigated by the Raja of Burdwan who regarded Radhaparsad Roy, as his personal enemy, as declared in the Persian Petition presented by the Raja to the Board, in May last" (p. 447). Rammohun Roy attributes the institution of three suits against him by Maharaja Tejchand on the 16th June, 1823, based on three kistibandi bonds alleged to have been executed by his father Ramkanta Roy twenty-four years before, to the malice and animosity of the Maharaja, and traces this animosity to the belief that his nephew Gurudas Mukherji assisted the Maharaja's widowed daughters-in-law in a case in court against him at his (Rammohun Roy's) instance (p. 307).

PROSECUTION OF RADHAPRASAD ROY

After the removal of Debnarain Bose from his post as Head Sheristadar that destroyed the influence of the Maharaja of Burdwan in the Collectorate, there was peace in that office. As stated above, Mr. Digby had his way with regard to Sibnarayan Roy who was confirmed as Treasurer in December, 1823. At the end of May, 1824, he fell severely ill, but did not at once apply for leave (pp. 410 and 448). As he was not

restored to health as soon as he had expected, he applied to the Board of Revenue for leave of absence evidently in the third week of July. When he received the orders of the Board granting him leave and directed the staff of the Collectorate to prepare to make over charge to his successor, Sibnarayan Roy the Treasurer, instead of attending office, went to the Magistrate and presented a petition complaining that Radhaprasad Roy, the second Sheristadar of the Collectorate, had embezzled Rs. 1,36,000 from the Treasury (no. 164). Sibnarayan stated in his petition that he was very young, not more than 22 years of age. In cosequence of strict intimacy between their parents, Rajiblochan Roy and Rammohun Roy, he was acquainted with Radhaprasad Roy. Two years ago Radhaprasad offered him the post of Treasurer of the Burdwan Collectorate. Sibnarayan at first refused to accept the post on account of his youth, but was prevailed upon to do so. But he was not allowed to interfere in the works of the Treasury. Radhaprasad, who had unbounded influence over Mr. Digby, and was the *de facto* Collector, abstracted from the Treasury all the Bank notes as they were paid in, and thus formed a separate fund amounting to Rs. 1,36,000. Radhaprasad carried on the work of the Treasury with the help of the Assistant Treasurer, Ramdhan Chatterji, and Sibnarayan merely signed whatever they told him to sign. At last rupees two lakhs (200,000) was ordered to be remitted to Murshidabad. As only one and a half lakhs of rupees was forthcoming from the Treasury, Radhaprasad raised Rs. 14,000 by pawning halves of Bank Notes for Rs. 26,500 through a Muktar. When the Commercial Resident of Haripal wanted Rs. 50,000 Radhaprasad Roy induced Mr. Digby to write and say that there was no money in deposit in the Treasury. At last when Mr. Digby was granted leave of absence and the news of the coming of his successor was received, "every exertion was made to get money and Radhaprasad said he would detain the Collector and all would yet go well." Failing in his attempt to raise money Radhaprasad advised

Sibnarayan to abscond. Sibnarayan, instead of doing so, complained to the Magistrate (pp. 357-58).

On receipt of this complaint the Magistrate summoned Radhaprasad Roy who immediately attended the court and "shewed a letter from the Treasurer's father (Rajiblochan Roy) on the 25th instant requesting that the sums which had been made use of by his son and Ramdhun Chaterjee without the Sheristadar's (Radhaprasad Roy's) knowledge might be refunded in the course of two months" (p. 350). This letter, as we learn from Mr. Digby's letter of the 9th October, 1824, to the Board (no. 207) was written by Rajiblochan Roy on the 9th Sravan (23rd July, 1824) stating that his second son Ganganarayan brought the news of the defalcation, that Ramdhan Chaterji, the Assistant Treasurer, was guilty of it, and that matters could not be managed if it was concealed from Radhaprasad (p. 450). After the perusal of this letter the Magistrate called on Mr. Digby personally and requested him to inspect the Treasury. As the latter could not undertake the inspection on account of "severe debility," the Magistrate did so and found a deficiency of Rs. 1,36,360.8.8.3. He, therefore, requested Mr. Digby to hand over the Treasurer, Sibnarayan, to him. Mr. Digby suspended Sibnarayan Roy, handed him over to the Magistrate, and reported these incidents to the Board in his letter of the 27th July, 1824 (no. 163). From this narrative it will be seen that the Magistrate at first did not believe the story of Sibnarayan that Radhaprasad had embezzled the money. He, therefore, did not ask Mr. Digby to hand over Radhaprasad Roy to him. Radhaprasad then tendered resignation of his post of Naib Sheristadar which was accepted by Mr. Digby on the 31st July (p. 358). On receipt of Mr. Digby's letter, the Board of Revenue appointed Mr. Molony, the Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, as a Commissioner to inquire into the embezzlement and to superintend and direct Mr. Armstrong, the successor of Mr. Digby, with the approval of the Governor General in Council (nos. 165-166).

Mr. Molony arrived at Burdwan on the morning of the 8th August, 1824. He was no stranger to the kachari or official circle of Burdwan. He had acted in various capacities in the office of the Magistrate of Burdwan (Asst. Registrar, Additional Registrar, Registrar) for about six years from 1815 to the end of 1820.²⁵ On Monday, the 9th instant, he "proceeded to the Collector's office in order to be present when Mr. Armstrong received charge", for "narrowly watching the conduct of every individual concerned during the operation of delivering over charge of the office" (p. 357). He "found Mr. Digby labouring under a great degree of bodily suffering and extremely weak;" "his understanding appeared completely imbecile." Mr. Molony's first report was forwarded on the 14th August, and a supplementary report on the 10th September, 1824. These reports sum up the evidences on the strength of which he ordered the prosecution of Radhaprasad Roy on a charge of fraudulently embezzling public money from the Treasury of the Collectorate of Burdwan, of Sibnarayan Roy for being accessory to and conniving at the fraudulent embezzlement, of Ramdhan Chaterji, Naib Treasurer, for being an active accessory to and accomplice, and Pitambar Chaterji, Head Writer, and Ramchand Ganguli, Record Keeper, for being accessories and accomplices in the above embezzlement (p. 400). The Board of Revenue forwarded an extract from the first report of Mr. Molony with their letter of the 31st August, 1824, to Mr. Digby, requesting him to submit full explanation on several points (no. 185). In this letter they call Mr. Digby's attention to the fact that further report on Shunnuk Loll Tewary's petition promised by him in his letters of the 7th and the 13th June, 1823, does not appear ever to have been received, and observe that if he had prosecuted his inquiry into the serious charges brought by the petitioner with energy and effect, it might have been the means of preventing the late embezzlement

25. Dodwell and Miles, *ap. cit.*

(pp. 377-78). Mr. Digby's letter of the 22nd September, 1822, addressed to the Board of Revenue (no. 198) contains his explanations on the points raised in Mr. Molony's first report, and his letter of the 9th October, 1824 (no. 207), deals with the additional points raised in the supplementary report. In these letters Mr. Digby, though suffering from the illness that he contracted at Burdwan and that brought his life to a premature end, explains his conduct in a dignified manner, and defends Radha-prasad Roy against the charge of embezzlement with vigour. The Board of Revenue submitted Mr. Digby's explanations with their letter of the 19th October, (no. 209). Herein (p. 452) the Board retract the opinion they expressed about the petition of Shunnuk Loll Tewary in their letter of 31st August, 1824, and add:—

“On mature deliberation and with reference to the party spirit which has long prevailed at Burdwan between Mr. Digby's native officers and the Rajah and his Omlah, to the complexion of the evidence adduced, and to the circumstances of the parties concerned at the time of the enquiry conducted by the Superintendent and Ramembrancer of Legal Affairs, contrasted with Mr. Digby's having thrice solemnly asserted that he did personally examine and find correct the state of his Treasury and that he did ascertain that the other allegations in the Petition were unfounded we have no hesitation in believing Mr. Digby and more particularly as we entirely concur in opinion with him that the anonymous Petitioner would not have failed to inform the Board if Mr. Digby had as has been stated by the depositions taken wholly misconducted the enquiry directed and deceived the Board by a false report” (p. 452).

We have made this long quotation from a document printed in this volume because it enables one to view the proceedings in the Collectorate of Burdwan from July, 1824, in true perspective. The story of the embezzlement in the Burdwan Treasury told in Shunnuk Loll Tewari's petition of May, 1823, on the one hand, and in Sibnarayan Roy's petition of July, 1824, on the

other, is cast in the same mould (pp. 458 and 357). Again, Radhaprasad Roy's ascendancy over Mr. Digby is emphasised in these documents as well as in Debnarain Bose's petition to the Board of May, 1823 (pp. 323-26). In the above extract the Board unequivocally retract their opinion that Shunnuk Loll Tewary's petition was not wholly untrue, and that if inquiry into the charges brought against Radhaprasad Roy therein had been vigilantly and zealously conducted in June and July, 1823, it might have been the means of preventing embezzlement of the public money in June and July, 1824. One of the reasons adduced by the Board for doing so is the untrustworthiness of the evidence influenced by "the party spirit which has long prevailed at Burdwan between Mr. Digby's native officers and the Rajah and his Omlah." The Board was not unaware of the fact, as the above extract will show, that the same party spirit ("the circumstances of the parties") survived at the time when Mr. Molony also conducted his inquiries. But though they had no hesitation in believing Mr. Digby when he declared that the allegations made against Radhaprasad Roy in Shunnuk Loll Tewary's petition were unfounded, yet they believed in similar allegations made in Mr. Molony's reports in spite of Mr. Digby's assertion to the contrary. In these reports Mr. Molony takes no notice of the letter that Rajiblochan Roy, father of Sibnarayan, wrote to Radhaprasad on the 9th Sravan, corresponding to 24th July, 1824, referred to above. Mr. Digby, as stated above, gives a summary of it in his letter of the 9th October, 1824, to the Board (p. 450), and testifies to its genuineness by stating, "This letter was written in Rajiblochan's own hand, was shown me before I left Burdwan and has, I am informed, been laid before the Magistrate." The members of the Board of Revenue, Messrs J. Pattle and W. Trower, who sign the Board's letter of the 19th October, 1824, embodying their judgment on Mr. Digby's conduct, not only ignore Rajiblochan Roy's letter, but also forget Sibnarayan Roy's "rather quietly consenting as his

son's security to make good the whole embezzlement'' as noted by themselves (p. 454), and give it as their deliberate opinion :—

''We still are of opinion that Mr. Digby's culpability consists solely and entirely in his having placed a most reprehensible confidence in Radhapersaud Roy and others his native Officers and in his allowing them, to the total neglect of the personal controul vigilance and discipline he was bound to exercise in the discharge of his public duty a license and discretion in the fulfilment of their Official obligations which afforded them (as might be expected) the most complete opportunity for gross corruption and every other description of abuse of office'' (p. 456).

Mr. Digby could not be condemned for his official conduct without the condemnation of Radhaprasad Roy for corruption. The Board of Revenue in effect do so even before the beginning of the trial of the latter. On the 29th October, 1824, the Governor General in Council granted Mr. Digby permission ''to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope for the benefit of his health, and to be absent on that account for a period of twelve months'' (no. 218). He died at the Cape of Good Hope, evidently a broken-hearted man, before he could receive the news of the acquittal of Radhaprasad Roy and the vindication of his official character. Raja Rammohun Roy had no greater friend than this unfortunate Englishman whose admiration for the great reformer was at the root of much of his troubles at Burdwan.

