

14 JUN 1928

INDIAN CHRISTIANS

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL SKETCHES

OF

*POETS, PUBLICISTS, REFORMERS,
MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH.*

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FIRST EDITION

G. A. NATESAN & CO., MADRAS.

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• INTRODUCTION.

THIS is a companion volume to the Publishers' recent book of Sketches of EMINENT MUSSALMANS. An attempt is here made to record the lives and achievements of some Indian Christians who have contributed their bit to the making of Modern India. India, it has been said, is the meeting place of diverse cultures and civilizations which have profoundly influenced the course of her history. Not the least of such influences has been due to the impact of Christian thought and ideals.

Evangelization and education have been the principal features of missionary effort in India. Once a negligible community both socially and numerically, Indian Christians have now attained a position of considerable influence and conscious strength. And the pick of them have shed lustre on the country in their several avocations. For poets like Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Narayan

Vaman Tilak, educationists like Krishna Mohan Banerji and Principal Rudra, scholars like Prof. Ramachandra and Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, Ministers of the Church like Lal Behari Dey, Nehemiah Goreh, Sathianathan, and the Bishop of Dornakal, publicists like Kali Charan Banerjee, mystics like Sadhu Sundar Singh, social servants like Pandita Ramabhai and public workers like Dr. Datta and Mr. K. T. Paul—to mention only a few names from different parts of India—are ornaments to any community, nay to any country, to which they may belong. Indeed, the days are long gone by when to be a Christian was to be outlandish in spirit and in mode of life. Indian Christians now happily feel the country to be their own quite as much as members of other communities ; and, in fact, some of their leaders have been in the vanguard of our struggle for political emancipation. More than that, even those who had not felt impelled to take part in politics have stood by the principle of nationalism in its subtler and more spiritual aspect. They have withstood the one-time craze for

western habits and European languages and rigorously vindicated the beauty of the culture and civilization of their Motherland. Indian missionaries have not hesitated to fight for the nationalisation of the Church, and the movement for self-government within the Church will probably be sooner realised than the movement for self-government in the State. One has only to recall the efforts of Rev. Sathianathan and Dr. Chatterjee to realise how intensely patriotic have been the Ministers of the Church and how the spirit of nationality is permeating every sphere of our public work.

It is hoped that this attempt to chronicle the lives and achievements of some noted Indian Christians will meet with the recognition it deserves.

KRISHNA MOHUN BANERJI.

EARLY LIFE

KRISHNA MOHUN BANERJI was born in May 1813 in the section of north Calcutta known as Tantariya. His father's name was Jwasi Krishna Banerji, his mother's Himatu. After the manner of Hindus, he was initiated into lessons with due ceremonies at the age of five. A year later he joined the school then in charge of David Hare and in 1824 was transferred to the Hindu School where he commenced learning English and Sanskrit. In the year 1828 his father died, but in the course of that year the School Committee awarded him a Scholarship of Rs. 11 a month. Thoughts of earning had already possessed him and it was only with some difficulty that he abandoned his resolve to join a school at Delhi as a teacher. The end of his school career was however not long delayed, for on the 1st November 1829 he took up an Assis-

tant Master's post in Hare School at Patuldunga.

THE TIMES

Thereafter commenced the crisis of his life which threw him into many battles which he fought regardless of consequences and with the earnestness of one determined to attain truth and receive it wherever it came from. He was not a half-hearted seeker after truth and it was characteristic of him that he grasped the light of Christianity although it burst upon him suddenly and he had not the least thought, that that way lay the haven he was in search of.

Those were strenuous times in which he was born, when quest and change were the order of the day and there was a continual inflow of new forces in India upsetting her age-long mental placidity. Ram Mohun Roy's life, then drawing to its close, had created a ferment out of which arose movements in the economic, social, educational and religious spheres, destined in time to develop into vital national forces. Krishna Mohun and his friends were the immediate inheritors of Ram Mohun's work.

