



S. C. BOSU SARVADHICARI'S

PUBLIC SPEECHES.

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Public Speeches

OF

BABU SRISH CHANDRA BOSU SARVADHICARI

**SPECIAL HONOURARY MAGISTRATE, MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONER,
MEMBER OF THE LATE DISTRICT ROAD CESS AND EDUCATION
COMMITTEES AND OF THE BOARD, BERHAMPUR, LATE SE-
CRETARY, CHOA HIGH SCHOOL, AND PRESIDENT, CHOA
IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, MEMBER, BRITISH
INDIAN ASSOCIATION, VICE-CHAIRMAN,
MURSHIDABAD ASSOCIATION.**

PUBLISHED WITH PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION

BY

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AND OTHERS.

SECOND EDITION.

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Dedication

To The Honourable C. W. Bolla, C. S.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

This volume of Speeches is, with permission, most respectfully dedicated by the publishers, as a token of their admiration for his genuine sympathy for the people of this country.

PREFACE.

The object that has actuated the publishers of this volume of speeches to present it for public acceptance, is to set an example, to the promising scions of old and respectable families of Bengal, of real worth in one among their number who is descended also from one of the first ancient and noble families of Bengal, whose illustrious ancestors were men of high ability, who rendered signal service, first to the Empire of Delhi and the court of Murshidabad, and afterwards to the British Raj. Early in the 15th century, Sureshwar Sarbadhicari and Eshaneswar Sarbadhicari served the Imperial Court of Delhi as Prime Minister or Dewan of the Province of Orissa, and as Vizier of the Emperor of Delhi respectively. His ancestors, who especially distinguished themselves in the last century, were Rajahs Shitanath, Mahendra Narayan, and Hari Prosad *alias* Raj Kishore. They rendered meritorious service both to the Nizamat and the Honble' East India Company; the first as a Dewan to the Viceroy and to the late Nawab Nazim of Bengal, the second as a Minister or responsible officer to a former Nawab of Bengal and also as an agent to the East India Company's silk concern, rendering signal service to Lord Clive in the negotiations that preceded the Battle of Plassey, and the third as a Dewan to the East India Company's entire silk concern, when the Company had the monopoly of that trade before British power was firmly established in Bengal.

In the early days of Local Self-Government, when few Mofussil Zemindars could be found willing to take active part in the deliberations of the District Road Cess and Education Committees, Mr. Sarbadhicari's self sacrificing and devoted interest in these deliberations, coupled with the fact of his having established an English school, and a Charitable Dispensary in his native village of Choa, for promotion of popular education and for relief of the Epidemic sufferers during virulent prevalence of malarious fever in the latter part of 1881, offered an example to the landholders of Bengal, the value of which cannot be too highly estimated. His declining the offer of a Deputy Magistrateship with a view to serve

his country to better effect, created a spirit of emulation in others, sufficient to earn for him popularity not only among his own countrymen, but also among Europeans, both official and non-official. As a special Honourary Magistrate, he has enjoyed exceptional reputation by commanding entire confidence both of the Bar and the general public in the administration of Justice without fear or favour. His high character, rectitude of principles, steadfast devotion to public duties, and single-minded advocacy of his country's cause, have won for him the esteem and affection of all classes of people with whom he has frequently to come in contact, as a public-spirited Zemindar.

The first edition of this work was received with such approval by men of eminent authority like the Hon'ble H. J. S. Cotton, c. s. i., Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sir Alfred Croft, K. C. I. E., Director of Public Instruction Bengal, F. H. Skrine, Esqr., c. s. a., Commissioner Chittagong Division, H. Luson Esqr., B. A., c. s., Deputy Commissioner of Manbhoom, E. R. Henry Esqr., c. s. Inspector General of Police, Bengal, His Highness the Nawab Bahadoor of Murshidabad, as also by several District Magistrates and others, who represent the rank, wealth, education, intellect, and public spirit of Bengal, that they have been encouraged to bring out this second edition, inasmuch as the first edition, the proofs of which were not corrected by the author, were full of printing and other mistakes. Mr. Sarbadhicari has generously waived his right upon the sale proceeds of this publication, and authorized the publishers to apply the same towards furtherance of any well-considered project deserving of public support for the benefit of the public. As the movement is the first of its kind, in Bengal, how far the object can be gained must be left to the judgment of a discerning public to decide. It was proposed at first to publish a complete list of subscribers at the end of this volume, a list which includes the names of representatives of all classes of people including Europeans and officials, from the First Nobleman of Bengal and a Divisional Commissioner down to the student-community; but as this would have taken up good many pages of the book, the publishers crave the indulgence of publishing only a few prominent names. The opinions of some of the official authorities referred to, as well as that of the First Nobleman of Bengal, regarding the speeches are given in this edition. With the kind permission of the Hon'ble C. W. Bolton, c. s., Chief Secretary to the Govt. of

Bengal, whose liberal sympathies for the reasonable aspirations of the children of the soil are well-known, this edition of Mr. Sarbadhicari's speeches is respectfully dedicated to him.

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PUBLIC SPEECHES.



BABU SRISH CH. BOSE SARBADHICARI'S SPEECHES.

Speech on "Afghan War Contribution" delivered at the British Indian Association on the 29th April 1881.

GENTLEMEN,

At this hard time of pressing financial embarrassments, when the country is fast sinking into debt, at a time when the millions of its inhabitants, having emerged from the horrors of a dire famine, have been saddled with heavy taxes for protection against the recurrence of similar calamities, nothing could be more welcome and productive of healthy effect than this contribution of five millions from the Imperial coffers towards the expenditure of the Afghan war, which was undertaken not with a view to prevent or repel an actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, but, in the words of the late Prime Minister and of Lord Lytton, with a view to "maintain and uphold the character and influence of England in Europe, and to uphold the Imperial prestige of England in Asia."

The pecuniary contribution of England, I need hardly say, is not quite enough to make full compensation for the losses which India has had to sustain for England in defiance of justice and equity on more than seven previous

occasions. But we do not attach so much importance to the amount as to the principle involved in the grant, following a noble precedent as Mr. Laing said, in the debate in the House of Commons. This precedent will, we believe, not only serve as a warning to the British people not to support the views of those politicians, the be-all and end-all of whose principle is to make an immortal name in the annals of the political world by carrying on war on flimsy pretexts, but also serve as a great safeguard for India against a recurrence of the adoption of the policy which was carried out by the late Ministry, as Mr. Illingworth said in the debate.

A happier day has not yet dawned upon India since the establishment of the British Empire in the East than the date on which the debate took place in the House of Commons regarding the Afghan War expenditure. What could be more gratifying than to see the rulers of the United Kingdom, the arbiters of the destinies of India, publicly recognizing in emphatic terms the rights and claims of India, which has notoriously no voice in the administration of its own affairs.

The Liberals on attaining office pledged that England should bear an equitable and substantial share of the Afghan war expenditure, in consequence of which there hardly breathes a heart through the length and breadth of British India, the very chords of which do not vibrate with expressions of joy, thanks, and gratitude towards them.

It is said from the fullness of heart the mouth speaketh, but there are times and occasions when from the fullness of heart, the tongue refuses to speak; the latter

is the case with the Indian people. If, therefore, now they are unable adequately to express their thanks to Her Majesty's Government occasioned by a deep sense of gratitude for their generous recognition of the just claims of their country, we can assure the Imperial Parliament that it is not from any want of feeling, but from want of words to give full expression to their feelings. With these remarks I beg to say that the thanks of the Association be conveyed to the Hon'ble Houses which has lent a listening ear to the loud and repeated appeals of India for justice.

Speech on "Charitable Dispensaries" delivered at the British Indian Association on June 20th, 1881.

I have much pleasure in supporting the Resolution. I say that as a resident of the Mofussil, I know well what good the Charitable Dispensaries do to the poor classes, and I cannot but regret that the Government should think fit to discontinue the supply of European medicines and instruments and to reduce establishments contrary to its own engagements and rules. I regret this the more because the contribution of Government was so small, not more than a lakh and three quarters per annum. I think that the Government ought to feel proud that such a world of good is being done at such a small outlay to the Public Exchequer, but instead of cherishing any such feeling it discredited the motives of those, who founded charitable dispensaries, and seemed to think that in supporting many of them the public money was not well spent. It is a matter of the deepest regret that these

orders have emanated from the Government of Sir Ashley Eden, a ruler who unites to his high abilities, a thorough knowledge of the country, a great administrative skill, a generous sympathy with the people and a rare breadth of mind. His Honor has evidently been misled by the Surgeon-General who is however not a little inconsistent, for while he says that doctors in charge of charitable dispensaries not unfrequently absent themselves from their posts and make false entries and returns, he admits that the Civil Surgeons do not take monthly returns from their subordinates and thereby deprive themselves of the only means of checking them.

I do not deny that there are abuses in the administration of Charitable Dispensaries, but they are owing to want of proper supervision, which, if it had been duly exercised, would have prevented the doctors from neglecting their duties and secured to the poor the full benefit of these institutions. What is therefore necessary is the exercise of proper supervision and not the withdrawal of Government aid. It is true that the Government will not altogether stop its aid; it has now stopped the supply of European instruments and medicines, it has curtailed establishment and proposed to reduce the higher grade institutions by placing them in charge of Hospital Assistants. The result of the last measure will be lowering the standard of medical skill in the Mofussil. It is observable that if the Government thinks that the Charitable Dispensaries should be left entirely to private enterprise, I venture to say that it is greatly mistaken. The small aid which the Government gives stimulates private benevolence. Then, again, if the Government

maintains Charitable Hospitals and Dispensaries in larger towns at its own expense, I do not see why the poor people in the far Mofussil should be deprived of its aid.

Speech on "District and village roads in Bengal" delivered at a meeting of the Bengal Social Science Association held at the Town Hall on the 19th July 1881, when the Hon'ble Peary Mohan Mukharji read a paper on the Subject and Mr. Justice Wilson presided.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—

It affords me unfeigned pleasure to be able to thank my honorable friend the learned lecturer, who has in fact exhausted the subject in such a way that it needs no further argument on my part to do justice to the same. But having regard to the importance of the subject, the prompt sense of duty with which all of us should be tied together in bonds of closer union and unalloyed disinterestedness should prompt us to pass our individual opinion on the question, which, if fairly and justly dealt with by the arbiters of our destinies, might prove a source of indescribable relief to the overburdened tax-payers of Bengal.

Abstaining from passing any remarks upon the condition of district roads especially those of the head quarters of the mighty lords of districts, which are exposed to the eyes of the Divisional Commissioners and the Lieutenant Governors in course of their periodical visits and occasional tours, and which common sense is enough to suggest cannot but be the perfection of human labour and ingenuity in proportion to limited local funds, I think it worth while to confine my observations on the general

condition of village roads lying in the interior of districts, the most deplorable condition of which in nine cases out of ten baffles the very power of description ; so much so, that, believe me, gentlemen, it would not be too much to say that in rainy days the villagers find themselves cooped up in their zenanas. The reason why such a state of things has come to pass is nothing but the unfortunate sanction of Government on the recommendation of district officers to the appointments of a larger majority of indigo planters, silk merchants, and their managers to represent district and branch committees in direct contravention of the Roadcess Act which provides that none but the cess-payer is qualified to take seat in committees ; but unfortunately preferences going more on recommendation than on merits, these indigo planters, silk-merchants and their managers in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred not being cess-payers, but having the greater qualification of belonging to the Heaven born race and of basking beneath the sunshine of district officers' favours, easily secure seats in committees, constitute larger majority against smaller minority of native members whose representation of grievances is practically unheeded, and carry out measures beneficial to themselves in defiance of public interest and public convenience. They generally make a larger allotment for their respective places of abode, entrust repair-works to their *Amlahs* who generally expend at the utmost one-fourth of their allotted amount and pocket the balance, please the district magistrates by making superficial improvements on the occasion of their periodical mofussil tours, and employ Road-cess peons to act as their gardeners and bearers. The cries of the

people for redress are seldom heard, an appeal against these high-handed proceedings is seldom brought before the notice of the district authorities, and if on representation of a leading gentleman any application happens to receive hearing, it is sure to receive polite rebuffs at their hands, who even in particular cases where they condescend to honour, mostly plead want of funds as an idle pretext to cover bluntness of flat refusal, whereas on the occasion of their periodical tours, funds after funds are not found wanting to give smooth path to their Tomtoms. In addition to this a weak press and want of strong public opinion have constituted a serious stumbling block in the way of dragging these high handed proceedings before the notice of the higher authorities, which has greatly contributed to the excesses of their arbitrary proceedings.

It is no wonder that these indigo planters and their managers would pay little attention to the real wants and grievances of the people because they are quite ignorant of the same, and moreover the Government not having allowed them travelling expenses they are not expected to take the trouble to travel from one place to another situated at a considerable distance at their own expense. If a larger majority of members be appointed from every village, it would prove an inestimable boon to the people as they being well aware of real wants and grievances of the people would never hesitate to go from one end of the earth to the other to serve their country with a view to render material good to the people. From my personal experience as a member of district and branch committees of Murshidabad I find no proper accounts are taken from branch committees, no proper

supervision is kept over village roads, the material grievances are seldom redressed, an appeal is seldom brought before notice of the district authorities, and if any is heard, it meets with little success. I have exerted my every nerve to raise my feeble voice against these high handed proceedings and open the eyes of the district authorities but often found myself overpowered by overwhelming majority of English members.

Speech on "Competitive Examination" delivered at a meeting of the Social Science Association held at the Town Hall in August 1881 in which Mr. H. Lee, Barrister-at-law, was the lecturer and Mr. Justice Wilson of the Calcutta High Court was the President.

GENTLEMEN,

It gives me great pleasure to support the vote of thanks proposed and seconded by the preceding speakers to the learned lecturer for his able and eloquent address with which he has entertained this large audience assembled in this splendid hall. The arguments advanced by the learned lecturer combined with those of the preceding speakers not justifying me to contribute any new lustre on the subject on the whole, I need not tire your patience at this late hour of the meeting with a lengthened speech; but considering the weight attached to the subject I shall close my speech with a few observations on the salient points connected with the subject-matter. On the one hand the system of competitive examinations cannot be considered as a fair test of genuine merit and sterling worth, because scores and scores of instances can

be cited as not unfrequently taking place, of course subject to few honorable exceptions, in which candidates possessed of a good deal of retentive memory carry away the palm in preference to superior intellect and genuine worth through the aid of cramming which is thus described in "Cowper's Task:" "With parrot tongue performed the scholar's part proceeding soon a graduated dunce." What are the consequences resulting from this? The consequences are two-fold, telling alike upon the government as well as upon the system. As the former with a view to redeem its pledge for considerations of state policy is to provide the competition-wallas in the public service, where their utter inexperience, ignorance of official work, want of good breeding and necessary attainments occasioned by various considerations, contribute not a little to impair the efficiency of the public service, to the greatest detriment to the administration of the public justice, in addition to which the existence and the practical operation of the system cannot but make even its brightest laurels and offsprings "Jack of all trade but master of none," in spite of their propensity to follow their respective taste in prosecution of their studies in a particular branch, as they are required by the system to cross the ordeal by attainment of general proficiency in all the branches prescribed for the examination unlike the system that prevailed in the pre-university days that required every senior scholar to consume midnight oil in getting a library in his pocket before he could be expected to achieve high achievements and reap the final laurel compared with whose huge horde of literary lore the superficial knowledge of the competition-wallas may be thrown into shade alto-

gether. On the other hand qualified and competent hands could be better secured by official selection unbiased by recommendation, egotism and favouritism that constitute the inseparable accident of the system of nomination. To take up the other aspect of the question none can deny that the principle involved in the system is unassailable in as much as it makes no invidious distinction between creed and colour and the rulers and the ruled constituting thereby the very essence of the impartial administration of British justice in which 250 millions of Her Majesty's Indian subjects have reposed such unbounded confidence. Take for instance the brilliant career of Sir John Lawrence who ultimately wielded the sceptre of Hindustan for a few years with conspicuous success, but who at the outset of his career by dint of perseverance and abilities had risen from an humble station of life to the pinnacle of power and eminence and had done honour to the position he attained by his meritorious service that received due recognition far and abroad. If all the offsprings of the system are to follow his example, there would have been no question at all about the efficiency of the system; but alas! the case as it stands at present is a different one, the system not being a source of unmixed good, requisite measures should be adopted to ensure its thorough improvement, in the interest of the administration and the public alike.

Speech on "Pre-university and Post-university regime" delivered at the "Social Science Association" at the Town Hall on the 9th September 1881 in which the Revd. K. M. Banerji was the lecturer and Father Lafont presided.

Before I proceed to enter into the discussion of a subject which presents an ample field for discussion, I wish to be permitted to congratulate the lecturer on his selection of a subject which his varied experience and close connection with education for a lengthened period so fully qualifies him to discuss. There could have been no better selection than the one he has made. The learned lecturer has so well pointed out the advantages of the past and of the present system of education that little is left for me in contributing any new light on the subject. I am not going to take up your time with any lengthened speech, but it will be well for us to give our individual experience of the results of native education as far as it has gone. No one can deny that the spread of education is far greater now than before, and the bulk of the people are far more advanced than they were a quarter of a century ago. As civilization advances, improvements are being effected in every department of Arts. The sciences and the arts are being eagerly pursued and will one day enable them to place themselves in the van. Whatever prejudices rendered impossible before, has now come to be pursued in numerous parts of the country; caste prejudices and strict notions being gradually dissipated under the genial influences of education. Taking all the facts into consideration, it appears to me not impossible to indulge in the fond hope that with the progress of education and the unflagging zeal of those who are

interested in the cause of native education, we might one day be able to undertake Self-Government with the aid of a small House of Commons of our own.

Speech on "Suburban Water supply" delivered at a meeting of the Social Science Association held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 9th February, 1882, in which Pundit Pran Nath Saraswati read a paper on the subject and Mr. Justice Wilson presided.

GENTLEMEN,

As this is an adjourned debate on the subject of a lecture delivered by my friend Pundit Pran Nath Saraswati the other day when I was not present, I had no means of knowing the facts and figures and the reasons with which he sought to maintain his own ground in supporting the waterworks scheme devised by Mr. Berkley in opposition to that of Mr. Harrison with a view to provide a practical plan for the introduction of waterworks in the Suburban Municipality in consequence of which I cannot be expected to do full justice in response to your call, to this important subject that no doubt concerns the vital interests of the Suburban residents of this town, because of all the blessings that mankind can expect to enjoy in this nether world through the grace of the Omnipotent Being who guides the destinies of the world, nothing can be compared with the blessings of good health, and that health originates to a great extent from possession of good drinking water because of all the elements requisite for preservation of human health, water is the most important of all; but water on the one hand, if good,

contributes to the preservation of health, on the other hand, if bad, it goes to undermine human constitution. That being so, no stone should be left unturned by the Suburban residents to devise schemes for securing a supply of pure drinking water so very absolutely necessary for sustenance of human health, but no such scheme can be devised and practically carried out without pecuniary contribution involving such a heavy outlay, that the Suburban Municipality might hardly meet it without recourse to additional taxation that is sure to raise objection from various stand-points of view on various grounds. The residents might hardly persuade their minds to support the measure if they are to be convinced that it is to be brought about by an amount of taxation to be wrung out from the miserable tax-payers of the municipality, as it can be proved to demonstration that the incidence of direct taxation can on no account be resorted to in this country without causing irritation and general complaint. Both the schemes prepared by Mr. Berkley and Mr. Harrison having for their object the laudable desire to secure for the Suburbs the blessings of a supply of filtered water are before the meeting. Every consideration leads me to support the scheme prepared by Mr. Harrison for reasons well explained in that scheme itself and for arguments advanced by the preceding speaker just now in his practical address with which I agree, as that scheme would be more practicable to give due effect to the laudable object which this meeting has in view.

Speech on the "Opium question" delivered at the British Indian Association on the 10th April, 1882.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

I beg to offer a few remarks with regard to the opium question, just now handled by Maharaja Norendra Krishna Bahadoor and alluded to by Baboo Jadu Lal Mullick and which has been rendered the butt of ignorant and biassed opposition by the Anti-opium Society formed in England, composed of distinguished personages including twenty-three members of parliament and several peers of the realm. This question embraces so many tangled knots of political economy and heads of political and historical information, that an ordinary layman like myself feels conscious incapacity to conceive the same; but having regard to the fiery agitation actually gaining ground all over England against the Indian Opium Revenue on grounds of imputed immorality, and considering the very influential parties that have taken it up, who may, it is not improbable at no distant date with ministerial or other political changes, gain ascendancy upon the council of the nation, it is high time for all representative public bodies, nay every individual interested in the welfare of the country, competent or incompetent, to agitate the matter, since agitation is the soul of success. At this late hour of the meeting, I do not consider it necessary to go over the same ground traversed by the preceding speakers as to the object of the fanatical agitators, who have undertaken a crusade against the opium revenue, but to make my remarks fewer and briefer than they otherwise would have been.

To meet the wishes and gratify a mere idle sentimentalism of the fanatical crusaders, the suppression of opium cultivation and manufacture in India and the consequent withdrawal of the Indian drug from China, would entail upon the state a loss of revenue varying from 7 to 9 millions a year, a revenue that is raised without the operation of the least and slightest pressure upon the pockets of the miserable tax-payers of India, a revenue that strengthened the hands of the Indian Government to carry out various beneficial reforms and improvements in every department of the state *viz.*, telegraph, education, post office, administration and public works, without which it would have been impossible to carry out these beneficial reforms as mentioned by Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, the late member of the Viceregal Executive Council. The surrender of such a fertile source of income being opposed to sound economical principles for the sake of a mere sentiment as held by Major Baring in his remarkable Budget-Statement which is an able vindication of the Government policy, the question resolves itself into one of policy and expediency. If financial considerations do not justify the Indian Government to abandon such a revenue without the imposition of an equivalent taxation, political considerations of the first moment should equally forbid the adoption or substitution of any direct taxation which had been found by experience to be unsuited to the habits and customs of the people, and circumstances and nature of the country as it is always attended with hardship, inconvenience and oppression. If the reduction of expenditure be urged as the means to enable the Government to sacrifice this

revenue, as pointed out by Maharaja Norendra Krishna Bahadoor, anybody having common sense enough will perceive that such an enormous revenue cannot be recouped by the reduction of expenditure in the existing staff of the administrative machinery, without the greatest detriment to the administration of justice, as was made clear in Lord Ripon's Budget speech whose noble utterances on the occasion of the Budget debate have filled the Indian public with an assurance that the adoption of the legislative or political measures of any kind should be rendered subordinate to the interests of the Indian people in direct contrast to those of Lord Lytton, who on the occasion of addressing a Manchester audience declared that since the English people are centuries in advance, the administration of Indian affairs must be carried on in accordance with English ideas, and English policy, and not in consonance with native feelings, native wants and wishes.

Admitting for argument's sake that financial considerations may justify the surrender of the opium revenue, the question arises,—would the abolition of the opium trade of India with China bring any amount of possible good to the Chinese and effect their moral regeneration as urged by the agitators? The natural inference from the existing state of things would be that there is no possibility of reforming the Chinese by the withdrawal of exportation of the Indian drug into China, since their own cultivation of poppy combined with importation from Persia, Turkey, and the Mozambique, would easily enable them to satisfy their demand for the drug. In addition to this, there is a very powerful obstacle

standing in the way of their so-called reformation. They had become so much addicted to the habitual use of opium, that imperial edicts issued by the Chinese Government failed to suppress the practice, a result however which was attended with benefit to the Chinese as it served gradually, wherever opium smoking prevailed, to completely entice them away from the use of their native ardent spirits, the effects of which have been found to be worse and more injurious to health than those of opium in whatever form taken. Opium, if taken in moderate quantities, has been found to be conducive to health, in the opinion of eminent medical authorities including Dr. Moore of Bombay. This fact will however appear from enjoyment of robust and well-built constitutions and chivalrous and romantic temperament by the Rajputs, the people of Guzerat, Cutch, Kattywar, Central India, and the Sikhs who are all addicted to the habitual use of opium, as conclusively argued by Sir George Birdwood, who holds that it would be most unfortunate if the Chinese were led back to the use of the native ardent spirits, productive of more injurious effects on their constitution in consequence of the abolition of opium manufacture in India. So much for the effects of the habitual use of opium by the people of the East which suffices to meet the objections raised by the agitators on moral grounds. Taking all these facts into consideration it goes to prove that none of the arguments adduced from political, administrative and moral points of view holds good to substantiate the position taken by the fanatical agitators. With these remarks, without moving a definite resolution I would suggest that the Committee

take up this matter for consideration and make representations on the subject to the Government in co-operation with the representative public bodies, if necessary, as the full expression of public opinion may enable the Government to meet the fanatical agitators in England.

Speech on "Local Self-Government" delivered in a monster meeting attended by more than ten thousand men held at the Cantonment barracks of Berhampur in August 1892.

GENTLEMEN,

Suffering for a long time from an illness that calls for absolute rest or rest, above all, of all respiratory organs, I find it difficult even to breathe in the suffocated atmosphere of this crowded hall. Gentlemen, I am not prepared to say I have come here of my own accord; I have been drawn to it out of pure respect for the laudable and noble object of this meeting that has brought about such a large and huge gathering composed of all classes of this district quite unprecedented in the history of Murshedabad although she wielded at one time the sceptre of ancient Bengal.

At a time when the darkness of ignorance is no longer swallowing the political horizon of India as it did before, at a time when neither a Cicero nor a Demosthenes is needed to stir up the breasts of the people with an insatiable thirst for political freedom, at a time when science and arts are being appreciated and cultivated by the rising generation through the influence of the Western civilization and education in India, at a time when education has made rapid strides among

the general masses of the people, at a time when natives have been declared eligible for appointments in higher offices of the State, at a time when the old animosity and hatred that had been existing between rulers and the ruled for generations have begun to disappear through the blessings of British rule, at a time when rapid advance of education has led the intelligent class of public spirited young men to make a bold demand upon the state for admission into some share in the administration of their own affairs, nothing could be more welcome and productive of more healthy effect than the Resolution dated the 10th October, 1881 issued by our beloved Viceroy Lord Ripon which proposes to confer the inestimable boon of Local Self-Government on the natives of India, who have according to the present constitution of the Government notoriously no voice in the management of their own concerns. What could be more gratifying than to see the arbiter of our destinies publicly recognizing in emphatic terms the rights and claims of the down-trodden Indians who have been allowed no control at all whatever in the management of their local administration? A happier day had not yet dawned upon British India than the day on which the Local Self-Government Resolution took its birth that has been received with outbursts of joy throughout the length and breadth of the land as would clearly appear from the continuous flow of public meetings that are being held with a view to ventilate the question in all its bearings throughout the different parts of the country; since public demonstrations such as these may go a great way to influence the views of

the authorities who hold the reins of office in favour of this noble project. This is evidently due to the fact of having a fresh English Statesman at the helm of the Imperial Government, who happily for India on the occasion of his Budget speech declared from his place in the Council that whatever legislative or political measures were to be undertaken should be adopted with a view to advance the cause and interests of India in direct opposition to the declared policy of Lord Lytton, who on the occasion of addressing a Manchester audience unhesitatingly said that since the English people are centuries in advance, India must be governed in accordance with English ideas, English thoughts and English politics and not in consonance with native feelings, native wants and wishes and in consultation with their interests as held by the Secretary of State for India, the Marquis of Hartington.

The broad statesmanlike view, that actuated Lord Ripon to repose such high trust and confidence in the natives of India, is not only calculated to diffuse political education throughout the country among the masses of the people, but also to help to bind together in bonds of closer ties all classes of her Majesty's subjects without any distinction of creed and colour, age and sex under the shadow of her august throne, which will ultimately constitute a greater safeguard in respect of permanency of British rule, since no Bureaucratic Government, however strong and powerful it may be, can justly hope to maintain a permanent sway on the strength of brute-force and military power alone, unless that very strength is based upon the heartfelt loyalty, devotion and content-

ment of the people. On the other hand, it is the paramount duty of conquered subjects not to attribute foul motives to every action of Government, but to approach it respectfully with a humble representation of their material grievances, and convince the Government by facts, acts and figures and not by rank abuse as is done by some of our wellmeaning and enthusiastic public men, as none can deny that the administration prospers if both the rulers and the ruled understand alike their respective spheres of duty and act accordingly. Gentlemen, the detailed particulars of proposals, which the late Lieutenant Governor Sir Ashley Eden in his Resolution published in April last on the extension of Local Self-Government submitted to the Government of India on the eve of his departure for home, the sum and substance of which was opposed to the concession of the Elective system in general and to the appointment of a non-official Chairman, which fortunately for Bengal has been vetoed by the Government of India, are not unknown to you. Having regard to the growing agitation actually gaining ground on the question all over India, and viewing with satisfaction the manifestation of intelligent concern by the natives of India, Lord Ripon in his revised Resolution dated the 18th May last has conceded two important points to public opinion, *viz.*, concession of elective system and appointment of a non-official Chairman in consequence of which every heart breathing in the land of the Hindoos is profoundly touched with the genuine expressions of boundless joy and congratulations and actuated by a deep sense of everlasting gratitude to the noble author of those national rejoicings.

Our present Lieutenant Governor Mr. Thomson by a recent Resolution has made several modifications in respect of property qualifications required for a voter and a candidate. In fact His Honor has reduced to half what was proposed by his illustrious predecessor Sir Ashley Eden for which we owe him a debt of gratitude. We must not lose this opportunity to take exception to two important points, *viz*, the exclusion of the intellectual qualification, and the imposition of a local rate as proposed in his Resolution, which, if practically carried into effect, will virtually shut the doors of admission into the Local boards of a class of intelligent and public spirited young men, that can be found by hundreds in the interior parts of districts, and this, we must submit, is evidently opposed to the declared policy and sound principles enunciated in the Resolution of the 10th October 1881 which runs thus :—“With the spread of education there has been rapidly growing among the country an intelligent class of public spirited young men whom it is not only bad policy but sheer waste of power not to utilize.” With regard to the imposition of the local rate it is observable that the widely-felt expressions of national rejoicings which the noble Resolution has evoked will be certainly put to a dead lock, if the people are to learn that they are to buy this small concession of political freedom at the expense of their pockets. We have the highest respect for Mr. Thomson’s Government and make no doubt at all, that His Honor will hold even balance on the subject and arrive at a correct finding in response to popular cries. With respect to the mode in which Local Self-Government is to be introduced in

this district, the task may be clear if the district road-cess, education and branch committees, were converted into District and Local boards and their services along with the machinery of those bodies utilized accordingly. This may meet the requirements of the people and the Government demand as well. In conclusion we desire to join our united action in the universal offering of heart-felt thanks to Lord Ripon occasioned by the deep sense of gratitude for the noble action he has taken to advance our political training in recognition of which our hearts being full we can hardly give adequate expression to our sincere feelings of gratitude for which we can give every assurance to Lord Ripon that it is not due to any absence of feelings but to poverty of language to give expression to our feelings.

RELIEF MEETING SPEECH.

Delivered at the Grant Hall in October 1885, before a largely attended meeting in which the District Magistrate Mr. J. Anderson Presided.