The Board of Revenue was led to pass their judgment on the conduct of Mr. Digby by the reports of Mr. Molony who appears to have begun his inquiry with certain prepossessions. Born in 1801 or 1802, Radhaprasad could not have been much above 23 at the time of Mr. Molony's inquiries, and could not have been much above 21 when Mr. Digby appointed Sibnarayan Roy to be acting Treasurer of the Burdwan Collectorate. About Radhaprasad's share in this appointment Mr. Molony writes in his first report, ''My belief as to the real case

is that Radhapersaud having established (and he most unquestionably possess it to the present moment) a complete ascendancy over Mr. Digby's official opinions, when a new Treasurer was required sought out one of his own friends to share what he could make Rajiblochun Roy a man of some landed property was chosen, he went security and his son then only about 18 or 19 years of age, if so much was made the nominal Treasurer and Ramdhun the Naib an older hand shrewd and of some experience was sent to work the machine" (p. 365). Mr. Digby entered the Company's Civil Service even before the birth of Radhaprasad Roy. He was appointed a writer on the 27th August, 1799, and his residence in India commenced on the 9th December, 1800.²⁶ How could a young man of 21 establish complete ascendancy over such a veteran Mr. Molony seems never to have asked himself. He evidently discerned the shadow of some one else behind Radhaprasad. For, later on in the same paragraph he writes, "The earnestness with which the appointment of Sibnarayan was urged" in a correspondence which lasted for over a year "shows that some one had a very strong interest in getting the point carried." Here Radhaprasad is not named. Mr. Molony's next sentence leaves no doubt that by "some one" he suspects an outsider. He writes:—

"The original drafts of the first letter to the Board (dated 3rd Sept. 1822) is not to be found in the office and that the Draft of the 2nd letter (dated 26th Dec. 1822) is neither in Mr. Digby's own hand writing or in that of any of the established writers of the office, none of whom can tell whose hand it is lead strongly to the inference that Mr. Digby had been led in this case as in other case" (p. 366).

By the time Mr. Molony appeared in the scene, August, 1824, many people in and outside the Collectorate of Burdwan must have come to know the hand writing of Radhaprasad. As none of the witnesses examined by him could recognize the

26. Register of Government Civil Servants of the Bengal Establishment (*mss*).

writer of the draft of the second letter, Mr. Molony must have written these lines under the suspicion that it must have been in the hand writing of an outsider. In their letter of the 31st August, 1824, addressed to Mr. Digby, the Board very nearly draw the same conclusion. They write :—

“And at the same time you will distinctly state by whom the Draft of the letter to the Board of the 26th December, 1822, was written. The Board hope this draft was not prepared by Radhapersaud or any of his family” (p. 380).

There was only one other member of Radhaprasad's family who could be suspected of influencing Mr. Digby and drafting the letter,—his father Rammohun Roy. Mr. Molony's remarks relating to the draft of the second letter on Sibnarayan's appointment leave enough room for such conjecture. But in fact it was not the second letter that procured the confirmation of Sibnarayan Roy, but the third written a year later (no. 162) to the draft of which Mr. Molony does not refer.

In his first report Mr. Molony has no hesitation in openly avowing that he suspended or removed from office some of the ministerial officers of the Burdwan Collectorate on account, in addition to other grounds, of their connection with Rammohun Roy, father of Radhaprasad Roy. Thus he first writes about Kunjabihari Roy (Koonjbeharee Roy), the Head Sheristadar, he “is I understand an old dependent of Rammohun Roy” (p.360) and later on states that he is “suspended both on the ground of his connection with Rammohun Roy and his total incapacity.” The Stamp Darogah (Ramhari Mitra) and Abkaree Tuhseeldar (Govindaprasad Roy) “have likewise been removed on account of their default and as connexions of Rammohun Roy” (pp. 164-165). Kunjabihari could not be a dependent of Rammohun Roy for he was holding the office of Sheristadar of the Dewani Adalat of Ramgar (Ramghur) when Mr. Digby and Rammohun Roy were there; and he could not be a connection of Rammohun Roy, because he was not a Brahman (pp. 340 and 416). Mr. Armstrong, the Acting

Collector, thus explains the grounds of Kunjabehari Roy's dismissal:—

“Koonjbiharee Roy the head Seristadar was dismissed on the same day, on the grounds of his being utterly incapable of performing the duties of his situation and certifying in open court his unacquaintance with all the documents in the sherista (archive) and with all orders that had been passed by the Collector, thus registering his own incapacity and being besides a connexion of the family of Radhaprasad Roy” (pp. 369-370).

It is difficult to determine how Mr. Armstrong could discover Kunjabehari Roy's unacquaintance with *all* the documents and *all* the orders during the three days of excitement and chaos (9th to 11th August) that he devoted to taking charge of his office. His discovery was facilitated by his determination to reappoint Debnarayan Bose on whose dismissal Kunjabihari Roy was appointed Head Sheristadar of the Burdwan Collectorate before he left Hugli on his transfer from that station to Burdwan as acting Collector. He writes in his letter of the 21st May, 1825, containing explanations regarding the petition of Pitambar Chaterji (Petumber Chatterjee):—

“In order to place in their true colour the false and shameless accusations against Mr. Molony and myself touching my nomination of Debnarain Bose, I take this opportunity of informing the Board that I had contemplated employing this individual prior to my leaving Hooghly.....On reaching the station Debnarain Bose presented me with a letter of Recommendation from a friend who was well acquainted with his character I then consulted with Mr. Molony, who I found entertained the highest opinion of his integrity and fitness for the situation” (p. 477).

The “false and shameless accusation” is contained in a petition (no. 227, March 30, 1825) submitted to the Board by Pitambar Chaterji, the Head Writer of the Burdwan Collectorate, who was sent up for trial to the Magistrate as an acces-

sory to the embezzlement. The Magistrate, while acquitting him of the criminal charge, declared him unfit for public service. Pitambar submitted the petition to the Board of Revenue against this decision praying for restoration to his appointment, and a supplementary petition (no. 228) giving account of an instance of the corrupt practices of Debnarayan Bose. Before dealing with the content of these petitions I shall briefly describe the earlier efforts made by Messrs. Molony and Armstrong to reinstate Debnarayan Bose which best illustrate their attitude.

In his first report on the embezzlement in the Burdwan Collecorate Mr. Molony cites Debnarayan Bose's dismissal as another instance of the misdeeds of Radhaprasad Roy and his adherents. He writes that Mr. Elliot not only considered Debnarayan "the most useful man on the Establishment but also as the most upright native he had met with." As he interfered with the views of Radhaprasad and his adherents, his ruin was determined on. But the notoriety of the cabal that brought about his dismissal, the excellent character that he bears among all classes of the natives, Mr. Molony's own knowledge of his experience in revenue matters, induced Mr. Molony to consider him as the fittest person to be the Head Sheristadar, and, Mr. Armstrong fully concurring in this opinion nominated Debnarayan Bose to the post (made vacant by the dismissal of Kunjabihari Roy). In spite of all this Mr. Molony could not question the justness of the orders passed by the Board on Debnarayan's dismissal, but he trusted that the circumstances that had then come to light (embezzlement) would induce the Board to restore him to the post he formerly held (pp. 366-367).

In his letter of the 16th August (1824) Mr. Armstrong, the acting Collector, reported to the Board, among other things, the dismissal of Kunjabihari Roy, the Head Sheristadar, and Lala Madan Gopal, the successor of Radhaprasad as Naib Sheristadar, and the appointment of Debnarayan Bose "recommended to me most strenuously by Mr. Molony" and Mirza Haidar

Ali (Hyder Allee) to the vacancies. In their reply of the 24th September, the Board, while entirely approving the removal of these officers, postponed for the time being passing orders on the appointment of Debnarayan Bose and Mirza Haidar Ali (no. 200). In their letter of the 19th October, 1824, (no. 210) to Mr. Armstrong, forwarding an application from Ramlochun Dutt, Sheristadar of Hijli (Hidgellee), for the post of the Head Sheristadar of the Burdwan Collectorate, the Board observed that they were convinced that he (Mr. Armstrong) would not have considered Debnarayan Bose deserving of their confirmation had he been aware that Debnarayan had previously suffered considerably in the Board's confidence when engaged in reviewing the conduct of Deviprasad Sarkar, formerly Treasurer of the Burdwan Collectorate. In the concluding paragraph of this letter the Board defines the principle that should be followed in making appointments at Burdwan:—

“In conclusion I am directed to state that the Board are particularly anxious that the Successor to Koonjabeharry Roy shall be an individual who has hitherto had no connection with either your Native Officers, your district, or it's zumeendars, in order to prevent, as far as is possible, the recurrence of the hostility, confusion, litigation and trouble which has alternately existed as the principal Officers of your Establishment have been connected with or opposed to the Landed proprietors of your district” (p. 460).

In his reply (of the 25th October, 1824) to this letter Mr. Armstrong expressed his willingness to appoint Ramlochun Dutt Head Sheristadar, and added that since Debnarayan's reappointment on the 12th August he (Armstrong) had found him most attentive to his duties and well versed in revenue matters, but he (Armstrong) did not know that Debnarayan had forfeited the confidence of the Board on any other occasion. Ramlochun Dutt was accordingly appointed Head Sheristadar and took charge of his office early in November, 1824 (no. 217). Debnarayan Bose appealed to the Governor General in Council

for reinstatement. Mr. Armstrong also soon found Ramlochun Dutt incapable of discharging the duties, wanting in experience, activity and zeal, and early in January, 1825, compelled him to submit his resignation. When forwarding a copy of Ramlochun Dutt's letter of resignation to the Board Mr. Armstrong writes in his letter of the 4th January, 1825, that he tolerated Ramlochun's continuance in office "under the hope that the result of his predecessor Debnarain Bose's appeal to the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council would have been a restoration to the appointment I had nominated him to" (p. 467).

Evidently Debnarayan Bose's appeal to the Governor General in Council did not lead to his reinstatement as hoped by Mr. Armstrong. But the petitions of Pitambar Chaterji referred to above enabled Mr. Armstrong to reopen the question again. In his first petition Pitambar Chaterji alleged that in their inquiries about embezzlement and in dealing with the officers of the establishment of the Collectorate who were sent for trial and dismissed, Messrs. Molony and Armstrong had acted under the guidance of Debnarayan Bose, his (Pitambar's) enemy, whose corrupt practices he had exposed. Pitambar does not also spare Mr. Hutchinson, the Magistrate. He writes that after Mr. Hutchinson failed to force Debnarayan Bose upon Mr. Digby, coolness existed between him (Hutchinson) and Mr. Digby (p. 471). I have already referred to Mr. Armstrong's letter regarding Pitambar Chaterji's petition and given an extract from it. In a supplementary petition (no. 228) Pitambar complains that Debnarayan Bose farmed certain chakran land in the name of another person while he was in public service and retained it for 12 years. This supplementary petition was also sent to Mr. Armstrong for his explanation. In his letter of the 2nd June, 1825, relating to it, occurs this touching passage:—

"I know not why I should have been called on for a Report on the petition now under reply as the individual against whom the charges are brought has been prohibited from holding the situation to which I nominated him perhaps the Board may

entertain the wish of reinstating him should they on reconsideration find that the former charges were not sufficiently substantiated I am willing to hope that this may be their object as the more I enquire the more I am disposed to consider such an act as one of justice to this individual—As I have been anticipating that further enquiry would be made into the grounds of dismissal. I have not recommended my present Acting Head Sheristadar for confirmation because I do not think him so well qualified for performing the duties of the office under my charge as Debnarain Bose" (pp. 481-482).