Controversies about idolatry, polytheism and other features of Hinduism continued to rage but were being settled by the rebels withdrawing into spiritual homes of their own, from which security they renewed their attacks upon what in their view were undesirable in the religion of their fathers. The Adi Brahmō Samaj was consecrated in 1830 and the Society for the Knowledge of Truth in 1839. The Hindu College where English education was imparted turned out a stream of agnostics and was itself the subject of fierce controversies. Journals, English and Vernacular were enlivening public affairs by their unceasing polemics. At the head of the administration stood Lord William Bentinck, who fostered movements which made for national good, however troublous the immediate consequences were. Educational ideals were being shaped under the inspiration of Bentinck, David Hare, Macaulay and others. One of the most potent factors of the times was the arrival in 1830 of Dr. Alexander Duff, the Scotch missionary who not only revolutionised Christian propaganda making it a force among edu-

cated Indians, but invigorated public life in every department.

THE QUEST AND THE CRISIS

It was in such a fretful realm that Krishna Mohun grew up as a young man, but the spiritual turmoil was what concerned him most. Dr. George Smith speaks of that turmoil and the impact of Christianity thus :

The minds of not a few leading Hindus had been emptied of their ancestral idols spiritual and ecclesiastical and were swept and garnished. Into some thus deprived of even the support which the ethical elements of their old orthodoxy supplied, the new demons of lawless lust and Western vice had entered with the secularism and antitheism of the Hindu College, so that their last state was worse than their first. Others saved for the hour from this, were in the temporary attitude of candid enquirers, bold to violence in their denunciation of the follies of which they and their followers had long been the victims, but timid towards the new faith, with its tremendous claims on their conscience and irresistible appeals to the intellect,

Krishna Mohun's work at school threw him in the company of H. L. V. Derozio, the brilliant young Anglo-Indian poet, a Professor in the Hindu College, who was believed to be an aggressive factor on the side of agnosticism. The Liberals of that day established a journal of their own, the ENQUIRER, which Banerji

edited, in which they waged war against orthodoxy, such as Ram Mohun had at an earlier day conducted in the REFORMER. Week after week they attacked Hinduism and on their own strength defied threats of excommunication from the orthodox party. It was while in this earnest pursuit, that there occurred an indiscreet act which precipitated the crisis. Krishna Mohun happened to be absent from a meeting of the Liberal party held in his family house on 23rd August 1831. To prove their mastery over prejudice and their freedom from the ordinances of Hinduism these friends of liberty had some pieces of meat brought from the bazaar and having satisfied their curiosity and taste—a common enough occurrence, it is said, carried out by reforming zealots openly in College Square—they threw the remaining portion into the neighbouring house which belonged to a Brahmin. That reckless levity was promptly met by an enduring retaliation. The Brahmin assaulted the house with the help of a mob and demanded the excommunication of the young men. Apologies did not satisfy the

irate Brahmin. Krishna Mohun was asked by his family to formally recant his errors, and proclaim his belief in the Hindu faith, or instantly to leave his house, and be for ever denuded of all the privileges and immunities of caste. He chose the latter and towards midnight he with his companions was obliged to depart he knew not whither.

As they left, the mob set upon them, but the young men made good their escape to the house of an acquaintance.

CONVERSION

This experience did not assuage Krishna Mohun's zeal to purge Hinduism of what he thought its unwholesome features and he continued to conduct the ENQUIRER with unabated warmth. Dr. Duff then a young missionary, sympathised with the spiritual difficulties of the reformers, admonished them not to be content with inveighing against the errors of Hinduism but to enquire about the truth, and directed them to test the evidences and doctrines of Christianity. The advice went home and thereafter Krishna Mohun and his friends became diligent students of the Christian

religion. Discussions were carried on in the ENQUIRER and in lectures and weekly classes with Dr. Duff. Conviction finally drove Krishna Mohun and some of his friends to seek baptism in 1832. Mohesh Chunder Ghose, Anundo Chand Mozumdar and Gopee Nath Nundi were the others, all of whom have left their mark upon the Indian Church.