GENTLEMEN,

In response to the call of our District Magistrate Mr. Anderson who should be publicly thanked for the trouble he has taken to preside at this meeting designed with a view to devise means to afford due relief to the distress consequent on the devastations occasioned by the late flood, I should not be doing my duty if I were not to support the scheme suggested by the president in his opening speech in order to support the weak and succour the distressed who have been turned out of their hearths and homes by the late flood. None can deny that with the prosperity of the agricultural population, the prosperity of the country is closely identified, because their labour constitutes the wealth of the nation. Hence it becomes the imperative duty of the ruling power charged with the administration of the country to leave no stone unturned to see that the agricultural classes affected by the flood are sufficiently provided with necessary means and implements to carry on their cultivation; otherwise if the lands remain waste for want of cultivation for a length of time, it is difficult to predict what a sad outlook it might not ultimately bring, the ultimate effect of which might jeopardize and bring the administration of the country to a standstill in the long run. We are glad to see that the Government recognises this duty, but at the same time it calls upon the zemindars to share that duty with the

Government declaring that it is the duty of the zemindars to help the ryots. Admitting for argument's sake the soundness of the Government declaration as to the duty of the zemindars to help the ryots, which every zemindar is in duty bound to do for the sake of humanity, at least to the extent of his powers, does not the question arise if it is not the duty of the Government to help the zemindars in return? I need hardly say that the unanimous sense of the united public voice will declare the answer to that question in the affirmative, in consideration of the pitiable position into which the landed class has been reduced by stern working of the sun-set law. This sun-set law extinguished the original proprietors of the land with whom the permanent settlement that was assessed at a very high figure, considering, the then condition of the soil, interspersed as it was with jungles, was originally made. And this brought into existence their successors in interest by right of purchase, a class of *bona-fide* purchasers or capitalists, who by reclaiming at a very heavy outlay the jungles or waste lands, that were surrendered to the zemindars by Lord Cornwallis by way of compensation for the heavy assessment for which they were liable at the time of the settlement, converted the jungles into a smiling land that attracted the eye of the Government to such an extent, that whatever profits they expect to enjoy from the fruits of their labour by improvement of the land at a heavy cost guaranteed to them by the authority of the settlement, were all swallowed up by the Government by imposition of taxation over taxation *viz*, road-cess, public-works-cess and income-tax in substantial contravention

of the terms of the permanent settlement. Hence the poverty of the landed class as a whole, brought on by their obligation to contract debts over debts in years of scarcity, famine, and flood, to meet the Government revenue by clock work time, the law having made them powerless to realise their rents from their ryots in time, can no longer be questioned. There are two ways in which the Government can be moved to help the zemindars either by granting remission or suspension of the Government demand, but unfortunately the Government has declared its inability to grant any of the boons asked for, though it does not fail to impress upon the zemindars in the same breath with a comprehensive idea of their duty to help their tenantry. Leaving public press and public opinion to deal with the Government action, we for our part must not fail to do our duty so far as lies within the compass of our humble means to unite together, to concert measures, to alleviate the distress of the people occasioned by the flood in the interest of the country for the sake of humanity. To give practical effect to this resolution requires pecuniary contribution, as no substantial relief can be practically and advantageously administered to the floodstricken people without the help of that which constitutes the backbone of everything, that which is "sweeter than honey and brighter than sun-shine," I mean money. It becomes the duty of our opulent countrymen upon whom fortune smiles to open their purse-strings in responding to duty's call in aid of this laudable project, and thereby to follow the noble example set by Her Highness the Moharance Sarnamoyee, M. I. O. C. I., who is an incarnation of charity

herself, whose fame has travelled far across the seas, who has just announced her generous offer of fifteen hundred rupees of contribution through her legal adviser Babu Baikunta Nath Sen, whose acknowledged abilities and statesmanlike policy have contributed to advance much of the Moharanees's fame, and for which she no doubt deserves the grateful thanks of this meeting. If the association of men of high character and position can constitute a safeguard against the failure of any undertaking, I need hardly add here is an instance in which the chance of that failure can be much minimized and reduced to a cypher from the connection of respectable names joined in the committee to be appointed by this resolution to raise public subscription to enable the promoters of this meeting to carry out their noble project, which, however well-considered it may be, as I have already remarked can never be expected to succeed without the help of money that forms the key-stone of everything. With these remarks I have much pleasure to move the resolution by which a sub-committee consisting of the following gentlemen is appointed to raise public subscriptions to help the distressed.

Choa School Prize distribution, held at Choa in March 1883, and
presided over by the District Magistrate, Mr. H. Mosely.

GENTLEMEN,

I believe I speak the sense of the general public when on behalf of this meeting I rise to thank our District Magistrate Mr. Mosely most heartily for the trouble he has taken to come from Berhampur in response to my invitation in order to preside on the occasion of prize distribution to the deserving students of this institution, and to testify by his presence the warm interest and sympathy he invariably evinces to encourage and advance education. I have also to return my personal thanks to him for the honor he has done me on perusing the report of the school by alluding to my past services rendered in connection with the foundation of this institution in such flattering terms. Admitting that my connection dates with the foundation of this institution, I would be failing in my duty if I were not to acknowledge in fitting terms the services of my worthy colleagues, who have claims as well upon the gratitude of this village in as much as they ably seconded me with equal earnestness and ready zeal in bringing about the re-establishment of this institution on the 21st August 1878, which was originally founded more than a score of years ago by that distinguished philanthropist and liberal patron of learning, the late lamented Joy Narain Bose Sarbadhicary, who never spared pains and purse, in response to every call to public good, to succour the needy, to support the weak and to relieve the distressed, in consideration of which his services had been repeatedly recognized in fitting terms by the Government and the public alike.

The main object of this school was to afford convenient opportunity to the indigent masses of the people to receive their elementary education at a very cheap cost, so as to enable them, on completing the prescribed limit of studies here, to pursue their studies in Colleges with comparative advantage, and how far this object has been attained, can be best judged from the results of the examination of the last two years contained in the report read out by the Head Master, from which it appears that the satisfactory results already achieved reflect credit on the part of the present Headmaster Soshi Bhusan Bagchee and the Head Pundit Shoshee Bhusan Battacharyya as testifying to the diligent attention and earnest exertion with which they have done full justice to their task; and I believe I may be excused if I venture to take the liberty to claim a certain amount of credit for the unexceptional selection I made in their appointments when I had to found the school. If success attends this school year after year in brighter colours which we hope to see under their instructive training, it may at no distant date stimulate our enterprize to raise the present status of the school to a higher standard, which is absolutely necessary for ordinary education of the people to enable them to understand practical business before they can rightly aim at self-government for themselves. Gentlemen, I ask, is it not high time for us when the liberal policy of the present Government pervades the entire system of the Indian administration, when the Government is determined to foster the development of self-help and the diffusion of political education among the masses of the people, when the ruling power is really desirous to make an experiment

of the policy of the self-government, to show not by empty words and hollow utterances, but by actual deeds and practical action how far we are qualified to take charge of the responsibilities and task which the Government is desirous to throw upon our shoulders? The gradual spread of education can only help to meet the aspiration of the rising generation, and that can easily be done by bringing into existence as many schools as possible for the general and elementary education of the general masses of the people.

The Head-master points out the necessity for construction of a suitable accommodation for the school. It is admitted on all hands that this is one of the crying wants of our school. The site of the school-house has already been chosen by the school committee along with the adjoining lands for its compound which, as it belongs to me, I am glad to offer as a gift to the school and for necessary funds required to construct the house, I take this opportunity to appeal to my opulent countrymen to open their purse-strings in response to the call of patriotism and public spirit, so that the want so sorely felt may be supplied at no distant date. Our warm acknowledgements are also due to Mr. Mosley for having declared to subscribe Rs. 50 himself and for having asked pecuniary contribution from the Government for our help. To commemorate this event, I have much pleasure to announce my intention to found a silver medal after his name to be awarded to the successful scholarship-holder from this school year by year.

ILBERT BILL SPEECH.

Delivered on the 24th January 1884, in a largely attended meeting, held at the Grant Hall under the presidency of Babu Ramdas Sen.

This meeting is organized with a view to condemn the concordat arrived at between the Anglo Indian Defence Association and the Government of India. It breaks our heart to say that our beloved Viceroy Lord Ripon, who has already earned the everlasting gratitude of two hundred and fifty millions of human beings by his impartial and vigorous administration of justice and manifestation of liberal sympathies for the legitimate aspirations of the children of the soil, has after all thought fit to yield to the clamours of the Anglo India Clique, and to purchase peace with *dishonour* as rightly remarked by the Hindu Patriot, after remaining firm and fighting out with a strong hand and even balance for our just and noble cause, since the introduction of the Ilbert Bill into his council, in spite of the vigorous opposition of the Anglo Indian class headed by our present unsympathetic Lieutenant Governor Mr. Rivers Thomson.

His Honor's hostile attitude against the success of this measure, arising from his genuine sympathy and unaccountable partiality for the white class of Her Majesty's subjects, presents a striking contrast to his official chief's fervent sympathy and genuine desire for granting legitimate concession to the people, inspired with a view to preserve and maintain a footing of equality in the eye of the law before which all

classes and sections of Her Majesty's subjects of whatever race and creed are called alike to bow in an equal degree, which in fact constitutes the fundamental essence of public confidence in the impartial administration of British Justice in India. Gentlemen, you are well aware in what form the Ilbert Bill was originally drafted, and with what spirit it was conceived, and what concessions it proposed to give, in recognition of the legitimate principle involved in it. Since then very strong opposition was organised by the entire class of the Anglo Indians all over India, composed of both official and non-official classes, that led to the creation of the Anglo Indian Defence Association in Bengal with a view to thwart the measure altogether by means foul or fair. The measure, though small in its scope, was nevertheless received with universal approbation by the native community in consideration of recognition of an important principle of a very impartial element involved in it. The effect of this determined opposition on the part of the non-official Anglo Indians, combined with the official bureaucracy, seems to have hampered and threatened the Government to such an extent that against the original proposals of investing native Magistrates, with criminal jurisdiction over European British born subjects, as contemplated by the original bill, modifications after modifications were allowed to be introduced in the bill, till it dwindled down to a very insignificant measure of reform, that was declared as final by Lord Ripon in the Council Chamber the other day with the sanction of the Secretary of State authorizing criminal jurisdiction over European British born subjects of those native Magistrates who

might attain to the position of District Magistrates and District Judges. Even after this viceregal declaration in the Council Chamber, which however was loyally accepted by the native community, inasmuch as it recognised embodiment of an important principle involving concession of the first instalment of Justice, it is for you to conceive, gentlemen, how far the public mind can be startled and the public confidence can be shaken to hear of the unholy alliance privately contracted between the ruling power, on the one hand, and Mr. Keswick the President of the Anglo Indian Defence Association, who is commonly called the uncrowned hero of the opposition on behalf of the Anglo Indian class, on the other, through the mediation of Mr. Aucland Colvin, who has just come from England and taken charge of the portfolio of finance in the viceregal Council, and of Mr. Evans, the result of which is to minimize the practical effect of the bill altogether by the introduction of the system of trial by Jury.

Hence, there breathes not an Aryan heart throughout the length and breadth of India who hesitates to join with one united voice in support of the loud protest raised against the unjustifiable acton of Government. With these remarks I beg to move the resolution condemning the Concordat and asking the Government to stand firm against the organised opposition of the Anglo Indian class and to pass the bill in its original form.

Prize Distribution of Gora Bazar Middle Vernacular School held in the Berhampur College in April 1884, presided over by the Principal of the College Mr. W. B Livingstone. Largely attended by European and Native Gentlemen.

At the special requests of my friends Babu Boikunt Nath Sen, Gopal Chandra Mookherjee, and others by whom I am surrounded in this hall, I rise to protest against the humiliating compliment that has been just now paid to the intelligence of the Aryan race by Mr. Livingstone, and to place before the meeting necessary materials in support of that protest to justify my own ground. But before I do it, I think I would not be doing my duty if I at the outset were not to congratulate the energetic Secretary of the School, Baboo Mohendra Nath Mukerjee, on the success that his school has attained, judging by the creditable working of the institution along with the successful results in the passing of examinations already achieved, as evidenced by the report that has just now been read out to the meeting by the Secretary, the practical result of which, if the present standard of successful working with successful results be maintained, might tend to increase the public utility of this institution year by year, which might ultimately produce some of the best sons of Bengal, who might contribute in time with a marked degree of success to advance the cause of education and the literature of their motherland, a circumstance which constitutes the fundamental ingredient to elevate the greatness of mankind.

Mr. Livingstone has drawn a picture of the proportionate capacity of intellect for every civilized country,

and compared it with that of India, which he has declared to be inferior in intelligence to every other country including Japan, also showing by comparison of the relative intellectual merits of each country that not more than 3 per cent in point of intellectual attainments could be found in India. I may be permitted to observe with reference to this random and thoughtless remark that the original premise being wrong out of which that untenable inference has been drawn, the conclusion must be wrong as a matter of course. This I can fully substantiate with necessary facts and figures if the meeting gives me time for doing so. Every student of ancient history knows that long before the Gothic darkness of ignorance swallowed up the whole horizon, Aryan civilization was in its prime of glory, and Aryan literature, remarkable as it was for its undying lustre that had once illumined the literary horizon of the Aryan race and had eclipsed the literary glory and importance of other nations in the literary and political annals of the ancient world, was then exercising its omnipotent importance in the civilized world, at a time when our English rulers, immersed as they were in superstition and ignorance, were stealing bird's nests; but now through the decree of fate the continuous neglect of education has brought about the degeneration of Aryan souls to such an alarming extent, that those barbarous Britons have now become the rulers of the once ancient proud Aryan race through the influence of western culture and civilization and through remarkable improvement in science that has made rapid advance with the fall and decline of the Aryan race,

a fall caused by their groaning under a yoke of servitude for a series of centuries that must have damped and repressed the noble rage and frozen the genial current of their souls, as described in Gray's Elegy.

“Chill penury repressed their noble rage
And froze the genial current of their souls.”

Now one word more to my young friends and I have done. If through your untiring exertion any substantial improvement can be made towards the advancement of your ancient literature and science, whereby the regeneration of the Aryan race can be in time effected, a bright future is before you and here is an opportunity which you should never miss “with a heart for any fate” as described in Longfellow's Psalm of Life.

“Let us then be up and doing
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait,
Heart within and God o'erhead.”

It appears that with the progress of education that has spread far and wide among the masses of the people, combined with the rapid advancement of science and remarkable improvement of the Fine Arts through which the country is just passing, it seems not improbable that with the perseverance of the natives of India in the battle of life under the existing altered circumstances of the country, a fond hope can be entertained that a day may dawn when there might be a revival of the ancient glory of the Aryan race, when they would be able to constitute a Self-Government or a Social House

of Commons for themselves, since hope stands pre-
 eminent in human heart, as described in Campbell's
 "Pleasures of Hope."

"When Murder bared her armer, and rampant War,
 Yoked the red dragons of her iron car ;
 When Peace and Mercy banished from the plain,
 Sprung on the viewless winds to Heaven again,
 All, all forsook the friendless, guilty mind
 But Hope, the charmer, lingered still behind."

Municipal Election Speech delivered at the Berhampur College
 under the Presidency of Mr. Livingstone on the 25th
 November 1884.

It gives me sincere pleasure to propose Babu Gopal
 Chandra Mukerjee as an eligible candidate to represent
 this ward, where his long residence, close connection,
 intimate knowledge of the growing needs of the people,
 justly entitle him to a seat in the Municipal Board, in
 recognition of his services rendered throughout the whole
 course of his municipal connection. You, all who have
 received ample proofs of his legal attainments, sound
 judgment, strong sense of duty, keen interest in muni-
 cipal affairs, and above all unquestionable abilities, need
 no introduction from me, and I am therefore very glad
 of being relieved from not a very easy and troublesome
 task of having been under an obligation to dissect the
 whole history of his merits and demerits so as to com-
 mend the proposal to your acceptance. He belongs to an
 honourable and independent profession, whose varied
 experience, professional advice, the municipality will

have on various occasions. Whither and how the municipality can be benefitted by the retention of the services of such a man, is a question that could be better judged than described, and which I appeal to your sense of justice and conscience to decide.

I may here observe that the Government, in view of the advancing tide of civilization and education and of the growing demand on the part of the educated class for admission into a share in the administration of their local affairs, has made two important concessions to public opinion *viz.* the appointment of non-official chairmen and the introduction of the elective system. This town to-day is going to reap the fruit of the latter, and when the experiment can be said to be still on its trial, it should be the bounden duty of the public to see that the scheme does not turn out to be an utter failure in the long run. The best safe-guard that can be adopted to ensure the success of the measure, is to appreciate due merit, recognize just claims of deserving candidates, and countenance the admission of such persons as are willing to take an active part and prove themselves useful in public career for the benefit of the public. I need hardly add that the best guarantee that can be possibly expected under existing circumstances in respect of the success of this measure, could be adequately met by the election of this gentleman as well as by that of the other two gentlemen who have been just duly elected, about the last of whom I can speak without fear of contradiction, that his untiring exertion, unflinching zeal, sacrifice of valuable time and professional business, and disinterested labours towards the advancement of municipal

interest for the sake of public good, must go a great way to establish his claim upon the gratitude of the rate-payers of this town.

In conclusion, I desire to add a personal longing that in the furtherance of the object we have in view, we should be in duty-bound to leave no stone unturned, leaving aside all differences of opinion and party-feelings, if any exist, to see that this measure is ultimately brought to a successful termination ; otherwise the system is sure to be a failure, to the everlasting shame and discredit of Murshedabad which was once the seat of the Government of Bengal under Moslem sway and was once recognized as an important factor in the political history of India.

With these remarks I beg to resume my seat, proposing Babu Gopal Chundra Mukerjee, for election. He will be a valuable acquisition to the Municipality, and this I assert paying due regard to every consideration that can be brought to bear on the subject.

Farewell address to Lord Ripon delivered at the Lord Ripon Memorial Meeting held at the Berhampur college on the 6th December 1884 under the presidency of Babu Chandra Kumar Roy.

We have met here this evening to do honour to the retiring Viceroy, who is going to bid farewell to the Indian shore, and to join our united voice of regret to the touching chorus of the national movement and the universal and wide-spread demonstration that has been organized in his favour throughout the length and breadth of Hindusthan, whose destiny was committed to his charge for a period of four years and a half, where every

native subject of Her Gracious Majesty lingers with a loving re-iteration upon the syllables that compose his name, that has become a household word all over India. The Muse sings glory to those warriors who had built the mighty fabric of the British Empire in the East, to those soldiers who had contributed to the extension of the British Dominion in the East by means of the sword, to those statesmen who had consolidated British Empire and established peace and order by the introduction of a system of Government, whereby the security of life and property has been granted to the people, but she sings greater glory and honour to him who has laid the foundation stone of the Permanent settlement of the British Empire upon the essential ingredient that constitutes the strongest bulwark of the British power in the East *i.e.* the willing allegiance and affection of two hundred and fifty millions of human beings, whose charge was entrusted to his care throughout the whole course of his Indian Viceroyalty for a period of four years and a half. If there can be any question of importance for public consideration that does not occasion difference of opinion amongst the different classes of the people composing different sections of native opinion, it is this outpouring of national feelings to mark their appreciation, occasioned by the deep sense of gratitude for his Lordship's unquestionably noble intentions and noble attempts to give due effect to the Charter Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858, that characterised the entire tenure of his administration, in consequence of which every heart of India is deeply affected, and moved by genuine expressions of unfeigned sorrow for the approaching

departure of His Excellency, than whom never had a Viceroy held such a remarkable hold upon the hearts of the countless millions of Her Majesty's subjects. That he was actuated by noble motives free from race bias to ameliorate the condition of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and to hold even balance in respect of the diffusion of political advantages to the rulers and the ruled, is an unquestionable fact that cannot be denied even by his rancorous opponents, who spared no effort, time, and purse, to hurl abuses and invectives upon his devoted head and impute to him unworthy motives. All this he bore with the meekness of a lamb, though armed with sufficient power to wreak vengeance upon them with the generous ferocity of a lion. If I had been gifted with the inexhaustible supply of oration and an extraordinary power over the English language, I would have been found hardly competent to deal with Lord Ripon's administration with perfect justice, which making due allowance for his occasional weakness and short-comings, and judging by the standard of average result already achieved, has been a decided success, and which has in fact given a new lease of life to the political aspirations of the rising generation. To err is human. It is therefore no wonder that he would be subject to those mistakes and failings which invariably fall to the common lot of mankind. It cannot be denied that in the carrying out of his programme of business which he laid before the public on his accession to the throne of Hindustan, he did not meet with that amount of success that would have been fully achieved, had it not been for the want of support of his colleagues in Council,

lukewarmness of his subordinates, and the disloyalty of the whole official class, who, as a rule, were arrayed in opposition, to throw cold water upon the warmth of his ardour in carrying out some of his cherished schemes and measures, viz., the Ilbert Bill and the Local Self-Government Bill, and thereby to defeat them altogether. These however were initiated and introduced with due regard to the interest of all classes and with a single-minded eye to the lasting good of India ; and hence his practical action could not come up to the mark of his earlier utterances and professions, but still that he was prompted by the best of motives is a fact that stands unchallenged.

This is not the time and occasion for me to sketch a review of the whole administration of Lord Ripon. That will be tantamount to recounting the history of India for the last four years and a half, as that would necessitate a length of time that is sure to tire your patience. I shall therefore rest content with noticing only some of his important administrative and legislative measures, that attracted the attention of the public and exposed him to hostile criticism of the press and adverse comment of the public, from two different stand points of view.

By the repeal of the Gagging Act, that is, the Vernacular Press Act, he has removed the restriction placed upon the freedom of the vernacular press by his predecessor Lord Lytton, who, in his address to an influential public meeting of Manchester some years ago, claimed for himself the credit of governing India under a policy and principle framed not in accordance with her require-

ments and wishes but dictated by whims and caprices of the English people, which he declared to be the guiding policy and principle under which the greatest dependency of Her Majesty's crown were to be governed, in consequence of the advancement of the English people for centuries, over the voiceless millions of India. He has developed the decentralization scheme propounded by Lord Mayo and introduced the scheme of Local Self Government with a view to foster the popular and political education of the people. He has appointed the Education Commission in order to place the education of the country upon a broader and more advantageous basis. He has encouraged indigenous arts and manufactures in order to cherish the developement of native crafts, which will serve as a due impetus to the children of the soil for competition on a better footing with the commercial pursuits of England. He has afforded due facilities regarding the publication of legislative measures with a view to stimulate expression of public opinion. He has passed measures for relieving distress among the agricultural classes and for regulating remission and suspension of land revenue according to a systematic method. He has vetoed the Abkari Bill and the Game Preservation Bill passed by the Bombay Legislature in response to the popular cry, with a view to advance the good of the Bombay people. He has adopted sufficient safe-guard by issue of necessary circulars, rules, and orders, whereby the object of the Assam Emigration Bill might not be frustrated, and its salutary provision might not be practically abused by executive indiscretion.

He has maintained the very principle of the Ilbert

Bill which was right and left denounced by his countrymen with such a fiery opposition, that modifications after modifications were introduced in the bill to such an extent that it has ultimately dwindled into nothing. He has recast the Bengal Tenancy Bill that has been unfortunately assailed by both parties affected by the measure in consequence of the sweeping changes and complicated procedure introduced in it, the practical result of which will bring no good to any party. Now all these are acts in addition to other measures of importance, which time does not allow me to bring before this meeting, the sole tendency of those measures being to bring out material advancement of India directly or indirectly, the ultimate result of which is calculated to enshrine his name in every page of the Indian History and to establish his claim upon the lasting gratitude of the nation.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to observe that it is a well known saying, that out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaks, but there are occasions when the tongue is quite incapable of giving adequate expression out of the fulness of heart. This has exactly become the case with the natives of India, who now feel conscious incapacity to convey an adequate expression of their grateful thanks to Lord Ripon. His Lordship may rest assured that this arises not from any want of feelings, but from want of suitable language to give due expression to their feelings of gratitude for His Excellency, in recognition of his services rendered to the cause of India.

Remarks on the Rent Bill or the Bengal Tenancy Bill submitted to Government through the Murshedabad Association and the British Indian Association on the 20th, January 1885.

Before attempting to approach the subject, it seems absolutely necessary to review the relative positions and attendant privileges of the parties affected by the measure, pending consideration before the Legislative Council of the Government of India, which they had respectively enjoyed before or at the time of the Permanent Settlement. Prior to this Permanent Settlement, the Decennial settlement had been in existence, whereby the rents were assessed for every 10 years, and the zemindars required to make payment accordingly. This kind of settlement not having suited the convenience of the ruling power, the Government of the day came to the conclusion, in consideration of the existing circumstances and of various other financial and political necessities, to effect a settlement with the landed class of Bengal and Behar in 1793, whereby their best interests might be duly served, under the compliance with the requisition of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

At a time, when the country was laid waste and depopulated, and when it was fast sinking into pressing financial embarrassments, in consequence of a terrible famine that had ravaged the Provinces far and wide in 1770; at a time, when the British supremacy in the East was hardly fully established on a firm footing; at a time, when people could hardly fully realize the blessings of the British rule; at a time, when the ruling power was hardly able

to afford due security of life and property to the people ; at a time, when in place of a settled Government, disorder and confusion spread everywhere throughout the length and breadth of the land ; at a time, when in consequence of the horrible extortion of the East India Company's servants, charged with the administration of the country, the people were obliged not to regard the Company's administration as an unmixed blessing ; at a time, when British power was more dependent upon the *sword* and the martial valour of her arms than upon the strength of her constitutional laws ; at a time, when the Company's treasury was hardly sufficient to maintain an adequate number of British troops, which constituted the bulwark of the state, upon whom lay the only hope to wield the sceptre of power and the reins of Government, this Permanent Settlement was proposed and carried into effect by Lord Cornwallis, on behalf of the East India Company through exigencies of state policy, not with a view to benefit either the ryots or the actual cultivators of the soil or the zemindars or the rent-receivers of the day, but with the avowed object of replenishing the empty coffers of the Company that might enable them to maintain requisite supply of British troops, in order to carry on due administration of the Government, as could be best judged from its position described above. Under the terms of the various regulations styled the Permanent Settlement regulations, the rents were assessed at ten-elevenths of the gross rental amounting to about Rs 28,500,000, and the zemindars, whatever they were before, were recognized as the actual proprietors of the soil, and authorized

to hold lands in perpetuity, subject to the punctual payment and proper discharge of their revenue engagement with the Government, and in consideration of this heavy assessment that ultimately led to the extinction of a greater proportion of the land-holding class with whom the original settlement was directly made, they were allowed to retain possession of the huge mass of waste land and to bring them under proper cultivation free from any further charge in future, and to deal with it in the best way they thought proper, and to enjoy the fruits of their respective good management, industry and expense, and to derive exclusive advantage of the reclamation of the jungles, with which the country was then interspersed, by which these losses, occasioned by this ruinous assessment, were to be recouped. In consequence of this ruinous assessment, the greater proportion of the land-holding class with whom the Permanent Settlement was originally contracted, having ceased to exist, a succession of bonafide purchasers came in and employed capital and labour to bring the waste lands under cultivation and eventually succeeded in lightening the burden of the so-called assessment by the extension of cultivation over a wider area, till in course of time with extended tillage, probably double the previous area of the time of the Settlement, and with rise in the value of money, probably 4 times the price of produce that prevailed at the time of the Settlement, and, with the increase of propulation, the rent roll of the zemindars, according to the Board of Revenue's roadcess returns and Mr. Justice Cunningham's statement, came to a round sum of about a little more than 13 crores of rupees which has now

become an eye sore to the Government. The Settlement having defined the rights of the different classes of dependent tenure-holders and cultivators of the soil, declares that "subject to certain prescribed restrictions regarding lands in the possession of these ryots or cultivators of the soil, the zemindar or the actual proprietor of the soil, is to let the remaining land of his zemindari or estate in whatever manner he may think proper," that "no power will then exist in the country by which the rights vested in the land-holders by the regulations can be infringed or the value of landed property affected", and that with this reservation of power to the Government they would be able to interfere simply for the benefit of the actual cultivators of the soil when occasion demanded. It will be thus seen that the zemindars did not of their own accord wish for the Settlement, but that it was forced upon them by the Government through the exigencies of the State, and that the entire body of the subsequent purchasers improved the land by a heavy outlay of labour and capital on a firm belief in the solemn *pledge*, honour, and faith of the British Government, that their proprietary rights guaranteed by the Settlement would never be interfered with for all times to come.

It has been argued by the supporters of the bill that the zemindars had no legal status whatever before 1793, and that they were nothing but mere creatures of the Permanent Settlement, in rebutting which statement it becomes necessary to go back to the olden days and consider the system of Mahomedan Government and Mahomedan land laws that had governed the country for a series of century before the establishment of British

power in India. It cannot be denied on the authority of Mr. Neil B. E. Baillie, the author of the Mahomedan Land Law, that the imposition of *Khiraj* or land tax had been in existence under the Mahomedan Government, by which the state share of the soil was assessed at one third the produce of the land by the Moghul Emperor Akbar's Finance Minister, Raja Todar Mull, during Akbar's reign, which was however subsequently raised to one half during the government of his great grandson Aurangzeb, and which ultimately came to be reckoned at $\frac{1}{4}$ th (one fourth) the produce of the soil under the successive administrations. With the grant of Diwani to the East India Company by the Emperor Shah Alum in 1765, this right of *Khiraj* was handed over to them, and it was subsequently sold to the landed class by Lord Cornwallis under the terms of the Permanent Settlement in 1793. Under Moghul Government the zemindars or rent receivers had been in enjoyment of this right in accordance with their respective terms of agreement with the State. It will thus appear that the zemindars, far from being creatures of the Settlement, had proprietary rights in the land. Admitting, for argument's sake, that the zemindari right was the creation of the settlement, with what justice, equity and expediency, it has been held reasonable to annul that time-immemorial right enjoyed without disturbance for a century, guaranteed by the Settlement, on plea of interference on behalf of the cultivators of the soil, under the reservation clause contained in the Regulation, we fail to comprehend. Having once ratified the Settlement, and having pledged solemn word never to interfere with it, and having reiterated that

promise in all the subsequent statutes passed by the Government, it would, in fact, be a breach of national faith, and hence violation of the national pledge, if the Government were now to attempt after lapse of a century to subvert that right under cover of interference for the welfare of the ryots and for correct interpretation and construction of the terms of the Settlement.

Granting that the Permanent Settlement was a mistake, and that the whole host of British administrators have blundered for a century to make a correct interpretation of its terms, and that it was subsequently reserved for Messrs Mackenzie and O'Kealy to explain its true construction, it would be still reasonable and equitable in consonance with the principles of justice, on the part of the Government to purchase all the zemindars' estates at twenty years' purchase, and to indemnify their loss, if occasioned thereby, because these zemindars relying on the faith of the British Government have invested their capital and spared no effort to improve the land, and hence it would be a matter of serious hardship and injustice for them to be told after a century that the Permanent Settlement had not guaranteed to them any proprietary rights, and hence they can claim no such right at all in the land whatever.

Apart from this, the Zemindars have every claim upon the consideration of the Government, inasmuch as they had to collect Road cess and Public Works cess from the ryots, on behalf of Government and to make good the deficit, if any. Since transfer of Rent Suits from Revenue Courts to Civil Courts in 1861, the Zemindars felt the greatest inconvenience and hardship to realize

their undisputed and just rents in consequence of incidental delays, consequent on cumbrous procedure of a Civil Court, which was made clear from the fact of Government having been under an obligation to pass the Certificate Act and several other Acts to recover their dues as land-lord in the Khas-mahal estates. Accordingly, promise was held out to the Zemindars in 1871, whose liability to Road cess collection from the tenants was thrust upon their shoulder, that legal facilities would be afforded to enable them to realize speedily their just rents, and this pledge was further re-iterated to them when the further burden was put upon them regarding the collection of the Public Works-cess in 1878.

To redeem this pledge, the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Richard Temple, introduced a bill in the local council, but it was then felt that the bill could not be passed unless the whole rent question, dealing with the respective rights of land-lords and tenants, were fully considered; and to attain this object the Rent Commission were appointed in 1879, who drew up a bill on the principle that the land of the country belongs to the people of the country, based on the report published by them and called it the Draft Rent Bill, which introduced provisions calculated to effect re-distribution of property, and re-cast the relations of land-lord and tenant, and to disturb their existing peaceful relations in all and every respect. The bill having been drafted under the grossest delusions as to real facts and figures, and the several revolutionary clauses having been thought impracticable and unworkable, it was withdrawn and subsequently succeeded by the Tenancy Bill, which aims at new rights,

strange clauses, new provisions, calculated to revolutionize the existing system, to inundate the country with a boundless ocean of litigation, to disturb the existing harmony between land-lord and tenant, to set class against class, to infringe the provisions of the Permanent Settlement, to destroy the proprietary rights of the Zemindar, to give rise to a host of middle-men, to convert the Zeminders into mere annuitants of the soil, to jeopardize the interests of the actual cultivators, and to place them at every step upon the tender mercy of money lenders. The Bill has been drafted under the erroneous impression, that the Zemindar has been rack-renting his tenant to such an alarming extent that his rent roll has been increased from 3 crores to more than 13 crores a year, in consequence of which, legislative interference is said to have been considered necessary. Now having due regard to the fact that the area of cultivation has doubled and the price of produce and the population have increased four-fold, it can be shown to demonstration that 3 crores at the time of the Settlement, represents 13 crores to-day. Hence, instead of rack-renting his tenants, the Zemindar has asserted his rights and enhanced his rent so mischievously low that a huge mass of middle-men sprang up between them and the ryots, who absorb the greater proportion of the profits of the soil.