The Acting Head Sheristadar referred to here is Ramlo-chun Dutt whose enforced resignation had not been accepted on account of the Board's refusal to reinstate Debnarayan Bose. In their reply to Mr. Armstrong's explanations regarding Pitambar Chaterji's petitions the Board stated that as far as his (Pitambar's) own reinstatement was concerned the petitions deserved no consideration; they had no doubt that in the discharge of public duties Messrs. Molony, Hutchinson and Armstrong had been actuated by the most honourable motives; but having carefully and deliberately considered all the circumstances on the records of this department affecting the official character of Deb-narayan Bose" they found no reason whatsoever to consider the orders dismissing him from his office "otherwise than entirely just and proper" (no. 234). When Mr. Armstrong obstinately persisted in refusing to recommend Debnarayan's successor Ramlo-chun Dutt for confirmation, the Board lost their patience and wrote, "It would have been more becoming to doubt whether you yourself had sufficiently considered the duties of a Sheristadar in all their bearings nor can the Board easily account for your opinion of Ramlo-chun Dutt differing so widely as it appears to do from that entertained of him by Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Reed and other more experienced Public Officers" (no. 245). The Board might have refused to approve the dismissal of Kunjabihari Roy who originally succeeded Debnarayan Bose as Head Sheristadar on very similar grounds, for Mr. Miller

and other more experienced public officers entertained opinion of his capacity that differed widely from that entertained by Mr. Armstrong (pp. 340, 416 and 510). But they were prevented from doing so on account of the allegation made by Messrs. Molony and Armstrong, though declared baseless by Mr. Digby, that Kunjabihari Roy was a connection and old dependent of Ram-mohun Roy. I have dealt with the efforts made by Messrs. Molony and Armstrong to procure the reappointment of Debnarayan Bose at some length because these efforts, more than anything else, clearly show that these officers did not begin their inquiries into the affairs of the Collectorate of Burdwan with open mind. In his summary of the petition of Sibnarayan Roy to the Magistrate of Burdwan given in his first report (para 3), Mr. Molony also interpolates two fresh charges and represents them as accusations, by Sibnarayan himself (pp. 512-513).

TRIAL

As already stated, Mr. Molony sent up to the Magistrate of Burdwan for trial five persons, Radhaprasad Roy, Sibnarayan Roy, Ramdhan Chaterji, Ramchandra Ganguli and Pitambar Chaterji (p. 400). The proceedings of Messrs. Molony and Armstrong from the 9th August, 1824,— the wholesale dismissal of ministerial officers of the Collectorate supposed to be belonging to Radhaprasad Roy's party, arrest of five of them on a charge of embezzlement or abatement of embezzlement, reinstatement of Debnarayan Bose the protege of the Maharaja of Burdwan, and discovery of some records of the Collectorate in two tanks near the house of Radhaprasad Roy must have created a sensation at Burdwan. The consequence of these early activities of Mr. Molony is thus described by Radhaprasad Roy in his petition addressed to the Governor General (Lord William Bentinck) in Council on the 27th July, 1828:—

“At Burdwan such was the immediate and as your Lordship must at once perceive the necessary effect of those measures, that native Officers and the people in general were afraid to be

seen in company with your Petitioner as if intercourse with him would be regarded as Treason against the state and would consequently subject them to Criminal Prosecution or occasion at least the loss of their situations and reputation. Hence every one ceased to visit him or even to notice him while in his attendance at the Court and thereby the Treasurer and his friends were greatly encouraged to persevere in their false charges and to intimidate persons who might otherwise have stood by your Petitioner and boldly contradicted what his enemies advanced or insinuated against him" (p. 512).

The preliminary investigation by the Magistrate, Mr. Hutchinson, commenced in such an atmosphere. Mr. Molony used to sit by the Magistrate, writes Radhaprasad Roy in his Persian petition filed in the Sadar Nizamat Adalat on the 13th August, 1825, "and in opposition to section 12 Regulation 2 of 1793 and 2 Regulation 2 of 1813 encouraged the Treasurer and his Deputy who confessed their crime and the Treasurer's father who was security for his son and who from consciousness of his son's guilt had paid the embezzled money, to implicate me and effect my ruin" (p. 499). Sibnarayan Roy's and Ramdhan Charji's supporters must have realised that there was no other way of escaping with light punishment than proving Radhaprasad Roy the real author of the embezzlement and themselves passive accessories under compulsion. Evidently Ramdhan also made a confession to that effect. Rajiblochan Roy, father of Sibnarayan, had to come forward to support his son. This must have been embarrassing to the father of Radhaprasad. Rajiblochan Roy, as we have already seen, was an old "confidential friend" of Rammohun Roy to whose able management of his taluks the latter owed the means of undertaking his great mission. When the two friends parted, there must have been a division in the camp of their common friends at Burdwan.

The preliminary investigation by the Magistrate closed on the 14th January, 1825, when all the accused persons with the

exception of Pitambar Chaterji were committed to Sessions—to the Calcutta Court of Circuit, for trial (pp. 469 and 471). The Court of Circuit visited Burdwan twice every year; first in January, and again in July, to try cases committed to Sessions. The embezzlement case came up for hearing in the first Sessions held in Burdwan in 1825. Mr. C. R. Martin, the third judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit, arrived at Burdwan on circuit. He took up the embezzlement case on the 31st January, and examined the witnesses on behalf of the prosecution and documents and also defence witnesses summoned by Sibnarayan Roy and Ramdhan Chaterji till the 5th February. But "in consequence of the non-attendance of the witnesses of the Prisoner Radhaprasad Roy, the case was unavoidably postponed to the next Sessions" (p. 469).

Mr. A. B. Tod, the second judge of the Court of Circuit, arrived at Burdwan on the 28th July and resumed the case on the 1st August. "Mr. Molony sat every day with the Judge and more even than formerly interfered in every transaction." When the deposition of a witness for the prosecution, Ramtanu Dutt, was read in the court, he turned round to the Mufti and said, "Had I been aware that this witness would have given such evidence as this I would have had him also committed." He put questions to the witnesses that confused and perplexed them. He treated the witnesses for Radhaprasad Roy with severity, while the witnesses for the prosecution and for Sibnarayan received attention due to welcome guests. In a Persian petition submitted to the Sadar Nizamat Adalat on the 13th August, 1825, referred to above; Radhaprasad Roy brought these grievances to the notice of that tribunal and stated that on account of the ill-treatment meted out to his witnesses, he was finding it difficult to procure the attendance of those who had not yet done so. Though the judge postponed the hearing from the 3rd to the 25th August, and immediately summoned four of the witnesses, he rejected many of the documents that he (Radhaprasad) filed on the 5th August on the ground of

their not having been presented on the former occasion. The petitioner was kept standing all day in the court in the custody of police officers. He therefore prayed that Mr. Molony be prohibited from sitting with the judge, the prosecution be conducted by the Government Pleader, and the Circuit Judge be enjoined to receive the documents filed (pp. 500-501).

The petition was heard by the officiating Senior Judge of the Court of Nizamat Adalat on the 20th August. The Government Pleader who represented Mr. Molony endeavoured to offer explanations but was silenced by the Judge (p. 487), who ordered that these instructions be issued to Mr. Tob, the Judge of the Court of Circuit at Burdwan :—

“While you admit the Superintendent as prosecutor you should on no account allow him to sit on a level with yourself or your assessor the Law Officer that you should not permit him to put any illegal or improper questions to the witnesses or to make any harsh or irrelevant remarks upon their evidence that you should not communicate with him in any but the native languages so that all which passes between you may be intelligible to all present” (pp. 488-489).

As the witnesses summoned on behalf of Radhaprasad Roy whose evidence he considered material did not attend on the 25th August, the case was postponed to the next Sessions, the first Session of 1826. Mr. Molony reported the proceedings of the Court of Circuit to the Government of India in his letter of the 12th September, 1825 (no. 235). In the concluding paragraph of this letter he writes :—

“The Government will I trust, at the same time be satisfied of the difficulty I have to encounter when placed under such restrictive orders, in prosecuting public delinquents, to whom the utmost indulgence has been allowed in making their defence and who are moreover assisted by every sort of intrigue which ability and money can command” (pp. 487-488).

Though Mr. Molony here speaks of delinquents, the body of the letter shows that he refers to only one of them, Radha-

prasad Roy. His father of course spared no exertions to save his son. Such exertions were distasteful to Mr. Molony and is called by him intrigue. He would probably have deprived Radhaprasad of the use of such ability and money on his behalf if he could. Mr. R. Walpole, the third Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit, heard the case on the 15th February, 1826. He acquitted Ramchandra Ganguli, late Head Writer of the Burdwan Collectorate, for want of proof of guilt, and not on clear proof of innocence. The prosecution and the partisans of Sibnarayan Roy had concentrated their efforts in producing evidence to prove that Radhaprasad Roy was primarily responsible for the embezzlement, and therefore, were not very serious about the conviction of Pitambar Chatterji and Ramchandra Ganguli. The Judge referred the cases of Sibnarain, Ramdhan and Radhaprasad to the Sadar Nizamat Adalat.

The only document published in this volume that refers to the trial of Radhaprasad Roy is no. 249, his petition to Lord William Bentinck, of the 23rd July, 1828. Herein he informs us that he has been "fully acquitted" by the unanimous verdict of the three judges (Messrs. W. Leycester, C. Smith and C. T. Sealy) of the Sadar Nizamat Adalat.

Radhaprasad Roy was probably acquitted by the Sadar Nizamat Adalat towards the end of 1826. Referring to Radhaprasad's trial, Rammohun Roy writes to Mr. J. B. Estlin on the 7th February, 1829, "For a period of more than two years, owing to the most afflicting circumstances arising from the hostile feelings of some individuals towards my family, I found myself totally unable to pursue any undertaking or carry on correspondence even with those whom I sincerely loved and revered."²⁷ The anxieties and exertions on behalf of his son seriously affected the health of Rammohun Roy, from the effects of which he could not recover even after a year and a half as certified by his medical attendant, Mr. Alexander Halliday M.D.

27. Miss Collet, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

The illness which ended in the death of Radhaprasad's mother was also produced by the same cause according to her medical attendant (p. 519). The outline of the picture of Rammohun Roy during the years of Radhaprasad's trial drawn in latter's petition, is filled in by an independent observer, Colonel Young, a disciple of Jeremy Bentham, who writes to his master on the 30th September, 1830:—

"His whole time also has been occupied for the last two years in defending himself and his son against a bitter and virulent persecution which has been got up against the latter nominally—but against himself and his abhorred free opinions in reality—by a conspiracy of his own bigotted countrymen; protected and encouraged, not to say instigated, by some of ours—influential and official men who cannot endure that a presumptuous 'Black Man' should tread so closely upon the march of mind. Rammohun Roy, after an arduous and prolonged battle through a gradation of tribunals, has at length, by dint of talent, perseverance, and right, got the better in the last resort; but the strife, and the magnitude of the stake, and the long despair of justice, have shattered his nerves and impaired his digestion and bodily health, and his energies of mind. It is now over, and I hope most fervently that he will recover himself again."²⁸

In this extract, in addition to a picture of Rammohun Roy in the days of his worst troubles, we have the candid opinion of a highly placed and highly cultured European friend of his relating to the causes of the troubles. In course of the same letter Colonel Young writes about the attitude of the Europeans towards Rammohun Roy:—

"It is strange that such a man should be looked upon coldly, not to say disliked by the mass of Europeans, for he is greatly attached to us and our regime. Not that he loves our churches, or priests, or lawyers, or politicians, but because he

28. Bowring, *Works of Jeremy Bentham*, Vol. XI, p. 7.

considers the contact of our superior race with his degraded and inferior countrymen as the only means and chance they have of improving themselves in knowledge and energy."