The discontent with Hinduism drove many thoughtful young men away from it into either the Brahma Samaj or the Christian Church, whose subsequent growth furnish an interesting parallel in the spiritual life of Bengal. Dr. Duff's first four converts from high caste educated Bengalees were followed in the same decade by an equally illustrious band of converts among whom the most outstanding name is that of Lal Behari Day. It is due to Krishna Mohun Banerji's high courage and candour, in accepting a new religion on its merits, that the tide turned in favour of that religion making the Path easier for others to follow.

Some of the final reasonings which led him to take that step may be gathered from the following confession:

My attention having been particularly directed to the Socinian and Trinitarian systems, I at once felt more favourable to the former than the latter; but not seeing anything in it so great that it might reasonably call for the adoption of such extraordinary measures as those which Jesus employed for its propagation, I could not yield my conviction to it. On the other hand, I understood not aright the doctrine of the atonement, and on grounds of mere natural reason could never believe it to be possibly true. And as the Bible pointed unequivocally to it I strove to persuade myself, in spite of the most overpowering external evidence, not to believe in the sacred volume. Neither could I be satisfied with the forced interpretation of the Socinians. Socinianism which seemed little better than Deism, I thought, could not be so far above human comprehension that God should think of working such extraordinary miracles for its establishment. Accordingly though the external evidences of the truth of the Bible were overwhelming, yet because I could not on principles of reason be satisfied with either of the two interpretations given of it, I could not persuade my heart to believe. The doctrines of Trinitarian Christians, which I thought were really according to the plain import of scripture language, were all against my feelings and inclinations. Socinianism, though consonant with my natural pride, seemed yet so insignificant, as a professed revelation, that I could not conceive how, with propriety an all-wise God should work miracles for its sake. So that I remained in a state of doubt and perplexity for a long time; till God by the influence of His Holy Spirit was graciously pleased to open my soul to discern its sinfulness and guilt and the suitableness of the great salvation which centred in the atoning death of a *Divine Redeemer*. And the same doctrine of the atonement which when not properly understood, was my last great argument against the divine origin of the Bible, is now, when rightly apprehended, a principal reason for my belief and vindication of the Bible as the production of infinite wisdom and love.

TEACHER AND PASTOR

The persecution to which he and his friends were subjected in the days of his original revolt against Hinduism was intensified.

Krishna Mohun's next period was spent as a teacher in the C. M. S. High School at Amherst Street, Calcutta. Young inquirers of this period found their way to this stalwart of the Christian faith to settle their doubts and even to secure protection from their Hindu critics and pursuers. In the meanwhile he was getting deeper into the Christian faith and laying the foundations of that thorough knowledge of the philosophic systems of India which enabled him to produce the literature that came from his pen in his mature age.

Consistent with his early life, Banerji's chief aim now was to lead men to attain truth as he understood it and for that he found ample scope in the period of his ministry as Pastor of Christ Church at Cornwallis Square from 1839-1851. In Archdeacon Dealtry, who subsequently became Bishop of Madras he found a fast friend. On his recommendation to Bishop Wilson, Banerji was ordained

and made pastor of Christ Church, which was newly built then. A glimpse of his life is obtained in these words from a letter dated Oct. 23rd 1839, which he addressed to his friend Rev. J. J. Weitbrecht who was a missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Burdwan :—

My new Church in Cornwallis Square has been consecrated and I am preaching in it and have about two hundred hearers. The first Sunday there were six hundred. May the seed bring forth fruit in every one of them—one hundred, sixty and thirty fold. As soon as I occupy the parsonage, I shall commence a course of lectures on the evidences of Christianity in English, on some week day besides Bengall Services on Sunday. At least that is my plan, but all is dependence on God.