Thus, it appears that the primary object of the legislature was to invest the land-lord with legal power under a short summary procedure for speedy realization of his undisputed rent and re-adjustment of enhancement on a better footing, in redemption of the pledge repeatedly held out to him when the liability of Road cess and

Public Works cess collection was thrown upon his shoulder ; but the Bill, as it stands in its present form, falls far short of the requisite requirements. It has attempted to improve the position of the ryot, and invest him with new rights on a mistaken belief of his having enjoyed those rights before the Permanent Settlement, by curtailing considerable functions of the vested rights and privileges of the land-lord in direct contravention of the Permanent Settlement, though unfortunately the practical result of the Bill will be, that neither the Zemindar nor the actual cultivator of the soil, for whom legislative protection is said to have been considered necessary, will be profited, but that a third party, namely, the money-lender, who seems to have no claim upon the consideration of the Government, would be very likely to reap the benefit of law, contrary to the intention of the legislature.

Thus, certain privileges and substantial rights have been conceded to the tenure-holder and occupancy ryot, in subversion of the proprietary right of the land-lord, guaranteed by the Permanent Settlement ; for instance, provisions embodied in the Bill regarding legalization of transferability of tenure and free sale, and abolition of contract, will go a great way to foster litigation and injure the interest of both the land-lord and the ryot.

Then follow remarks and comments on every section of the draft bill suggesting necessary modifications, additions, and alterations.

BENGAL TENANCY ACT MEETING.

Speech delivered at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Land-holders of Bengal and Behar, held at the Hall of British Indian Association on the 20th April, 1885, to adopt memorials to the Secretary of State and to both Houses of Parliament against the Bengal Tenancy Act, Moharaja Narendra Krishna presiding, and about 800 representative Zemindars attending.

I rise, Sir, to lend the weight of my feeble support to the resolution, just so ably moved and seconded by Nawab Mir Mahamed Ali and Mr. Wetheral respectively. Considering the lateness of the hour, I shall best consult the convenience of this meeting by abstaining myself from passing any detailed criticism upon the Bengal Tenancy Act, which has introduced such innovations and provisions as were calculated to benefit materially the land-jobbing money-lenders, contrary to the intention of the legislature, at the expense of the Zemindar and the ryot, and to unsettle their present relations by bringing constant interference of the Civil Court and the Revenue authorities to bear upon them in every ordinary transaction of their mutual interests. As the *statesman* has most ably and eloquently demolished all the charges heaped upon the devoted head of the unfortunate Zemindar, by a marvellous display of unassailable facts and figures, and as the principles and prominent details of the Act have just been dealt with by the mover and the seconder of the first Resolution, I do not consider it necessary to tread the track already trodden by them. The remarkable degree of tact and ability with which this aspect of affairs was pressed upon the notice of the Imperial Legislative Council, by

my hon'ble friend Babu Peary Mohon Mukerjee, fully justifies me to add the force of my humble testimony to the gratifying compliment just so deservedly paid to him by the supporter of the first resolution.

I shall now attempt to show whether, and to what extent, the Government was justified under clause I, Sec. 8, Reg. 1, 1793, to interfere directly between the Zemindar and the tenant, and whether such direct interference ought to be accompanied by substantial compensation or not. Assuming that the Government had the legislative power, reserved under the said clause, to interfere for promotion of the ryot's welfare, still it is evident, that ordinary interference for the advancement of the ryot's interests is one thing, and extraordinary interference for infringement with the vested rights of the land-lord is quite another thing, and that being so, no hue and cry would have been raised, had the Government acted up to the spirit of the clause, without attempting to affect redistribution of property as contemplated by the Act. That the legislature had in view the restriction of the legislative power to the extent of mere ordinary interference for the furtherance of the ryots' interest, and that it did not contemplate direct interference with the vested rights of the land-lord, appears to be clear beyond any possibility of doubt from the terms of the Reg. 2 of 1793, which runs thus :—

“No power will then exist in the country by which the rights vested on the land-lords could be infringed or the value of landed property affected.”

When in the face of such express prohibition conveyed in the terms of the Regulation, the Government has taken

the law in its own hand, such direct interference on the part of the ruling power for the ryot's welfare, at the expense of the land-lord, cannot but lead to breach of faith ; and in giving expression to this view I can count upon the support of no less a mighty authority than the Parliamentary Report of the select Committee of the House of Commons of 1832, which says :—

“Unless the Government should either by public or private purchase acquire the Zemindary tenure, it would under the existing circumstances be deemed a breach of faith to interfere directly between the Zemindar and the tenant for the purpose of fixing the amount of land tax demandable from the latter under settlement of 1792-1793.”

Admitting for the sake of argument that the Government had the absolute legislative power on the question, without any restriction whatever ; admitting that the Permanent Settlement was nothing but a mere piece of waste paper, as far as any guarantee of proprietary right to the land-lord was concerned ; admitting that the huge host of British administrators here laboured under a sad delusion for a century as to its real interpretation ; and admitting that it was subsequently reserved for two young civilians to explain its true construction, still none can, conscientiously deny, that common fairness and ordinary principles of equity and justice should decree adequate compensation for the proprietary right of the land-lord ; and this view of the question has been subscribed to by the opinion of no less an eminent personage than Mr. Holt Mackenzie, who was examined as a witness by the select committee of the House of Commons in 1832, and who is reported

to have said on the point of the right of Government interference: "If done without their consent, we must, I apprehend, interfere by a new law and be prepared to give the zemindars compensation or allow deduction of revenue." Hence, to make the two ends meet, it would be a bare act of equitable justice on the part of the Government to buy up all the zemindari right at twenty years' purchase, and invest the sale proceeds in Government securities in such a way as to secure for every Zemindar his present income derived from his zemindari, since these zemindars, relying on the faith and honour of the British Government, have spared no pains and purse to turn into a smiling land all the unreclaimed jungles surrendered to them absolutely by way of compensation for the ruinous assessment by the Permanent Settlement, which was forced upon them by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, not with a view to benefit either the zemindar or the ryot, but with a view to amply replenish the exchequer of the East India Company.

The measure is said to have been conceived no doubt to save the ryot from the "Horrors of eviction," but unfortunately such has been the practical wisdom underlying the prominent features of the Act, that even the class, in whose interest the legislative machinery is said to have been moved, after making due allowance for the benovolent intentions of the Government, hesitated not a moment to join hand in hand with the zemindar to condemn this obnoxious measure in no measured terms. When the unanimous public verdict of the two conflicting interests, affected by the measure, has repeatedly pointed in favour of the withdrawal of the measure, the justice

of pushing forward this obnoxious bill, and of sealing the same with legislative and executive sanction, in the teeth of national opposition, is a question that can only be settled by reference to the British Parliament, and by appeal to the sense of justice and national conscience of England, which has however never been found wanting to recognise the principle, "give the devil his due." In consideration of the universal denunciation raised by the press and the public, combined with the general impression as to the justice of our cause, I make no hesitation to support the Resolution standing in my name.

Speech on Patwari Bill delivered at a meeting of the British Indian Association on the 29th April 1885.

GENTLEMEN,

Every consideration that can be brought to bear on the subject of the revival of the Patwari system leads me to raise my feeble voice against the Patwari Bill now pending consideration before the legislative council of Bengal, which would practically conduce to the benefit of neither the zemindar nor the ryot. This bill is to supply a necessary auxiliary and corollary of the Bengal Tenancy Act, the salutary provisions of which concerning the cadastral survey and record of rights, it is believed, could not be invested with practical utility and productive of beneficial results, unless the Bill in question is sealed with the sanction of the legislature and clothed with the authority of the law of the land. The object of the Bill is said to have been to collect requisite informations regarding the agricultural statistics of the country and

a complete record of rights for the purpose of helping the zemindar and the ryot in the management of their respective business. It is proposed to make Patwari a Government servant, and levy a cess, called the Patwari cess, upon the parties benefitted by the measure, at the rate of 3 pies per rupee on the gross rental to meet the cost to be incurred by the revival of the system. Admitting the laudableness and soundness of the object that guides the ruling power to bring forward this measure, which if successfully and practically gained, will contribute not a little to the efficiency of good Government, I am inclined to think that the schemes and plans by which the Government has attempted to carry out its object will not be likely to commend to the approval of the parties in furtherance of whose interest legislative interference is said to have been considered necessary, since these Patwaris with inadequate remuneration under the existing state of things are not expected to belong to an honest class of officers, sufficiently alive to the sense of conscientious duty and responsibility beyond the reach of temptation, the practical result of which would be that the opulent zemindar and the wealthy ryot will reap the benefit, at the expense of the petty zemindar and the poor ryot respectively through the intervention of gold into the pockets of the ill-paid needy Patwaris and that the accounts submitted would be hardly accurate and complete, as their chief source of information is to emanate from the zemindar and would be very likely to be mischievous, inasmuch as the same is to be looked upon as reliable evidence, coming as it does, from his capacity as a public servant. The Court of Directors also in their Despatch,

dated 1815, said, "By such appointment if his natural connexion with the zemindar were destroyed, it might be feared that the Patwari would in many cases be rendered the more, from his character as a public servant, of being the tool of oppression on the ryot and fraud on Government. In other cases fostering the intrigues of the ryots, he might bring ruin on the zemindar and severely injure public revenue." Leaving aside the question of the propriety of the revival of the system, the beneficial operation of which had been frustrated in course of the Mahomedan and British Governments, and having due regard to the fact of the Patwari cess having been abolished by Lord Ripon in North Western Provinces, I cannot resist the temptation of declaring, that the proposal is to be condemned all the more, inasmuch as it goes to pave the way for direct taxation which has been found by experience to be unsuited to the circumstances of the country and the habits and nature of the people, not to speak of extreme hardship, annoyance and harassment occasioned by the inquisitorial enquiry proceeding from it. Hopes are entertained that the measure will not be likely to give rise to any additional taxation upon the land, and that the interests of both the zemindar and the tenant would be best safe guarded against the extortion practised by the Patwari upon them, with reference to which I may be permitted to observe that when the Patwari is to be a Government servant, charged not with the duty of the collection of rents for the zemindar, but with the duty of systematic maintenance of the record of rights, and when the zemindar will be under an obligation to bear the necessary expenses of the suitable staff

of collecting machinery for collection of his rents, and when the obligation of the ryot even if he now pays *Hishabana* to the zemindar's *gomastah*, will remain all the same, over and above the Patwari tax to be paid to the Government, how those hopes are expected to be realized, I fail to understand.

Speech at a monster meeting, held at the Town Hall in February 1886, to protest against the passing of the Licence Tax Bill.

GENTLEMEN,

The Bill owes its origin to the financial pressure of the Government, occasioned by the depreciating value of silver and the enormous cost incurred by the Burmese war, on account of the military preparations carried on to strengthen the defences of the North-Western Frontier. The object of the Bill is to replenish the exchequer drained by the military and political exigencies of the State, as has been already explained by the preceding speakers by the imposition of an income-tax at the rate of two and a half per cent. for annual incomes below Rs. 2000, and 2 per cent. for incomes above that amount, which was abolished by Lord Northbrook in consideration of the unanimous and widespread opposition raised against the tax, that experience has declared to be such as can be proved to be out of all proportion to the circumstances of the country and to the habits and nature of the people, not to speak of the boundless harassment and annoyance caused by the inquisitional nature of the enquiry, inseparable from practical and legal enforcement of the

provisions of this Bill, which is sure to be passed into law within 24 hours, as has just been predicted by the Indian Burk Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, in his soul-stirring speech, in spite of the loud and unanimous protest emanating from this monster meeting that seems to rend the sky. Admitting that the present bill is limited in its scope, and not like its predecessor, who can say that it is not the thin end of the wedge? The very fact, that a wise and sagacious statesman of Lord Northbrook's stamp considered it consonant with the principles of equity and justice to abolish the tax, requires that a very strong and inevitable necessity must be shown before the Government can be reasonably expected to ask the taxpayers to contribute to the diminished resources of the State. How far that necessity has been proved, would appear from the absence of the Budget Statement, which should have been laid before the public, before the financial proposals of the Government should be reasonably allowed to be embodied in a definite measure of this kind; so that the classes affected by the Bill could have got sufficient opportunities to ascertain the financial position of the Empire, and to say their say on the matter, and to make known their wants and wishes to the constituted authorities of the land. Granting for argument's sake, that the Budget Statement confirms the Vice-regal declarations on the point, then the question arises, why the manufacturers of Lancashire and Cheshire should be benefitted at the expense of the overburdened taxpayers of India; or, in other words, why the cotton duties that were surrendered by the Government from party considerations, for the sake of a dozen votes of Lancashire, should not

be re-imposed, and the salt tax should not be enhanced to meet the estimated deficit. The arguments advanced by the Finance Member to silence objections on the point, can hardly suffice to convince the Indian public, why the reimposition of those fruitful sources of revenue, the maximum of which can be easily levied with a minimum of trouble and cost, was not resorted to, to protect the import trade of India in the interest of India alone ; but rather the impression is gaining ground throughout India, that nothing but party considerations influenced the Home-authorities, to subordinate the interest of India and to sacrifice it altogether before the altar of their personal interest, calculated to secure their stability in office. The Bombay Burma Trading Company, at whose instance the Burmese war was undertaken, which war resulted in a heavy deficit, should be asked with equal justice to contribute a lion's share to make up that deficit by all means. With these remarks, I beg to re-support the Resolution already supported by the previous speaker asking the Government to defer passing the Bill, which, however, unfortunately is likely to be sealed with the sanction of the Legislature, at to-morrow's sitting of the Council.

Speech on Murshidabad History, delivered at an inaugural meeting, held at the Berhampur College, on the 24th August, 1887, under the presidency of the District Judge, Mr. T. D. Beighton and attended by the Nawab Bahadour, and other members of the Nizamut Family and all the aristocratic representatives of the District.

“ In response to the call of our worthy President, who has so generously come forward to support the object of this meeting, I have the unfeigned pleasure to move the Resolution. Murshidabad being the ancient capital of Bengal, it can well be the subject of history. And any one undertaking to write the history of Murshidabad fully deserves our sympathy and active help, pecuniary or otherwise. The would-be-historian has already made himself known to you by his Lives of Justices D. N. Mitter and Sambhu Nath Pandit; and judging by the success he has already achieved, you may feel confident that he would be the right man in the right place, to complete the gigantic task he has undertaken. But as money is essentially necessary for such an undertaking, I fervently hope that our noble Nawab Bahadur, the worthy Maharani, and the wealthy and patriotic personages of our country, would not allow such a useful project to drop for want of funds.

Looking to the character and position of the gentlemen forming the sub-committee, no one, I am sure, should feel any hesitation to contribute towards raising the necessary funds.”

With these remarks I beg to move the resolution that runs thus :—

“ That a Sub-Committee be formed consisting of the following gentlemen and officers,

His Highness The Nawab Bahadur,

T. D. Beighton, Esquire (*President*).

Sultan Shahib,

Nawab Zainabaddin,

Roy Budh Sing,

Roy Dhunput Sing,

Roy Megh Raj Bahadoor,

Roy Sketab Chand Bahadoor,

Roy Bissen Chand Dudhuria,

Babu Golap Chand Nowlukka,

„ Srish Chunder Bose Survadictory,

„ Radhica Charan Sen,

„ Srinath Pal,

„ Hari Krishna Mozumdar,

„ Baikantha Nath Sen,

„ Nobin Chunder Gangooly,

„ Dina Nath Gangooly,

„ Barada Prosad Bagchi (*Secretary*),

„ Mohendra Nath Mukerjee (*Treasurer*),

with powers to add to their number in order to raise subscription for the work.

THE SYSTEM OF TRIAL BY JURY.

Speech delivered at Grant Hall, Berhampore, on the 4th December, 1892, at a monster meeting under the Presidency of Rai Dhunpat Singh Bahadur.

The resolution I am asked to move runs thus :—

“That this meeting respectfully prays that his Excellency the Viceroy in Council be pleased to advise the Bengal Government to rescind its recent order regarding the system of Trial by Jury, and to consider the propriety of not only modifying Sec. 269 of the Criminal Procedure Code in such a way that the withdrawal of the system already extended to any part of the country shall not be made dependent on an executive order of the Local Government, but also of extending the operation of the Jury System into all parts of India.”

This resolution, I need hardly say, dealing as it does with provisions of law, should have been placed in charge of a law man, who, as can be naturally expected, could have handled the subject with a master hand, instead of being put upon the shoulder of an ordinary layman like my humble self, who cannot claim professional knowledge to do full justice to the same. The resolution appears to be divided into three parts, the first part dealing with the withdrawal of the Jury Notification, issued by the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Charles Elliot, the 2nd part, with the amendment of the Sec. 269 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and the last part ending with the question of extension of the Jury system into all parts of India.

It is necessary for me to take up the three points involved in the Resolution, one by one and to deal with

them from every possible stand point of view, but as that would require a considerable length of time, I am obliged to claim your indulgence, gentlemen, and to ask your favour to control your patience for about a couple of hours, to enable me to complete the onerous task imposed upon me, to the satisfaction of this meeting, considering the important issues involved in the subject matter of this resolution. At a time, when internal peace and tranquility reigns throughout the length and breadth of Hindoosthan from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Burmah to the mountain range of Hindukoosh; at a time, when foreign relations continue to be friendly, so far as their connection with India is concerned,—India, the richest diadem of Her Gracious Majesty's Imperial Crown; at a time, when the military frontier of the Indian Empire is neither threatened by external aggressions, nor is its "scientific frontier," in the words of the late Tory minister Lord Beaconsfield, disturbed by a change of policy on the part of the present head of the Liberal Government Mr. Gladstone, who now guides the destinies of the British Empire, upon which the sun never sets; at a time, when education has spread far and wide amongst the masses of the people, a circumstance which the present occupant of the Musnud of Belvedere thinks so much of, judging by the degree of warm encouragement and cordial sympathy evinced by him in the matter; at a time, when improvements are being effected in every department of the Fine Arts, through the influence of Western education and Western culture; at a time, when the working of the Local Self Government Act and of the Municipalities have

been declared satisfactory, on the whole, from an administrative point of view, by the constituted authorities of the land; at a time; when proposals were under contemplation to satisfy reasonable aspirations, under legitimate safeguards, of the educated portion of the children of the soil for admission into some share of the Government of their country; at a time, when a native of India, who is better known in England as Lord Salisbury's "black man," has been declared fit to enter British Parliament, a boon which was never dreamt of in the heart of hearts and which was some years ago considered to be nothing more than a chimerical dream, but which has now, through a decree of fate, Will of Providence and liberal sympathies of the great English nation, manifold blessings of whose benign rule we do heartily acknowledge in no measured terms, come to be practically realized, the result of which will ultimately redound to the glory and justice of the British Victory, achieved by them in imparting political education and in giving political training to the people, whose fortunes and fate are indissolubly bound up with those of theirs; at a time, when confidence was being restored between the rulers and the ruled, and their mutual relationship was being tied up together in bonds of closer union and friendship; at a time, when with the passing of the Indian Councils Act, public mind was filled with higher and higher expectations, and prepared for reception of greater concessions in the direction of political reform; at such a time, Sir Charles Elliot's Notification of the 20th October last, practically abolishing Jury trials in almost all important offences against the State, has been

thrust upon the 66 millions of human beings committed to his charge, like a thunder-bolt in a cloudless sky, administering a rude shock to all their cherished hopes, creating various suspicions in their minds, and retarding the progress of the country, some generations back.

The object of this meeting is to protest, by constitutional means, against this arbitrary decision of the Bengal Government, and to make out a bold and united stand, in co-operation and conjunction with the leading political Associations of the country, to join the universal demonstration organized against the measure, in order to protect our rights and privileges connected with the system of Jury trials, which we have been enjoying since 1862, to which our title has been fully established by successful results of the last 30 years' experience and trial. How far that object has the sympathy of this district, which was once the mistress of ancient Bengal, can be best understood from this large and unprecedented gathering, composed of representatives of every class and section of communities of this district,—a spectacle which it never fell to my lot to witness in this town before, except in that grand meeting held on the occasion of the Local Self Government Agitation about a score of years ago. It should be our paramount duty, as loyal subjects of the crown, to approach the footsteps of the Vice-regal throne, with a full representation of our material grievances, praying for due redress,—a prayer supported by an expression of public opinion, in a language most *temperate, moderate, and respectful*, as our case can never be expected to advance an inch by wild extravagance or rank abuse, and to carry on consti-

tutional agitation, if baffled here, across the seas, because no political movement can be expected to succeed without constitutional agitation under a constitutional Government like that of England, since agitation is the soul of success. It is the customary practice and general rule of every civilised Government, like the Government of India, that enquiry precedes legislation; but unfortunately that rule has been more honored in the breach than in the observance in this particular case, in which foregone conclusion has taken the place of unbiassed investigation. A clear case of strong *urgency* and *necessity* must be shown, before the machinery of law should be allowed to be set in motion, and before the executive discretion, vested by law, can be safely exercised; but has Government succeeded in making out a strong *prima facie* case at all in this particular instance? Certainly not. It is no doubt the duty of the Bengal Government to obey the orders of the Government of India, contained in its Resolution, dated the 23rd of December 1882, which runs thus—"It appeared to the Government of India that in the case of Legislation of the kind, for it was legislation, it was as important as in the case of bills, that opportunity should be given for external unofficial criticism, before the rules had been finally settled. The Government had accordingly recommended that any rule, regulation or notification, which affected the outside public, whether made under executive authority or on the authority of an Act, should, before being issued by Local Government or Administration, and when sanction was required before being submitted for the sanction of the Governor-General in council, be published as a draft, with

the view of ascertaining whether any valid objection could be taken to it."

It is the duty of the Government of Bengal to allow fullest opportunities to the people, who are directly and chiefly affected by the measure, to say their say, in consonance with the principles of equity and justice, before this retrograde measure was considered fit for practical adoption? But has the Government done this duty? I pause for a reply. Cries of "no" coming from this meeting certainly answer the question in the negative. On the contrary, the Government has chosen to take official opinion, quite in the dark, without taking the people into confidence at all, and without giving them the least and slightest opportunity to state their case at all, a right that can hardly be denied to a criminal offender under the glorious majesty of British Law and British Constitution in comparison to which Lord Macaulay described in his History of England the laws and constitutions of other nations of the civilized world to be mere copies, before this drastic measure was thrust upon their devoted heads, all on a sudden, in utter defiance of all classes of public opinion, and in utter disregard of their wants and wishes. If the people had been considered fit, after years' trial, to enjoy the boon granted to them in 1862, what justification can there be, consistent with the equitable principles of fair play and justice, on the part of the ruling power, for this unwarrantable interference, we fail to comprehend? On the contrary, not the least shadow of reason can be advanced that can stand the test of close and equitable scrutiny and impartial comment, why they should be declared unfit now, after successful result

of 30 years' experience and trial, during which long period, the way in which they have discharged their duties could hardly fail to command the average confidence of the general public, during which the majority of their verdicts have been upheld by the High Courts, in cases of the difference of Juries with the Judges as could be borne out by the statistics already placed before the meeting by the mover of the first resolution, with his usual eloquence, by a marvellous display of unassailable facts and figures. If there have been isolated instances of failure and miscarriage of justice here and there, the Police is more to blame, for sending up concocted cases, than the Jurors are. It appears from the published official correspondence, that the concensus of the official opinion, upon which the Government action is based and upheld even by the Viceroy Lord Lansdowne, the other day, in replying to the Madras Mahajan Sava's deputation on the subject, cannot and does not warrant a conclusion in favor of abolition of the system of Jury trials, but rather it points to a suggestion, whereby the defects existing in the system could be removed and the system accordingly improved. But unfortunately our Government has chalked out a novel way to remedy the disease, by killing the patient altogether. The learned mover of the 1st resolution has already explained to you all the leading features of the case so fully, his towering abilities eminently fitting him to do so, and judging by the signs of impatience you are showing, apparently expressive of your desire to bring further discussion of the matter to a close, I shall best consult your convenience by making my remarks fewer and briefer than they other-

wise would be, instead of treading the beaten track already trodden by him. As this is a dear privilege, prized and enjoyed by the people from time-immemorial, constituting, as it does, the safeguard of their liberties, and as it has been unjustly taken away from them unheard, the only course left for them is to appeal to the Viceroy in Council, to direct the Bengal Government to rescind its order, especially when the less advanced sister Presidencies are still enjoying that right that forms the subject matter of the 1st portion of this Resolution.

With reference to the 2nd and 3rd part of this resolution, it may be observed, that Section 269 of the Criminal Procedure Code vests a large latitude of power and discretion in the hands of the Local Government, which is, in fact, a dangerous instrument in the hands of the Local executive to jeopardize the liberty and interest of the people at any time it likes. So long as the executive authorities exercise their discretion vested in them under the section, with sound judgment and due deliberation, holding equal balance in the consideration of matters connected therewith, no cause of complaint or fear would arise. But as there can be no guarantee, that sympathetic ruler like Lord Ripon's stamp would continue to occupy the Provincial and Imperial Musnuds, it is advisable, and it becomes a matter of necessity, considering the signs of the time and the growing intelligence of the people which cannot be denied, that the section should be so amended that the power left in the hands of the executive, so often liable to be abused on the whims and caprices of individual rulers, might not be taken away from them; so that the withdrawal of the privilege hitherto enjoyed by the

people might not be made dependent upon the executive order of Government. Considering the average fitness of the general bulk of the people, consequent on the diffusion of primary education among the masses, the Legislature might be moved to set matters right and to recognise their capabilities and their growing desire for public service, by extending the operation of the Jury system into all other parts of India, where it has not yet been brought into operation, as the time has come when such operation could be safely extended in the interest of the Administration and of the people, as well. In fact the feelings of mortification that have been stirred up by the issue of this obnoxious Notification, could be better conceived than described, to allay which, it is expedient on the ground of policy and justice that this ill-fated Notification, that has raised such universal condemnation, should be forthwith withdrawn, as a concession to public opinion, so strongly expressed in unmistakable terms. With these remarks I beg to move the Resolution the words of which have already been read out before the meeting.

Prince Sultan Shaheb's Memorial Meeting Speech delivered
at the Grant Hall, Berhampore, on the 22nd March, 1893,
Babu Baikanth Nath Sen presiding.

GENTLEMEN,

I am asked to say a few words in support of the 2nd Resolution, which, if I consulted my own wishes, I would not have done for various considerations, in any public meeting of this district, (at this stage the speaker was earnestly asked to proceed and he went on accordingly),

which unfortunately, through various degenerating and demoralising influence, has now dwindled down to a very backward district, quite outside the pale of grandeur and political significance it had once enjoyed as the capital of ancient Bengal, in the estimation of the political world, and which is therefore justly styled the Bœotia of Bengal, in consideration of which, it cannot be a matter of surprise, that the well-known principle "Give the devil his due" can be hardly appreciated and adequately recognized in this place by the actual children of the soil, leaving, of course, outside all considerations, the numerical strength of the foreign element that forms an important factor in guiding the destinies of this district, owing to the retrograde position and hapless condition in point of activity and intelligence of the actual residents of the place, who should be the natural and rightful leaders of public opinion in this district. But the request of the Chairman, coupled with the unanimous sense of the meeting has come upon me with such a telling force, that I can hardly conceive it to be nothing short of a mandate, emanating from the Musnud of Constantinople, beneath the weight of whose magic spell and talismanic influence, my heart is imperceptibly led to bend and bow, though not of course without a great deal of hesitation, which vanishes as soon as the thought flashes in my mind, that by obeying the Chairman's call, I shall be honoring the honored memory of a personal friend, who claims his descent from the Nizamat Family, the proudest dynasty that had exercised sovereign power throughout Bengal for about a century before the establishment of British

power in Bengal, under which, my predecessors Raja Shitanath Bose Sarbadhicary Bahadur and Raja Mohendra Naryan Bahadur had the honour to serve respectively as Dewan and Revenue minister to the Nawab Nazim of Bengal Behar and Orissa, the former after serving as a Dewan also to the Viceroy. As Shitanath's and Mohendra Narayan's descendant, I am entitled to claim especial indulgence in taking a prominent share in the deliberations of this meeting, in addition to what I can claim upon considerations advanced from the point of view of personal friendship. The object of this large gathering is not only to show sympathy to the bereaved family of the deceased Prince Iskander Ali Mirza, alias Sultan Shaheb, but also to take steps to perpetuate his memory, whose untimely death is mourned by all classes of the people, without any distinction of creed and colour, age and sex. If I had had the inexhaustible stock of eloquence and a surprising command over the English language, I would have hardly been able to do full justice to all the social qualifications that marked the wordly dealings and adorned the hero of this evening. Having had frequent opportunities to come in contact with him, either as a guest in his lordly mansion, or as a host in my humble cottage, or as a fellow-hunter in the rugged plains, I can bear uniform testimony and add the weight of my feeble support to the gratifying compliment, so deservedly paid to him in respect of his private virtues, by the Chairman of this meeting, in his opening speech. Born of the ruling-house of Bengal, it speaks volumes for his strength of mind, *for him* to be able to break the talismanic career and the traditional custom and

practice in his House against free interchange of thoughts and ideas, by mixing with the general public, and joining in public movements of the day, and taking a leading share in the management of the local concerns and the local Government of his country, abundant proofs of which have already been received from his satisfactory discharge of duty of an onerous nature, entrusted to him as Chairman of the Lalbag Municipality and President of the Hughly Imambara Association, and thereby fulfilling the noble object and justifying the wise prophecy of the noble author of the Local-Self Government Act, Lord Ripon, whose endearing name should not be passed over by the meeting without giving three cheers for him (Cries of "Three cheers for Lord Ripon"), who built the permanent foundation of the British Empire upon the willing allegiance, devotion and contentment of 250 millions of human beings, throughout the entire period of his Viceroyalty, and who, being a sagacious statesman of sufficient foresight, had declared in no equivocal terms, that no Government, however strong and powerful it might be, could be expected to last permanently upon the support of mere brute force, and through help of mere military power, unless it succeeds in gaining the hearts of the people.

It can be safely said, without any fear of contradiction, that Sultan Sahib's nature was so affable and that he was so full of courtly etiquette and such suave manners, that to know him was to love him, and those who had the good fortune to come in contact with him, at once became spell-bound to join the chorus of praise sung in his honor, and to support the demonstration held with

a view to raise suitable memorials, to guard against the rude hand of death obliterating the memory of one who had gained such remarkable hold upon the hearts of the people. If there can be any subject matter about the determination of which there does not involve any difference of opinion amongst the different shades and sections of public opinion, it is this outpouring of national grief and universal manifestation of genuine sympathy for the departed worthy in recognition of his rare qualifications. What can be a more ennobling and gratifying sight than this meeting, in which different races, including the rulers and the ruled, speaking different dialects, professing different religious faiths, embracing different creeds, and following different customs, but owning allegiance to one sovereign, and all bound together by a common feeling of loyalty to Her Majesty's throne, have met together on a common platform to do honour to one, who was deservedly held in high estimation by all classes of the people. We need hardly add that, as our hearts are full, it is difficult for us to give adequate expression to our feelings of grief, occasioned by the premature death of Prince Sultan, a feeling that could be better imagined than described, and hence we may indulge in a fond hope, that this manifestation of popular feeling is sufficient to move the Government, whose avowed policy is to rule the ruled in the interest of the ruled, to show practical proof of their generous policy by allowing the Political pension hitherto enjoyed by the deceased Prince, to descend to his surviving son. With these remarks, I beg to second the resolution standing in my name.