But it must not be supposed that when the fate of his son was hanging in the balance, Rammohun Roy relaxed his efforts to promote the great mission of his life, the reformation of Hinduism. When the case of Radhaprasad was pending before the Sadar Nizamat Adalat, he founded his Vedanta College. Mr. William Adam writes on the 27th July, 1826 :—

"Rammohun Roy has lately built a small but neat and handsome college, which he calls the Vedanta College, in which a few youths are at present instructed by a very eminent Pandit in Sanskrit literature, with a view to the propagation and defence of Hindu Unitarianism. With this institution he is also willing to connect instructions in European science and learning, and in Christian Unitarianism, provided the instructions are conveyed in the Bengali or Sanskrit language."²⁹

GLOSSARY*

Abkar—A manufacturer or retailer of spirituous liquors.

Abkaree Mahal—The department or office of Abkari, the excise.

Abkaree Tehsildar—Excise revenue collector.

Adalat, (Adawlut)—Court of justice.

Aguri—A low caste; mostly cultivators.

Aima, (Ima)—Land granted by the Moghul Government either rent-free or subject to a small quit-rent to learned and religious Mahomedans, or for Mahomedan religious and charitable uses. Such tenures were recognised by British Government as hereditary and transferable.

Amin—A native officer of Government employed either in the Revenue Department to take charge of an estate and collect the revenues or to investigate and report their amount, or in the Judicial Department as a Judge or arbitrator in civil causes.

Amla, (Omlah)—The collective head native officers of a judicial or revenue court under the European judge or collector.

Arzi—Petition, an address, a memorial, a respectful representation whether oral or written.

Asin, (Asvin)—The sixth month of the Hindu luni solar year.

Assur, Ashar—The third month of the Hindu luni-solar year.

Augran, (Agrahayana)—The eighth month of the Hindu luni-solar year.

Autchalla house—Thatched house.

B. S.—Bengali sana or era.

Baisakh—The first month of the Hindu luni-solar year.

Band Kummie Bundabost (?)—

Barat—An assignment or order on the revenue. It also implies a peremptory demand or dunning for payment.

Batta—Difference or rate of exchange, discount.

Batwara—Partition.

Benami—Land held in another name than that of the real proprietor.

Bengal shal—Bengal year.

Berbaree—Out-house.

Berhouse—See Berbaree.

Bermutter, Brahmottara—Rent-free tenure granted to Brahmins.

* Mainly based on Wilson's "Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms."

Bhadra, Bhader—The fifth month of the Hindu luni-solar year.

Bhadrasan Bastoo land—Plot of land on which the residential house is built.

Bhandar—A store, a room where household supplies are kept.

Bhattacharj—A learned Brahmin: In Bengal it is also applied to any respectable Brahman.

Bigha—Measure of land varying in extent in different parts of India, in Bengal a bigha = 1600 square yards.

Boro—A sort of rice sown in January and reaped in April: it is sown in low swampy ground, or near the banks of a river where irrigation is not required.

Boytuckanah—Parlour.

Bunkmal—A kind of Indian ornament.

Canoongo—Village and district revenue-officers, who, under the former governments, recorded all circumstances within their sphere which concerned landed property and the realization of the revenue, keeping registers of the value, tenure, extent, and transfers of lands, assisting in the measurements and survey of the lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue-payers, and explaining, when required, local practices and public regulations.

Chaitra, Choit—The last month of the Hindu luni-solar year.

Chakran—Allowances of land, or revenue derived from it, professedly appropriated in Bengal to the pay and support of the public officers of a village or zamindari including the Zamindar, Kanungo, Patwari, Peons, &c.

Chauki—Station of police or of customs.

Chelan—Document sent with goods, treasure &c., voucher.

Curat (?)—See Barat.

Daftar—A record, a register, an account, an official statement or report, especially of the public revenue, roll, archives, etc. An office in which public records are kept.

Daftari—A record keeper, a registrar, it more usually denotes an inferior office servant who prepares writing materials and arranges books.

Dafterkhana—An office in general, a counting house, an office of public records.

Dak—Post, post-office, or establishment for the conveyance of letters and of travellers.

Dak Moonshee—Postman.

Dakhila—A receipt for money or goods, payment of revenue or rent.

Danga—Dry land, upland.

Darbar—A court, a royal court, an audience or levee.

Darkhast—A petition, application.

Daroga—An officer or inspector of police, custom or excise station.

Darpatni talook—An estate held under a sub-lease.

Dastak—Passport.

Diwan, (Dewan)—The Head Financial Minister whether of a State or a province being charged with the collection of revenue, remittance of it to the Imperial Treasury and invested with judicial powers in all civil financial causes.

Naib Diwan—The Deputy Treasurer or Accountant.

Diwani jail—Civil prison.

Diwankhanah—The court or office of the Diwan; a court of civil or revenue jurisdiction : a hall of audience.

Durrozah—Gateway, door.

F. S.—Fasli san or era.

Falgun—The eleventh month of the Hindu year.

Farzi—It is applied specially to a person who is either altogether an imaginary party in a suit or purchase, or to one who although the ostensible, is not the real principal, or to a suit or purchase conducted or effected under an assumed or fictitious name.

Fasli—The harvest year. The era originated with Akbar who thought of simplifying the existing chronology by introducing a new mode of computing time.

Fatwa—A judicial sentence, a judgment; but usually applied to the written opinion of the Mahomedan law officer of a Court.

Faujdari court—Criminal court.

Ganda—A money of account, equivalent in reckoning to four kauris or cowry shells, or the twentieth part of an anna.

Gumashta—An agent, a steward, a confidential factor, a representative; an officer employed by Zamindars to collect their rents, by bankers to receive money &c., by merchants to carry on their affairs in other places than where they reside, and the like.

Hal & Baukaya—Current and arrear.

Half-nama—A written solemn declaration by a person exempt by the Regulations from being sworn in the ordinary manner.

Hast-o-Bud—A comparative account shewing the present and past produce of an estate: an examination of the assets or resources of a country, made before the harvest, and sometimes after measurement of the lands: a detailed statement of any lands yielding revenue: the rent roll of a village signed yearly

by the Patwari: the common form is an abstract of each ryot's account, specifying his tenure, the amount of revenue payable by him, the quantity of land in and out of cultivation, and the amount of revenue realized or in arrear.

Hast-o-bud-Jama—An account shewing the total amount of revenue under all heads of assessment to which any estate is liable.

Hathchitthi—A letter or note written or avouched (by the hand of).

Huda—An estate, one comprising a number of villages.

Huzur—The presence, the royal presence, the presence of a superior authority, as of a judge or collector of revenue, and, by metonymy, the person of the prince or functionary; also the place where he presides, the hall of audience, the court; also abstractly, the state, the government.

Ihtimamdar—The holder of a trust, the person charged with the realization of a stipulated revenue for a certain district under the Mahomedan Government, a Zamindar; also an agent or deputy of the Zamindar appointed to realize the revenue of any portion of his zamindari.

Ikrar—Agreement, assent, ratification. In law, the acknowledgment or admission of a right or claim, as of a debt.

Ikrarnama—A deed of assent or acknowledgment in general.

Imah—See Aima

Imah Muntushar—Distributed aima land.

Ishan nevies—A list or roll of names as of Zamindars in a District, witnesses in a suit, &c.

Ishtihar—Proclamation, public announcement or notice, advertisement, an advertisement in a public place or a newspaper, notice by the collector of a sale of lands for arrears of revenue; also a paper affixed to a Ryot's cottage requiring him to renew his lease within a given term, under penalty of his having charged the highest rate levied in the village or district.

Iswara—A lord, a master: a name of Siva.

Izara—Farming lease

Jama—Amount, aggregate, total in general, but applied especially to the debit or receipt side of an account, and to the rental of an estate; also to the total amount of rent or revenue payable by a cultivator or a zamindar, including all cesses, as well as land-tax.

Jama-wasil-baki—The amount of the collections and outstanding balances; an account shewing the particulars of the revenue to be paid, of the instalments discharged, and the arrears due.

Sadar-jama—The collections or revenue of a permanently settled estate, as recognised by the government.

Jhad—A bush, a shrub, a tree.

Joistee—The second month of the Hindu luni-solar year.

Kabala—Bill of sale.

Kabuliyat—A written agreement, especially one signifying assent, as the counterpart of a new lease, or the document in which a payer of revenue, whether to the Government, the zamindar, or the farmer, expresses his consent to pay the amount assessed upon his land.

Karanee—Clerk.

Karkoon—A clerk, a writer, a registrar.

Kartik—The seventh month of the Hindu luni-solar year.

Katha—A measure of land, the twentieth part of the Bengal Bigha of 1600 square yards, containing 80 sq. yards, or 720 sq. feet.

Kauree—A small shell used as coin in the lower provinces. 4 kauris = 1 ganda.

Kayastha—A caste so termed, or a member of it, the occupation of which is that of the writer or accountant.

Kazi—A Mahomedan judge.

Kazi-ul-Kuzat—The principal Kazi under the British Government, the head Mahomedan legal officer of the Sadr Dewani Adalat, or Court of Appeal.

Khajana—A treasury, the public treasury: treasure, money: the public revenue, the land-tax.

Khalsa—The exchequer, the office of government under the mahomedan administration in which the business of the revenue department was transacted, and which was continued during the early period of British rule.

Kharija Mehal—Separation of a portion or dependency of an estate, or of a Pargana, from the general assessment, and the payment of the revenue due from it direct to the government.

Khata—An account-book, a day-book, a journal or ledger, also an account.

Khazanchi—A treasurer, a cash-keeper.

Naib khazanchi—Deputy treasurer.

Khitmatgar—Attendant, servant.

Kist—Instalment, portion; the amount paid as an instalment; the period fixed for its payment: as a revenue term it denotes the portion of the annual assessment to be paid at specified periods in the course of the year; such periodical payment is called a kist.

Kistbandi—Settlement of the instalments of the revenue both as to time and amount; payment by instalments.

Kitisal (?)—

Korakdar—A bailiff, a sheriff's officer, an officer of court who attaches or distrains goods and property for debt.

Kos—A measure of distance varying in different parts of India from 1 to 2 miles, but most usually about the latter.

Kyfeeyut—Statement, description, report, account particulars.

Lac, (Lakh)—A hundred-thousand.

Lakhiraj—Rent-free land.

Lotbandi—The schedule or list exhibiting the apportionment of an estate to be put up in lots at auction for sale or lease.

Madooly—Amulet.

Magh, Maug—The tenth month of the Hindu year.

Mahal—A province, a district; a division of a Talluk, or district, yielding revenue according to assessment.

Maharaja—A supreme sovereign prince; applied in courtesy to every Raja.

Maharani—The principal wife of a Raja, or a queen in her own right: applied also in courtesy to Hindu ladies of rank, although not of princely dignity.

Mahavis-daftar—Keeper of the records, the native officer of a court charged with the care of the public papers.

Malguzari—Revenue assessment; the payment of land-revenue: also the person or land subject to such payment.

Malikana—Proprietary allowance.

Maljamin—Open country, a barren or uncultivated plain.

Maraphat, (Marufut)—By the hands of, through.

Maukuf Russod—Suspension of increase of revenue settlement.

Maulavi—A learned man, a teacher, especially of Arabic, and expounder of Mahomedan law.

Maund—A measure of weight, reckoned in Bengal at 40 seers.