The high regard in which Krishna Mohun Banerji, the first ordained pastor of the Anglican Church was held at that time is revealed by the fact that he along with Archdeacon Dealtry was deputed by Bishop Wilson at the end of 1838 to visit Krishnagar (wherfrom the C. M. S. missionaries reported what is in these days called a "mass movement") and to report upon the state of affairs. A famine had lately passed over the area and had called forth the generosity of the missionaries. The inevitable result was the now familiar

stampede into the Christian Church in expectation of help in various temporal matters. The report stated that there was this movement in 52 villages and as many as 3,000 had enlisted themselves as enquirers.

An interesting side-light is thrown on this event by Banerji's letter mentioned above. Enthusiastic missionaries had, it would appear, sent gushing accounts to England about a "Pentecost" in Krishnagar. These exaggerated accounts had to be followed by more sober statements, an attitude which the Rev. J. J. Weitbrecht had uniformly maintained.

Writing to the latter, K. M. Banerji said:—

The remarks that have since been given of the converts have been discouraging and while I hope the best, I cannot help regretting that such glowing accounts were sent to England and must regard them as premature, nor is it wise to report and make much of missionary matters. I mourn over the spirit of *Publishing*, which exists to a fearful extent. We had no time for full enquiries when we were at Krishnagar and the little enquiry we made brought to light much that was painful to us as well as much that was cheering.

Of the Bengalee sermons preached in Christ Church, Krishna Mohun published a volume which was considered both from the style and substance as admirably calculated to appeal to

Brahmins and other high caste Hindus. Thenceforward he commenced authorship in earnest, illustrating what was common to the early educated converts throughout the land, that they were notable writers, a feature which subsequently disappeared from the Indian Church.

BISHOP'S COLLEGE

From 1851-1868, Rev. K. M. Banerji acted as Professor of Bishop's College, which was then located in Howrah. The appointment at that period was a rare distinction. Not only was he counted worthy to take a place among the European Professors, but he was found to satisfy the cautiousness which missionary authorities have at all times displayed in the selection of an Indian to a post from which Christian truths have to be expounded. It lies to the credit of an "infant" Church as the Church of Bengal then was, that it produced one who could be allowed to train workers for the Church. What is more, Professor Banerji took rank with the group of Professors who won for the College the distinction of being a centre of scholarship and thought, and who produced some of the finest theological

literature that European missionaries of a century past in India have been responsible for. The efficiency of the College was being questioned at that time and the thought of winding it up was not remote. Bishop Cotton fought for its retention and pointed to the theological works of Dr. Kay, Dr. Hill, and not least Dr. Banerji among others, as a strong justification for that centre of learning to live uninterrupted.

PUBLIC LIFE

Dr. Banerji soon came to occupy a prominent place in the life of Calcutta and contributed his share to the movements of his day. The Bethune Society, named after Drinkwater Bethune had been formed in the year 1852 as a common meeting place for the educated Indians and their English friends, and to break down as far as possible the barriers set up by caste, not only between Hindus and all the world beside, but between Hindus and Hindus. It was the first attempt to pool the experiences that modern knowledge had brought to India and the debating societies of youths, it was felt, had to be developed into

a literary and scientific association of the type of those of the West and Bethune Society became the centre of attraction for educated Calcutta. Apart from lectures on a variety of subjects by scholars and scientific experts, practical work was done by the six sections of the Society *viz.*, education, literature and philosophy, science and art, sanitation, sociology and Indian female improvement. Dr. Duff, Prof. E. B. Cowell, Col. Baird Smith, Bishop Cotton, Miss Mary Carpenter and Dr. Chevers were among the enthusiastic workers of this cause. Dr. K. M. Banerji was one of the select band of Bengalees who were privileged to expound from the platform of this Society. On a notable occasion, namely the visit in 1866 of Miss Mary Carpenter, the well-known social worker of England and the biographer of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the Society was used as the medium for the formulation of a scheme of female education. Mr. Banerji figured as one of the foremost supporters of that endeavour. Miss Carpenter who came with high credentials and travelled extensively in India to study chiefly educational questions and

Jail conditions, organised movements wherever possible among educated Indians to continue her work. In Calcutta she found in Banerji a warm ally. Scattered throughout her two volumes of reminiscences of that visit are references to him.