Rai Bankim Chunder Chatterjee's Memorial Meeting Speech,
delivered at the Grant Hall, on the 15th April, 1894, under
the Presidency of Babu Baikant Nath Sen.

It affords me sincere pleasure to join my feeble voice and lend the weight of my humble testimony, in support of the gratifying compliments, just so deservedly paid, to the departed worthy by the President in his opening speech, and by the learned mover of the first Resolution Babu Brojendra Coomer Seal, the esteemed Principal of the Berhampur College, who goes before the world as a literary character of high attainments, to come after whom is a misfortune and disadvantage, under which I am to labour, and which I clearly feel, considering the colossal learning that has been brought to bear upon his treatment of the subject matter under discussion. In assembling together in this crowded hall, to do honor to the memory of one, in whose honour public meetings are being held in different parts of the country, we really do honour ourselves, as none can deny the truth involved in the statement of the sages, that one honors himself by honoring a deserving recipient of honour. Gentlemen, it is not for me to point out, how far the object of the promoters of this meeting to perpetuate the memory of the lamented deceased, has the sympathy of the general public. This large and representative gathering with which this hall is filled up will answer that question.

The hero of this evening is one, whose public career can be judged from two stand points of view, in both of which he attained unqualified success. He was an ornament to the Subordinate Executive Service, the

status and tone of which he elevated in such a dignified way, by distinguished service rendered to the crown by satisfactory discharge of the public duties attached to his office, with an amount of devotion and independence that won for him the respect and admiration of the Government, in recognition of which, the public decorations of a Rai Bahadurship and Companionship of the Indian Empire were so fittingly conferred upon him. This was not all. The great point that has secured for him an undying name and immortal fame, and that will contribute not a little to constitute the lasting monument of his eternal glory, that will far outweigh the importance of any number of marble statues that are generally erected to commemorate the memories of distinguished personages, lay in his life-long devotion to advance the cause of Bengalee literature. This he did with such a remarkable degree of success, by means of publication of his literary productions, that have infused such a high moral tone into the literary world, and developed the cause of novel writing, for which he was rightly called the father of Bengali novels and Sir Walter Scott of Bengal, and that have exercised such an educating influence upon the young hopefuls of our country, and raised the aspiring hopes of the rising generation, before whom a very heavy task and responsibility of effecting the moral re-generation of their country lies at no distant date, that they can ill afford to lose the service of one, whose untimely loss can hardly be replaced not only in the present time, but also for some years to come.

I had the honor of his acquaintance, at a time when

I was too young to form a correct estimate of his character. Since then my occasional visits deepened that acquaintanceship into familiarity, that gave me opportunities to mark him with admiration throughout the different phases of his life; and hence it gives me additional interest in seconding the resolution that stands in my name.

Speech on Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations, delivered in a largely attended public meeting of the Moorshedabad Association, held at Grant Hall, under the presidency of Babu Sasi Bhusan Mukherji, on the 28th July 1894.

[The speaker, on rising, was received with enthusiastic greetings, which he acknowledged in suitable terms.]

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—It has already been explained to you by the President of the Moorshedabad Association, who has convened this meeting, and by the Chairman, who has been unanimously elected to guide the deliberations of this meeting, what noble object has brought about such a large and representative gathering in this crowded hall. This is no doubt a subject, the soundness and laudableness of which can hardly be questioned by any class of Her Majesty's subjects, and towards the furtherance of which a perfect unanimity prevails, amongst the different classes and sections of Indian communities owning allegiance to Her Majesty's throne, combined with a common desire and feeling that actuate every Indian heart, to rise above all sorts of party considerations and differences, and to make common cause with a view to concert requisite measures to advance the

interests of his country, in response to the call of that sacred duty and responsibility, which every one of us owes to our mother-land (cheers).

Gentlemen, if I had been blessed with the divine gift of inexhaustible supply of splendid oratory, combined with an equal degree of command over the English language, I would have hardly been able to dissect the whole history of the question which we are called to deal with to-night within the short space of time that lies at my disposal before this meeting, and to point out the glaring injustice made by the Secretary of State, in conjunction or collusion with the Government of India, in thwarting the practical operation of Mr. Herbert Paul's resolution passed by the House of Commons, whereby the Civil Service Examinations for recruiting members of the Indian Civil Service by open competition were to be held simultaneously in India and England, in the very teeth of national opposition, by placing necessary materials with necessary arguments, that can be possibly advanced from every possible standpoint of view in justification of my own ground. Mr. Paul's Resolution of the 2nd June of 1893 runs thus:—"That all open competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and in England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit." The reasons assigned in the Despatch of the Secretary of State for the inability of the Government of India to obey the behest of the House of Commons, by carrying

out loyally the object of this Resolution, and thereby to set at naught the national verdict of England, through the help of executive power, can hardly be considered justifiable. It has been just now proved to demonstration by the learned mover of this Resolution, that the decision of Her Majesty's Government embodied in the concluding portion of the Despatch of the Secretary of State, dated 19th April, is based upon no equitable principle of *justice* or *fairplay* consistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858, which declare that all classes of Her Majesty's subjects shall be admitted freely into Her employ, and that no class of Her subjects shall, by reason of descent, place of birth, creed or colour, be disabled from holding any place of power, which they have by their education, character, and integrity have respectively qualified themselves to occupy with distinction. The portion of the Despatch alluded to runs thus:—"Her Majesty's Government are most anxious, that the natives of India should enjoy every facility, compatible with the maintenance of the efficiency of the administration and the safety of the British rule, to enter the public service, and that they have reconsidered the whole subject with a sincere desire to give full weight to the arguments in favor of a system of simultaneous examination, but that they have arrived at the conclusion, that there are insuperable objections to the establishment of that system, and that by far the best method of meeting the legitimate claims and aspirations of the natives of the country, is to bestow such of the higher posts as can be made available for them on those who distinguish

themselves by their capacity and trustworthiness in the performance of their subordinate duties ; and that upon a careful review of the whole question, Her Majesty's Government agree with the Government of India, that the system lately established is based on just and wise principles, and are of opinion that, subject to such alteration in detail as experience may prove to be necessary, it should be maintained." On the other hand, the impression is gaining ground, or rather a conviction has already exercised strong hold upon the hearts of the people, regarding the palpable injustice of the conclusion, as arrived at in the Despatch of the Indian Minister, from a summary of various objections raised *pro* and *con* in support of that conclusion, the soundness of which has already been demolished and shown to be nonest by the preceding speaker throughout the length and breadth of the Land of the Lotus, where there breathes not an Aryan heart, who hesitates to join the universal demonstration raised against this arbitrary and unjustifiable action of the Secretary of State. (Applause and prolonged cheers).

It is argued, with some force no doubt, by the opponents of this contemplated measure of reform, that the report of the Public Service Commission signed by the native members of the Commission or representatives of native interest in the Commission, shows that the proposal entertained for holding Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations in India was not recommended for practical adoption, which goes to show that if the practical operation of the measure had been considered feasible and practicable in the interest of India, that proposal

would never have been negatived by the Public Service Commission, at least by the native members of the Commission, that was instructed to suggest practical schemes and recommend necessary proposals, tending to secure extended employment of natives in the Public Service, for better administration of India, at a cheaper cost, having due regard to the efficiency of the public service at the same time. With reference to this line of contention, it may be remarked in reply, to silence their objections, that the native members of the Commission or the advocates of native interest in the Commission did not sign the report in its entirety, condemning the proposal altogether, but they did sign the Report, subject to certain modifications in the alternative, which if carried out in their *entirety* by the Government, whereby, they considered, the object aimed at for widening the door of admission for natives of India in the public service might be practically gained, would counterbalance the disadvantages arising from the rejection of the proposal for holding Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations in India. Let us see what the Government has done with respect to the modification, or in other words the alternative proposals, recommended by the representatives of native interest, mentioned in the Report of the Commission, the sum and substance of which was, in addition to other things, that a minimum of 126 higher appointments including Divisional Commissionerships and Memberships of the Board of Revenue, was to be reserved for natives, with the condition of that number being subject to revision from time to time, according to the exigencies of public service, in lieu of their yielding to

the opinion of their colleagues of the Commission as to their not supporting the proposal for a simultaneous Civil Service Examination in India. The Government has not given full effect to this recommendation, by adopting the alternative proposals mentioned in the Report of the Commission, in its *entirety*, as insisted upon by those members who espoused the cause of natives, as they were not prepared to adopt any part of their recommendations. In fact they declared in clear terms, that nothing, but full acceptance of their alternative proposals in their *entirety*, was the only condition upon which they could be induced to accord their consent to their colleagues' recommendations for not holding Civil Service Examination simultaneously in India. This would appear from the line of action subsequently taken by the Government, from which it shows, that out of 126 appointments, including such higher appointments as Divisional Commissionerships and Memberships of the Board of Revenue recommended, 93 appointments were declared available for the natives, without any further condition of a further revision, according to the exigencies of public service, without any prospect of promotion to the Divisional Commissionerships and Memberships of the Board of Revenue, in utter disregard of the Commission's recommendation in full, as stated before. Such being the case, how can the Government, or the supporters of their policy, be justified in taking advantage of the Commission's general Report, unless the alternative proposals or modifications recommended in the report of that Commission, were accepted in full and acted upon accordingly.

If exigencies of the State policy demand employment of a minimum proportion of Europeans in the public service, as contended by the Government, with a view to safeguarding defences of the Indian Empire, when occasion arises, there is nothing to apprehend frustration of that object from the practical operation of the Parliamentary Resolution that declares, "That all open competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Service of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examination in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classed in one list according to merit," though the strongest bulwark of the State, upon which fullest confidence should be placed by the ruling Power, consists in the devoted loyalty and contentment of 250 millions of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, who, if well contented, will be prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder, in defence of Her Majesty's throne, against any number of internal and foreign invasions. (Prolonged cheers).

Gentlemen, the learned mover of this Resolution has already drawn your attention to the first five heads of objections urged in his Lordship's Despatch by the Secretary of State, and declared by him to be insuperable to the establishment of the system of holding competitive Civil Service examinations in India, as he, the mover, has adduced sufficient facts and figures to meet his Lordship's arguments, and to minimise their force, to substantiate his own ground, and to show that what is considered insuperable is practically *surmountable*, it will be therefore quite superfluous for me to go over the same

grounds traversed by him, at this late hour of the meeting; but suffice it to say, that I have no hesitation to support these arguments with all my might, to enable me to demolish the position of hostile attitude taken up by the responsible Minister of the Crown for India against the holding of the simultaneous Civil Service examinations in India.

Gentlemen, it may not be out of place for me to raise the question, that necessarily arises from the action of the Executive Government, in setting at defiance the authority of the Imperial Parliament whether the authority of the Imperial Parliament is to prevail, or is it to be overridden by the Executive Government? This is a matter involving constitutional questions, connected with the constitutional policy of the Government, hence it can be better handled by the Electors of the United Kingdom, and for the solution, of which, the national conscience of England might be safely appealed to for vindicating their rights and authority, though speaking for ourselves, it can be safely declared, without any fear of contradiction, as the *declared public opinion of India*, that unless the authority of the Imperial Parliament is sufficiently recognized and upheld in exercising an adequate check upon the doings of the Executive authorities in India, it will unfortunately deprive the Indian people of a final tribunal and appeal, where they can except to look for substantial justice against the vagaries and high-handed proceeding of the Indian Government, from time to time, whenever occasion arises. Taking into account all these facts, along with the incidental circumstances connected with the

case, it goes without saying, that the action of the Home authorities must be denounced, in no measured terms of respectful protest, conveyed in the terms of the Resolution placed in my charge, and which I have no hesitation in seconding with the greatest pleasure: "That this meeting desires to place on record its respectful but firm protest, against the Despatch of the Secretary of State for India in Council, regarding the holding of the simultaneous Civil Service Examinations in India and England, which has declined to give effect to, and directly neutralized, the former Resolution of the Hon'ble House of Commons passed on the motion of Mr. Herbert Paul M. P."

Speech on "Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations" delivered in a densely crowded public meeting of the inhabitants of the district of Moorshidabad, under the Presidency of Babu Bhobani Kishor Chakravarty, on the 29th July, 1894.

(The speaker on rising was welcomed with loud cheers and enthusiastic greeting, and he thanked the audience for reposing such high confidence in him.)

GENTLEMEN,

After the eloquent speech you have had the pleasure to hear just now from the learned mover of the first Resolution, whose reputation for public speaking is well established throughout the country, who has exhausted the history of the question with such a master-hand, and thereby lightened my task to such a considerable degree,

that it is quite unnecessary for me to tread on the beaten track, already trodden by him, to commend the Resolution to your acceptance ; the more so, as I feel that my heart fails me to do so, after having delivered an exhaustive speech yesterday on this very subject, in this very Hall, and probably before many of the present audience, and in doing which, it cannot be gainsaid, I shall have to incur the odium of being under an obligation to plead guilty to the charge of a re-iteration and repetition and of telling a twice-told tale, that I am quite sure, would be as much repulsive to your feelings as to my personal feelings also (cries of "no, go on"). Gentlemen, if that be the sense of the meeting, I must submit to the *mandate* that emanates from it.

Gentlemen, even if the mantle of a Cicero or a Demosthenes were to fall upon my unworthy shoulders, I would hardly be able to trace the whole history of the Parliamentary institutions, which had governed England for centuries, since the extinction of the Roman sway, and which are, in a manner, connected with the issues involved in the subject matter of the Resolution placed in my charge, within the short compass of time that lies at my disposal, as that would take up a length of time, sufficient to tire out your patience. This I must studiously try to avoid, and hence my remarks must be cut short as much as possible.

To solve the problem connected with the issues involved in this Resolution, constitutional questions arise, affecting the rights and liberties of the Imperial Parliament, and the power of the executive Government to disregard the verdict of that Parliament, to trace the

history of whose origin, it is necessary for me to go back to the olden days, when the people of England, "hardly worth the name of Englishman," according to Lord Macaulay, were just emerging from the darkness of ignorance and superstition, and emancipating themselves from the bondage of the Roman yoke. (Cheers.)

It is an undeniable fact, that the British Parliament is a time-honoured institution that commands the admiration of the whole civilized world, being the outcome of that glorious Roman constitution, which mainly through predominant influence of the Senates, had succeeded in securing for Rome, at one time, the proud and enviable position of the mistress of the ancient world. Every student of England's History knows, what absolute power the Parliament had attained from an humble status of existence, since the days of the Saxon Witenagemot, in course of centuries, by gradual degrees, by forcing King John I., to grant the Magna Charta of England, by deposing King Edward II., by executing King Charles I., by overthrowing the oppressive king, James II., to make room for William III. and Mary, and by compelling the same William III., to draw up the Petition Bill of Rights,—the third Magna Charta of England, which constitutes the best safeguard of the rights and liberties of the English nation. (Hear, hear). Since then the absolute authority of this Parliament had been recognised and upheld in unmistakable terms, by the successive Prime Ministers, who happened to occupy the *musnud* of the Downing street, from time to time, including the late Tory Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield, who declared from his place in Parliament, that the British

Parliament was the key-note to solve all questions connected with the Indian Empire. Such being the authority of the Parliament, the dignity of which has been maintained and upheld since the days of the Saxon Witenagemot down to the present time, the question arises, can any other Power exist in the country to subvert its authority? Certainly not, I believe. If so, by what right and title can the executive Government, which is no doubt dependent for its existence upon the will and sanction of the Parliament, attempt to disregard the verdict of that Parliament, by thwarting the practical operation of Mr. Herbert Paul's Resolution, for holding simultaneous Civil Service examinations both in India and England, in the very face of national opposition, notwithstanding the assurance given by the late Under-Secretary of State, Sir George Russel, to the effect, that no hostile attitude would be taken up by the Government to defeat the operation of the Resolution, we fail to comprehend. This would also appear from the concluding portion of the Despatch of the Secretary of State, dated the 19th April last, addressed to the Government of India, which runs thus :—

“Her Majesty's Government are most anxious that the natives of India should enjoy every facility, compatible with the maintenance of the efficiency of the administration and the safety of British rule, to enter the public service, and that they have reconsidered the whole subject with a sincere desire to give full weight to the arguments in favour of a system of simultaneous examinations: but they have arrived at the conclusion that there are insuperable objections to the establishment of that

system, and that by far the best method of meeting the legitimate claims and aspirations of the natives of the country, is to bestow such of the higher posts as can be made available for them, on those who distinguish themselves by their capacity and trustworthiness in the performance of subordinate duties.

And that upon a careful review of the whole question, Her Majesty's Government agree with the Government of India, that the system lately established is based on just and wise principles, and are of opinion that, subject to such alterations in detail as experience may prove to be necessary, it should be maintained."

Every consideration that can be brought to bear on the subject from every possible stand-point of view, leads to the irresistible conclusion, that the action of the Secretary of State is opposed to the equitable principles of *justice* and *fairplay* and is inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of our Gracious Sovereign dated the 18th November 1858, involving, as it does, a wide departure from the spirit of the *pledges* enunciated in those statutes that constitute the Magna-charta of India. Those pledges which were solemnly and deliberately given, have been, to our misfortune, more honoured in the breach than in the observance, under cover of construction and interpretation of their terms, by the constituted authorities of the land. This does not speak well for the great English nation, which should be proud of the mighty conquest they have attained, by giving to the natives of India the inestimable boon of Western education, and by imparting to them the advantage of political training, the outcome of which becomes their

legitimate aspiration for admission into some share of the Government of their country. This is an aspiration which our civilized Government, manifold blessings of whose benign rule are fully recognised and enjoyed by the children of the soil, should no longer ignore, but rather countenance, by granting reasonable concessions. For with what grace and justice can they now deny to these offsprings of their educational policy and training those rights and privileges, which their own noble action already held out before their eyes, by giving them a thorough education which has fitted them to claim the same and to expect equal justice.

The Parliament is the only effective Court of final appeal, where the Indian people can expect to have their grievances redressed, and also look for shelter and justice against the high-handedness and vagaries of the Indian Government, whenever they happen to commit mistakes. Hence the authority of that Parliament must be maintained and vindicated in the interest of India, and it must be invested with sufficient authority to exercise sufficient control over the doings of the executive Government of India.

The best way to accomplish this object and to deal with this matter, which involves constitutional question, is to leave its final settlement to the national judgment of England, and to the electors of the United Kingdom, who having tasted the sweets of liberty, from the very cradle, know very well how to vindicate their rights and their dignity, and who will no doubt take necessary steps to give due effect to the Resolution passed by the House of Commons on motion of Mr. Herbert Paul on the 2nd

June 1893 which runs thus :—“ That all open Competitive Examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit.”

It is said “ from the fulness of the heart the mouth speaks,” but there are times and occasions when from the fulness of the heart the tongue is unable to speak. This is the case with the Indian people. If, therefore, they are now to state their inability, for want of suitable expressions to give adequate expression to their feelings of regret and heart-burning, occasioned by the publication of the Secretary of State’s Despatch, which must be condemned and declared unjustifiable in no equivocal terms. (Applause.) The Muse sings a gloria to those Heroes, who bled to death to lay the foundation-stone of the British Empire in the East, to those soldiers, who had consolidated and extended the British conquests by means of the sword, to those statesmen, whose political insight and sagacious statesmanship had secured for India a system of Government under which peace and order having been established throughout the length and breadth of the land, the people are enjoying the inestimable blessings of security of life and property ; but she will sing a more harmonious gloria to the British Parliament, who will build the permanent settlement of the British Empire upon that essential foundation, which constitutes the strongest bulwark of the British power, *i. e.*, the devoted loyalty and affections of two hundred and fifty

millions of human beings, owning allegiance to Her Majesty's Throne, no sooner the Parliament succeeds in compelling the Indian Government to give due effect to Mr. Paul's Resolution. With these remarks I beg to move the Resolution that stands thus:—

“That this meeting regrets that the Secretary of State should have addressed a Despatch to the Government of India practically rescinding a Resolution of the House of Commons, although the Resolution had not been rescinded by a vote of the House, and the late under Secretary of State had given the assurance that the Government would not place any difficulties in the way of the Resolution being carried out. And the Meeting prays that the House of Commons will be pleased to take such steps as may be deemed necessary to give effect to the Resolution.”

Speech in the monster meeting held at the Cantonment Theatre Hall, under the Presidency of the District Judge Mr. F. B. Taylor, on the 7th September, 1894, in order to offer Thanksgiving to Her Highness the Maharani Surnamoyi M. I. O. C. I. for her undertaking to bear the whole cost of construction of the water-works for the town of Berhampur.

GENTLEMEN,

Suffering for some time from an illness requiring perfect rest of all respiratory organs, I do not find it an easy task for me even to draw my breath in the suffocated atmosphere of this densely crowded Hall. Gentlemen, I cannot say I have presented myself here of my own accord, but some unknown force has exercised such magic spell upon my mind that beneath the weight of its

talismanic influence, I have been unconsciously led, by battling against physical inability, to join this meeting out of pure respect for the noble object of this monster meeting, about the soundness of which, neither the wise counsel of a Socrates, nor the thundering eloquence of a Cicero or a Demosthenes, is needed to stir up the breasts of the people, to commend it to your unqualified acceptance, and in respect of which, there does not involve any difference of opinion at all amongst the different classes of public opinion and different sections of the community. irrespective of creed or colour, regardless of party differences and party considerations, on any account whatever. The very fact, that the highest judicial authority of the district has generously come forward to guide the deliberations of this meeting, speaks volumes in support of its object, that any amount of eloquent words which my language could command, could practically advance.

Gentlemen, you have already been told that this meeting is organized with a view to offer our heart's devotion to that noble lady of Cossimbazar, who is an incarnation of charity herself, at the fascination of whose name one surrenders "judgement hoodwinked," to quote the words of Cowper, and whose endearing name has become a household word all over the land, in every Indian hearth and home, and whose charities have extended from the lordly mansion of a lordly prince, down to the humble hamlet of a humble peasant, in an equal degree, for her generously coming forward to bear the entire cost of construction of the water-works for this town, whereby a supply of pure and filtered water would be brought within the reach

of every citizen of this town. This is no doubt a boon, the inestimable blessings of which could hardly be described in fitting language, a boon that could be better conceived than described. Had this boon been conferred some years before, when the other towns *viz.* Bhagulpore, Burdwan, Dacca, Mymensing and Arrah were blessed with the advantages of water-works, chiefly through exertions of their residents, a good many lives of this town might have been saved from untimely grave. But whose fault was it that the matter has been allowed to hang fire for so long a time? Who are responsible for this unaccountable delay? Certainly the charge can be brought home with equal justice to the door of the *Bœotia* of Bengal, who instead of playing the part of Rip van Winkle, for so long a time, should have spared no pains and time to concert requisite measures, and join hand in hand to move Her Highness Maharani Sarnamoyi and her chief adviser Rai Srinath Pal Bahadur B. L., to whom a fitting tribute of praise was so deservedly paid the other day, by our present Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Charles Elliott, on the occasion of investiture of his Rai Bahadurship, for his intelligent management of Her Highness the Maharani's vast estates, and to whose advice, influence, and support, actuated by a genuine and generous desire to improve the sanitation of this town and benefit the public health by all means, this town is indebted for the introduction of the water-works scheme, in consequence of which, there breathes not a heart throughout this town, who hesitates to join the chorus of praise sung in his honour, for this noble and benevolent action. Having had frequent opportunities to come in contact with him,

first as a class-friend in school-life and then as a colleague and fellow-worker in public life, I can safely add the weight of my humble testimony in support of the well-known fact, that his heart is "full of the milk of human kindness," ever ready to advance every just cause, and any well considered project, calculated to secure the well-being of the public, when occasion arises. Hence it affords me no ordinary gratification, as a personal friend, to pay him such well deserved compliment before this monster meeting, composed of the flower of rank, wealth, public spirit and intelligence of this historic city of Murshidabad, which had at one time wielded the sceptre of ancient Bengal.

Gentlemen, we would not be doing our duty, if we were not to acknowledge, in fitting terms, the valuable services rendered in this connection by our popular District Magistrate, Mr. Kennedy, whose noble attempt to advance this laudable scheme, deserves commendation in no measured terms, and by two patriotic gentlemen viz. the Assistant Manager of Her Highness the Maharani, Babu Mrityunjoy Battacharjee B. C. E., and the benevolent merchant of this town, Babu Mukunda Lal Barman, who have more or less helped to bring the project of water-works to a successful issue, in consideration of which they are fully entitled to have every claim upon the gratitude of this town. It is admitted on all hands that Babu Mrityunjoy Battacharjee B. C. E., whose extraordinary and commendable business capacity has secured for his chief Rai Srinath Pal Bahadur such decided success in the so called "intelligent management of the Maharani's vast estates," has ably seconded the Rai Baha-

dur with equal warmth on this matter, and it would not be too much to say, that had it not been for his hearty co-operation and support, accorded to the best of his powers, the old adage "There is many a slip between the cup and the lip" might have been brought to the carpet for practical solution, to alarm the public mind, and to disappoint public expectations, in consequence of which, his name must live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen, for all times to come. It is also equally an undeniable fact, that considering the attention paid to this subject, long before Rai Srinath Pal Bahadur's advent to power, in the council of Her Highness Maharani Sarnamoyi, by Babu Mukunda Lal Barman, it would be nothing but bare truism to style him *the life and soul of the water-works*. Babu Makunda Lal's utter disinterestedness in advocating this cause from beginning to the end, is sure to establish every title for gratitude from about 24,000 human beings living in this town.

What could be a more soul-enchancing and ennobling spectacle for the noble donor to behold, than to witness in this monster gathering, representatives of different races, including conquerors and the conquered, rulers and the ruled, assembling together on common platform, inspired by a sincere desire to accord a fitting tribute of respect and honour to one, who is held in high regard by every section of the people throughout the Land of the Lotus. We have every reason to indulge in a fond hope, that this universal manifestation of popular feeling is sufficient to move Her Highness the Maharani and her nephew and manager Rai Srinath Pal Bahadur B. L., with an impression, that though from the fulness of heart the

mouth speaks, yet here is an instance, in which from the fulness of heart we are not in a position to give adequate expression to our feelings of thanks, occasioned by a deep sense of gratitude for their giving us the priceless boon of good drinking water, that will enshrine their names in every page of the History of Murshidabad, in letters of gold.

The Muse has already sung glory to Her Highness the Maharani for her world-wide charities extended far and wide. But, as on principle, charity should begin at home, and as no other charity of any kind whatever can be compared with the charity of giving water, she will sing greater glory and honour to her and her manager and nephew Rai Srinath Pal Bahadur for the noble action they have taken to remove the insanitary condition of this town by means of the introduction of water-works, the practical result of which will be to convert this hot-bed of malaria into a delightful sanitarium, in the long run; in consequence of which, their names will be handed down to posterity and will be gratefully remembered with feelings of profound reverence and admiration as the noble authors of a noble deed.

With these remarks I beg to move the Resolution which runs thus:—

“That this meeting avails itself of this opportunity to convey its sincere thanks to Rai Srinath Pal Bahadur B. L., manager and nephew of the Estates of Her Highness the Maharani Sarnomoyi M. I. O. C. I., Babu Mrityunjoy Battacharji, B. C. E., Assistant Manager, and Babu Mukunda Lal Burman, an influential merchant of Berhampore, who have, by their support and co-operation, materially aided in obtaining the splendid donation.”

Speech delivered at a meeting of the Murshidabad Association, held at the Grant Hall, on the 21st November, 1894, at 5 p. m., to welcome the Secretary of the British Parliamentary Committee for India, Mr. Morgan Browne, and to elect delegates for the ensuing Madras Congress, in which Mr. Morgan Browne was unanimously voted to the Chair.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

After the eloquent speech you have heard just now with repeated outbursts of applause from the hero of this evening, Mr. Morgan Browne, containing, as it does, his views on all the important public questions of the day, it might be presumptuous on my part at this fag end of the meeting, to crave your indulgence to hold your patience for a few minutes, but still in justice to my own conscience, in justice to the residents of this town, and in justice to the representative audience assembled around this Hall, I might be allowed, with the permission of the Chair, to speak a few words in support of the graceful compliment just now so deservedly paid to Mr. Morgan Browne, by the preceding speaker, in his able address, as well as with reference to the working of the British Parliamentary Committee, that have been formed in England, composed of distinguished personages, including some prominent members of the Imperial Parliament, who seem to evince warm interest and take an active part in every public movement connected with India, calculated to advance the well-being of the dumb millions of India, whose destinies have been committed to their fostering care, through a strange irony of fate, by the hand of Him which guides unseen in this land

of the living. Gentlemen, there can be no doubt, that I echo the sentiments of the universal public, when I say that Mr. Browne should be publicly thanked, in no equivocal terms, for the wearisome journey he has undertaken throughout India, in order to forward the cause advocated by the British Committee, in recognition of which, this opportunity must not be lost, to offer to him an expression of cordial welcome on behalf of this meeting. The mission with which Mr. Morgan Browne has started, at no inconsiderable sacrifice of his health and time, is one, that has for its ultimate end, the advancement of the political condition and status of the unrepresented millions of India. That being so, it is for you, gentlemen, to consider, how far that object is entitled to receive support from the Indian public. In fact, there can be no denying, that no stone should be left unturned, to accord due support to that object. It becomes our bounden duty not only to support it by pecuniary contribution alone, but also to strengthen the hands of the Parliamentary Committee by supplying them with necessary facts and figures, correct informations and requisite materials, which may enable the committee to bring to light the mistakes, the acts of high-handedness of Government officials, and to expose the vagaries of the Government of India who could be brought to book, whenever occasion arises, through interference of the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament. It would be speaking nothing but truism, to say, if the Committee were allowed to die an untimely death for want of due support, it would bring nothing but national loss, rebounding to the eternal disgrace and everlasting shame

to the public spirit of the Aryan race, that had once illumined the political horizon of the ancient world.

Gentlemen, one word more with regard to the work done by the British Committee and I have done. Every consideration, gentlemen, that could be advanced, in consonance with the principles of equity and justice, leads to the irresistible conclusion, the soundness of which could hardly be questioned by the leaders of the different sections of Indian public opinion, who are competent to speak with authority on the questions of the day, that the creation and existence of the British Parliamentary Committee, formed in England with the assured object of ventilating Indian questions and of watching poor India's interest, have contributed not a little to exercise a very healthy influence and check upon the doings of the executive officials, and to produce a very salutary effect upon the general administration of the executive Government of India, entrusted with the responsible charge of governing this vast peninsula,—the richest diadem of Her Majesty's crown, upon whose Empire, it might be equally said without entering into the region of exaggeration, the sun never sets. Gentlemen, it is not for me to recount and recapitulate the various deeds done by the Parliamentary Committee to advance the cause of India, and convince the Indian Government of the existence of a growing power, lying behind the scene, that was stigmatized as "dangerous and liable to abuse" by Lord Lansdowne, in an after-dinner speech, on the eve of his retirement from the Viceroyalty of India, as they have been already discussed threadbare all over the land, from every standpoint of view, both by the public

and by the press ; but suffice it to say, that it is to their exertion, influence, support, and co-operation, that Mr. Herbert Paul's Resolution of 2nd June, 1893, on the "Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations" owes its birth, which is no doubt a political victory achieved in the very face of official opposition, and which being taken by itself alone, speaks volumes to vindicate the national conscience of England, which does not seem to be unprepared to grant legitimate concessions, subject to legitimate safeguards, to the legitimate aspirations of the unrepresented millions of India, for whom their manifestation of liberal sympathies is sufficiently evident for demonstrating the liberal breadth of view that governs English character. "Breathes there a heart with soul so dead," throughout the length and breadth of this land of lotus, in any Indian hearth or home, as not to be moved or animated with profound feelings of sincere gratitude for this glorious victory achieved on our behalf ? I pause for a reply. No, the cries of "no" emanating from this meeting denote the sense of the entire public, as that is the only sentiment that can govern Aryan character, against whom the charge of ingratitude could never be brought home to their doors, if any regard is to be paid at all to their national character, as enunciated in the Hindoo Scripture, even though the voiceless millions of India could be found wanting to give due expression to their feelings, not through any absence of feelings at all, but through poverty of language to convey an adequate expression of the same. With these remarks I beg to resume my seat, re-iterating our thanks to Mr. Brown for all that he has done to further the cause of India.