Mauza, Mouza—A village, understanding by that term one or more clusters of habitations, and all lands belonging to their proprietary inhabitants: A Mauza is defined by authority to be 'a parcel or parcels of lands having a separate name in the revenue records, and of known limits'.

Modal—The head man of a village, the Mandal.

Modi—A shopkeeper, a steward: in Bengal it most usually denotes the village shopkeeper, a sort of grocer or chandler and grain dealer, who sells a variety of articles of necessity to the

villagers, and who are generally in his debt at a usurious rate of interest.

Moojmil Nubis, (Majmal Navis)—Abstract-writer.

Mufassal—A subordinate or separate district; the country, the provinces, or the stations in the country, as opposed to the *Sadar*, or principal station or town.

Mufti—A Mohammadan law officer, whose duty it was to expound the law which the Kazi was to execute.

Muharrir—Clerk.

Mujibat—Grounds of appeal as set forth in the pleading of the appellant.

Mukhtar—An agent, a representative, an attorney.

Mukhtarkar—Same as *Mukhtar*.

Munshi—A writer, a secretary; applied by Europeans usually to teachers and interpreters of Persian and Hindustani.

Musnud—Throne.

Naib—A deputy, a representative, a lieutenant, a viceroy, a sub-or deputy-collector.

Nathi—Aggregate of papers and proceedings relating to a law suit: a file or bundle of official papers tied up together.

Nazir—An inspector, a supervisor: in ordinary use, the officer of the court who is charged with the serving of process, or who is sent to take depositions, and make inquiry into any breach of law or the peace.

Nijcasba—Own village.

Nizamat stipends—Allowances paid to the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.

Notmundeer—Dancing hall.

Omla—See *Amla*.

Pakka, Pukka—Substantial, solid, as a building.

Pandit—A learned Brahman, one who makes some branch of Sanscrit learning his special study, and teaches it.

Pargana—A district, a province, a tract of country comprising many villages, but of which several go to constitute a *chakla* or *zila*.

Parwana—An order, a written precept or command, an order for the possession of an estate or an assignment of revenue; a warrant, a writ.

Patta, Potta—A deed of lease, a document given by the collector to the zamindar, or by some other receiver of revenue, to the cultivator or under tenant, specifying the condition on which the lands are held and the value or proportion of the produce to be paid to the authority or person from whom the lands are held:

the term is laxly applied to a variety of deeds securing rights or property in land, also to a deed of gift in general.

Pattani—A tenure by which the occupant holds of a zamindar a portion of the zamindari in perpetuity, with the right of hereditary succession, and of letting or selling the whole or part as long as stipulated amount of rent is paid to the zamindar, who has the power of sale for arrears, and is entitled to a regulated fee or fine upon any transfer.

Pattanidar—The holder of an under-tenure.

Pattani taluk—An estate, or portion of it, underlet in perpetuity by a zamindar at an advance on the revenue he pays to government.

Pausha, Pous—The ninth month of the Hindu year.

Peon—The term commonly used by Europeans for the Hindusthani *Piada*, a footman, a foot-soldier, an inferior officer of police or customs, or of courts of justice, usually wearing a badge, and armed with a lance or sword and shield: it is also commonly, though laxly, used as synonym of *Harkara*, to denote a running foot-man, a courier, a messenger.

Peshkar—An agent, a deputy, a manager in general for a superior or proprietor, or one exercising in revenue and custom affairs a delegated authority: in Bengal the native officer in a judge's or collector's office, next in rank to the *Sarrishtadar*.

Piada—Same as Peon.

Poddar—A cash keeper, a weighman, one whose office is to weigh and examine money.

Pulbandi—Keeping bridges and embankments &c. in repair.

Punya—In the lower provinces the day on which the revenue for the ensuing year is settled, or an annual meeting of the direct revenue payers at the office of the chief collector, or of the cultivating tenants at the court of the Zamindar, to determine the amount of the assessment; the assemblage of the rent-payers forming a kind of festival or holiday; the term is also applied to the day on which the first instalment of the annual rent or revenue is paid.

Purdah—Curtain.

Purohita—A family priest, one who conducts the domestic ceremonies of a household or family.

Raiyat, Riott—A subject, but especially applied to the agricultural population, a cultivator, a farmer, a peasant.

Raja—A king, a prince, a title given to Hindus of rank.

Rakbabandi—A statement of the area of any estate, village, or township, one of the accounts that should be kept by the village

accountant, shewing the total quantity of land belonging to the community, the portions that pay or are exempt from revenue, and those which are cultivated or uncultivated, or incapable of cultivation.

Rani—A princess, the wife of a Raja.

Rokarbahi, Rokher behi—A cash-book.

Rubakari, Roobacarrees—The written record of a case, stating the particulars and the grounds of the decision drawn up and authenticated by the judge in a Company's court, on passing sentence.

Rusoom—Fees, perquisites, customary payments and gratuities, commission or allowances upon articles bought and sold made to the purchaser or the servant or agent of the buyer or seller.

Sadar—The chief seat of government, the presidency, as opposed to the provinces or Mufassil.

Sadar-jama—The sum total of revenue payable to the government direct, exclusive of the charges of collection.

Sadar-malguzar—The chief revenue payer, one who pays it either into the government treasury, or to the collector of a district, immediately, and not through any other agency.

Sakin—Resident of.

Sanad—A deed of grant.

Sarkar—The government, the state, the supreme authority or administration, clerk.

Sazawal—A native collector of revenue: an officer specially appointed to take charge of and collect the revenue of an estate, from the management of which the owner or farmer has been removed.

Seah—An account-book, an inventory, a list.

Seer—A measure of weight, generally reckoned in Bengal at 80 tolas.

Shawl—A kind of Indian wrapper.

Sherista—A record, a register, office, employment: an office of registry or record.

Sheristadar—A registrar, a record keeper, applied especially to the head native officer of a court of justice or collector's office, who has the general superintendence of the establishment and charge of the public records and official documents and papers.

Siah-navis, Seahnovees—An accountant, one who keeps the rough daily accounts.

Sicoa rupee—A silver coin, the standard of value in Bengal under the Company's administration, until changed to the "Company's rupee".

Sishya—A scholar, a disciple.

Sood Mohurership—Office of writer of interest.

Souries—Distillers of wine.

Sraddha, Sheraud—An obsequial ceremony in which food and water are offered to the deceased ancestors of the sacrificer, or to the pitris or manes collectively.

Shavana, Srabun—The fourth month of the Hindu year.

Subahdar—The governor of a province, a viceroy under the Mogul government: a native officer in the Company's army holding a rank equivalent to that of captain under the European officers.

Surat-i-hal—A representation or report of the facts and circumstances of a transaction, whether made by an individual before witnesses, or by a subordinate officer to a superior functionary: An inquest.

Sursuree (suit)—Summary (trial).

Tahood—Promise, agreement: lease, contract: a revenue-lease, a farm of the revenue, an engagement with the government or its representative for the payment of the public revenue, which may be made separately, even by the coparceners in a joint estate, each becoming responsible for his own proportion,

Talook—An estate, applied to a tract of proprietary land usually smaller than a zamindari.

Talukdar—The holder of a talook.

Tappa—A small tract or division of country, smaller than a pargana, but comprising one or more villages.

Taraf—Portion of an estate.

Taujih—A revenue account showing, under the name of each payer of revenue, the total amount as it falls due by monthly instalments, the portion actually paid, and the balance outstanding: it is usually a village account, and is kept by the village accountant: also a register of the estates of a collectorate kept in the collector's office.

Tehvildar—Cash keeper.

Thanadari land—Land for the purpose of paying the establishment of the Thanadar or officer-in-charge of a Thana.

Ugraun—See Augran.

Umedwar—A candidate for employment, an expectant.

Vakalatnama—Letter of authority, power of attorney.

Vakil—An authorized public pleader in a court of justice.

Yuma—See Aima.

Zamindar—Landholder.

Zamindari—The tract of land constituting the possessions of a zamindar.

Zila—A district, a division.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

- Abbassally, Mirza, 42
 Aewez Ali, Suyed (Awaz Ali, Saiyid), 340
 Alexander & Co., 391
 Alexander, Panisty, 31
 Allahabad, 510
 Amdharya (Amdhara), 74
 Armstrong, J., 350-53, 356-62, 364-67, 372, 387-88 390, 393-94, 401, 409, 415-18, 420, 433-34, 440, 450, 470-72, 479, 485, 492, 498-99, 518
 Arsah (Arsha), 4
 Augur, 74
 Aviet, S., 194, 197
 Azmatshahi, 1-4, 330
 Badul Coor, 230
 Badul Coorya, (Badul Kuria), 71
 Bagrah *see* Baira
 Baichee (Bainchee), 178
 Baira, 1-3, 47, 49, 50, 55, 63, 67, 80, 97, 123, 138, 142, 151, 172, 187, 227, 249, 252, 255, 263, 279-80, 282, 292
 Balguri, 1-3, 74
 Balleare, 178
 Baly Kishna, 336, 461
 Banarji, Gokul Chand, 406
 Banarji, Radhakrishna, 83, 195-96, 203, 208, 210, 275-77
 „ Gokul Chand, 406
 „ Kishnanund (Krishnananda), 195
 „ Radamohun (Radhamohan), 140
 „ Ramchunder (Ramchandra), 83, 195-96, 203, 216, 219, 276-77
 „ Gunganarain (Ganganarayan), 505
 Barbeloon, 330, 333
 Basu, Debnarayan, 315, 323, 328, 330, 332-44, 366-67, 370, 372, 410, 415, 417-18, 420, 423, 426, 436, 455, 457-60, 467, 470-73, 475-82, 484-86
 Basu, Debnarain -vs- Radhapersuad Roy & ors., 341
 „ Debnath, 276, 318, 475
 „ Gokulchandra, 139, 190, 193, 235, 274
 „ Gobindachandra, 330-31, 334, 336
 „ Goodoss (Gurudas), 325
 „ Hurmohun (Haramohan), 407
 „ Jay Hari, 143, 158-59, 178
 „ Kenoram (Kenaram), 139
 „ Muddenmohun (Madan mohan), 195
 „ Moheschunder (Maheshchandra), 468
 „ Ramlochun (Ramlochan), 505
 „ Rashbihary (Rasbihari), 177
 Baugunhurypore, 58
 Bayley, W.B., 340, 497
 Beerlook, 67, 80, 87, 89, 94, 97, 98, 104, 106-08, 123, 138, 151, 172, 187, 208-09, 218, 227, 252, 263
 Begty, Rampersaud, 57
 Benares, 119, 132, 155, 169, 259
 Bengal, 63, 78, 84, 93, 95, 110, 138, 193-94 197, 204, 240, 244 249, 255, 278, 292
 Bentinck, W. C., 508
 Berrabarryah, 315
 Bhagalpur, 40, 282, 307
 Bholanaut (Bholanath), 4
 Bhursut, 1-3, 6, 14-16, 19, 20, 23-24, 47, 54, 57, 67, 74, 80, 97, 123, 138, 142, 147, 151, 172, 187, 208, 227, 252, 264, 306
 Bhuttachargee (Bhattacharji), Goury, 329
 „ Kishen Kaunth (Krishna Kanta), 367
 Bilsurrah, 19-21