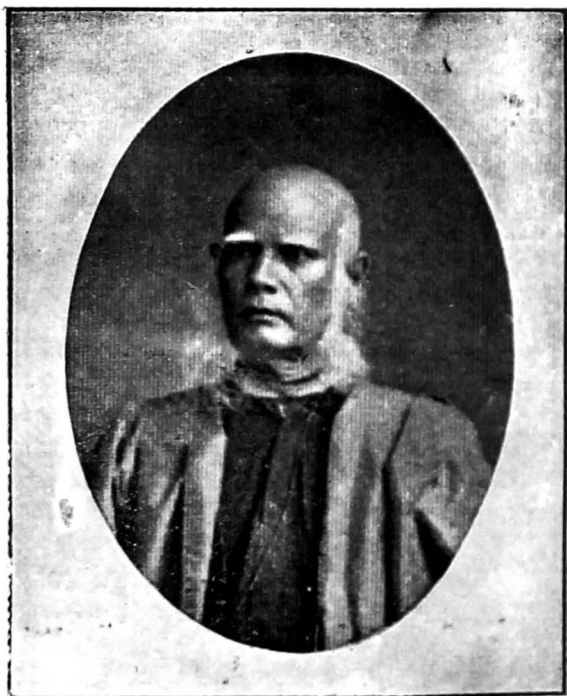
One of the glimpses she gives illustrates Mr. Banerji's width of interests and the striking personality he was at the time. In August of that year Prof. Banerji had delivered a lecture on "Education in Bengal" in the school-room of St. Thomas Church in Howrah, which had attracted much public attention. The audience was a mixed one of Indians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians of whom there were a large number in that railway and manufacturing centre. The discussion showed sharp differences of opinion with the lecturer, but there was warm appreciation too. After quoting the newspaper accounts, Miss Carpenter observes: "Such gatherings on a common ground, without allowing difference of opinion to interfere with kindly feeling, must greatly tend to bind together in harmony the different races whom circum-

stances have thus brought together to form one community."

Besides being a member of numerous public bodies, the Asiatic Society among them, Prof. Banerji served also as a Councillor of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Prof. Banerji took his share in the organising of the Calcutta University which was formally established in 1857. The Senate of which he was a member had, however, the grave responsibility of working out the details of administration, curricula, finance *etc.* His contribution in this respect is largely coupled with that of Dr. Duff. The latter became in the Senate the leader of a party of distinguished colleagues such as Bishop Cotton, Archdeacon Pratt, Dr. Kay, Dr. Ogilvie, Dr. Mullen, Dr. Cowell, Sir H. Durand, Bishop Stuart, Mr. Samuel Laing, Sir C. Trevelyan, Dr. Smith, Mr. C. K. Aitcheson and Dr. K. M. Banerji, when questions were debated which secured the catholicity of the University and in such questions as pure text-books and the establishment of the chairs of physical scienc



KRISHNA MOHUN BANERJI.

contemplated by the despatch of 1854. O Dr. Duff's leadership, affecting the books and subjects daily studied by the thousands of youths under the jurisdiction of the University Prof. Banerji wrote :

To his gigantic mind the successive Vice-Chancellors paid due deference, and he was the virtual Governor of the University. The examining system still in force was mainly of his creation, and although it may be capable of improvement with the progress of society, yet those who complain of the large area of subjects involved in it seem to forget that narrow-mindedness is not a less mischievous evil than shallowness of mind. Dr. Duff was again the first person who insisted on education in the physical sciences, and strongly urged the establishment of a professorship of physical science for the University. Although he first met with opposition in official quarters, yet his influence was such that it could not be shaken.