Speech at a meeting of the Students' Association held at the Khagra Missionary School, under the Presidency of the District Magistrate Mr. J. Kennedy, on the 24th November, 1894, at 6-30 P. M., for the establishment of a public Library and a Reading room to be attached to the Association.

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN, AND STUDENTS,

In supporting the Resolution placed in my charge, I shall best consult your convenience, by not attempting to tire your patience with a lengthened speech at this late hour, as all my best arguments have been taken away by the preceding speakers, a lot, which one whose misfortune is to speak last must accept, and which I do clearly feel, with redoubled force, in the present instance, after the able addresses delivered just now by the learned speakers in charge of the first two Resolutions, who have handled the subject with a master-hand. The irresistible conclusion has been already arrived at, that a strong necessity exists for the establishment of a public Library and a Reading room for this Association, for the use of the young hopefuls of the town, whose aspirations for admission into a legitimate share of the Government of their country might receive due fulfilment in due course, if their character could be duly formed and their abilities sufficiently developed, to enable them to recognise the importance of their duties and responsibilities and to assert their respective positions in their respective spheres of public life, by taking due advantage of the hidden treasures that may be drawn out from the mine of a public Library. Such being the case, it is for you, gentlemen, to consider if it is not worth your while to spare no effort to bring about a practical accomplishment of the laudable

object aimed at by the Association, about the soundness of which object, neither the inspired wisdom of an Ulysses, nor the vast sense of a Plato, nor the splendid oration of a Burke, nor the thundering eloquence of a Sheridan, is required to present it for your unqualified approval. Every consideration that could be possibly urged from every bearing, involved in every aspect of the question, leaves no other alternative, than to arrive at the only inevitable finding, that an appeal to the public purse is the only remedy left at your disposal, to carry into practical effect the object of this Resolution, that has devolved upon me to support, which is no doubt a very unpleasant and ungracious task, after all, though by far it is the most important of all the Resolutions as it deals with money, which is "sweeter than honey" and constitutes the backbone of anything and everything that could be hoped or wished for in this land of the living. Well, gentlemen, whatever odium might be attached to the ungracious task, that has fallen upon my unworthy shoulders, much of the share attached to that odium might be reduced to a cypher, when the presence, in our midst of the highest executive authority of the district is taken into consideration. Mr. Kennedy's benevolent desire and liberal sympathies are *evidence* not only in connection with this project, which he has come forward to support by guiding the deliberations of this meeting, but also with every public undertaking, calculated to forward the well-being of the public. His sympathies on this occasion would go a great way to help on this undertaking, and to sow the seed of a congenial tree that would bear the desired fruit in due course of time. Our task being thus consi-

derably lightened, through the kind interference of the mighty lord of the District, it would not be a matter of much difficulty to convince the public of the pressing importance of the thing, and prevail upon them to support it by pecuniary contribution for the purpose of raising which, a sub-committee is to be appointed by this Resolution, because without pecuniary support no such project could be brought to a successful issue. It is no doubt the bounden duty of those especially, upon whom fortune smiles, to open their purse strings in support of a project like this, which, if successfully carried out with its attendant results, might form the stepping-stone for training up the youthful minds, and forming the characters of the rising generation, upon which lies the very onerous task and grave responsibility of effecting the regeneration of their motherland, at no distant day, with the progress of time, with rapid advance of science and with progressive improvements in every department of the Fine Arts among the general masses of the people. Gentlemen, we would be wanting in our duty, if I were not to avail of this opportunity to acknowledge in fitting terms, the invaluable services rendered in this connection by the present occupant of the Musnud of Belvedere, Sir Charles Elliot, who deserves the cordial acknowledgments of the student world, for the warm interest he has evinced and the energy and promptitude he has generously shown to inaugurate a system for the encouragement of athletic sports and physical exercises among the students, as evidenced by His Honour's recent Resolution for supplying the Calcutta students with a play-ground for recreation purpose in Marcus Square, in consequence of which, I can

speak without fear of contradiction, and I believe I speak the sense not only of the student world but also of the general public, comprising men of every creed and colour, in making this declaration, that whatever divergence of opinion might be held by different schools of politics regarding other lines of the administrative action and policy taken and laid down by Sir Charles, his sympathetic attitude and harmonious connection with the student world is one, in respect of which not even the worst detractor of his Honour's administrative policy, can ever have the hardihood to question his good faith. Gentlemen, would it be out of place for us to expect, that Sir Charles' worthy Lieutenant in this District, would be similarly disposed to tread in the footsteps of his illustrious chief, to signalize his administration, which has already been marked by the elaboration of a most beneficent scheme, *viz.* the scheme for the introduction of Water Works in this town? By leaving behind him some permanent record of his work among the students of this town, he will be only erecting a more enduring monument of his name and fame in the history of Murshedabad, which was once the mistress of ancient Bengal. With these remarks, I beg to support the Resolution, that runs thus :—

"That an executive committee consisting of
 Babu Mani Mohon Sen, Zeminder ;
 Babu Satyendra Nath Bagchi, B. L. ;
 Babu Benode Lall Banerji, M. A. B. L. ;
 Babu Mohini Mohon Rai, M. A. ;
 The Reverened Kali Prosonno Mookerji, M. A.
 and Babu Hemendra Nath Guha,

with power to add to their number, be formed for the efficient management of the Library, for raising public subscriptions for the same."

Speech on "Temperance," delivered at the Victoria Jubilee Hall of city Murshedabad, on the 3rd May, 1895, at the Temperance Society, in which Prince Kaderi Mirza, Alias Budhan Shaheb, presided, and almost all the Princes of the Nizamut Family and the nobles of the city, and also a number of English ladies and gentlemen attended.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

In responding to the call from our worthy Chairman, I rise to move the 1st Resolution, placed in my charge, and in doing so, add the weight of my feeble voice, in support of this temperance movement, that has found fitting organisation in different parts of the most important and influential centres of large population and intelligence. This movement will no doubt attain complete success at no distant day, with the progress of time, and with the advancing tide of civilization and above all, with the educating and chastening influences of the mighty forces that are being brought to bear upon the hopeless victims of intemperance through the indefatigable exertions of the different Temperance Associations formed in England, America and India, under the auspices of the distinguished philanthropists Messrs. Samuel Smith and Caine, both M. P's of England, Mrs. Linsett and other American ladies and Mr. Thomas Evans and others of India, whose distinguished services in this commendable cause of social reform, must have established every claim upon the lasting gratitude of the people.

Gentlemen, the Reverend Mr. Joyce, who opened this meeting, has already told you, that it was definitely settled, that the worthy Principal of the Berhampur College, Babu Brojendra Kumar Seal, would address this meeting and move the 1st Resolution, which I hold in my hand. But on his declining to do so, at the eleventh hour, I was asked by Mr. Joyce and his friends, to take charge of Brojendra Babu's task only a few hours ago, in consequence of which, I had no time to collect the requisite materials and to make the necessary preparations. Hence I wished, considering the importance of the question involved in the subject matter of to-night's proceedings, that the task had devolved upon worthier shoulders, who could have handled the subject with a master-hand. Speaking for myself, I find myself unequal to the task of doing full justice to, or of giving a graphic account or description of, the magnitude of the pernicious and boundless evils, originating from over-indulgence and intemperance, the result of which is the gradual and untimely disappearance of many a bright genius and ornament of India, which has tended to weaken the nation, by bringing poverty, by increasing crime, and by damaging their national character, which constitutes the most powerful strength of a nation. Take the instance of the late Indian Milton, Michael Modhu Shoodan. Did he not fall an untimely victim to the betwitching snares of this strong "Demon of Drink?" Would not his life have been prolonged, if he had paid due heed to "Temperance" and not indulged freely in intemperance? And would he not have advanced the cause of his country with a degree of success,

that could be naturally expected from his surpassing genius ? Certainly so, there could not be two opinions in the matter at all. To illustrate this object, instances can be multiplied, but there is no use of doing so, as this single instance is sufficient to speak volumes in denunciation of the pernicious evil.

Gentlemen, it is not for me to convince you, how far the object of this meeting, which aims at creating a Branch society in this city of Moorshedabad, in aid of the main Society *i. e.* the Temperance Society at Berhampur, that has been doing, no doubt, a good deal of practical good, has the sympathy of the general public of this old city, as this large and representative gathering composed of the worthy descendants of the late Nawab Nazim of Bengal has solved that problem. Mr. Joyce has already explained to you, gentlemen, the noble object of the Association which you are going to found to-day, as well as the line of action to be adopted by the Society with a view to carry out good many beneficial reforms for the advancement of morality. For me, to exhaust the subject in all its bearings, and to treat it in its moral, economical, political and administrative aspects would take up a great deal of time. The time placed at my disposal would hardly enable me to do so at this late hour, and considering the number of able speakers who are to follow me in support of this Resolution as well as of other resolutions, I ought rather to consult your convenience than tire your patience with a lengthened speech, and cut short my remarks and close my observations with very few words. I have already told you, that the ornaments of civilization, and the bright

hopes of the Aryan race, the pride, glory, and boast of India, are gradually disappearing from our community, through the noxious and pernicious influence of liquor. The habit of drinking liquor is neither sanctioned by the Hindu religion or the laws of Manu, nor by the Mahamadan religion or the laws of the *Koran*. It goes to eat into the very vitals of national life, by increasing crime, and by bringing poverty, and by shaking the very foundation of natural character, that forms the mightiest bulwark of a nation. Hence, no stone should be left unturned, no efforts should be left unspared, and no means should be left unemployed, by the advocates of Temperance and their sympathisers, to eradicate this pernicious evil, by making a common cause and by forming universal brotherhood for the advancement of this holy crusade, as it affects the well-being of the countless millions, who could be saved from untimely death, by being brought within the purview of this holy movement, and who could be made useful members of society, which might result in the practical regeneration of their mother-land. Gentlemen, to battle against this social evil and ensure practical success of the social reform contemplated by this Society, in conjunction with other Temperance Associations of the land, requires not only Self-help among ourselves, but also help from Government. We must not lose this opportunity to thank Government for whatever reforms they have already introduced, to check consumption of liquor among the general masses of the people, by abolishing the Out-still System and by substituing the Sudder Distillery System in its place, as far as possible ; still, as much remains to be done in the way of improvement, for achieving complete

success, Government should be moved to lose no time to reform their Excise policy, and to enforce the system of "local option" and to give due effect to the spirit of the Resolution passed by the Imperial Parliament on the 30th April 1889 on the motion of Mr. Samuel Smith. This Resolution runs thus :—

"That in the opinion of this House, the fiscal system of the Government of India, leads to the establishment of spirit distilleries, liquor and opium shops, in large number of places, where till recently, they never existed, in defiance of native opinion and the protests of the inhabitants, and that such increased facilities for drinking, produce a steadily increasing consumption, and spread misery and ruin among the industrial classes of India, calling for immediate action on the part of the Government of India, with a view to their abatement."

Gentlemen, as there can be no difference of opinion on this matter, I need hardly add, that the whole country would rise up, and join hand in hand, to sing honour and glory to those honourable philanthropists, who would be ultimately able to save India from the pernicious effects of this pernicious evil that has brought sad havoc in many an Indian hearth and home.

With these remarks I beg to move the 1st Resolution that says—"That it is desirable to start a branch of the Berhampur Temperance Association in the city of Moorshedabad, for the purpose of promoting a public opinion in favour of abstinence from alcoholic liquors, injurious drugs, and all forms of impurity or immorality."

SPEECH ON "HINDU MARRIAGE EXPENSES."

Delivered at the Bengal Provincial Conference, held at the Theatre Hall, Berhampur, on the 4th July of 1895, under the Presidency of Mr. Ananda Mohan Basu, Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, before a crowded audience of about five thousand men, composed of delegates and representatives from most of the districts of Bengal.

I am asked to move the Resolution placed in my charge in the following terms—"That this Conference is grateful to the Government for the interest which it has evinced in the question of Hindoo Marriage expenses. This conference deplores the extravagance which prevails in this respect, and condemns the practice of extorting large sums of money from fathers and guardians of the girls, who are to be given in marriage. This conference is of opinion that the true remedy for the evil will lie in the education and enlightenment of public opinion, and will appeal to leaders to form organisations with a view to prevent, by the ban of social excommunication or otherwise, the extravagant demand made by the fathers and guardians of bridegrooms." It would be insulting to the intelligence of this distinguished assembly, composed of the flower of intellect and public spirit of Bengal, if I were not to declare at the outset, that this is a Resolution in respect of which there can be no difference of opinion at all amongst different classes of public opinion, irrespective of creed and colour. Speaking for myself, even if I were inspired with the divine gift of oratory, I would hardly have felt myself, within the short space of time

which the Chairman has placed at my disposal, equal to the task of depicting the numerous evils resulting from the existing practice, whereby in nine cases out of ten, the heart's blood of the fathers and guardians of girls, proposed to be given in marriage, is sucked out by the fathers and guardians of bridegrooms. This abominable practice has, I can assure you, hopelessly impoverished numberless families, and caused sad havoc in many an Indian home. I ask, is there any one so insensible to suffering, as not to be moved at the pitiable sight of these unfortunate victims—I mean the fathers and guardians of brides—who have, in seventy-five per cent of cases, no other alternative in giving their daughters in marriage, than to sell their homes, to meet the extortionate demands made upon them for dowries? Is there any practice more dishonourable, disgraceful, and revolting to one's conscience, or one more calculated to cause untold injury to society than this, or one that more merited condemnation in unmeasured terms? There could not be two opinions on the matter, considering that this subject has been discussed thread-bare both by the public press and the leading political associations of the country. The effect of the evil has been pointed out so strongly, that it has already attracted the attention of Government. It speaks volumes for the liberal intentions of the Government, that it seems disposed to take an interest in this question, even though, practically speaking, it does not lie within the range of practical politics, but it is rather the subject for a social conference to decide. But we must not forget, that however well disposed Government may be to help us in this matter,

it will ultimately find itself impotent to save us practically, unless our society comes forward to our help and strengthens the hands of the Government in this matter, because Government is bound hand and foot not to interfere by legislation with native social customs and usages. Nor could the machinery of law be allowed to be set in motion in any way, for various considerations, in matters of this sort. Speaking for myself, much as I admire Government for the sympathy shown in this matter, I am not prepared to ask for interference of Government by legislation in any way; all that I hope is, that with the cordial co-operation and sympathy of Government, the much-needed reform would proceed sooner or later from within our own society. Every consideration that could be advanced on the subject, leads to the irresistible conclusion, that the best way to eradicate this evil would be to educate and enlighten public opinion, and to appeal to the recognised leaders of society to sink all personal differences and considerations, and organise a strong movement for the extermination of this practice. Gentlemen, I desire it to be distinctly understood, in conclusion, that I rise to denounce this practice, out of no interested motives of my own, as my daughter has already been married at a large cost, and as I have no more daughter or niece to marry. So you see, gentlemen, I have no personal cause of complaint, so far as the selfish aspect of the question is concerned, (cheers and laughter) but the strong sense of duty, at whose altar neither my humble self, nor any member of this august assembly, can have any hesitation to bow, gives me no option but to raise my voice against this vicious practice, that has

practically brought about degeneration and demoralisation to such an alarming extent, that even the educated guardians of the bridegrooms are neither ashamed nor do they feel any delicacy at all, in nine cases out of twelve, to offer their sons for sale to the matrimonial market, at the highest bidder. This abominable practice is all the more to be condemned, in no measured terms, in as much as the dowry or money extorted from the guardians of the brides, does not go either to the pockets of the brides or their husbands ; but it is generally applied by the guardians of the bridegrooms in liquidating their own debts, or in buying houses, or in meeting the multifarious necessities and luxuries of life. (Loud cheers and applause).

With these remarks I beg to move the Resolution, the wording of which has already been read out before the meeting.

Speech delivered at a well-attended public meeting of the Residents of Murshedabd, in memory of the late Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Barrister at Law, held at the Grant Hall on the 22nd November 1896, in which the question of "the separation of the Judicial from Executive functions" was also discussed, under the Presidency of the Government Pleader Babu Dina Nath Ganguli.

GENTLEMEN,

You have already been told, why such a representative gathering composed of every section of the community and all classes of public opinion have assembled together in this crowded Hall. It is a call of duty, which will find a ready response in every Indian heart, considering the

invaluable services rendered to India's cause by one, who has now gone to an unknown region "from whose bourne no traveller ever returns."

Gentlemen, the learned mover and seconder of this resolution, who being distinguished members of a noble profession, have, as could be expected from their towering abilities, paid a fitting tribute of respect, in course of their able and eloquent addresses, to the memory of the late lamented Mono Mohan Ghose, in whose honour memorial meetings are being held in different parts of India, testifying to the high estimation in which he was so deservedly held by all classes of people throughout the length and breadth of Hindusthan, as well as to the irreparable loss which the country and the cause of progress in India has sustained by his untimely death, which has cast a gloom all over the land. It is, therefore, quite unnecessary for me, gentlemen, to inflict a speech upon you at this late hour by going over the hackneyed subject again. (Cries of "no, no," "go on"). Well, gentlemen, if you can control your patience, I can go on. Speaking for myself, it can be safely declared in no equivocal terms, that language fails to give due expression to the universal grief occasioned by the sudden and premature death of one, who was made up of all the requisite materials, that constitutes a really generous and kind heart, an independent and honest advocate, a fearless and disinterested champion of popular rights, a safe and trusted public leader, and above all, a sincere and true patriot, as evidenced by his steadfast devotion to public duty, inspired by a generous desire to advance his country's cause in all the different walks of his life,—a

trait of character which distinguished his public movements throughout the whole course of his life and dealings. It was he, who had to fight out a very hard battle in bringing about the establishment of the Bethune College more than a score of years ago, for education and enlightenment of the softer sex, at a time, when his countrymen's deep-rooted prejudice and superstition prevailed upon them to entertain hostile views on the subject, and to thwart his object by all means. He felt that a nation could not be expected to prosper unless both sexes could be brought to reap the fruit of education in an equal degree. Monomohan commanded a very extensive criminal practice, as his profound knowledge of criminal law made him a first rate criminal counsel, both in the estimation of the Bench and the Bar, as evidenced by the high complements paid to his character and abilities by the Hon'ble Judges, Barristers and Pleaders of the High Court, the other day.

His heart was "so full of the milk of human kindness" that in the midst of his extensive practice, he never hesitated to espouse the cause of the poor without any remuneration at all, whenever he was convinced that innocence was made the victim of malice and conspiracy. In public life, his political movements and utterances were characterized by that calmness and moderation, that won for him the respect of both the rulers and the ruled. It speaks volumes for the extraordinary tact he had to exercise in battling under various unfavourable circumstances, to wring out political concessions from foreign rulers, not by force of arms and wild extravagance, but by constitutional agitation.

In private life, he was so sociable and unassuming, his temper so genial, his manners so engaging, that to know him was to love him. True it is, that he adopted a European mode of living, and in all particulars shared the social sentiments of the aristocratic element of English society, and conformed entirely to the ways and usages of polished European community in his habits of daily life, still it did not diminish one iota of his ardour or attachment for his mother-land. Hence his countrymen had no personal cause of complaint so far as his intimate connexion with the leaders of English society on a footing of equality was concerned; on the other hand, they were overjoyed to find, that his constant association on equal terms with members of the ruling class, gave him a pre-eminent advantage to prevail upon the official element towards furtherance of his country's cause, a task, which he was eminently fitted to discharge, by virtue of his English education and of his genuine sympathy for national cause. In short having due regard to all his public and private virtues, it goes without saying, that his death has caused a lamentable gap, which can hardly be filled up not only in the present time, but also for some generations to come.

Of all the different claims he has upon the gratitude of the people, none can deserve prominent mention in comparison to the memorable service, which he has rendered to his country by carrying the constitutional agitation across the seas on the subject of the burning question of the day, *i. e.* "The separation of the Judicial from Executive functions," by publishing two pamphlets

on the subject, and thereby convincing the English public, with all the force of convictions of a conquering hero, of the inevitable necessity, that has arisen, to separate the two functions for the sake of justice to the voiceless millions of India. I had a talk with him on this subject at the Bethune College in the last week of August last on the occasion of presenting a farewell address to the late Chief Justice Sir Comer Petheram, in course of which, he said that he could multiply instances from his own professional experience over and above those cases that were shown in his pamphlet; to show that the liberty of a moffusilite could be considered hardly safe, if he has the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the mighty Lord of the district, unless he the District Magistrate who combines in his person both the Judicial and Executive authority, be divested of his judicial functions. Little did I think at the time when bidding him farewell that it was the eternal farewell that I was bidding. Since then the late Lieutenant Governor of Bengal Sir Charles Elliott has written an article in the Asiatic Quarterly Review against the reform urged upon the authorities by Mr. Ghose in his pamphlets. It is, indeed, a misfortune for India, that the rude hand of death has snatched him away at a time when he was preparing to "crush Sir Charles completely," which, if he had lived, he could have succeeded in doing, considering the extraordinary mastery he had over the subject, which had engaged his anxious care and attention for the last twenty years. As this subject was so very dear to his heart, I think, the best and the most effective and appreciative memorial, that could be erected to perpetuate his memory, will be the

establishment of an organised agency by his countrymen, to continue his work of reform, until it is brought to a successful issue. This would find a greater solace and constitute a far greater consolation for him in his grave. Gentlemen, I am therefore, with your permission, going to enter upon this subject and put before you both sides of the case. This brings me to the 2nd part of this Resolution.

"Separation of the Judicial from Executive Functions."

Gentlemen, of all the problems connected with the administration of India, the expediency of this reform urged upon the national justice and conscience of England by the united public voice of India for complete separation of the judicial from executive functions, is a question in respect of which, responsible leaders of all parties and interests are practically united. It needs no "oracle of Delphi" to declare why such a perfect unanimity prevails on the subject amongst different shades of public opinion including responsible ministers of both parties *i. e.* Conservatives and Liberals. This could hardly have been the case, if something were not "rotten in the state of Denmark." The very fact, that numerous evils and abuses have resulted from the union of judicial and executive functions in the person of the District Magistrate,—the autocratic chief, who practically wields thereby all the requisite power and authority, attached or equivalent to a mandate emanating from the *masnad* of Constantinople, speaks volumes in denunciation of the existing system, so far as the principle involved in it is concerned. In giving expression to this view, I can count upon the

support of the official opinions, not only of the bye-gone days, since the transfer of Government from the East India Company's control to the crown, but also of the recent public declarations by the Secretary of State Lord Kimberley, who, from his place in parliament in May 1893, felt himself bound to admit in the House of Lords, that the present system was contrary to right and good principle, but that financial considerations debarred them from adopting requisite measures to carry out the necessary reform, and this view of the question was also shared by his successor in office Lord Cross. The opinions of the authorities alluded to are contained in the following passages quoted from different public documents from 1857 to 1883:—

Extract from the dissentient minute of the Hon'ble J. P. Grant, (afterwards Lieutenant Governor of Bengal), Member of the Council of the Governor General, and concurred in generally by the late Chief Justice Mr. Peacock, dated February 1857, regarding the union of Judicial and Executive powers in the same hands:—"I have no doubt that if there is any real difference between India and Europe in relation to this question, the difference is all in favour of relieving the Judge in India from all connexion with the Detective officer and prosecutor. The judicial ermine is, in my judgment out of place in the bye-ways of the Detective Policeman in any country, and those bye-ways in India are unusually dirty."

Extract from the instructions issued by the Government of India to the Police Commission of 1860, when forwarding a resolution of the Home Department, dated 17th August, 1860:—

"The functions of a Police are either protective and repressive or detective, to prevent crime and disorder, or to find out criminals and disturbers of the peace. These functions are in no respect judicial." "The golden rule should be borne in mind, that the judicial and police functions are not to be mixed up or confounded, that the active work of preventing or detecting crime is to rest entirely with the Police, and not to be interfered with by those who are to sit in Judgment on the criminal."

Extract from the Report of the Police Commission of 1860, dated September, 1860 :—

"As a rule there should be complete severance of executive police from judicial authorities; that the official who collects and traces out the links of evidence—in other words, virtually prosecutes the offender—should never be the same as the officer, whether of high or inferior grade, who is to sit in judgment on the case, even with a view to committal for trial before a higher tribunal. As the detection and presentation of criminals properly devolve on the Police, no Police officer should be permitted to have any judicial function.

"That the same true principle, that the Judge and Detective officer should not be one and the same, applies to officials having by law judicial functions, and should, as far as possible, be carefully observed in practice."

Extract from the speech, delivered by the Hon'ble Sir Barnes Peacock, at a meeting of the Viceregal Legislative Council on the 6th October, 1860, when a Bill for the better regulation of Police was introduced :—

"As to the principle of separating the Judicial and Executive functions of the Police, he could not agree

with the Hon'ble member for Bengal. He (the Vice-President) had always been of opinion that a full and complete separation ought to be made between the two functions." In course of discussion on this bill in Council a distinguished member of the Council Mr. Sconce admitted the soundness of the principle involved in the question of the separation of judicial from executive duties, and the mover of the bill Sir Bartle Frere also declared from his place in Council that "prejudices of longstanding stood in the way of this reform, which would be carried out at no distant day."

Extract from the annual report on the administration of criminal justice in the Lower Provinces for 1866, being letter No. 874 A from C. D. Field, Esqr., Registrar of the High Court, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—dated 27th July 1867 :—

"I am to observe that, in the opinion of the High Court, there can be no doubt that in Lower Bengal (and it is important to bear in mind that observations referring to the Lower Provinces are frequently quite inapplicable to other parts of India) the time has arrived at which the necessity of separating the judicial from the executive branch of the service must be fairly looked in the face, and the means of accomplishing the separation carefully considered."

Extract from a Note by Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. S. Maine, 12th March, 1868 :—

"In Bengal Proper, it seems to me, the interchanging of judicial and administrative functions is ruinous to the credit of efficiency of both branches of the service."

Extract from letter of the Hon'ble Ashley Eden,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal, judicial Department, dated 1st December, 1869, embodying the views of Sir William Grey, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

“The Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that the progress of events has been such that, if our administration of Justice is to command respect and secure confidence, the special qualifications of those who preside over the highest local courts must be materially improved, and that the proper means for doing this is to place them at a comparatively early period of life in a position which will concentrate their attention on the requirements of the judicial line as a profession, will hold out inducements to them to perfect themselves in that profession by study, and will afford them a practical training for it.

This can only be done by disconnecting the future judge from the distraction of executive duties.

Nor is it only for the improvement of the judicial service that this separation is called for. The administration on the executive side has also become more scientific and exact, and the work of the Executive offices is multiplying and extending upon every side. In some of the larger districts the labour imposed by the union in one officer of executive and judicial administration is so great as to diminish the efficiency of the former as well as of the latter; and in those smaller districts in which there is no second officer, the want of one has been long most urgently felt.”

Extract from paragraph 4 of Despatch of the Government of India, No. 313, Department of Finance and Commerce, to the Secretary of State, dated 5th Novem-

ber, 1883, relative to the re-organization of the Punjab Commission :—

“While fully adhering to the general principle of effecting a more complete separation between judicial and executive function, we are not satisfied that the precise mode of separation suggested by the Local Govt. was the best that could be devised. We were of opinion that not only should commissioners be entirely relieved of their judicial functions, but that Deputy Commissioners should also have their hands set free for revenue and executive duties which are annually becoming heavier and more important.”

This is not all. This official opinion has been supported also by good many Anglo-Indian retired officials who are, by virtue of their residence in India where they had to spend the best part of their lives in performance of their official duties, and who had likewise ample occasions to come in contact with all classes of the people and to ascertain their wants and wishes, competent to speak with an air of authority on the question. Among these distinguished personages can be found the names of Sir Richard Garth, the late Chief Justice of the Bengal High Court, Sir William Markby the late Judge of the Bengal High Court, Sir Raymond West, late Judge of the High Court of Bombay, Sir John B. Phear, late Judge of the Bengal High Court and late Chief Justice of Ceylon, Mr. Herbert L Reynolds late Secretary of the Government of Bengal and member of the Viceroy's Council, and Sir Lepel Griffin who have one and all condemned the system, and suggested the indispensable necessity that has arisen from growing progress of the country and intelligence

of the people, for divesting all executive offices from performance of judicial duties. They have clearly shown that, in the interests of the pure and efficient administration of justice, of public confidence in the constituted tribunals, and of the credit of British rule in India, the long talked of and much needed reform, should be carried out with as little delay as practicable, having due regard to the unanimous voice of public opinion of India, expressed through their exponent, the Indian National Congress.

With regard to the financial aspect of the question, it can be satisfactorily proved, that due effect can be practically given to the proposed reform at a trifling cost to the public exchequer, if the scheme, laid down by Mr. R. C. Dutt C. I. E. (Commissioner of the Orissa Division) on the subject, is practically carried into operation, as that will go a great way to bring about the desired object without recourse to any fresh legislation and without adding to the burdens of the people in any way. This scheme is very plain, and no reason can be adduced in consistence with the principles of justice, why this scheme should not be accepted by Government, if Lord Kimberley's declaration as to his inability to carry out the proposed reform on the score of financial pressure was to be taken as such, apart from the all-absorbing question of the loss of "prestige," which I am afraid was in a manner involved in it, though his Lordship openly contradicted Sir Richard Garth's statement on the point in the House of Lords in May 1893 in the following words :—
 "I can in no way admit that the Union of these two powers is maintained in India for the purpose of enhan-

cing the prestige of the officers of the Indian Government." It is proposed by the Scheme laid down in the Note recorded in 1894 by Mr. R. C. Dutt, to make all magistrates who try cases subordinate to the appellate and revisional authority of only the District Judge, and the District Magistrate remaining as before, to quote the words of Mr. R. C. Dutt, "the head executive officer, the head revenue officer and the head police officer of his district.

"He will collect revenue and taxes, and perform all the work connected with the revenue administration with the help of his assistants and deputies. He will continue to perform all executive work ; and will be armed with the necessary powers. He will watch and direct police investigations, and will be virtually the prosecutor in criminal cases. But he will cease to try or to have tried by his subordinates, criminal cases in respect of which he is the police officer and the prosecutor.

"On the other hand, the District Judge will, in addition to his present duties, supervise the work of Joint Magistrates and Deputy Magistrates employed on purely judicial work. This work of supervision will be better and impartially done by trained judicial officers than by over-worked executive officers, who are also virtually prosecutors. And the evil which arises from the combination of functions of the prosecutor and the judge, of which we have had some striking illustrations of late, will cease to exist when the prosecutor is no longer the judge."

It is held by the supporters of the existing system, that no harm has actually accrued from the system,

which possesses countervailing advantages of considerable weight and importance, though it may be objectionable on the ground of theory. It is necessary to meet this argument advanced by the late Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Charles Elliot, in an article contributed by him in the October number of the "*Asiatic Quarterly Review*," with a view to vindicate the existing system, which has been assailed and attacked by Mr. Ghose in his published Pamphlets, one containing opinions of distinguished authorities on the combination of judicial and executive functions, the other being a collection of cases showing the evils of that combination. With reference to this line of contention, it may be remarked in reply, that, in this case, the onus of proof shifts upon Sir Charles for his having made an especial allegation. It must evidently be a reasonable inference, that a system, that is vicious on principle, is expected to produce evil consequence. But as Sir Charles wants to establish a contrary proposition, it is for him to adduce the necessary evidence in justification of his own ground by placing necessary materials before the public. But his article seems to be silent on this point, from the average estimate of which, the defence taken up by him can hardly be established to satisfy an unprejudiced mind.

In denouncing the case set up by Mr. Ghose in his Pamphlets, Sir Charles Elliot from his anxiety to uphold the existing system, declares that :—"The existing system has great merits and advantages, that it in no way trenches on the judicial independence of the subordinate magistrates, that there are weighty arguments against its modification, besides those which arise from financial

considerations, and that no valid proof has been adduced of any evil arising from it."