- Bird, Colonel, 398, 444
 Bishnu Kumari,
 Maharani, 12, 31, 32, 38
 Bisswas, Govindpersaud
 (Biswas, Gobindaprasad), 327
 Blackquire, W.C., 449, 513
 Blunt, Chas. Richd., 13
 Bogdy, Bhurrit (Bagdi, Bharat), 57
 Braddon, William, 308
 Brijonath Babu, 407
 Brooke, William Augustus, 416
 Bruce, Charles Andrew, 416
 Bucktar (Bakhtar), 57
 Bukhshee, Mohaburrit
 (Bakhshi, Mahabhurat), 407
 Buller, A., 194, 205, 248, 272, 278, 299
 ,, J., 9
 Burdah, Burda, 7, 10-12, 38
 Burdwan, 1-10, 12-18, 20-31, 34-
 39, 46-47, 51-54, 58, 59,
 63-68, 74, 78, 80, 85, 93, 95,
 97-99, 102, 106, 118-19, 120-
 21, 123-24, 129, 136-38, 140-
 43, 150, 52, 157-59, 165, 168-
 72, 177-79, 185-87, 192, 200,
 206, 208, 211-14, 216, 218,
 220-22, 224, 226, 229, 249-50,
 252-56, 258, 260-61, 263-64,
 266-68, 278-79, 292, 305-07,
 311, 315-24, 329, 336, 340-
 43, 349, 351-57, 364, 368-
 69, 371, 373, 375-77, 382-
 84, 386-88, 391, 402-06, 408-
 10, 416-21, 425-31, 433, 435,
 441-43, 445, 447, 450-54,
 456-57, 459-66, 468-71, 474,
 476, 479, 482, 484-89, 490-
 92, 494-95, 498-500, 502-11,
 515-16, 521, 526
 ,, Dewanny Jail of, 28
 ,, Dewanny Adawlut of,
 12, 15, 25, 26, 38
 Burges, Ynyr. 8, 9, 11-14
 Burrobazar (Barabazar), 194, 328
 Burton, 391, 442
 Byenan, 75
 Cadet, Joseph, 472, 474, 478-79
 Calcutta, 45, 63, 65, 66, 68, 73, 85, 93,
 101-02, 119, 123, 129-33,
 136-40, 142, 148, 151, 154-
 56, 163, 165, 167-69, 172-73,
 175, 181-83, 185, 187, 190-
 92, 194-96, 202, 215, 223,
 230, 234-35, 239, 241-45,
 249-51, 253, 255-56, 259,
 261-62, 266, 280-84, 289,
 299, 306-08, 310-11, 318,
 376, 393, 442, 448, 474,
 510, 516
 Calcutta, Court of Circuit, 468-69, 474,
 488-89, 490-91, 495,
 498, 504, 506
 ,, Provincial Court of, 32, 33,
 260, 305-06, 308, 310-11,
 393, 415, 521
 Camar, Moddun (Kamar,
 Madan), 243, 246
 ,, Palaram (Kamar,
 Pelaram), 243, 246
 Campbell, A., 50
 Candle, Greedhar, 58
 Carey, 395
 Cascaolee, 74
 Catholyarcoond, 73
 Catiadul, 47
 Chachoiiah, 42
 Chakrabatti, Manik Chunder (Manik-
 chandra Chakravarti), 319
 ,, Nubbocaunt (Nabakanta),
 109
 ,, Patit paban, 193, 195
 Champanugurri (Champanagari), 38
 Chandrakona, 64, 72-74, 78, 95, 100,
 119, 142, 148, 150, 163,
 165, 182, 189, 225-26,
 250, 252, 258, 278-79,
 281-82, 315
 Chatarji, Gopimohan, 127, 130, 164,
 184, 283, 396, 505
 ,, Hiraram, 75, 194-95, 274
 ,, Pitambar, 337, 356, 364,
 369, 391-92, 399, 400, 417,
 426, 437-38, 470, 472, 474-
 81, 485, 505, 514
 ,, Patitpaban, 276
 ,, Ramdhan, 264, 350, 356-
 57, 360, 364-66, 369, 393,
 396-400, 407, 412, 417, 426,

- 448, 450, 469, 482-88, 491,
493-94, 496-97, 505
- Chattarji, Rammohan, 818
- Chater, V.A., 83, 92, 127-28, 203, 296
- Chaudhuri, Comar Sing (Kumar Sing)
102
- " Gopimohan, 430, 431
- " Gaurmohan, 430, 431
- " Madhusudan, 371, 395-96
- " Radanaut (Radhanath),
236
- " Umer Sing, 85, 285
- Chhoto Gholi, 71
- Chinchye, 20
- Chitwa, 2, 4-6, 9, 26, 27, 29, 33, 34,
37, 47, 51-53, 57, 58, 71 72,
75, 100, 125, 145, 166, 189,
225, 230, 233, 270
- Chotah Gala Tank, 230
- Chowringhee, 68, 123, 138, 172, 187,
253, 266
- Chuckbedoo, 148
- Coatch Behar (Cooch Behar) 416
- Colebrooke, H., 40
- Compton, H., 76, 92, 126, 130, 202,
235, 238-39, 246-48,
287, 296-300
- Coobiraj, Rammohun (Kabiraj, Ram-
mohan), 276
- " Rampersaud (Kabiraj, Ram-
prasad), 75, 195
- Coolnghaut, 42
- Coolgurreah, 57
- Coolnairah, 47
- Coond, Kissen (Kundu, Krishna), 52,
57
- " Radakissen (Kundu, Radha
Krishna), 237
- " Rampersaud (Kundu, Ram-
prasad), 57
- Cotalpore, 58
- Court of Requests, 102
- Coutter, 360
- Cowlenpore, 47
- Cowper, William, 10
- Coyba, 242
- Cunningghame, R., 15-25
- Dacca, 31, 66, 132, 232, 252, 262
- " Jalalpur, 27, 30
- Danga Cala matie, 72, 230
- Davis, S., 5
- Day, Chintamunny (De, Chintamani),
57
- " Sadhchurn (De, Sadhucharan),
505
- " Shibchunder (De, Shibchandra),
299
- Dean 510
- Debi, Durga, 243, 278-80, 282, 286-
87, 296-98, 300-01
- " Harasundari, 66, 251, 262
- " Labangalata, 65, 66, 251, 262
- " Rammani, 63, 65, 141, 157,
176, 249-50, 255-56
- " Subhadra, 63, 157, 176, 249,
255-57
- " Tarini, 63, 65, 81, 100 01, 141,
143-44, 157, 159, 176,
178, 193-95, 201, 209,
227, 236, 249-50, 255-57,
260
- Debsurma, Ramgopal (Deb Sharma,
Ramgopal), 75
- " Shibram (Deb Sharma,
Shibram), 75
- " Sadanund (Deb Sharma,
Sadananda), 75
- Dhara, Kistomohun (Dhara, Krishna-
mohan), 83-85, 88, 102
- " Radamohun (Dhara, Radha-
mohan), 57
- Dhurmah (Dharma), 47
- Dhurrumpore (Dharampur), 47, 57
- Digby, J., 40-46, 54, 58, 59, 97, 315-
16, 319-23, 330-33, 335-
40, 342-44, 348-49, 351-54,
356-61, 364-70, 372-73, 376-
77, 384-86, 388-94, 398-99,
402, 405-06, 408, 425, 429-
31, 432-33, 440, 451-56,
464, 471, 481, 485, 492,
495, 498-99, 507, 510, 513-
14, 517-18.
- Degree, Ramdhone, (Digri, Ramdhan)
194-96
- " Rogobeer, (Digri, Raghubir),
195-96
- Dinagapore (Dinajpur), 41
- Dingah bungah (Dinga bhanga), 243

- Donnithorne, 340, 416
Dorin, Wm., 504
Doss, Bungseedhur (Das, Banshi-dhar), 298
" Gorachund (Das, Gorachand), 237-38, 248, 272
,, Muddenmohun (Das, Madan-mohan), 247, 299
,, Ramgopaul (Das, Ramgopal), 22
Dowdeswell, G., 5
Drubbo Moyee (Drabya Mai), 262
Ducarel, 6
Dul Singh, Lalla (Dal Singh, Lala), 27, 31
Dullye, Bharrut (Dulai, Bharat), 58
Dutt, Bejoyram (Datta, Bijayram), 74
,, Gopeenath (Datta, Gopinath), 491
,, Joynarain (Datta, Jaynarayan), 491
,, Monickram (Datta, Manikram), 263
,, Muddenmohun (Datta, Madan-mohan), 276
,, Oboychurn (Datta, Abhaycharan), 83, 195-96, 203, 224, 462
,, Ramlochun (Datta, Ramlochan), 459-60, 462, 464, 466-67, 482, 486, 492, 504
,, Ramtonoo (Datta, Ramtanu), 471, 492, 495-96, 500, 502-03, 515
Dyasa, 35
East, E. H., 63, 129, 197, 203, 205-06, 236-38, 246-48, 272, 278, 286-87, 298-300
,, J. B., 237-38
,, India Company, 123, 138, 191
Elliot J. E. Honble, 481
,, Charles Honble, 315, 338, 340, 366, 409, 415-17, 424-25, 432, 459, 467, 470-71, 475-76
England, 45
Ernst, T. H., 8, 33, 34, 38
Europe, 45, 46, 414-15, 459
Fenwick, Elizabeth, 123, 138, 151, 172, 187, 266
Fergusson, C. F. 25
,, R. Cutlar, 70, 76, 83
Fombelle, J. 33
Fortescue, 504
Fort William, 63, 84, 110, 125, 197, 206, 232, 238, 246, 248, 270, 272, 278, 280, 286, 293, 298-300, 355, 403, 405, 468, 486, 489-90, 492, 501, 504, 508
,, College of, 43, 370, 376
Furruckbad, 340, 416
Gadyghatta, 5
Ganguli, Ramchandra, 329, 356, 358, 360-61, 364, 369, 392-93, 400, 406, 415, 426, 440-43, 458, 469, 491, 505-06, 511-2, 514
General Hewett, the (ship), 45, 46
Gheesah, Shaik, 406
Ghosh, Adeet Churn (Aditya charan), 496
,, Bhawani, 137, 143, 184
,, Basudeb, 49, 50, 242, 246
,, Baidyanath, 50, 128, 167
,, Bhungwanchand (Bhagwan-chand), 505
,, Debi prasad, 1-3
,, Gocul Chand (Gokul chand), 276
,, Ganganarayan, 467, 503
,, Gangadhar, 8, 64, 150, 165, 168, 226, 250, 258-59, 278-81, 288
,, Jashoda nandan, 98, 103, 128, 133-54, 167, 173, 184, 190, 192-93, 241
,, Neelmoney (Nilmani), 484
,, Kistkaunt (Krishna kanta), 3
,, Ramdhone (Ramdhan), 107
,, Ramdulal, 177-78, 193, 195
,, Ramjoy (Ramjay), 49, 50
,, Ramnarayan, 107
,, Ramnidhi, 7, 8, 13, 25, 31, 38
,, Ramsounder (Ramsundar), 242, 246
,, Roopnarain (Rupnarayan), 4
Ghosaul, Luckhun (Ghoshal Lakhan), 279
Gobindapur, 7, 8, 64-68, 72, 78, 79, 89, 95-96, 107-08, 118, 121-22, 150, 155, 165,