Prof. Banerji's long services to the University and to the cause of education, were recognised by the conferment of the L.L.D. Degree in the year 1876.

EDUCATION COMMISSION, 1882

When the Education Commission of 1882 under the Chairmanship of Sir W. W. Hunter visited Bengal, perhaps the most notable evidence placed before it was that of Dr. Banerji's. The main business of the Commission was to enquire into the manner in

which effect had been given to the principles of the despatch of 1854 and to suggest measures for the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down. Dr. Banerji's multifarious interests enabled him to touch on a variety of topics and his outspoken criticism evoked the severest cross-examination that any witness in Bengal was subjected to. The trend of his evidence was that the Government did not treat all sections of the Despatch of 1854 as of equal importance, that while they carried out in a large measure the recommendations regarding higher and secondary education, by the establishment of Schools, Colleges and Universities, they did not pay sufficient attention to female education, primary education and vernacular schools. He felt that much was left undone in regard to the grant-in-aid system.

His views on elementary education were guided by the principle enunciated in the Secretary of State's Despatch of 25th April 1864 which said that "the resources of the State ought to be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves;

and the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education."

Although any attention called to this principle was misconstrued by the public as aiming at a curtailment of higher education under the cloak of promoting primary education, Dr. Banerji declared that higher education must support itself. Among his reasons was the growth of private enterprise such as the Metropolitan Institution, the City College, missionary institutions *etc.* which should be allowed a fair field and not be rivalled by expensive Government institutions. In developing his last, Dr. Banerji made a bold attack on Professors from abroad:—

It is quite possible, that if High Schools and Colleges are left to their own resources, the allowances to Professors may have to be reduced. Such reduction in the long run, will be a benefit, rather than an injury, to the country. It is not necessary in these days to get out from England Professors of History, or English Literature, or even of Mathematics, on high scales of salary. Private institutions have been known to pass students on those subjects even in Honors where the preceptors did not command one quarter of the salaries paid in Government Colleges.

RELIGIOUS NEUTRALITY

In modern days, Dr. Banerji's views on this subject might seem strange, but the warn-

ing voice rose out of experience of the first impact of Western knowledge upon Indian life, and it cannot now be said that the alarm was a false one. He said:

On the vexed question of religious differences, I think the Government schools have not been able altogether to maintain the principle of strict neutrality . . . Scientific Professors of agnostic or materialistic principles have got entrance into Colleges, to the detriment of *all religion*. This is neutrality, with a vengeance! In truth, it may be said, that Physical and Psychological sciences now in a state of development which has produced two definite schools, the Theistic on the one hand, and the Atheistic on the other hand, and those who bestow their patronage on the latter must be responsible for the injury done to *all religion*. I doubt whether, in the selection of scientific Professors, the authorities consider anything beyond the fitness of the candidates as far as scientific attainments alone are concerned. I doubt whether they take upon themselves to consider whether the candidate was *Theistic* like the eminent Father Lafont of Calcutta, or *Atheistic*, like many names which are familiarly known.

For a Government to entertain such a question may be extremely invidious; but if Government teach science at all, it must incur the responsibility of the consequences inseparable from the doctrines inculcated by agnostic or materialistic Professors, *selected and appointed by itself*, for its own colleges. Non-interference with religion cannot now be maintained without *interfering to see* that no Atheistic Professor gets in to instil into youthful minds principles opposed to *all religion*.

Space forbids reference to Dr. Banerji's views on other topics. Nearly all the members of the Commission subjected the witness to a searching cross-examination particularly the

President, and Professors Deighton and Ranganada Mudaliar of the Presidency Colleges of Calcutta and Madras who could not accept the challenging remarks tamely. But Dr. Banerji emerged unscathed. One member of the Commission paid him the compliment of saying, that he knew no one in Bengal who had had a larger or more varied experience of the effects of English education than the witness.