Then to justify the truth involved in the proposition laid down by Sir Charles, as to the merits and advantages of the present system, justifying its continuance he writes :—"The keynote to our success in Indian Administration has been the adoption of the oriental view that all power should be collected into the hands of a single official, so that the people of the District should be able to look up to one man in whom the various branches of authority are centred ; and who is the visible representative of Government." "The Police Department, the Engineer Department, the Forest Department, the Sanitation Department, have all, as they grew up, tried to shake themselves free of the District Magistrate, but have been replaced in their proper position by such Lieutenant Governors as Sir George Campbell in Bengal, and Sir John Strachey in the North Western Provinces,—not so as to cripple the power of the experts in each department, but so as to collect all the threads of Government in the District Magistrate's hands, enabling him thus to use the knowledge of all for the purposes of each." "In judicial matters, the more responsible duties of sessions trial and the technical work of Civil Justice, have been placed in the hands of the judge ; but there still remains under the District Magistrate's orders the body of subordinate magistrates, who dispose of simple criminal cases, and commit the graver to the sessions, and the reasons, which have been stated above, apply with great force to the retention of their subordination."

"The opponents of the system draw the picture of an

officer who, because he has to some extent supervised and guided the police operations which end in the arrest of an accused person, becomes so biassed that he is unable to weigh aright the evidence which is produced on the trial."

"There is no real distinction in kind between the action taken before and after the trial. The Police officer is exercising a sort of judicial capacity when he decides whose story he shall believe and which of two classes he shall follow up; the magistrate exercises a similar capacity when he believes or disbelieves the witnesses who appear before him on the Bench. To say that weak evidence will appear strong to him because he heard it before the trial, or that he cannot appreciate the force of new evidence, because he did not hear it before, is unwarranted; to say that he will be so possessed with the passion of the hunter as to be incapable of listening fairly to any evidence in favour of the hunted, is an hypothesis unjustified by general experience or by knowledge of any but the worst sides of human nature."

"The Subordinate Magistrates derive great benefit from the advice and guidance of an experienced senior when they are young and from inspection of a peripatetic officer, whether they are young or old, and that the substitution of the control of the judge for that of the district Magistrate would defeat these ends."

In support of his case, Sir Charles also cites an extract from the Late Lieutenant Governor of the N. W. Provinces, Sir John Strachey's "India", and adds the weight of Sir John's authority to substantiate his line of defence in the following words:—

"We often hear demands for the more complete separ-

ation of executive and judicial functions in India, but they are demands based on the assumption that because this is good for England it is good for India also. There could be no greater error. The first necessity of good administration in India is that it should be strong, and it cannot be strong without the concentration of authority. In the every day internal administration there is no office so important as that of the Magistrate and Collector. He is one of the mainstays of our dominion, and few steps could be taken in India which would be more mischievous and dangerous than to deprive him of those powers which alone enable him to maintain his position as the local representative of Government."

It is, in fact, quite a preposterous thing for Sir Charles, even with the authoritative opinion of Sir John Strachey by his side, to attempt to defend the existing anomalous system of judicial administration on principle, considering the authoritative declaration on the subject of a mighty authority, before whom neither Sir John Strachey nor Sir Charles Elliot will have any hesitation to bow, I mean Lord Cornwallis, whose memorable Regulation II. of 1793 contains the following passage :—

"The Revenue Officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the regulations, must be subjected to the cognizance of the courts of judicature superintended by judges, who, from their official situations, and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and between the latter and their tenants. The collectors of

revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to courts of judicature; and collect the public dues subject to a personal prosecution for every exaction exceeding the amount which they are authorized to demand on behalf of the public, and for every deviation from the regulations prescribed for the collection of it."

History has sufficiently demonstrated the soundness of view, that actuated the framers of the Regulations of 1793 to lay down general principles, that were to form a guide for better administration of the country in all the different branches of the administration; because it cannot be denied that the country has begun to prosper in various ways since that time, and that highly beneficial results, both financial and political, having accrued therefrom, have amply justified the wisdom of the policy and the measure adopted by that distinguished statesman with a view to construct the solid fabric of administration for India on a better footing. If this view of the case was considered applicable at such a remote period as 1793, when it could be the natural outcome of a reasonable expectation, that political considerations, having due regard to the unsettled state of the Government at the time, should dictate a rigid system of Bureaucratic rule in the interest of the administration or Government of the day, (though unfortunately Lord Cornwallis's policy in that respect has not been followed by successive administrations), how much more should it be held applicable now after a century, having due regard to the peaceful state of the present Government, and to the advancing stage of public opinion, when the country is

disturbed neither by external nor by internal disorders, I leave you to judge.

Sir Charles's idea of applying oriental principle in the Government of this country as expressed in the quoted extract, can hardly be entertained, in view of the total failure that has attended the Government of Turkey,—the recognised head of the Oriental Empire, as evidenced by utter misrule and corruption that govern the cabinet of Constantinople. It shows that old times having changed along with the altered circumstances of the country, the old method of government has now become quite unsuited to the people considering the aspirations of the rising generations.

It appears from the extract quoted above from Sir Charles Elliot's article, that he grounds his support of the present system, not upon an empty phrase like "prestige," though this very prestige is laid at the very root of this desired reform, but upon two definite propositions, *viz.*—first, that the District Magistrate should hold in his hands all the threads of the different branches of the administration, and should have the officials in all those branches under his general control; secondly, that the District Magistrate should advise, guide, and inspect the Subordinate Magistrates, and that this object could not be gained if the control of the Judge were to be substituted for that of the Magistrate. Sir Charles then, after carefully analysing the twenty selected cases published in Mr. Ghose's pamphlet, declares that "Mr. Ghose's attack has wholly failed," inasmuch as he has come to the conclusion, after a careful scrutiny, that six of the cases are quite irrelevant to the point at issue; that in five cases,

which would have been prevented if the District Magistrate had no power of transferring cases or of giving instructions to a subordinate Magistrate, there is nothing to show, that the prevention of the Magistrate's action would not have been pure loss to the administration of justice; that 9 cases do not point out the system to be radically wrong; but simply "involved the personal equation of the Magistrates concerned," and that in all the cases, except one alone, "the acceptance of the reform urged upon us, would have failed to remedy the injustice which was done or seems to have been done. These two propositions, being void of a solid foundation, and evidently based upon baseless assumptions, cannot be held applicable to govern the present case for the following very simple reason. Under the existing law the magistrate is competent to try simple cases and various classes of minor offences and commit the grave or the more important classes of heinous offences to the Sessions Court, which he has no power to try at all, in consideration of which, how can it be considered a monstrous suggestion, if he (the Magistrate) is debarred from trying any case at all. If he has no jurisdiction to try a murderer, where is the harm if he is not allowed to try a thief? When the working of this system, under which all serious criminal cases are disposed of by the Sessions Judge, does not appear to have shaken public confidence for so long a time, and is found to have worked smoothly, no reason can be advanced, in consonance with the principles of justice and expediency, why the Judge cannot be a competent authority to exercise proper control over the judicial doings of the subordinate magistracy. The Judge can be, as much a

peripatetic officer, as the District Magistrate is, and he can be expected to supervise the work of the subordinate Magistrates, and to counsel, instruct and guide them, with as much usefulness as the District Magistrate does ; because Joint and District Magistrates having been as a rule, promoted to the offices of District Judges, the Judge combines in his person not only the experience of all the executive training of a magistrate, but also a superior knowledge of law, in consideration of which, he can be better fitted to exercise adequate control over the judicial duties of the subordinate magistrates.

With regard to the administration of executive departments, how can the District Magistrate be considered the centre of all authority in view of the different Departments *viz.*, Excise, Registration, Education, Public Works, Post Office, and Municipality, that have sprung up and are directly controlled by their own Departmental Heads ? He holds no control over the Post Office Department at all. He has no direct concern with the Education Department as education (other than Primary) is not entrusted to his charge. He is no longer the *ex-officio* Chairman of Municipalities. Public Works, Excise, and Registration, are gradually going to specialize themselves under their own Departmental Heads. But still official reports have borne ample testimony of the remarkable progress they have shown, with a tendency towards further advance, even though these Departments are not directly administered by the Executive Head of the district. Hence, it follows, that the district administration can prosper without the absolute necessity of all power being collected in the hands of a single official," or in other words, without

"the threads of the different branches of the administration" being held in the hands of the District Magistrate, as laid down by Sir Charles. On the other hand, it can be shown to demonstration, that the success of the administration rests, not upon the concentration of all power in the hands of a single official, but upon all our officers making a judicious use of all the powers they hold. If the administration can prosper by keeping the District Magistrate in touch only with the different Executive Departments, that are practically controlled by their respective Departmental Heads, no reason can there be in consistence with the principles of justice and fairness, why it cannot prosper as well in respect of the administration of Justice at the same time, if the Magistrate is divested of his judicial powers.

With regard to the trial of cases by the District Magistrate, as well as on the point of interference by him with the judicial independence of his subordinates, Sir Charles says:—"The more important item in the District Magistrate's power consists in his control over the Subordinate Magistrates, and it is this which is attacked, on the plea, that he uses, or may use, this control to affect their judicial independence. I fully agree, of course, that any such interference would be unjustifiable; but I maintain, that such cases, if they have occurred, have been most exceptional; and that there is too much good sense and honourable feeling among the District Magistrates to allow any danger of the sort to exist."

"That any one should say to a subordinate 'I consider this man guilty and you must decide him to be so' would be monstrous; but no one has asserted that interference

of the kind takes place." "The District Magistrate does, as a matter of fact, try so few cases, that no very serious evil would ensue if he did not possess the power. There are many districts in Bengal in which he does not try twelve cases in a year. Still there are some classes of offences, such as those committed by Europeans, which, under the law, a native subordinate Magistrate cannot try, and there are political "causes celebres" in which a native might be suspected of bias or of weakness. On account of these, it is well that he should retain this power; and it is occasionally useful that he should take up an important and difficult case to set an example to his subordinates of the proper way of dealing with it."

It will be thus seen, that Sir Charles admits that no harm would ensue if the District Magistrate did not possess the power of trying cases himself, as he tries very few criminal cases. I need hardly add, that the real nature of the evil and the operation of the suggested remedy are entirely lost sight of by this argument. The mischief really arises, not from the cases which the District Magistrate personally tries, but from his power to try such cases as he thinks fit; from his power to make over cases as shown above from an independent-spirited subordinate to a weak-minded one, who will be a serving tool in his hands; from his power to interfere, at every stage of a trial, on pretence of giving instructions, which generally convey the force of a command; from his power at once to conduct the prosecution, and to dictate the penalty in a manner under cover of giving advice. Nothing could inspire greater astonishment than the glaring inconsistency with which

Sir Charles appears to have ignored or suppressed, in the first part of the extract quoted above, the real fact of some cases, mentioned in Mr. Ghose's pamphlet, and criticized by Sir Charles in his article, amongst which Raja Surya Kanta Acharjya's case deserves prominent notice. These cases will go to contradict Sir Charles and bind him hand and foot on the point. The arguments contained in the concluding portion of the quoted extract, as to the legal disability of native Magistrates to try offences committed by Europeans, and as to their disqualifications to try political "causes celebres" on the ground of suspected bias or weakness, and as to the occasional usefulness of a lesson to be given to the subordinates by the trial of an important and difficult case by the District Magistrate, can be best disposed of, on the point, by the following considerations. When invariably a European assistant or a Joint Magistrate is placed in every district, against whom the charge levelled at the devoted head of native Deputy Magistrates can be hardly brought home, and who could be confidently expected to decide the exceptional cases with equal efficiency and independence, of course in subordination to the District Judge, the objections urged against the withdrawal of the power of trying cases from the District Magistrate's hands might be sufficiently met.

Finally, Sir Charles appears to regard District Magistrates, whom Mr. Reynolds styles to be his "clients" in his article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, to be infallible in every case. But is it not a fact that "all that glitters is not gold," and that the very fact of the District Magistrate's holding judicial and executive authority

with the absolute power of trying whatever cases he thinks fit, and of transferring cases from the file of one subordinate to another, is sufficient to over-awe the people with an impression that the sword of Damocles is hanging over their heads, whether he chooses to exercise his authority or not, and that human nature is human nature liable to commit mistakes, because "to err is human", in consideration of which, it would be for you, gentlemen, to consider, how far it would be safe, to trust that human nature, and to declare it infallible, on the strength of which conviction, the introduction of such an important reform is hanging fire for so long a time, which might be continued till *Doomsday*, if more sympathetic and liberal counsels do not happen to prevail in the mean time.

The selected cases quoted by Mr. Ghose fully demonstrate the importance of all the aforesaid remarks, and bear out the truth involved in the description of the real state of facts. These cases, which so clearly illustrate the baneful consequences of the existing system, would never have seen the light of day, if the system had been done away with, ensuring thereby the purity and high tone of the constituted tribunals. But these cases are sure to go on multiplying, as forming the natural outcome and inevitable consequence inseparable from the existence of the present system. Even our rulers, whose good faith and noble object we never question, with all their best intentions, would find themselves utterly impotent to deal with these evils, unless and until the proposed reform, by which the District Magistrate is to be not only divested of judicial functions, but by which all judicial officers also

are subjected to the control of the judicial authorities alone, is not carried into execution. It is quite unnecessary for me to go into details of every case mentioned in Mr. Ghose's pamphlet, as those cases have been clearly examined by no less eminent personages than Mr. Reynolds, Sir John Phear, Mr. Dacosta, and Mr. Murison, and declared by them quite relevant to the present discussion, and sufficiently clear to illustrate the evils of the existing system, in the able articles contributed by them in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* in answer to Sir Charles Elliot.

To sum up. Having due regard to the consensus of official opinion, as well as to the declared public opinion of India in favour of the abolition of the present system altogether, whereby a thief-catcher becomes a thief-trier, or in other words, the same man is allowed to be the Police officer, the Prosecutor, and virtually the Judge, through combination of judicial and executive authority in one man, in consideration of which, it is not too much to say, from my personal experience as a Muffusil Zeminder and as a special Honourary Magistrate of this district, that honour and liberty of no man in the moffusil, however high his status might be, can be regarded safe and secure, who does not appear to be in the good books of that man, who is no other than the District Magistrate, it can be unquestionably declared, from every possible stand point of view, considering the growing needs and advancement of the country, that time has come when the much-needed reform should no longer be delayed, as a concession to public opinion and feeling. This would raise the so-called "prestige" of Government in the estimation of the people, to such an extent, that it would

constitute a far more enduring monument of their enlightened and sagacious statesmanship, tending to strengthen the permanent hold of British rule upon the very hearts and contentment of 250 millions of Indian subjects.

With these remarks I beg to support the resolution standing in my name, thanking you, gentlemen, for the opportunity you have given me to avail myself of this occasion to place my views before the public on a very important question of all absorbing public interest, *viz.*, the "Separation of Judicial and Executive duties", by granting me a patient and indulgent hearing for such a length of time.

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Letter, dated Calcutta, 20, Loudon Street, the 3rd November, 1896. From the HON'BLE H. J. S. COTTON, C. S. I., the Chief Commissioner of Assam to the author of this publication :—

MY DEAR SIR,

I beg to thank you for your kind letter of the 24th October which has followed me from Simla and the volume of your Public Speeches which you were good enough to send me. I have no doubt that they will prove *interesting reading*. I am with best wishes for your health and prosperity.

Yours sincerely
H. J. S. COTTON.

Letter, dated Darjeeling, the 30th October, 1896. From SIR ALFRED CROFT, K. C. I. E. the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal and a Member of Bengal Legislative Council, Vice-chancellor, Calcutta University, to the author :—

MY DEAR SIR,

I am obliged to you for sending me your lengthy collection of speeches and addresses on a variety of interesting subjects. What has chiefly struck me in perusing them is the versatility of your mind, enabling you to deal, often without previous notice, with a large variety of topics differing widely in their character and scope.

I remain,
Sincerely yours
A. W. CROFT.

*Letter, dated Narikeldanga, the 28th November, 1896.
From MR JUSTICE GOOROO DASS BANERJEE, L. L. D.,
a Judge of the High Court of Bengal, to the
author :—*

MY DEAR SRISH BABOO,

I have read some of your speeches. They are interesting and evince intelligent appreciation of the subjects dealt with.

Yours sincerely
GOOROO DASS BANERJEE.

Letter, dated Writer's Buildings, Calcutta, the 24th November, 1896. From E. R. HENRY, C. S. the Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, to the author :—

MY DEAR SIR,

I must apologize for the delay in acknowledging receipt of your letter of the 11th instant and of a copy of your public speeches. I have been away at Gnatong, which is 6 days' march from Darjeeling and my correspondence got into arrears. I am much obliged to you for sending me your interesting speeches.

Yours very truly
E. R. HENRY.

Letter, dated Cuttack, the 9th December, 1896. From J. E. WEBSTER, C. S. the late Officiating District Magistrate of Moorshidabad, now settlement officer of Cuttack, to the author :—

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your courtesy in sending me a copy of your printed speeches. I can only say that I admire the public spirit that they show, though I am scarcely

prepared to identify myself with the views expressed in some of them.

I am

Yours sincerely

J. E. WEBSTER.

Letter, dated Purulia, the 17th December, 1896. By H. LUSON, B. A., C. S., the late Under-Secretary to the Government of India, at present Deputy Commissioner of Manbhoom, to the author:—

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 11th November last forwarding me a copy of your public speeches delivered during the last 15 years did not miscarry, as you say in your letter of yesterday you think possible. I duly received your former letter and the speeches; but the truth is that, as I only took over charge of this important district early last month, I have not had time hitherto to look at the speeches. I have now looked through the book. Though my views do not coincide with yours on all points, I have been pleased with a perusal of the Speeches, which I think do you credit.

Yours faithfully
H. LUSON.

Letter, dated Chittagong, the 28th December, 1896. From F. H. SKRINE, C. S. Commissioner of the Chittagong Division, to the author:—

DEAR SIR,

I have not received your Speeches. Please send another copy by value-payable-post. Thefts of works in the post office are common, as I found when distributing my life of Mookherjee. With best wishes for 1897.

Yours very truly,
F. H. SKRINE

Letter, dated The Palace, Moorshedabad, the 6th January, 1897, from His Highness the Nawab Bahadoor of Moorshedabad, Amir-ul-Omrah, the first Noble, of Bengal, son and heir of the last Nawab Nazim of Bengal, through his Dewan, to the author :—

DEAR SIR,

His Highness the Nawab Bahadoor of Moorshedabad Amir-ul-Omrah desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant as well as of a copy of your Speeches that you have been good enough to send for his acceptance as a present ; and, in reply, to say that he has been pleased to sanction a sum of Rs. 20 (Rupees Twenty) only, as his contribution to the funds the publishers are raising for publishing a second edition of your Speeches, and the amount is herewith sent. I am to add that His Highness is pleased with your Speeches and that he is glad to receive the copy that you have sent him.

Yours faithfully

FAZL RABBI,

Dewan.

*Letter, dated Berhampore the 4th February, 1897 from
E. V. LEVINGE ESQ. B. A., C. S., District Magistrate,
and Collector, Moorshidabad, to the author:—*

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for sending me the revised edition of your public speeches, the printing and general get-up of which are excellent. I am sorry that pressure of work has prevented me doing more than merely glance at the speeches at present, but those that I have read I have found interesting. I see that the speeches deal with a great variety of topics, and I have no doubt that they will prove entertaining reading.

Yours truly
E. V. LEVINGE.

*Letter, dated Chittagong the 23th February, 1897 from
F. H. SKRINE ESQ. B. A., C. S., Commissioner Chit-
tagong Division, to the author:—*

MY DEAR SIR,

I have read the well-got up edition of your speeches with great interest. While unable to agree with your views on one or two of the topics discussed I am willing to do full justice to their liberality and to the excellent English in which they are couched. It is much to be wished that your example were followed more extensively by scions of ancient families in this country.

Yours very truly
F. H. SKRINE.

*Letter, dated Camp Bolpore the 28th February, 1897
from F. R. S. COLLIER ESQ. C. S. late member of the
Bengal Legislative Council, author of "The Local
Self-Government Manual" and District Magistrate
of Birbhum, at present Commissioner, Chittagong
Division, to the author :—*

MY DEAR SIR,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th instant and for the copy of your speeches. I have read the latter and find them very interesting.

Yours sincerely
F. R. STANLEY COLLIER.

*Letters from SIR FREDERIC BARNES PEACOCK, M. A., C. S.,
K. C. S. I., Late Chief Secretary to the Government
of Bengal, and Late Member Bengal Legislative
Council, dated Jeypore, Rajputana, the 28th
February and 6th March, 1894, to the author :—*

MY DEAR SIR,

I was sorry not to see you during my stay in Calcutta in December and January and sorrier still to hear of the cause which prevented my doing so. I am leaving in a few days for Bombay on my way to England *via* China and Japan. But as yet I do not know the exact date of my departure. My brother leaves India in April.

I have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a collection of your Published Speeches. I have read them carefully. I am sorry I cannot agree with the views expressed in some of them, but I am pleased with a perusal of the speeches on the whole.

The speeches deal with a large variety of *subjects* and bear ample testimony to the extent of your experience of the country, study of public questions, and command of the English language and they will do credit and honour to any public man of your age. It is much to be desired that your example were followed by promising scions of

aristocracy. No, there is not the least chance of my returning to India in any official capacity, my kindness to you therefore will be of no avail now. You know very well I had every mind to do something *substantial* for you in consideration of the eminent services rendered to Government by your distinguished predecessors, notably of that of your illustrious ancestor Raja Mohendra Narayan to the Honourable East India Company during their troublous days before the battle of Plassey, as well as of your public services rendered as a member of the Bench and of the late District Road Cess and Education Committees, and as a public spirited Zemindar by establishing Schools and Dispensaries towards advancement of your country's cause; but this I could not do, for which you alone are to thank yourself, for the foolish indiscretion you had shown by declining the Deputy Magistrateship that I offered you. If you had accepted my offer, I could have made you a member of the Statutory Civil Service long ago. But now if you care for Government honours, I would advise you to go on doing your honorary duties as a Honourary Magistrate and a Member of the local committees with as much ability and earnestness as you have been doing so long, and to keep up the traditions of your family as an exemplary landlord by doing all sorts of public good; and you will ultimately find your noble exertion practically recognised by Government in due course. With all good wishes in which my brother joins.

I am

Yours Sincerely,

F. B. PEACOCK.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

SARBADHICARI'S SPEECHES.—The second edition of the public speeches of Babu Srish Chandra Bose Sarbadhicari has just been published in a handy volume by a number of native gentlemen, with Raja Peary Mohun Mukerji Bahadoor at their head, as “an example to the promising scions of old and respected families of Bengal of real worth in one among their number.” Babu S. C. Bose Sarbadhicari, is descended from one of the noblest and most illustrious Kyesta families in Bengal and we learn from the preface that two of his ancestors, early in the fifteenth century, served the Imperial Court of Delhi as Dewan of Orissa and Vizier of the Emperor of Delhi, respectively, and that Rajahs Shitanath, Mohendra Narain, and Hari Prosad alias Raj Kishore rendered meritorious service in the last century to the Nizamat as well as the Hon'ble East India Company, the first having held the office of Dewan to His Excellency the then Viceroy, and to the late Nawab Nazim of Bengal. The second was Minister to the former Nawab of Bengal, and rendered signal service to Lord Clive in the negotiations that preceded the Battle of Plassey. The volume in question contains speeches on thirty different subjects widely differing in their character and scope. And although we may not be able to identify ourselves with the views expressed in many of them, they are interesting and evince intelligent appreciation of the subjects dealt with.—*Indian Daily News, April 12. 1897.*

POLITICAL AND OTHER SPEECHES.—A neat volume of the public speeches of Baboo Srish Chandra Basu Sarvadhicari is issued by the Nababibhaker Press, Calcutta. The book is dedicated to Mr. C. W. Bolton. C. S., and the subjects dealt with are diverse and entertaining. The preface states that the object of the publication of the volume is “to set an example to the promising scions of old and respectable families of Bengal, of real worth in one among their number, who is descended also from one of the first ancient and noble families of Bengal, whose illustrious ancestors were men of high ability, who rendered signal service, first, to the Empire of Delhi and the Court of Moorsheadabad, and afterwards to the British Raj.” The apology continues for a couple of pages in similar strain, and if the speeches did not set the example desired, the preface certainly would. The speeches themselves, however, happen to be quite respectable, in both sentiment and style. There is something peculiarly admirable in that on “Competitive Examination” in which the author inveighs against the “pre-University days that

required every student to consume mid-night oil in getting a library in his pocket before he could reap the final laurel." That is charming. *Statesman, May 8, 1897.*

PUBLIC SPEECHES OF BABU SRISH CHANDRA BASU SARVADHIKARI.—This is a very handy volume of speeches on a variety of subjects which are of interest to the general reader. Babu Srish Chandra is a young man of great promise and is deservedly held in high esteem by all who know him for his many rare qualities of the head and the heart. Descended from one of the most ancient, and perhaps the most distinguished, and the first Kayastha family of Bengal, Babu Srish Chandra has devoted his whole life to public good often at considerable self-sacrifice. His illustrious ancestors had rendered signal service, five centuries ago to the Emperor of Delhi, next to the Royal House of Murshidabad and finally to the East India Company. A Sarvadhikari figures in the history of Orissa as Prime Minister and another rose to be a Vizier of the Emperor of Delhi. Even in the last century, Raja Sitanath, Raja Mahendra Narayan and Raja Hari Prasad, better known as Rajkishore, kept up the reputation and the traditions of the family by meritorious services in the field of administration and diplomacy. It was the author's ancestor Raja Mahendra Narayan who rendered signal service to Lord Clive in the negotiations that preceded the battle of Plassey and the result of which was the passing of the sceptre of Bengal into the hands of the East India Company. Sprung from such a stock, Babu Srish Chandra has very properly elected a public life and his public spirited activity is evidenced in the foundation of an English school and a charitable dispensary in his native village Choa, in the district of Murshidabad. Years ago he was offered a Deputy Magistrateship, but he respectfully declined the offer to consecrate his life to the service of the public. The volume under notice has been published by public subscriptions—an honour which has fallen to the lot of but few Bengali speakers. In the list of publishers we find the name of Raja Pearymohun Mukerjee, and we note that it was the Hall of the British Indian Association, with which another and a more distinguished member of the Sarvadhikari family is so conspicuously associated, that had been the scene of Babu Srish-chandra's earlier efforts in the art of public speaking. The speeches contained in the present volume afford ample evidence of the versatility of the speaker and we observe that they have received high encomiums from such competent critics as Mr. Cotton, the present Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sir Alfred Croft, Justice Gurudas Bannerjee, Mr. Skrine and others. Among the subscribers we notice the name of H. H. the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad. We do not wish to discount the interest of the volume by making extracts from it, but we may add in conclusion that thoughtful readers will find in its pages much food for serious reflection. The book may be had at the Nalabibhakar Press, 62-3 Machooabazar

Road, for the moderate price of one Rupee per copy.—*Hindoo Patriot*
March 17, 1897.

S. C. BASU SARVADHICARI'S PUBLIC SPEECHES.—The speeches of Babu S. C. Basu have been published in a collected form by Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, Rai Bahadur Okhil Chunder Mookerjee and others. This is in itself an evidence of the fact that the speeches are above the ordinary run. Babu S. C. Sarvadhicari comes of one of the first ancient and noble Kayesta families of Bengal. His illustrious ancestors rendered signal services, first to the Empire of Delhi and the Court of Murshidabad, and afterwards to the British Raj. Early in the 15th century, Sureshwar Sarvadhicari and Eshaneswar Sarvadhicari served the Imperial Court of Delhi as Prime Minister or Dewan of the Province of Orissa, and as Vizier of the Emperor of Delhi respectively. His ancestors, who specially distinguished themselves in the last century, were Rajahs Sitanath, Mahendra Narayan and Hari Prosad *alias* Raj Kishore. In the early days of local self-government, when few Muffassil Zemindars could be found willing to take active part in the deliberations of the District Road Cess and Education Committees, Babu S. C. Basu's self-sacrificing and devoted interest in these deliberations, coupled with the fact of his having established an English school and a charitable dispensary in his native village of Choa, Murshidabad, for the promotion of popular education and for the relief of the sufferers from epidemic fever, presented a noble example to the landholders of Bengal. He was offered a Deputy Magistrateship; but he declined it with a view to serve his country. Such self-sacrifice and devotion to public duties ought to be rewarded both by the public and the Government. Indeed, the Government cannot do better than avail of the services of such public-spirited zemindars, descended from such illustrious families, in the Legislative Council or other semi-official bodies. The volume before us contains speeches on thirty different subjects and a good many of them will amply repay perusal. The diversity of subjects dealt with by the speaker, shows that his experience of the country is of a wide character.—*Amrita Lazar Patrika* *March 31, 1897.*

S. C. BOSU SARVADHICARI'S PUBLIC SPEECHES.*—This is a collection of the speeches, which have been delivered, from time to time, at public meetings by Babu Srish Chundra Bosu Sarvadhikari a public-spirited young Zemindar of Choa, in the District of Murshidabad. The speeches cover a wide range of subjects, and bear unmistakable testimony to the extent of the speaker's study of

* *Public Speeches of Babu Srish Chunder Bosu Sarvadhikari.* Published by public subscription. Second edition. Calcutta. Printed by G. C. Neogi, Nababibhakar Press, 63-3, Machooabazar Road. 1897.

public questions and his command of the English language. There is a peculiarity about the publication of the volume before us, that deserves notice. The publication has been made by public subscription, and among the subscribers are representatives of all classes of the European and Indian communities. This is a rare compliment, and one of which any public man ought to be proud. Babu S. C. Bosu has, we learn, from the preface to the volume, waived his right to the sale-proceeds of the publication, and authorized the publishers to apply the same towards the furtherance of any deserving public object. This is quite in keeping with the traditions of the family he so worthily represents—a family the members of which had done meritorious service to both the Nizam and the East India Company. We are glad to find the speeches are so well spoken of by some of the high officials of the country. They will we doubt not, be read with interest by the general public.—*Indian Mirror March 23, 1897.*

We are very glad to receive a copy of Babu Srish Chandra Bose Sarhadhikari's "Public Speeches" published with the pecuniary assistance of a large number of men of light and leading in the country. Among the Subscribers we find the names of Raja Peary Mohun Mukerji Bahadoor, C. S. I., the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, and a Divisional Commissioner. This is the first time that we have come to see this public movement organized to honour a public man. We wish it every success, considering its thoroughly representative character, the value of the speeches, and the high position of the author who comes from the first ancient family of Bengal whose illustrious ancestors rendered meritorious services to the Imperial Court of Delhi five centuries before, and the Court of Moorshedabad and the British Raj subsequently. The services the author has rendered both to the Government and the public by taking a prominent part in the deliberations of the District Road Cess and the Education Committees in the early days of Local Self-Government when few Muffussil Zemindars were found willing to join them, by establishing an English School and a Charitable Dispensary in his native village of Choa for improvement of popular education and relief of epidemic sufferers, by administering justice most satisfactorily regardless of fear or favour as a Special Honorary Magistrate, are sufficient to win unprecedented popularity and esteem and to deserve fitting recognition in the hands of the Government. The speeches are highly spoken of by officials of eminent authority like the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Director of Public Instruction, the Vice-chancellor, Calcutta University, Divisional Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, District Magistrates and others. We fully subscribe to this view and unhesitatingly declare that the work is valuable from the literary point of view.—*Hope March 11, 1897.*

We have received a copy of the public speeches by Babu Srish Chandra Sarvadhikary of Choa in the district of Moorshedabad and published with public subscription raised from the representatives of official and non-official communities of Bengal, both European and native. This movement seems to be unique in its character and the first of its kind in Bengal, as is the honour of having one's production published by public subscription. Mr. Sarvadhikari is the descendant of that ancient and illustrious family of Bengal whose distinguished ancestors about five centuries before, served under the Imperial Courts of Delhi and Moorshedabad, and subsequently under the British Government with great distinction and repute, rendering signal service to the hon'ble East India Company in the negotiations that preceded the battle of Plassey before the establishment of British power in Bengal. The speeches deal with a large variety of interesting subjects, and are full of thoughts, delivered with a certain force of expression in the English language over which the author seems to have great command. The work is worth reading. It speaks volumes of the author's high-mindedness in giving up all his rights to the sale-proceeds of the said publication, and in authorizing his publishers to utilize the same to public purposes. Such men deserve higher honours at the hands of Government.—*Bengalee, April 3. 1897.*

PUBLIC SPEECHES of Babu Srish Chandra Basu Sarbadhikari, published with public subscription, by Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjee Bahadur C. S. I., Rai Okhil Chandra Mukerjee Bahadur, and some of the pleaders of the Berhampore Bar. This is perhaps the first occasion that we have come across some of the speeches delivered by the Babu who traces his decent from one of the first ancient families of Bengal Zemindars, and whose ancestors are said to have held Premierships and Dewanships in the Courts of Delhi and Murshedabad and one of them held the post of the Dewan to a Viceroy. The object of publishing the volume with public subscriptions is said to present to the scions of Bengal Zemindars "an example of real worth in one among their number." For our part we fail to see the justice of this queer declaration unless it be intended as a deception on public appreciation of the worth the speeches possess. The speeches themselves are an index to the virtues of the mind and from them one might fairly judge of their merits. It is of little moment whether Babu Srish Chandra is a Zemindar or a traveller or an insolvent like the late Mr. Bradlaugh. The speeches themselves are a fair recommendation to the acceptance of the volume by the general public as well as by the scions of Bengal Zemindars. We must condemn the polish of trinkets and recommend the gold. In this respect, we must say, we have not been disappointed. Within the puzzling exterior there lurks worth in the speeches, some of which are highly interesting. We can safely recommend the volume to the perusal of our readers.—*Power and the Guardian, April 13. 1897.*

We have to acknowledge with thanks a copy of "Public Speeches of Babu Srish Chandra Basu Sarvadhicary" published with public subscription by several men of note. The method adopted by the publishers, among whom we find the names of many moneyed men, to set before the public the example of real worth in a scion of one of the foremost families of Bengal, is indeed a novel one. For the first time, we think, a body of men by subscribing between them has thought fit to give publicity to the utterances of one who has something else besides rank and social position to commend them to the public. The subject on which the speeches have been delivered are varied and the language too in which they have been couched is excellent throughout. The speeches were delivered extempore; it is to be hoped they have undergone the necessary amount of refinement and polish in their course through the press. What renders the publication particularly interesting is that Babu Sarvadhicary has generously promised to devote all its proceeds towards furthering some work of public utility.—*Cosmopolitan and the Liberal*, April 21. 1897.