- 168-72, 185-86, 226, 230,
250-51, 253, 258-59,
261, 264, 266, 278-80,
282, 288, 292-95
- Golam Shau (Ghulam Shau), 41
Golaup Nubby (Gulab Nabi), 57
Good Hope, Cape of, 376, 464, 517
Gopelpur, 47, 58, 71, 230
Gopaulnagar (Gopalnagar), 316
Gopebhoom (Gopbhum), 6, 35
Gopinathpur, 47, 57, 72-74, 230
Gosain, Ojoodah loll (Ajodhya lall), 154
,, Ram Doyal (Ram Dayal), 49
Government-vs-Radhaprasad Roy, 495
Graham, Thomas, 9
Guallaboom, Guallabhome, 14, 142
Gunga Munnohurpoor, 323
Gunganarayan (Ganganarayan), 418
Gungopadhyas, Ramchunder *see* Gan-
guli, Ramchandra
- Habibpur, 47, 71, 230
Haider Ali, Munshi, 305, 310-11, 370
,, Mirza, 370, 426, 467-68
Halliday, Alexander, 519
Hamilton, Augustus Frederic, 273
,, George, 273
Hargram, 327, 330, 335-36
Harington, J. H., 9, 33, 468
Haripal, 358, 398-99, 411, 445-46, 458,
513
Hari Prashad (Hari Prasad), 305, 310
Harirampur, 5, 9, 15-24, 27, 29, 33-
36, 51-53, 72, 75, 109,
145-47, 160-62, 179-80,
188, 230-33, 270
Hasan Ali (Husain Ali) Munshi, 311
Hatch, G., 9
Hati, Thakurdas, 377, 428, 461, 466
Hawkins, J., 521
Heming, D., 156, 194, 204-06, 238,
246, 248, 272, 286, 298-300
Howett, G., 40
Hidgellee (Hijili), 459-60
Hindoostan (Hindustan), 209
Hingunusho (Hingansha), 280-81
Hooghly, 35, 46, 59, 307, 318, 367,
406-07, 416, 462, 468, 477, 507
,, Dewanny Adawlut of, 28
- Howard, R., 286, 297, 299, 301
Hunter, R., 494
Hurrikissenpore, 5
Hutchinson, J. R., 315, 341-43, 357-
59, 361, 365, 368, 395,
400, 470-71, 473, 477-79,
485, 512
India, 318, 508, 520
Indrain (Indrani), 484
Ireland, Robert, 6, 7
Jahanabad, 8, 35, 47, 52, 57, 64, 66,
67, 73, 78, 80, 91, 95, 97,
99, 109, 118, 123-24, 138,
141-42, 150-51, 157, 165,
168, 172, 187, 192, 208,
218, 227, 250, 252, 258,
263-64, 278-83, 316, 462
Jarrah (Jara), 315
Jessore, 40, 42, 43, 132, 282
Jhaloor, 74
Jorasanko, 73, 148, 163, 167
Joymunnee (Jaymeni), 478-79
Joyparras (Jaypara), 195-96
Joyram Chuck (Jayram Chak), 74
Jungipore, 66, 252, 262
Jungle Mahals, 391, 393, 500
Jugut Podar (Jagat Poddar), 328
Kabilpur, 74, 99, 201, 231, 240-41,, 244
Kabul Ali, Munshi, Mir, 325, 337, 417,
437
Kahar, Bydenaut (Baidyanath), 52, 57
Kanker, 327
Kantolparrah, 283
Kemm, Capt., 423
Ketabooddeen, 418
Khadumoa Shira Kazi, 71
Khandghosh, 306, 318, 327, 337-38,
475
Khankhanah Chuck, 47
Khanpoor (Khanpur), 72, 230
Khiderpur, 206, 210, 216, 219, 224,
244
Khotalparrah, 195-96
Khoyrah, 74
Kishen Chund (Kishen Chand), 27
Kistnobotty (Krishnabati), 73, 225
Kittadul, 57, 73
Krishnanagar, 8, 9, 47, 50, 52, 57, 63,
66, 67, 69, 71-73, 75,

- 80, 87, 89, 94, 97-98,
104-09, 123-24, 138,
145-46; 148, 151, 165,
172, 178, 187-88, 192,
195-96, 208-11, 215,
218, 220, 223, 225, 227,
230, 235, 240-41, 243-
45, 249, 252, 255, 263-
64, 280-81, 283, 292,
462, 490
- Kudrat Ullah, Mir, 30, 34-37
- Kursoonda, 431
- Lewin, T., 298
- Leycester, W., 504, 518
- Lindsay, 478-79
- Luckencondoo, 47
- Lumsden, J., 40
- Luxmoore, T., 45
- Mackenzie, H., 369, 376, 432, 457,
485-86, 489
- Macnaghten, E. C., 83, 92, 127-28,
203, 296
- „ F., 130, 239, 241-43, 245,
248, 272, 278, 287
- „ W. H., 33, 468, 489-90,
504
- Mactier, A., 197
- Madan Gopal, Lala, 360, 364, 417,
419, 472, 510-11
- Maguire W. W., 27
- Mahomed Tuckey, Mirza, 42
- Maisselbrooke, 478-79
- Maiti, Raghunath, 58
- Majumdar, Gopinath, 327
- „ Groopershaud (Guruprasad),
484
- „ Jagannath, 95-98, 106, 108-
09, 138, 148-49,
151-54, 164, 167,
173-74, 180,
183-84, 190, 193,
208, 227, 236,
263-64
- „ Juggomohun (Jagamohan),
263
- „ Khoody Ram (Khudiram),
336
- „ Rammohan, 323-25, 327-28,
330-36, 339, 341-43
- Majumdar, Ramnarain (Ramnarayan),
496
- Mallik, Alla Angi, 333
- „ Bhujan, 328, 330-33, 335
- „ Gorachand, 309
- „ Lakhan, 52, 57
- „ Sumbhoo chand (Sambhu-
chand), 505
- „ Tarini charan, 407
- Mandal, Ramprasad, 242, 246
- Mandalghat, 75
- Maniktala, 154, 156, 168, 173
- Martin, C. R., 469, 500
- „ W. B., 468, 488
- Meer Ally, 406
- Mendes, Francis, 123, 138, 151, 187,
266
- Mercer, Lawrence, 1, 3, 416
- Metter, Golucknaut *see* Mitra Golak-
nath
- „ Seetanaut *see* Mitra, Sita-
nath
- Midnapur, 18, 22-27, 29, 33-39, 46,
47, 51-55, 59, 91, 109, 125,
134, 160-61, 166, 180, 189,
201, 214, 222, 232-33, 270-
71, 293
- „ Dewanny Jail of, 24-26
- Millar, John, 340, 416, 510
- Minto; 40
- Mirzamaree (Mirzamari), 147
- Mirzapore (Mirzapur), 130, 299
- Mitra, Bireswar, 407
- „ Buddenchund, 3
- „ Ganganarayan, 3
- „ Gokulnath, 1, 107
- „ Golaknath, 1
- „ Harishchand, 491
- „ Jagannath, 327, 462
- „ Jagatnarayan, 337, 431
- „ Juggut, 431, 462
- „ Nandamohan, 484
- „ Ramhari, 360, 389, 407, 416,
434-35, 458, 462
- „ Ramlochan, 39
- „ Rammohan, 194
- „ Sitanath, 107
- Mohunpore (Mohanpur), 458

- Mokapadah, Sutecorry *see* Mukharji, 204, 206-14, 216-18, 220-27, 229-30, 240, 242-43, 245, 249, 252-53, 255-57, 261, 263-64, 266-69, 279, 280, 282, 292
- Molony, E., 343, 351-53, 355-57, 368-71, 373, 377-80, 383, 385-88, 401-02, 407-09, 412-21, 428-29, 432-49, 451-52, 457, 465, 470-74, 477-78, 482, 485-88, 489, 492-501, 507, 508-10
- Molungha (Malanga), 93, 101-02
- Money, G. 286, 297, 299
- Moorshedabad, 357, 362-63, 365, 378, 381, 388, 392, 398-99, 403-06, 411, 420, 441, 444-46, 453, 478, 512
- Morgan, James, 41
- Moulalkhar, Raja, 161
- Muhammed Panna, Munshi, 306, 311
- Mukharji, Baidyanath, 30
- „ Dukhiram, 103-04, 241, 246
- „ Durgaprasad, 47, 48, 262
- „ Gurudas, 66, 68, 91, 92, 95, 110, 120, 123, 135, 139, 169-72, 174-75, 210, 229, 251, 253, 259, 261-62, 266, 307, 442, 447, 505, 525-26
- „ Manikram, 127, 154
- „ Ramdhan, 194-96
- „ Satkari, 283
- „ Sridhar, 526
- „ Umakanta, 476
- Mustafi, Kripamay, 4, 5
- Musaffarshahi, 327, 333, 336, 461
- Muzhur Ahmud, Shaik, 407
- Nacurbagh, 22
- Nadia, 415, 431, 490
- Nangoorparah, 49, 50, 55, 63, 67, 68, 71, 72, 80, 87, 89, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, 104-08, 110, 123, 132-34, 138-40, 142-43, 145-46, 148-49, 151, 153, 160-65, 167, 172, 176-77, 179-83, 187-88, 190, 193-94, 196, 201, 204, 206-14, 216-18, 220-27, 229-30, 240, 242-43, 245, 249, 252-53, 255-57, 261, 263-64, 266-69, 279, 280, 282, 292
- Nandi, Jagat ballabh, 418, 458
- Nawosur, 47, 57
- Nayabaghish, Shibram, 52, 57
- Nazir Mohamed, 57
- Neelmoney (Nilmani), 419
- Nidhipur, 371, 395-97
- Oakes, W. H., 355, 403-06
- Odicarry, Bulram (Adhikari, Balaram), 107
- „ Hurgovind (Adhikari, Hargobinda), 195
- „ Radamohun (Radhamohan), 195
- Pallapara (Palpara), 174
- Pandit, Guruprasad, 83, 195-96
- „ Jagamohan, 223, 243
- „ Jagabandhu, 241, 244-45
- „ Krishna prasad, 83, 195-96, 203
- Parker, E., 40
- „ W., 25, 29, 30
- Patna, 119, 129, 132, 155, 159, 169, 259
- Pattle, J., 457, 492
- Pattuldanga (Pataldanga), 102
- Pattur, Bungsee (Patra, Bangshi), 58
- Paul, Ramneedy (Pal, Ramnidhi), 230
- Poorinda Chuck (Purinda Chak), 148
- Poorun Chuck (Puran Chak), 73, 163
- Poorungong, 7, 9, 31, 38
- Poratya, 73
- Pratap Chand, Maharaja, 307
- Pritchett, R. C., 274
- Purulia, 7, 9-11, 31, 38
- Putnaik, Jankeram (Pattanaik, Janakiram), 58
- Pyke, Juggonath (Paik, Jagannath), 50
- Radabellebpore (Radhaballabhpur), 47
- Radhanagar, 8, 35, 73, 75, 94, 106, 132-33, 139, 141-42, 145, 157-58, 160, 163, 176-77, 179, 207, 211-13,

- 217, 220-21, 225, 244,
256, 259, 268, 306, 333,
335, 398-99, 403, 411,
444-45, 458, 462
- Raghunathpur, 67, 80, 91, 94, 99,
101, 109, 124, 149,
151, 164, 174, 179,
183, 187, 192, 202,
207-11, 215, 217-20,
223, 226, 252, 263
- Ramchunderpore (Ramchandrapur), 7
- Rameshwarpur, 7, 8, 64-68, 78-79, 89,
95, 96, 107-08, 119,
121-22, 150, 155, 165,
169-72, 185-86, 226,
250-51, 253, 258-59,
261, 264, 266, 278-79,
281-82, 288, 292-95
- Ramghur, 40, 42, 49, 307, 340, 416
- Rampore (Rampur), 461
- Ramsay, Honble Andrew, 66, 122-23,
138, 191,
252, 262,
- Raneegunge (Raniganj), 391
- Rangpur, 21, 41, 44, 46, 132, 136-37,
181, 184, 233, 307
- Rasikpur, 7, 13, 25, 31, 38
- Ratri, Robert Halden, 305
- Ray, Banchharam, 32
- „ Bhubanmohan, 132-33
- „ Bipraprasad, 193-95,
- „ Bishnuram, 141, 157, 176
- „ Brajabinod, 279
- „ Brajamohan, 407
- „ Cossinath (Kashinath), 39
- „ Crishnajeebun (Krishnajiban), 73
- „ Gopimohan, 141, 157, 176
- „ Gobindaprasad, 46-48, 51-55,
57-59, 63, 76-77 84, 93-95,
101-05, 110, 131, 133-35, 139,
141, 146, 155-56, 160-61, 174,
180-81, 193-94, 196-97, 203-
06, 216, 224-27, 229-30, 236-
39, 241, 244, 246-49, 293-96,
301, 305-06, 308-09, 311, 319,
358, 360, 382, 384, 389, 394,
414, 425, 429, 433-34 462-66,
507, 511-12, 521
- Ray, Gobindaprasad vs Rammohan
Roy, 63
- „ Gobindaprasad vs Collector of
Burdwan, 521
- „ Gurudas, 49
- „ Gungah Narain (Ganga Nara-
yan), 450
- „ Guruprasad, 48, 127, 140
- „ Hara gobinda, 66, 251, 262
- „ Hari prasad, 309-10
- „ Horecrishna (Hare krishna),
73
- „ Hoory Beharee (Hari bihari),
505
- „ Hur Shumboo (Hara sham-
bhu), 4
- „ Jagamohan, 2, 5, 7-13, 15, 17,
19, 22-40, 46-53, 59, 63-69,
71, 72, 75, 77-81, 84-91, 93-
97, 99-101, 103-10, 113-18,
124-26, 131-137, 139-42, 144-
49, 152-54, 157, 159-67, 173,
176-84, 188-90, 192-93, 197-
202, 206-29, 231-33, 237, 239-
40, 243-44, 246-71, 278-79,
292-95, 305, 307-11
- „ Jagamohan vs Shamsundar Roy
and Maharaja Tejchand 12
- „ Juggutram (Jagatram), 106
- „ Kunjabihari, 340-41, 360, 364,
369, 416, 426, 437, 460, 471-
72, 510
- „ Krishnamohan, 309-10
- „ Mantu, 103-04
- „ Naba Kishore, 195, 135
- „ Nepal, 160-61, 181
- „ Nepaulchunder (Nepalchandra),
145
- „ Nilmohon, 327-28, 330-32, 336
- „ Nimananda, 141, 157, 176
- „ Nimai, 195
- „ Nusharam (Nusaram), 233
- „ Radacaunt (Radha kanta), 141
- „ Radhamohan, 157, 176
- „ Radhaprasad, 318-19, 323, 325-
26, 332-33, 337, 339, 341,
343, 346, 356-58, 360-61, 364-
71, 373, 379-81, 390-400,
407, 411, 414-19, 421, 423-24,

- 433, 436-45, 447-50, 454-59, 461, 466, 468-69, 471-72, 483, 486-88, 491, 493-98, 501, 505, 508, 510, 512-14, 517-18, 520-21
- Ray, Rajchandra, 5
- „ Rajiblochan, 65-67, 90, 91, 94, 95, 97, 98, 106-10, 119, 122, 128, 131, 139, 151, 155, 167-69, 171, 174, 185-86, 208-09, 228-27, 250-52, 258-59, 261, 263, 315, 318, 320, 349, 365, 375-76, 379, 383, 387-88, 395, 397, 399, 411, 413, 417, 419, 427-28, 435, 437, 450
- „ Ramjoy (Ramjay), 276
- „ Ramkanta, 1-3, 6, 9, 14-16, 19, 23-24, 26, 28, 29, 31-33, 38, 63-67, 71, 74, 77-80, 86-90, 93-97, 103-07, 111-13, 115-18, 131-37, 140-49, 156-65, 175-80, 182-85, 198-201, 206-07, 211-14, 216-17, 220-22, 224-31, 233, 236, 238, 240, 249-53, 255-62, 264, 267-72, 279, 292-95, 305-06, 308-10
- „ Ramkishore, 141, 157, 176, 178
- „ Ramlochan, 28, 29, 35-39, 63-65, 67, 73-75, 77, 79, 93-94, 104, 106, 131-33, 135, 140, 142, 145, 149, 157, 160, 163, 166, 176, 179, 183, 206-07, 211-14, 216-17, 220-21, 224-25, 227, 232, 240, 249, 251-52, 255-56, 259-60, 262-63, 268-269, 292
- „ Rammohan, 27, 30, 41-44, 47, 48, 63-70, 72, 73, 75-77, 84, 86-91, 93-110, 129-42, 145, 147-52, 154-57, 160, 163-76, 179, 183, 185-88, 190-92, 197, 202, 204-05, 207-15, 217-23, 225-30, 232-34, 237-39, 241, 246-55, 278-80, 282, 284-87, 296-98, 300-01, 305-06, 308-11, 360, 364-65, 380, 397, 414, 416, 454
- „ Ramnarayan, 354-55, 497
- „ Ramram, 141, 157, 176
- „ Ramshunker, (Ramshankar), 75
- „ Ramtanu, 8, 64, 127, 150, 156, 193, 226, 250, 258-59, 278-79, 288
- „ Ranjit, 160-61, 181
- „ Shamsundar, 12, 13
- „ Shibnarayan, 315, 318-31, 348-49, 354-58, 361-62, 364-67, 375, 378-80, 383, 388, 390, 393-94, 398-400, 411-15, 417-19, 424, 427, 436-37, 442-43, 448, 450, 454, 458, 469, 491, 505-06, 512
- Ray, Sobhachand, 8, 35-38, 166, 194-95, 232
- „ Soorjdas (Surjadas), 72
- „ Swarupchand, 7, 8, 38
- Ray Chaudhuri, Ramlochan, 195
- Ross, A., 490, 497
- Royna, 196
- Rufferudden, Shaik, 57
- Russell, William, 386
- Sadar Adalati Diwani *see* Sadar Diwani Adalat
- Sadar Diwani Adalat, 9, 32, 33, 43, 305, 340, 498
- Sadar Nizamati Adalat, 468-69, 487-89, 490-91, 495, 497, 501-02, 504-05, 508, 515, 518
- Sal, Rampersad (Ramprasad), 52, 188
- Samaddar, Binodram 97, 106, 144, 178, 188
- „ Ramkishn (Ramkrishna), 375
- Samunt, Mahadeb (Samanta, Mahadeb), 58
- Sanah, Joogul (Jugal), 58
- Sanmaut, 47
- Sardar, Matuk, 194-97
- Sarkar, Bhojrubchand (Bhairab chand), 318
- „ Debiprasad, 315-16, 344, 347-48, 355, 362, 418, 420, 436, 444, 460, 471
- „ Golaknarayan, 128, 190, 441
- „ Jugmohun (Jagamohan), 406
- „ Kenaram, 137, 139, 164, 193
- „ Lalchand, 243, 246, 462
- „ Mudun (Madan), 491
- „ Narain (Narayan), 407
- „ Nityanand, 325, 337-38, 460, 480-81
- „ Radamohun (Radhamohan), 505
- „ Raghunath, 145-46, 158-59, 177-78, 181
- „ Rashbehary (Rashbihari), 74
- „ Suroop (Swarup), 418
- „ Unoop (Anup), 417
- Saumat, 58
- Sauntepatton 58

- Scott, D., 507
 „ Wm., 70, 76, 83, 101, 129,
 Sealy, C. T., 468, 490, 504, 510, 518
 Seetanath (Sitanath), 384
 Sen, Becharam, 83, 85, 87, 88, 92,
 93, 101, 241, 280-81, 283,
 491
 „ Joiram (Jayram), 42
 „ Ramchandra, 7, 8, 10-12, 38
 „ Doorgapersaud (Durgaprasad),
 462
 Serampur, 67, 80, 87, 89, 97, 98, 104,
 107-08, 123, 138, 151, 172,
 187, 208, 227, 252, 264
 Set, Ramcrishna (Ramkrishna), 73
 Shahbad (Shahabad), 38
 Shakespeare, H., 468, 490, 520
 Shamnagar, 17, 18,, 22, 23
 Shampoore (Shampur), 74
 Simla, 68, 123, 138, 140, 151, 172,
 175, 187, 190, 192, 234, 239,
 241, 243, 253, 266
 Simpson, J. A., 98, 101, 104, 110, 129,
 135, 140, 144, 150, 154, 162,
 167-68, 173, 175, 182, 190,
 193, 210, 216, 219, 221,
 224, 227
 Singh, Deonath, 23
 „ Joykissen, 138
 „ Kirtee (Kirti), 144
 „ Muttoo, 24, 25
 „ Raasbehary (Rashbihari), 5
 „ Radamohun (Radhamohan), 329
 „ Raghunath, 15, 24, 25, 39
 „ Seetanauth (Sitanath), 384
 „ Shibran, Lala, 407
 Smelt, A., 44
 Smith, Courtney, 468, 488, 490, 497,
 504, 518
 „ William, 130, 140, 154, 156,
 167-68, 173, 175, 190, 192-93,
 195, 204-06, 210, 219, 246
 „ W. D., 242-43, 245-46, 280-81,
 283
 Som, Ramgovind, (Ramgobinda), 330
 „ Ramtanu, 330, 332-33, 335
 Strachey, 39
 Strettell, C. G., 204-05, 237-38, 246,
 272
 Sulkea (Salikha), 139
 Sunnokar, Rampersaud (Swarnakar,
 Ramprasad), 57
 Supreme Court, 63, 84, 86, 102, 110,
 129, 197, 227, 236, 247, 278,
 414, 487
 Surma, Crishnanund (Sharma, Krishna-
 nand), 75
 „ Ramanund (Sharma, Rama-
 nanda), 75
 Sylhet 21
 Tejchand, Maharaja, 6, 12, 13, 25, 31,
 38, 305, 311
 Tejchand vs Jagamohan Roy, 31
 „ vs Rammohan Roy, and
 Gobindaprasad Roy, 529
 Tewari, Jhiniklal, 386-87
 „ Shanaklal, 321-22, 339, 354,
 377-78, 409, 422, 439, 453,
 454, 457
 Thackeray, R., 40
 Thakur, Dwarkanath 319, 375
 Thomas, 306
 Thomason, J., 489, 501
 Thompson, G. 14, 24
 Thunthunea (Thanthania), 242
 Tirhoot (Tirhut), 370
 Tod, A. B., 487-88, 490-91, 493, 495,
 497, 500, 502, 515
 „ A. G., 46
 Trotter, 393, 466
 Trover, Charles, 128, 185
 „ W., 457
 Trower *see* Trover
 Tumlook (Tamluk), 156
 Turner, R., 76, 92, 93, 126, 130
 „ John, 202, 206, 216, 224, 235,
 238-39, 246-48, 272, 287,
 296-301
 Twenty-four Pergunas 206, 210, 216,
 219, 224
 Uttack Beharry (Atak Bihari), 415
 Vedant, 296
 Vidyalankar, Jagabandhu, 233
 „ Nanda Kumar, 127, 173-74
 Walpole, R., 504-06, 519
 Watts, 399, 405, 411, 445-46
 Webb, 36
 Wooday Chuck (Uday chak), 47
 Woodforde, Thomas, 27, 30, 36, 66, 97,
 122-23, 138, 149, 191, 252, 262
 Wyatt, T., 352, 459