We have received a copy of the public speeches of Babu Srish Chandra Sarvadhicari of Choa in the District of Moorshidabad published with public subscription raised from the representatives of official and non-official communities of Bengal both European and Native by a distinguished number of publishers headed by no less an eminent personage and a distinguished leader of Bengal aristocracy than Raja Peary Mohon Mukerjee Bahadur C. S. I. of Utterpara. This movement seems to be unique in its character and the first of its kind in Bengal, as the honour of having one's production published by public subscriptions raised by a public movement to which Nawabs, Rajas, Rai Bahadurs, Rao Shahibs, Zeminders, Hony and Presidency Magistrates, Municipal Commissioners, Members of District Boards, Pleaders Muktars, Counsel, Attorneys, Assistant Surgeons, Principals, Professors and Head Masters of Schools and Colleges, Bankers, Traders, Merchants, and Landholders (i. e.) all classes of Bengal both official and non-official, Europeans and Natives, have joined together from the Nawab Nazim (i. e.) the first Nawab of Bengal, down to the student community, has never fallen to the lot of any public man before. Official authorities like the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sir Alfred Croft (Director of Public Instruction and Vice Chancellor of the Calcutta University), Divisional Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and District Magistrates and others have borne high testimony to the real worth of this publication to which we also gladly add the tribute of our own might. The speeches deal with a large variety of interesting subjects. They are full of thoughts and delivered with such force of expression in a language over which the author appears to have extraordinary command. They are well worth reading and will form an useful guide for the rising generation to learn the art of public speaking.

It speaks volumes of the author's generosity, for him to give up his right upon the sale proceeds of the publication and to authorize the publishers to use the same for public good. We congratulate the author for the enviable position of honour and estimation he has gained in the eyes of his countrymen. We also thank the publishers for the public service they have done by publishing this edition.—*Indian Empire, April 3, 1897.*

In electing a member for the Bengal Legislative Council, the delegates of the Presidency District Boards, following the Alipore Board while electing its delegate, under the guidance of a Maharaja, deliberately ignored the claims of two recognized houses in Bengal as now represented by Raja Ranajit Singh, of Nashipur, and Rai Yatindra Nath Chowdhury, of Taki, both educated young men, and men of business as of property. The Raja, who ought to have been given an opportunity in a new field of public usefulness, was nowhere. The Rai Chowdry who had secured votes enough for a tie, apprehensive of Government interference the delegates sticking to their choice and proving unyielding, withdrew at the last moment in favour of his friend Babu Surendranath Banerjee. It is refreshing to find at the same time, Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee who, as a member of the Alipore District Board, was for neither the one nor the other, with others publishing by public subscription the "Speeches" of Baboo Srish Chandra Bosu Sarbadhicari, of Choa, the present most prominent member of an old and respectable Kulin Kyashta family in the Mursidabad district and in Bengal. When democracy stalks the land, when even Rajas and Maharajas swell the vulgar cry, a recognition of the kind is an encouraging sign, indeed. The time is not long past when scions of wellknown families, on account of their position and status, would be sought out for Deputy Magistracy. Now they must enter Government Service through the door open to all comers. We are told by the publishers of his Speeches that Babu Srish was offered a Deputy Magistracy and that he had declined it. The offer was according to old practice, and the refusal might be due to want of sympathy with the present rule which makes no distinction between the respectable and the low, the good and the bad. The Speeches embrace various subjects, delivered on various occasions, and have been found interesting and useful by many holding responsible positions. The publicity given them and the manner of such publicity throw additional burden on the exceptionally honoured Babu who, to maintain his reputation, must make a wider study of his subjects. His activity is great. He holds or had held the offices of Special Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Member of the late District Road Cess and Education Committees and of the Board, Berhampur, Secretary, Choa High School, President Choa Improvement Association, Member, British Indian Association, Calcutta, Vice-Chairman, Murshidabad Association. That he has been no silent member of any of those several bodies, his "Speeches" is an evidence.

The sale proceeds of the book, we find, are to be applied "towards furtherance of any well-considered project deserving of public support for the benefit of the public." As an encouragement to the versatile Babu and for the public good the publishers have in view, we hope the present edition will soon be exhausted.

Reis and Rayet. June 12, 1897.

THE TITLE OF "SARBADHICARI"—Some great misconception seems to exist about the origin of the title of "Sarbadhicari." It has really nothing to do with Kulinism among Kayesthas. Sureswar Bose got this hereditary title five hundred years before in consideration of his political position as Governor or Dewan of Orissa from the Imperial Court of Delhi during the reign of Ghyassuddin or his son Mohammuddin Tughluck. In connection with this title he got the well-known Zemindari in Orissa i. e. Raghunathpore. He also got an important privilege not only for him but also for his heirs and descendants, i. e., the door of Jagernath temple to be opened at any time of the day whenever he or any of his descendants was to go and to visit the temple and that he or his descendant was privileged to enter the temple with an umbrella over his head.—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika. June 7, 1897.*

In reviewing Babu Srish Chundra Bose Sarbadhicari's speech, certain newspapers made a mistake in mentioning that the title of "Sarbadhicari" was conferred upon the ancestors of Srish Babu by reason of their having been *kulins* by birth, but the real facts are these :—

"Sureswar got the hereditary title of 'Sarbadhicari,' i. e., head of all classes—a title that was considered in point of importance at the time (five hundred years before) far higher than the modern titles of Rajahs and Maharajahs in consideration of his political position as Governor or Dewan of Orissa from the Imperial Court of Delhi during the reign of Ghyassuddin or his son, Mohammuddin Tughluck, about five centuries before, and in connection with this title he got the well-known and the celebrated Zemindari of Orissa, i. e., Raghunathpore Pergunnah yielding an income of more than two lacs yearly at the time, and he also got the hereditary privilege not only for him but also for his heirs and descendants i. e. the door of Jagarnath temple was to be opened at any time of the day whenever he or his descendant was to go and visit the temple, and that he or his descendant was privileged to enter the temple with the privilege of holding an umbrella over his head."

The Indian Mirror. June 9, 1897.

The Sarbadhikaris are spoken of as having "rendered signal service, five centuries ago to the Emperor of Delhi, next to the Royal House of Moorshedabad, and finally to the East India Company. A Sarbadhicari figures in the history of Orissa as Prime Minister and another rose to be a Vizier of the Emperor of Delhi. Even in the last century, Rajas Shitanath, Mahendra Narayan, and Hari Prosad better known as Raj Kishore, kept up the reputation and the traditions of the family by meritorious services in the field of administration and diplomacy." A Sarbadhicari is also said by the Hindoo Patriot, from which we have made the above extracts and which is in charge of a Sarbadhicari, to have "rendered signal service to Lord Clive in the negotiations that preceded the battle of Plassey and the result of which was the passing of the Sceptre of Bengal into the hands of the East India Company."

A Sarbadhicari may feel justly proud of having given us the present Government in which we all rejoice and for which there will be exceptional Jubilation next month.

(Reis and Rayyet, 22nd May 1897.)

PUBLIC SPEECHES OF BABU SRISH CHANDRA BOSE SARBADHICARI.

PUBLISHED BY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION, 1897.
A BENGALI ORATOR.

"From the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh" says Babu Srish Chandra Bosu Sarvadhicari, in the first of the speeches which appear in the volume before us (4), and in the 144 pages of which it consists the orator unburdens his mind on every conceivable subject from the Afghan War Contribution and the Ilbert Bill down to Suburban Water Supply and Lord Ripon's Memorial. We must beg to be excused from passing any criticism upon the literary merits of these effusions, but in order to relieve the reader's mind of any lingering doubtlest he is getting good value for his money we subjoin the following list of the author's titles and of all the offices he holds or has ever held. The list appears in the title page, so that its authenticity may be taken for granted:—
"Special Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner,

Member of the late District Road Cess and Education Committees and of the Board, Berhampur, late Secretary, Choa High School, and President, Choa Improvement Association, Member, British Indian Association, Vice-Chairman, Murshidabad Association."

(*The Englishman, 16th August, 1897.*)

Public Speeches of Babu Srish Chandra Basu Sarbadhicari of Choa, in the District of Moorshidabad, Calcutta, NABABIBHAKAR PRESS, 1897.

Babu Srish Chandra Basu Sarbadhicari is an exceptionally fortunate man, for this is the first time, we think that the speeches of a gentleman are published with public subscription. This collection of speeches of Babu Srish Chandra on various subjects delivered on different occasions has been dedicated to Mr. Chief Secretary, Bolton. As an influential mufussulite, he embraced every public opportunity to speak out his mind. The subjects are varied, and the reader will find them very interesting. In his public capacity his utterances carry weight. From the title page, it appears that he has enjoyed all the honours that Muffussil can bestow upon him. If that be the case, why not allow him a seat in the Bengal Council? Position of grave responsibility often brings out the best qualities of a man. The Babu's ancestor Bhooban Mohon was a great Persian scholar, and held a high office under the Mogul Court of Delhi in their declining days under the last Emperor Shah Alm. He subsequently became a Dewan of the Nimak Mehal of the East India Company.

(*The National Magazine, A monthly Review. August 1897.*)

Public Speeches of Babu Srish Chandra Basu Sarbadhicari, বাবু শ্রীচন্দ্র সর্বাদিকারী বিস্মত ১৫ বৎসরের মধ্যে শিক্ষা, রাজনীতি, মঙ্গলপান, বিবাহ সংস্কার, ইতিহাস, লোকসাহায্য সম্বন্ধে যে সকল বক্তৃতা করিয়াছেন, রাজা প্যাট্রী-মোহন বুঝাপাখ্যার প্রভৃতি ৭ জন শিক্ষিত লোক নিজ্বায়ে তাহা প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন। এই পুস্তকে শ্রীশ বাবুর ৩৫ টি বক্তৃতা আছে, বক্তৃতাগুলি শ্রীশ বাবুর নানানিঘরিনী সৃষ্টিভার কল। ইংরেজীতে যে তাহার বিশেষ অতিজ্ঞতা আছে, যেনের হিতকরে যে তিনি চিন্তা করেন, বক্তৃতাগুলি তাহার পরিচায়ক।

মঞ্জীবনী—১০ই আন'চ, ১০০৪ সাল।

দীতানথ, রাজা মহেন্দ্রনারায়ণ এবং রাজা রাজকিশোর মুরশিদাবাদের নবাব ও ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানির সরকারে উচ্চতর কার্যে নিযুক্ত ছিলেন। গলাশী যুদ্ধের পূর্বে নবাব সিরাজুদ্দৌলার সহিত লর্ড ক্লাইবের বে সন্ধি হইয়াছিল, রাজা মহেন্দ্র-নারায়ণ সে সন্ধিতে যথেষ্ট সাহায্য করিয়াছিলেন। এই সব কীর্ত্তিমান পুরুষের বর্তমান বংশধর নগীর যুবক শ্রীশচন্দ্র স্বকীয় কালোচিত গুণে পূর্বপুরুষগণের সুখোজ্ঞল করিয়া, কিরূপ কীর্ত্তির পথে অগ্রসর হইয়াছেন, আলোচ্য গ্রন্থবানি পাঠে পাঠক তাহা কতক বুঝিতে পারিবেন। পুস্তকপানির মূল্য এক টাকা। ছাপা ও বাঁধান বেশ সুন্দর।—বঙ্গবাসী, এই বৈশাখ ১৩০৪ সাল।

মুরশিদাবাদ চৌসার প্রসিদ্ধ জমিদার বাবু শ্রীশচন্দ্র সর্সাদিকারী মহাশয় একজন স্বাধীনচেতা স্বদেশহিতৈষী সাধু ব্যক্তি বলিয়া বাঙ্গালার সর্বত্র সম্মানিত ও পূজিত হইয়া থাকেন। বংশ-স্বর্ঘ্যাদা, বিদ্যাবত্তা, উদারতা প্রভৃতি সকল বিষয়েই তিনি স্বল্পের জমিদার সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে অতি উচ্চ স্থান অধিকার করিয়াছেন। পত্নর্গমেন্ট সরকারে শ্রীশ বাবুর পদার প্রতিপত্তিও যথেষ্ট। কিছু দিন পূর্বে একবার পত্নর্গমেন্ট তাঁহাকে ডেপুটী মাজিস্ট্রেটী পদে নিযুক্ত করিবার প্রস্তাব করিয়াছিলেন। রাজকার্যে নিযুক্ত হইলে স্বাধীনতা সম্প্রদায় সম্ভাবনা আদৌ নাই দেখিয়া শ্রীশ বাবু ধন্যবাদের সহিত সেই প্রস্তাব প্রত্যাখ্যান করেন। মুরশিদাবাদের সর্সাদাধারণ লোক নানা উপকারের জন্য শ্রীশ বাবুর নিকট কৃতজ্ঞতাপুত্রে আবদ্ধ। শ্রীশ বাবুর নানাগুণরাজির বিষয় আমরা পূর্বে হইতে বিশেষ জ্ঞাত ছিলাম বলিয়া উপহার পুস্তকবানি পাঠ করিবার জন্ত আমাদের বড়ই কৌতূহল হইয়াছিল। আমরা পুস্তকপানি আদ্যন্ত পাঠ করিয়া বিশেষ প্রীতিলান্ত করিয়াছি। বক্তৃতান্তলির ভাবের উচ্চতার এবং ভাবার স্বরূপতার আশাদের দৃঢ় ধারণা জন্মিয়াছে যে, বাঙ্গালার জমিদারকুলের মধ্যে শ্রীশবাবুর জ্ঞান সর্বতোমুখী প্রতিভা অতি অল্প লোকেরই আছে। এত গুণ না থাকিলে উত্তরপাড়ার রাজা প্যারীমোহন প্রমুখ মহোদয়গণ শ্রীশ বাবুর বক্তৃতা প্রকাশ করিতে উৎসাহী হইবেন কেন? আসামের চীফ কমিশনার কটন সাহেব, পুলিশের ইন্সপেক্টর-জেনারেল হেনরী, কটকের মাজিস্ট্রেট গুয়েবট্টার সাহেব ও চট্টগ্রামের কমিশনার স্ত্রাইব সাহেব প্রভৃতি যে বক্তৃতাবলীর সুখ্যাতি করিয়াছেন, তৎসম্বন্ধে আমরা অধিক আর কি বলিব ?

আমরা আর এক কারণে এ বক্তৃতা পুস্তক প্রকাশে আনন্দিত হইয়াছি। গ্রন্থকার তাঁহার পুস্তকের উপসম্বন্ধে কোন সাধারণ হিতকর কার্যে ব্যয় করিবেন সম্বন্ধ করিয়াছেন। পঞ্চদশ শতাব্দীর ফিলীর বাঙ্গলাহের প্রধান মহতী সুরেশ্বর সর্সাদিকারী এবং বাঙ্গলাহের উজির ইশানেখরের বংশধর শ্রীশচন্দ্রের একপ বদান্ততা কিছু বিশ্বাসের বিষয় নহে।

শ্রীশবাবুর বক্তৃতা প্রকাশের আরও একটী বিশেষ লক্ষ্যবীর বিষয় আছে। তবীর বখোচিত স্বর্ঘ্যাদা করিতে জাবে না বলিয়া বাঙ্গালীজাতির একটী চিরকলঙ্কের কথা

স্তনিত্তে পাওয়া যায়। বঙ্গের বহুসংখ্যক গণ্য মান্ন কৃতীসম্মান আপনাদের
 ব্যয়ে শ্রীশ বাবুর পুস্তকখানি প্রকাশ করিয়া যে সেই কলঙ্কের আংশিক অপনোদন
 করিয়াছেন ইহা একটা জাতীয় গৌরবের বিষয়।

প্রসঙ্গক্রমে আমরা আর একটা কথা উত্থাপন না করিয়া থাকিতে পারিলাম না।
 আমরা জানি গবর্ণমেন্ট প্রকৃতগুণের সম্মাননা করিয়া থাকেন, তবে অনেক সময় নানা
 কারণে সকল কথা তাঁহাদের গোচরে আসিতে পারে না বলিয়া গবর্ণমেন্টকে আমরা
 মধ্যে মধ্যে ক্রমে পতিত হইতে দেখি। শ্রীশ বাবু নিষ্ঠাকচিত্ত, কর্তব্যপরায়ণ এবং
 স্পষ্টবক্তা। গবর্ণমেন্ট তথাপি তাঁহাকে সুবিশদাবাদের বিশেষ ক্ষমতাপ্রাপ্ত অনারারী
 মাজিষ্ট্রেট নিযুক্ত করিয়াছেন, শিক্ষাসমিতির অন্যতম সভ্য মনোনীত করিয়াছেন এবং
 নানাবিধ দেশ হিতকর সাধারণ কাব্যের অগ্রণী বলিয়া অনেক সময়ে তাঁহার নিকট
 গুরুতর রাজনৈতিক বাপারে যুক্তি পরামর্শ গ্রহণ করিয়াছেন, ইহা গবর্ণমেন্টের
 গুণগ্রাহিতার সামান্ত পরিচয় নহে। কিন্তু আমাদের বোধ হয় গবর্ণমেন্ট আরও
 একটু অগ্রগামী হইলে ভাল হইত। নববর্ষ ও জন্মতিথির উদযাপনের মধ্যে আজও
 আমরা শ্রীশ বাবুর নাম দেখিতে পাই নাই কেন তাহার কোন কারণ দেখিতে পাই
 না। আমরা তাঁহাকে যে শীঘ্র রাজসম্মানে ভূষিত হইতে দেখিব এমন আশা হৃদয়ে
 পোষণ করিয়া থাকি।

শ্রীশ বাবুর পূর্বপুরুষগণের কিঞ্চিৎ পরিচয় দিয়া আমরা এ সংক্ষিপ্ত সমালোচনার
 উপসংহার করিব। স্বরেশ্বর ও ঈশানেশ্বর সর্কাধিকারীর পরিচয় পাঠক শুল্কেই পাইয়া-
 ছেন। বড়লাটের দেওয়ান রাজা সীতানাথ নবাব সিরাছুন্দোলার রাজস্ব সচিব রাজা
 মহেন্দ্রনারায়ণ, মহামান্ন ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানীর দেওয়ান রাজা হরিপ্রসাদ, ইঁহাদের
 সকলেই সর্কাধিকারী বংশ উচ্ছলকৃত করিয়া গিয়াছেন। রাজা মহেন্দ্রনারায়ণ
 পলাশীর যুদ্ধে ইংরাজদের যে সাহায্য করিয়াছিলেন ইতিহাসজ্ঞ পাঠকের তাহা
 অবদিত নাই। শ্রীশ বাবুকে তাঁহার বংশ মর্যাদা অক্ষুণ্ন রাখিয়া ভারত মাতার
 সুসম্মান হইয়া আধিকতর সম্মান প্রতিপত্তি লাভ করিতে দেখিলে আমাদের আর
 আনন্দের সীমা থাকিবে না।—মূলত দৈনিক, ১০ই বৈশাখ ১০০৪ সাল।

সর্কাধিকারীর বক্তৃতা।—বহু সর্কাধিকারীবংশ বঙ্গীর কার্য কুলের প্রধান
 কুলীনবংশ। সর্কপ্রেষ্ট কুলীন বলিয়াই, এই বংশের বহুসংখ্যক সর্কাধিকারী।
 ৮ প্রসন্ন কুমার সর্কাধিকারী যে বংশকে ভূষিত করিয়া গিয়াছেন, তদনুসঙ্গ ডাক্তার
 শ্যামকুমার সর্কাধিকারী, সর্বজ্ঞ আনন্দকুমার সর্কাধিকারী, রাধে রাজকুমার সর্কাধি-
 কারী বাহাদুর, উকিল অমৃতকুমার সর্কাধিকারী প্রভৃতি যে বংশের এখনও ভূষণস্বরূপ
 হইয়া বিরাজ করিতেছেন, ডাক্তার সত্যপ্রসাদ সর্কাধিকারী, এর্টারি দেবপ্রসাদ
 সর্কাধিকারী, ডাক্তার সুরেন্দ্রপ্রসাদ সর্কাধিকারী এম, ডি, উকিল জ্যোতিঃপ্রসাদ
 সর্কাধিকারী এবং কৃষ্ণপ্রসাদ সর্কাধিকারী প্রভৃতি যে বংশের সৌরবরকার পথ
 প্রাপ্ত করিতেছেন, সুবিশদাবাদের অন্তঃপাতী চৌধুরা গ্রামের বহুসর্কাধিকারী

মহাশয়েরাও সেই বংশেরই শাণা। এক বৃক্ষের শাণা; বৈবয়িক কার্যা উপলক্ষে স্থানান্তরে বাস হইয়াছে বাত্র। চৌধুর সর্কাধিকারিবংশও বাধানগরের সর্কাধিকারিবংশ মূলে এক; সম্বন্ধে এখনও খুবই ঘনিষ্ঠ। আত্মীয়তার পার্বক্য নাই; যাহা কিছু পার্বক্য, স্থানভেদের জন্তে। সুতরাং বাধানগরের সর্কাধিকারীবংশ আমাদিগের বেরূপ অনুরাগ ও শ্রদ্ধার জাজন, চৌধুর সর্কাধিকারীবংশও সেইরূপ। আর চৌধুর সর্কাধিকারীবংশও বিদ্যার ক্ষেত্রে বাধানগরীর বংশের অপেক্ষা হীন নহে; দেখিয়া আমাদের বড় আনন্দ। এই চৌধুর বংশের উজ্জল রত্ন শ্রীযুক্ত শ্রীশচন্দ্র বহু সর্কাধিকারীও সুতরাং আমাদিগের অনুরাগ ও শ্রীতির পাত্র। কিন্তু শ্রীশচন্দ্র শুদ্ধ পূর্বপুরুষগণের গুণে নহে, নিজগুণেও সাধারণের শ্রদ্ধাজাজন হইয়াছেন, দেখিয়া আমরা আরও তুষ্ট হইয়াছি। সর্কাধিকারীবংশ শুদ্ধ কৌলিন্ত্যপৌরবে নহে, বিদ্যাপৌরবেও শ্রাসিদ্ধ। চৌধুর সর্কাধিকারী শ্রীযুক্ত শ্রীশচন্দ্রও যে বিদ্যাপৌরবে শ্রাসিদ্ধ হইয়াছেন, ইহা দেখিয়া আমরা শ্রীত হইয়াছি। দেখিতে পাই, কালনারও একটা সর্কাধিকারিবংশতিলক বিরাঞ্জ করিতেছেন; তিনি সেখানকার শ্রাসিদ্ধ চিকিৎসক এবং মিউনিসিপাল সভাপতি ডাক্তার সূর্য্যকুমার সর্কাধিকারী। অপরিচিত হইলেও খীর গুণে এবং সর্কাধিকারিবংশজ বলিয়া তিনি আমাদিগের শ্রীতিজাজন। চৌধুর শ্রীযুক্ত শ্রীশচন্দ্র সর্কাধিকারী সাধারণহিতে ব্রতী; পরার্থপরতাই তাঁহার জীবনের প্রধান অবলম্বন। এমন সাধারণ হিতামুষ্ঠান নাই, বাহাতে তাঁহার সম্বন্ধ ছিল না বা নাই। বড় বড় সমিতি সভার সহিত তাঁহার ঘনিষ্ঠ সম্বন্ধ রাখিতে হইয়াছে; ইংরেজী ভাষার অনেক বক্তৃতা করিতে হইয়াছে। কতকগুলি বক্তৃতা পুস্তকাকারে প্রচারিত হইয়াছে। তাহাই আমাদিগের আলোচ্য। বক্তৃতা পাঠে যখন আমাদের চীফ কমিশনার কটন, জুতপূর্ব শিক্ষাধ্যক্ষ সার এলফ্রেড ক্রফ্ট, জজ ডাক্তার গুরুদাস বন্দোপাধ্যায়, পুলিশের অধ্যক্ষ সিবিলিয়ান হেন্স, মাজিস্ট্রেট গুরবট্টার, সেক্রেটারি লুধণ, কমিশনার স্কুইন, সিবিলিয়ান লেভিঞ্জ, নবাবসচিব ফজল রক্ষি প্রভৃতির মত লোকে তুষ্ট হইয়াছেন; তুষ্ট হইয়া বক্তৃতার প্রশংসা করিয়াছেন; তখন আর আমাদিগের কোন কথা কহিতে হইবে কেন? সর্কাধিকারিবংশের সুরেশ্বর, ঈশানেশ্বর, রাজা সীতানাথ, মহেন্দ্রনারায়ণ এবং রাজনারায়ণ একসময়ে শুদ্ধ কারত্বসমাজের নহে, বঙ্গীয় হিন্দুসমাজের নেতৃত্ব করিয়া গিয়াছেন। দিল্লীর বাদসাহসরকারে, মূর্শিদাবাদের নবাবসরকারে, ইস্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানির গবর্নমেন্টসরকারে উচ্চ উচ্চ পদের শোভাবর্দ্ধন করিয়া গিয়াছেন। কেহ বেওয়ানী করিয়াছিলেন, কেহ মন্ত্রিত্ব করিয়াছিলেন, কেহ দৌত্যকার্যে নিপুণতা দেখাইয়াছিলেন; কেহ বা শাসনকার্যেও সুখ্যাতি লইয়াছিলেন। বংশ প্রাচীন, পঞ্চ শতাব্দীর প্রতিষ্ঠাসম্পন্ন। যান মন্ত্রন বর্ধ্যাধ্য পৌরবে সর্কাধিকারিবংশ অতি প্রধান। এক্ষণ বংশে জন্মিয়া, পৈতৃক ধনসম্পদে সম্পন্ন হইয়া, শ্রীযুক্ত শ্রীশচন্দ্র যে সামান্ত ডেপুটী মাজিস্ট্রেটী কার্যে অবহেলা করিয়া, সাধারণ হিতে যন প্রাণ সঁপিয়া আছেন, ইহা বিচিত্র নহে; বরং অল্পথা হইলেই বিচিত্র হইত। ছেলা মূর্শিদাবাদ শ্রীযুক্ত শ্রীশচন্দ্র সর্কাধিকারীর কাছে অনেক ধনে ধনী। অনাবারি মাজিস্ট্রেটী পদে থাকিয়া, মিউনিসিপাল সভার

খাকিয়া, ডিষ্ট্রিক্ট বোর্ডে বসিয়া, রাজসংস্থে সভার স্থায় প্রজাসংস্থে সভায়ও যোগ দিয়া, শ্রীশচন্দ্র সত্যসত্যই রাজ্য প্রজার অনেক উপকার করিয়াছেন, এখনও করিতেছেন। যোগ্যতার এবং পরার্থপরতার তিনি সকলেরই প্রশংসাজনক ও প্রীতিভাজন হইয়াছেন। পৰ্ব্বমেষ্টেরও তিনি অপরিচিত নহেন। অপরিচিত নহেন বলিয়াই ত ছোট লাটের বড় সেক্রেটারি শ্রীযুক্ত বোলটন সাহেব তাঁহার বক্তৃতাসংগ্রহ নিজের নামে উৎস্থট করিতে কুষ্ঠিত হন নাই বরং প্রীতই হইয়াছেন। আবার ইহা কি অল্প সৌভাগ্য, স্বয়ং রাজা পিয়ারীমোহন মুখোপাধ্যায়, রায় অখিলচন্দ্র মুখোপাধ্যায় বাহাদুর, কুমার উপেন্দ্রকৃষ্ণ দেব, উকিল রামচন্দ্র সজ্জদার, হারাদান নাগ, গৌরবল্লভ সেন এবং রজনীকান্ত সন্ন্যাল, শ্রীশচন্দ্রের বক্তৃতাসংগ্রহের প্রচার করিয়া শুণে ও যোগ্যতার উৎসাহ দিয়াছেন। গ্রন্থের উপস্থ পরার্থে উৎস্থট হইবে। পরার্থপর সর্বাদিকারিবংশজের পক্ষে ইহাই ত উচিত ব্যস্থা। নানা কারণে বক্তৃতাসংগ্রহ আমাদিগকে প্রীত করিয়াছে। পৰ্ব্বমেষ্টকে শ্রীশচন্দ্রের অধিকতর গুণগ্রাহী হইতে দেখিলে, শুণের মত গৌরব দিতে দেখিলে, আমরা অধিকতর ছুট হইব। শ্রীশচন্দ্র যে পথে বাইতেছেন, বঙ্গের বহু শ্রেষ্ঠবংশজেরই সেই পথে চলা উচিত।—দৈনিক ও সমাচার-চন্দ্রিকা, ৬ই বৈশাখ, ১৩০৪।

চৌয়ার জমিদার বাবু শ্রীশচন্দ্র বসু সর্বাদিকারী মহাশয় এ জেলার অধিবাসীর অপরিচিত নহেন। তাঁহার বিদ্যাবত্তা এবং কার্যকুশলতার সর্বক্ষেপে নূতন করিয়া বলিতে হইবে না। শ্রীশ বাবু যে বংশে জন্মিয়াছেন, তাহাও এ জেলার একটা প্রাচীন বংশ। মিনী ও মুর্শিদাবাদের রাজ-দরবারে অতি সুখ্যাতির সহিত কাজ করিয়া ইহার পূর্বপুরুষগণ বখেটে খ্যাতি প্রতিপত্তি লাভ করেন। এই বংশীয় রাজা সীতানাথ, রাজা মহেন্দ্রনারায়ণ ও হরিপ্রসাদ ইংরাজ রাজত্বের প্রথমে ইষ্ট-ইণ্ডিয়া-কোম্পানির অধীনে কাজ করিয়া কোম্পানির বখেটে সাহায্য করিয়াছিলেন। শ্রীশ বাবুকেও ডেপুটী ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেটের পদ প্রদত্ত হয়, কিন্তু তিনি উগ গ্রহণ করিতে সম্মত হন না। শ্রীশ বাবু তির তির হানে যে সমুদায় বক্তৃতা করিয়াছিলেন, তৎসমুদায় তাঁহার গুণমুগ্ধ বাকবগণ সংগ্রহ করিয়া, চালা সংগ্রহ দ্বারা মুদ্রিত ও প্রচারিত করিয়াছেন। রাজা প্যারিমোহন মুখোপাধ্যায় প্রমুখ ব্যক্তিবর্গ এ পুস্তকের প্রকাশের ভার লইয়া অক্লান্ত বক্তৃৎ পরিচর প্রদান করিয়াছেন। বিভাগীয় কমিসনর, জেলার ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট, ভক্ত, রাজা, নবাব, জমিদার, উকিল, যোক্তার প্রভৃতি সকল শ্রেণীর ব্যক্তিই এই পুস্তক ছাপাইতে সাহায্য করিয়া শ্রীশ বাবুর প্রতি যথোপযুক্ত সহায়ত্ব প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন;—এখন ভাবে গ্রন্থ প্রকাশ এই নূতন। শ্রীশ বাবু সাধারণ হিতকর বহু কার্যই নিজ গুণগণা প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন। এ পুস্তকের বক্তৃতাকলিও সেই সমুদায় কার্যের আনুসঙ্গিক ব্যাপারবাত্ত। বাবু শ্রীশচন্দ্র স্বায়ত্ব-শাসনের প্রথম হইতেই ইহার সহিত সম্পৃক্ত। বহরমপুর বেকের অনারারি ম্যাজিষ্ট্রেট থাকিয়া তিনি যে ভাবে কাজ চালাইয়াছেন তাহাও সাধারণের অবদিত নাই। শ্রীশ বাবু

আমাদের চিরস্বল্প, তাঁহার সৌরবে আমরা সৌরবান্বিত হইয়াছি। আমরা তাঁহার সম্বন্ধে কিছুই বলিব না। সাধারণের মুখেই তাঁহার প্রশংসা শুনিয়া তৃপ্ত হইব মাত্র। পুস্তকখানি ইতিমধ্যেই দ্বিতীয় সংস্করণ হওয়াতেই ইহা যে সাধারণের আদরনীর হইয়াছে, তাহা বেশ বুঝা যাইতেছে। যখন বড় বড় সাহিত্যানুগামী উচ্চপদস্থ ইংরাজ রাজ-কৰ্মচারীগণ ইহার ভাষা ও গভীর চিন্তাশীলতার সুখ্যাতি করিয়াছেন, তখন যে এই পুস্তকখানি অতি সুলভ হইয়াছে, ইহা আর কাহারও অস্বীকার করিবার উপায় নাই। এ গ্রন্থের উপসম্ব সাধারণের হিতার্থে প্রদত্ত হইবে।—প্রতিকার, ২১শে চৈত্র, ১৩০৩ সাল।

PUBLIC SPEECHES.—এই পুস্তক খানিতে মুরশিদাবাদ চৌরাস নিবাসী শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু শ্রীশচন্দ্র বসু সর্বাধিকারীর কতকগুলি বক্তৃতা সংগৃহীত হইয়াছে। শ্রীশ বাবু বঙ্গদেশের একটী প্রাচীন ও সম্ভ্রান্ত বংশে জন্মগ্রহণ করিয়াছেন। ইঁহার পুরুপুরুযুগে মুসলমান শাসনকর্তাদিগের অধীনে উচ্চপদে অভিষিক্ত ছিলেন। শ্রীশ বাবু সাধারণ হিতকর কার্যে যোগদান করিয়া যে সকল বক্তৃতা করিয়াছিলেন তাহাই “পাবলিক স্পিচেস” নামে পুস্তকাকারে মুদ্রিত হইয়াছে। কয়েকজন সম্ভ্রান্ত ব্যক্তি এই পুস্তকের প্রকাশক। গ্রন্থের মুদ্রাঙ্কণ ও কাগজ ভাল। পুস্তকখানি দেখিয়া আমরা সন্তুষ্ট হইয়াছি।—হিতবাদী ২৮শে চৈত্র ১৩০৩ সাল।

আমরা শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু শ্রীশচন্দ্র বসু সর্বাধিকারী প্রদত্ত Public speeches নামক একখানি পুস্তক প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছি। শ্রীশ বাবু মূর্শিদাবাদবাসীপণের নিকট সুপরিচিত, তিনি মূর্শিদাবাদের চৌরাস বসু সর্বাধিকারী বংশে জন্ম গ্রহণ করেন। সর্বাধিকারী বংশ বঙ্গদেশের একটী সম্ভ্রান্ত বংশ, এই প্রাচীন বংশ মিল্লীর বাঘসাহদিগের অধীনে অনেক উচ্চপদে অভিষিক্ত হইয়াছিলেন। তাঁহাদের মধ্যে কেহ কটকের শাসন-কার্যের সহিতও লিপ্ত ছিলেন। চৌরাস সর্বাধিকারী বংশ সেই প্রসিদ্ধ সর্বাধিকারী বংশের একটী শাখা। ইঁহারাও কোম্পানীর অধীন কোন কোন কার্যে নিযুক্ত ছিলেন। শ্রীশ বাবু একরূপ বংশে জন্মগ্রহণ করিয়া সদাশয় বংশানুযায়ী সুশিক্ষা লাভ করিয়াছেন। তিনি সাধারণ হিতকর কার্যে যোগদান করিয়া সময়ে সময়ে মুখে যে সমস্ত বক্তৃতা প্রদান করিয়াছেন তাহাই পুস্তকাকারে মুদ্রিত হইয়াছে। পুস্তকখানির মুদ্রাঙ্কণ ও বাঁধান অত্যন্ত সুলভ হইয়াছে, ইঁহার ভাষা সম্বন্ধে কোন কোন রাজকৰ্মচারীও প্রশংসা করিয়াছেন। সাধারণে পাঠ করিলে তাঁহাদের বতাবতের বাধার্য উপলব্ধি করিতে পারিবেন। বক্তের সম্ভ্রান্ত বংশীয়দিগের সম্মানপণের শ্রীশ বাবুর এইরূপ উদ্যোগের অস্বকরণ করা উচিত। এই পুস্তকের প্রকাশকদিগের মধ্যে অনেক সম্ভ্রান্ত ব্যক্তির নাম দৃষ্ট হইল।—মূর্শিদাবাদ হিতৈষী, ১১শে চৈত্র, ১৩০৩ সাল।

S. C. Basu Sarvadhikari's Public Speeches,—Published with public subscription, কলিকাতা ৬৩৩ নং মেছুয়াবাজার রোড, নববিভাগের যন্ত্রে জি, সি, নিয়োগীর দ্বারা মুদ্রিত, দ্বিতীয় সংস্করণ। বহরমপুর মিউনিসিপ্যালিটির কমিশনার, অবৈতনিক ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট, ডিষ্ট্রিক্ট রোডশেপ, এবং শিক্ষা কমিটি ও বোর্ডের মেম্বর, মুর্শিদাবাদ এনোসিয়েষণের ভাইব চেয়ারম্যান এবং ব্রিটিশ ইণ্ডিয়ান এনোসিয়েষণের সভ্য বাবু শ্রীশঙ্কর বহুসর্কাধিকারী মহাশয় ইলবার্ট বিল, বঙ্গীয় খাজনা আইন স্বায়ত্তশাসন প্রণালী, সিভিল সার্কিস পরীক্ষা, বিবাহের ব্যয় সংক্ষেপ, মাদক সেবন পরিহার, প্রভৃতি নানা আবশ্যকীয় রাজনৈতিক ও সামাজিক বিষয়ে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন সময়ে যে সমস্ত বক্তৃতা করিয়াছিলেন, সাধারণ সংগৃহীত অর্থে তাহাই রাজা প্যারিমোহন মুখোপাধ্যায় বাহাদুর, রায় অশিলঙ্ক মুখোপাধ্যায় বাহাদুর, কুমার উপেন্দ্রকৃষ্ণ দেব বাহাদুর, বাবু রামচন্দ্র মজুমদার এম, এ, বি, এল, বাবু হারাধন নাগ এম, এ, বি, এল, বাবু গৌরবরত্ন সেন, এম, এ, বি, এল, বাবু ব্রজনীকান্ত সান্নাল বি, এ, বি, এল, প্রমুখ কতিপয় ব্যক্তির দ্বারা ধারাবাহিক ক্রমে পুস্তকাকারে প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে। শ্রীশ বাবু বাঙ্গালার এক অতি প্রাচীন সন্ন্যাস বংশ হইতে সমুদ্ভূত। পঞ্চদশ শতাব্দীর প্রাকালে তাঁহার পূর্বপুরুষ হুরেশ্বর সর্কাধিকারী দিল্লীর বাদশাহের দরবারে উড়িষ্যার দেওয়ান নিযুক্ত ছিলেন, এবং ঈশানেশ্বর সর্কাধিকারী বাদশাহের উজীর ছিলেন। গুপ্ত অষ্টাদশ শতাব্দীতে এই বংশেরই “রাজা” পেন্তাবধারী সীতানাথ সর্কাধিকারী ইংরাজ ভাইসরয়ের এবং বাঙ্গালার ভূতপূর্ব নবাব নাজিমের দেওয়ান ছিলেন, আর রাজা মহেন্দ্রনারায়ণ সর্কাধিকারী বাঙ্গালার নবাবের মন্ত্রী এবং ইস্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানীর রেশম-কুটির এজেন্ট ছিলেন। বিখ্যাত পলাশীর যুদ্ধের পূর্বে নবাবের কর্মচারীদের সহিত লর্ড ক্লাইভের যে সকল কথাবার্তা ও মতপা হইয়াছিল, তিনি তাহাতে বিশেষ লিপ্ত ও একজন প্রধান নায়ক ছিলেন। রাজা হরিপ্রসাদ ওরফে রাজকিশোর সর্কাধিকারী উক্ত ইস্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানীর বাঙ্গালা দেশস্থ সমুদায় রেশম কারবারের দেওয়ান ছিলেন। বাঙ্গালা দেশে এরূপ উচ্চ ও প্রাচীন বংশ অতি অল্পই আছে। শ্রীশ বাবুর আদর্শে দেশের অন্যান্য সন্ন্যাস বংশধরগণ বাহাতে দেশের ও দেশে হিতার্থে তদবলব্ধিত মার্গানুসরণ করেন, সেই অতিপ্রায়েই প্রকাশকগণ এই পুস্তক প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন। আমরা বক্তৃতাগুলি পাঠে পরম শ্রীত এবং বিবিধ বিষয়ে শ্রীশ বাবুর অগাধ পাণ্ডিত্য ও গবেষণা দেখিয়া বিস্মিত হইলাম। আশা করি প্রকাশকগণের মহত্বদেস্ত সকল হইবে।—সময়, ১১ই বৈশাখ, ১৩০৪ সাল।

ক্রম সংশোধন। কিছু দিন পূর্বে আমাদের প্রবীণ সহযোগী “দৈনিক” জেলা মুর্শিদাবাদস্থ চৌরার জরিদার বাবু শ্রীশঙ্কর বহু সর্কাধিকারীর প্রবন্ধ পুস্তক সমালোচনাকালে উল্লেখ করিয়াছিলেন, যে শ্রেষ্ঠ কুলীন বলিয়া শ্রীশ বাবুর কোন পূর্ব পুরুষ “সর্কাধিকারী” উপাধি প্রাপ্ত হন। বৈদ্য-সম্পাদক কারন্থ-সমাজের পৃষ্ঠ তস্থ অবগত নহেন বলিয়াই এই ক্রমে পড়িয়াছেন। বহুশ্রদ্ধ ব্যক্তিমাত্রেই অবগত

আছেন, “সর্কাধিকারী” উপাধির সহিত কৌলিন্য শ্রেষ্ঠতার কোন সম্পর্ক নাই। আজ কাল বেরুগ রাজা, মহারাজা প্রভৃতি উপাধি জ্ঞাতিনীর্কিশেষে বিশেষ গুণের জন্য যে কোন হিন্দু প্রাপ্ত হইতে পারেন, মুসলমান বাদশাহদিগের আমলে “সর্কাধিকারী” উপাধি সেইরূপই ছিল, তবে “সর্কাধিকারী” উপাধি মর্যাদার আধুনিক মহারাজা উপাধি অপেক্ষা কোন অংশেই নূন ছিল না। এবং সকল জাতির অপেক্ষায় শ্রেষ্ঠ বাবু শ্রীশচন্দ্র বহু সর্কাধিকারীর পুত্রপুত্র স্বরেখর বহু পাঁচ শত বৎসর পূর্বে দিল্লীর পাঠান বাদশাহ মহম্মদ টোগলাকের নিকট এই বংশপরম্পরাগত (hereditary) উপাধি প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছিলেন। স্বরেখর টোগলাকদিগের অধীনে উড়িষ্যার শাসনকর্তা বা দেওয়ান ছিলেন, পাঠক ইতিপূর্বে তাহা অবগত হইয়াছেন। সে কালের উপাধি প্রায় ব্যক্তিগত হইত না, সর্কাধিকারী উপাধিও স্তত্রাং বংশগত। আরও তখনকার উপাধি দানের এই একটা বিশেষত্ব ছিল যে উপাধির সঙ্গে সঙ্গে পদোচিত মর্যাদা রাখা করিয়া সংসারব্যতী নির্বাহ করিবার জন্য উপাধিদাতা বাদশাহ বিস্তর বিষয় সম্পত্তিও দান করিতেন। স্বরেখর “সর্কাধিকারী” উপাধি প্রাপ্তির সহিত উড়িষ্যার অন্তর্গত বার্ষিক ২ লক্ষ টাকা আয়ের রঘুনাথপুর পরগণাটা টোগলাক সম্রাটের নিকট উপহার স্বরূপ প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছিলেন। তদনুসারে সেই সম্পত্তিটা শ্রীশ বাবুর পূর্বপুরুষগণ সকলেই ভোগ দখল করিয়াছিলেন। এতদ্ব্যতীত জগন্নাথ মন্দিরে অবাধ প্রবেশাধিকারও তাঁহাকে এবং তাহার বংশপরম্পরায় প্রদান করা হইয়াছিল (hereditary), শ্রীশ বাবু অদ্যাবধি এই সম্মান অক্ষুণ্ণভাবে প্রাপ্ত হইয়া আনিত্তেছেন। স্বরেখরের যে কোন বংশধর জগন্নাথ দেবের মন্দিরে যে কোন সময়ে প্রবেশ করিতে চাহিলে কেহও তাঁহাকে প্রতিবন্ধক দিতে পারে না। স্বরেখরের বংশধরগণ সেই সময় হইতে আর একটা এই বিশেষ সম্মান প্রাপ্ত হইয়া আনিত্তেছেন যে জগন্নাথ দেবের মন্দিরে প্রতিষ্ঠিত হইলে সম্মানের জন্য তাঁহাদের সম্মুখে ছত্র স্থাপিত হইয়া থাকে, এই সম্মান অদ্যাবধি স্বরেখরের বংশধর ব্যতীত আর কাহারও অদৃষ্টে ঘটে নাই। তদনুসারে শ্রীশ বাবু অদ্যাবধি এ সম্মান ভোগ করিতেছেন।—মূলত দৈনিক।—৮ই জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ১৩০৪ সাল।

S. C. Basu Sarbadhikari's Public Speeches. অর্থাৎ শ্রীবক্ত শ্রীশচন্দ্র বহু সর্কাধিকারীর বক্তৃতামালা। মূল্য এক টাকা। সুবিখ্যাত রাজা পিরারীমোহন মুখোপাধ্যায় প্রমুখ করেক জন কৃতবিদ্যা ও সম্রাজ্ঞ ব্যক্তি কর্তৃক সাধারণ চাঁদার প্রকাশিত। বহরমপুর-চৌরাস্তার অন্ততম জমিদার শ্রীশ বাবু বিঘ্নক্কন-সমাজে পরিচিত। ইনি সম্রাজ্ঞ ও উচ্চবংশীয়। বহুকাল হইতে ইহাদের জমিদারী আছে। ভিন্ন ভিন্ন বিষয়ে, ভিন্ন ভিন্ন স্থানে—প্রকাশ্য সভায়, শ্রীশ বাবু ইংরাজীতে যে সকল বক্তৃতা দিয়াছিলেন, সেইগুলি সংগৃহীত হইয়া এই গ্রন্থে সন্নিবেশিত হইয়াছে। রাজা পিরারীমোহন মুখোপাধ্যায়ের হল আগ্রহ সহকারে যখন এই গ্রন্থ প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন, তখন ইহার গুণবত্তা সম্বন্ধে আমাদিগকে আর কোন কথা বলিতে হইবে কেন ?

[xxviii]

শ্রী ৭ বাবু আজিকার কালের এক জন দেশ-হিতৈষী ব্যক্তি বলিয়া পরিচিত ; হস্তরাজ
তাহার জয় হটক এবং তাহার মনোবাহাদুর পূর্ণ হটক ।

অনুভূমি, ৭ম ভাগ ।—দ্বৈত—১৩০৪ ।

কবিতা সমালোচনা ।

ইতি পূর্বে আমরা জেলা মুরশিদাবাদের অন্তর্গত চৌয়া নিবাসী ত্রিশচন্দ্র বসু সর্কাধিকারী মহাশয়ের প্রবন্ধ পুস্তক যথা সময়ে সমালোচনা করিয়াছি, তৎপরে সে সম্বন্ধে আমরা যে কবিতা-সমালোচনা প্রাপ্ত হইয়াছি তাহা নিয়ে আফ্লাদের সহিত প্রকাশ করিলাম । সর্কাধিকারী মহাশয় যে বংশোদ্ভব, এবং যাহার পূর্বপুরুষ সুরেশ্বর ৫০০ পাঁচ শত বৎসর পূর্বে উড়িষ্যার শাসনকর্তা পদে নিযুক্ত থাকিয়া ধনে মানে কুলে শীলে সর্কাংশে শ্রেষ্ঠ বিধায় দিল্লীর সম্রাট কতৃক উড়িষ্যার সুবিধাত ২ লক্ষ টাকা আয়ের জমিদারী রঘুনাথ পুর পরগণা জাই-গির সহ “সর্কাধিকারী” উপাধি (যে উপাধি সে সময়ে রাজা, মহারাজা, উপাধি অপেক্ষা কোন অংশে ন্যূন ছিল না) “বংশগত” (hereditary) রূপে প্রাপ্ত হইয়া এক কালে সমগ্র সমাজের নেতৃত্ব করিয়াছিলেন, তৎপরে সুরেশ্বরের বংশধর ভুবন মোহন দিল্লীর শেষ মোগল সম্রাট্ট শাহ আলম বাদশাহের দরবারে উচ্চতম রাজনৈতিক পদে এবং তৎপরে ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানির প্রোভুর্ভাব কালে নিমক মাহালের দেওয়ানি পদে অভিষিক্ত থাকিয়া যে সব কাজ করিয়াছেন এবং রাজা মহেন্দ্র নারায়ণ, রাজা সীতানাথ, হরি প্রসাদ, রাজকিশোর প্রভৃতি মহোদয়গণ মুরশিদাবাদের নবাব সরকারে ও ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানি ও ইংরাজ গবর্ণমেন্টের সংস্রবে যে সব রাজ কার্য প্রশংসার সহিত নির্বাহ করতঃ অপরিমীম প্রতিপত্তি লাভ করিয়া তৎকালীন হিন্দু সমাজের নেতৃত্ব করিয়াছিলেন তদ্বিত্তারিত বিবরণ পাঠক ইতি পূর্বে অবগত আছেন, তদৃষ্টে এবং সর্কসাধারণের অর্থে যে ভাবে প্রবন্ধ পুস্তক মুদ্রাঙ্কন হইয়াছে তাহার গুরুত্ব বিবেচনার বক্তার সম্বন্ধে কবির বর্ণনা কোন অংশে অপ্রাসঙ্গিক বা অসঙ্গত হয় নাই । প্রবন্ধ পুস্তকাদি সম্বন্ধে কবিতার সমালোচনা ইতি পূর্বে আর কখন হয় নাই ।

(১)

হিমাত্রি শিখর দেশ গোমুখী হইতে

গলিত রক্তাকার্য

জাহুবীর পুত ধারা

ওনিয়াছি ঝর ঝরে পতিত হইতে,

ওনিয়াছি নশ্বদার

জলের প্রপাত আর,

মশ্বর প্রস্তর ভেদি সমনে ছুটিতে,

শুনিয়াছি নাএগ্রার
 ছুটিতে শ্রোতের ধার,
 শ্রবণ বধির করি ভূতলে লুটিতে ;
 কিন্তু কভু নাহি শুনি
 এহেন বক্তৃতা ধ্বনি
 শুনিয়া অবাক হয়ে চাহি চারিভিতে
 মস্ত মুগ্ধ প্রায় যেন হই আচম্বিতে ।

(২)

শুনিয়াছি প্রলয়ের জলধি-গর্জন
 দামিনী অপাক ভঙ্গে
 ভীষণ ক্রীড়ন-রঙ্গে
 শুনিয়াছি জলদের ভীম সম্ভাবণ
 বৈহাতী শকতি বলে,
 শিরায় শিরায় চলে,
 কি এক অচিস্তনীয় প্রভাব নূতন,
 তোমার বক্তৃতা ভাই করিলে শ্রবণ ।

বহু দিন নহে ভাই আছোত শ্রবণ—
 সেই দিন গ্রাণ্ট হলে,
 বঙ্কিমের মৃত্যু-ছলে,
 শত “হৃদি বিদারক” মধুর নিষ্কণ ;
 এখন (ও) বক্তৃতা তোর
 শ্রবণে বাজিছে মোর,
 ভুলিবনা ভুলিবনা থাকিতে জীবন,
 রয়েছে হৃদয়ে তা’র চির মুদ্রাকন ।

(৩)

কত স্থানে কত স্পীচ্ তুমি প্রদানিলে
 কখন টাউনহলে,
 কখন বা গ্রাণ্টহলে,
 বক্তৃতা-নির্ঘোষে কত সভা কাঁপাইলে,

আমি মন্দ মতি হায়,
 কেমনে বর্ণিব তায়,
 কত সুবক্তার যশঃ অচিরে ঢাকিলে,
 তোমার সে বক্তৃতার তুলনা কি মিলে ?
 সেই সব স্পীচ্ এবে হল মুক্তাঙ্কিত ;
 সাধারণে চাঁদা করি,
 সাদরে ঘটন করি,
 পুস্তক আকারে তাহা প্রকাশ করিল,
 অঁধারে আছিল যাহা,
 আলোকে আনিল তাহা,
 তাহাদের যশোরাশি ভুবন ভরিল
 প্রজ্বলিত হতাশনে,
 পাণ্ডু-জাল আচ্ছাদনে,
 ঢাকিয়া রাখিবে কত, প্রকাশ হইল,
 দ্বিধার কুয়াশা জাল তাপে মিলাইল ।

(৪)

উজ্জ্বল উদীয়মান নিরখি তপন,
 বাঙ্গালার বিওসিয়া *
 কুজ্জটিকা আচ্ছাদিয়া,
 লুক্কাইতে জ্যোতিঃ তার করিল মনন ;
 কি তার শক্তি হায়
 ঢাকিতে ভানুর কাষ
 আপনি সমর ক্ষেত্রে ছাড়িল জীবন,
 মুহূর্ত্তে বাস্পের প্রায় হল অদর্শন ।
 মধ্যাহ্ন মরীচী মালা বিশ্ব অচ্ছাদিল,
 একটী জলদ রেখা,
 আকাশেতে দিয়া দেখা,
 অচিরে নখর স্বীয় লীলা সম্বরিল,

প্রচণ্ড মার্ভও কর,
পরিব্যাপ্ত চরাচর,
চাতক হিংসার চোখে চাহিয়া রহিল,
কেবল তাহার ফলে চক্ষু ঝলসিল।

(৫)

তোমার স্পীচের কিবা করিব বর্ণন !
পুস্তকের পত্রে পত্রে,
ততোধিক ছত্রে ছত্রে,
ঝরিছে পীযুষ ধার চির প্রশ্রবণ
কতু মুহু মনোহর
কখন বা নৃত্যপর,
কখন বা মেঘমস্ত্রে করিছে গর্জন
অক্ষরে অক্ষরে করি অগ্নি উদ্গীরণ।
“রাখালের করে শালগ্রামের মরণ”
কত ঠাট্টা উপহাস,
বিদ্রূপ ঘৃণার হাস,
করিয়াছি এই কর্ণে কতই শ্রবণ
কেহ বা বসন ধরি,
বসাইতে জোর করি,
বক্তৃতার সময়েতে করিলা মনন !!
পরশ্রী কাতর দ্বারা
কেমনে সহিবে তারা
অন্যের সুবশোরামি করিলে কীর্তন
দেশের ফকির তিক্ষা না পায় কখন।
না চিনিল ভস্মে ঢাকা অমূল্য রতন।

(৬)

ঘৃণা আর উপহাসে জন প্রতীতার
পৃথিবীর রীতি এই
যে দেখেছে জানে সেই
সহজে হুলিতে মাথা সাধ্য আছে কার ?

কবি গুরু মিলটন,
 যেই কবি সিংহাসন,
 অবিরোধে ইউরোপে করে অধিকার
 কি কহিব হায় হায়,
 হুখে বুক ফেটে যায়,
 “স্বর্গচ্যুতি মহাকাব্য” * শুনিবে কি আর
 দশ পাউণ্ডেতে স্বত্ব বিক্রয় তাহার !!

(৭)

স্বনাম বিখ্যাত রাজা শ্রীপ্যারি মোহন,
 মুখার্জী অধিল চন্দ্র,
 দেব, কুমার উপেন্দ্র,
 করিলেন যবে তব স্পীচ মুদ্রাঙ্কন ;
 সাধারণ অর্থ ব্যয়ে,
 সবে মনোযোগী হয়ে,
 ঈর্ষার মাথায় বাজ পড়িল তখন
 হইল সবার তবে অন্ধত্ব মোচন ।

রাজা মহারাজা যবে একত্র হইল,
 —কি বুঝিবে অন্য জনে—
 “রতনে রতন চেনে”
 একে একে সবে এসে পাছে যোগ দিল,
 তখন ছুটিল তান,
 গাইল গুণের গান,
 প্রতিভার স্নিগ্ধ জ্যোতিঃ চাহিয়া দেখিল,
 অর্থ দিয়া প্রাণ দিয়া
 আত্মীয়তা দেখাইয়া
 “পাবলিসার” বলি স্বীয় নাম ছাপাইল,
 কাপটা সত্যের পদে আত্ম বিসজ্জিল ।

(৮)

তোমার এ যশঃ ভাই নহেত নুতন,
 যে কুলে জনম তব,
 তাহাতে সম্ভবে সব,
 গৌরবের পরাকাষ্ঠা মহেবে গঠন !
 মিউনিসিপাল কমিসিনারি,
 অনারারি মাজিষ্টারি.
 ডিষ্ট্রীক্ট বোর্ডের সভা একত্রে মিলন,
 বসিয়া বিচারাসনে,
 যে প্রতিভা সর্কজনে.
 দেখাইলে তাহা ভাই, অপূৰ্ণ শ্রবণ !
 গ্রেট ডাক্তা পাড়া কেসে,
 বিকসিল অবশেষে,
 চূড়ান্ত প্রতিভা ভাতি বিশ্ব বিমোহন,
 প্রকাশিলে যেই রায়,
 কেমনে বর্ণিব তায়.
 জ্ঞানের অদ্ভুত সৃষ্টি মানবে ক্ষুরণ ।
 প্রদত্ত ডেপুটি গিরি
 তুচ্ছকরি পরিহরি
 দেশ হিত ব্রতে প্রাণ করিলা অর্পণ,
 সুরেশের বংশধর,
 সর্ক অধিকারী ঘর,
 বঙ্গীয় কাযস্থ শ্রেণী মুকুট ভূষণ ;
 দিনীখর দত্ত পদ,
 দ্বিলক্ষিক সমপদ,
 কাহার অদৃষ্টে কতু ঘটেছে এমন ?
 রাজা মহারাজা হতে,
 নূন নহে কোন যতে,
 “সর্কাধিকারীর” এই পদ পুরাতন,

বর্ষব্যাপি পঞ্চশত
 তোমার ত বংশ গত,
 সম্মানের এ উপাধি জানে সর্বজন,
 এত ধন মান যার,
 এ সম্পদ তুচ্ছ তার,
 তিমি কিগোষ্পদ নীরে করে আফালন
 মহত্বে সফরী বৃত্তি সম্ভবে কখন ?

(২)

রাজোপাধিধারী ভাই তব পিতৃগণ,
 সুরেশ উৎকলে রাজা,
 দয়ার পালিল প্রজা,
 রঘুনাথ পুরে যার রাজত্ব স্থাপন
 এখনও এখনও মান,
 তাঁর বংশধর পান,
 জগন্নাথ শ্রীমন্দিরে অবোধে গমন,
 আতপত্র শিরে ধরি,
 এখন সম্ভাষ করি.
 সাদরে ডাকিয়া তাঁরে লয় পাণ্ডাগণ,
 বঙ্গের কাহার ভাগ্যে হেন অভ্যর্থন ?

(১০)

আর কিবা অশীর্বাদ করিব তোমার,
 তোমার সুবশোরাশি,
 হউক দিগন্ত গ্রাসী,
 ধন মান ষশঃ সুখ লভহে দ্বারায়,
 বঙ্গের সুবক্তৃচর,
 যেন আচ্ছাদিত রয়,
 তোমার এ বিশ্বব্যাপী ষশঃ প্রতিভায় ।
 বিপদে সম্পদে:ভব,
 আর ভাই কিবা কব,
 চলিও বিভূর পদ ধরিয়া মাথায় ।

তারপর বলি রাজা শ্রীপ্যারি মোহন,
 এই বঙ্গদেশে আজ,
 সাধিলে যেমন কাজ,
 শ্রীশচন্দ্রের স্পীচ করি মুদ্রাঙ্কন,
 অঙ্ককারে ছিল যাহা,
 আলোকে আনিলে তাহা ;
 খনির তিমির গর্ভ করি উদ্ঘাটন,
 দীন বঙ্গবাসি বল,
 কেবল নম্বন জল,
 হৃদয়ের কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রশংসা ঘোষণ,
 হে রাজন্ তাই আজ,
 যেন না বাসিও লাজ,
 দীনের এ ধন্যবাদ করিতে গ্রহণ,
 কবি হৃদয়ের শুদ্ধ প্রেমসম্ভাষণ ।

রাজকীয় কৰ্মচারি মহোদয় গণ,
 যাহারা এ হিত ব্রতে,
 বিসর্জিলা কোন মতে,
 অমূল্য সময়, যত্ব প্রীতি প্রণোদন,
 কবির মনের সাধ,
 হৃদয়ের ধন্যবাদ,
 কৃপাকরি আজি তার করহ গ্রহণ,
 তোমাদের যশোরামি ভরুক ভুবন ।

ERRATA.

PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
9	10	As the former	As the former,
9	11	state policy	state policy,
9	25	the examination	the examination,
9	29	final laurel	final laurel,
16	30	satisfy	satisfy
18	8	1892	1882
25	15	considering, the then	considering the then
37	4	armer	arm
37	19	You, all	You all,
39	2	interrest	interest.
45	3	20th, January	20th January,
56	24	none can,	none can
63	21	unfortunately	unfortunately,
72	5	Higt.	High
75	8	thar	that
88	17	solution, of which	solution of which
103	17	unturnd,	unturnd
111	2	war	was
113	29	substituig	substituting
115	20	extravagant	extravagant
119	15	has	have
120	16	complements	compliments
121	19	In short	In short,
122	11	pamphlet ; to show	pamphlet, to show
123	16	if	it
124	22	differ-	difference
128	23	the late	late
128	26	and late	and the late
129	6	reform,	reform
131	2	weight and and	weight and
143	1	are subjected	are to be subjected
120	11	equal,	equal