AS A WRITER

Dr. Banerji's connection with the ENQUIRER has been noticed above. The benefit of his experience was extended to Christian journals which came into existence at a later date. But a notable honour was his connection with the CALCUTTA REVIEW in the days when it acquired a fame which lingers to this day. The Journal was started in May 1844 by Dr. Duff and Sir John Kaye. The leading officials, educationists and public men were its contributors and Dr. Banerji was among the select band of Indians who were enlisted in that group. Of the writings of the latter it has been said that they were of peculiar value for the information they gave and occasionally

for such purity of style that their Indian authorship was not suspected at the time.

The best known of his works is the 'Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy' which was issued in English in 1861 and created a stir among educated Indians. Bengalee versions were issued in 1862 and 1867. He also edited with notes *Raghuvamsa* and *Kumara Sambhava* of Kalidasa in Sanskrit. Reference has already been made to his book of sermons in Bengalee. In the same language he issued the Psalter for use in the Churches. His translations of numerous devotional books provided spiritual sustenance for Bengalee Christians when they were solely dependent upon such literature. His public speeches, lectures and journalistic writings would make a vast collection, no attempt at which has been made.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Dr. Banerji was the acknowledged leader of the Indian Christian community and as such he was appointed the first President of the Bengal Christian Association which was organised in the seventies. Dr. Banerji who saw

the beginnings of Christianity in Bengal lived long enough to see the Church pass through various stages of dependence upon missionaries and gradually develop a sense of independence and self-respect. The cry had already been raised to release Europeans from the control and maintenance of the Churches and to establish a National Church ministered to by Indians and supported by Indian money. It was this Society which sought to consolidate and extend the movement. European missionaries on the other hand read in the movement a breach between the educated Indian Christians and themselves. Dr. Banerji's connection with the society, however, was taken to be a guarantee that no such undesirable result developed out of a movement latent with good for the community.

He was a prominent member of the Calcutta Missionary Conference and the Bishop honoured him with the appointment of honorary Chaplain. It has been said, that next to the trio—Carey, Marshman and Ward,—Dr. Banerji did the greatest service for the education of Bengalee Christians.

THE END

Dr. Banerji retired from service in the year 1868 but was spared seventeen years longer till his death on 11th May 1881 to continue his service to his community, Church, city and the country.

In early life, he shared with many of his friends the perplexities of the age, but instead of languishing in them he smote the shackles which bound the religion and the country with all his might. What might the country have been but for the sincerity of purpose and indomitable will of that advance party of Modern India? Several of his friends went into the Brahma Samaj already in existence. But Krishna Mohun Banerji's acceptance of Christianity as the result of close scrutiny, meant the first establishment of that religion in India as satisfying even the intellectual cravings of the seeker after truth. A man of such spiritual force and talents could become a cornerstone of the Indian Church immediately, which was no small gain, considering the tenacity with which European missionaries from that day till now have maintained the

shibboleths of the incompetence of Indian Christians to be entrusted with responsibilities. Krishna Mohun Banerji was found fit to hold high offices. He established a literary record which if circumstances permitted, might have been rivalled by later Indian Christians. His genuine Christian life compelled him to throw himself in that creative period of Indian history, which the 19th century was, into all movements that were intended to promote national welfare. An Indian Christian of that period had the special task of proving the practicability of blending the culture of the East and the West. Personal relations with men of all races and creeds for this purpose called forth the highest virtues, and Dr. Banerji was not found wanting. Brought up in orthodox Hindu society he willingly assimilated the best of the new culture. Thus though of the community, he was catholic in his life, and an illustrious son of India.

REV. LAL BEHARI DAY.

The Bengali Christian community traces its beginnings to the opening in 1830 by Dr. Alexander Duff, of the English School known later as the General Assembly's Institution. Started to satisfy an almost clamorous demand for "Western learning" imparted by European instructors solely through the medium of the English language which had come to acquire a commercial value, its history is an epitome of Missionary educational achievement in the East Indies. To quote Dr. Duff's own words, the object was the "*preparing of a mine*" and the "*setting of a train*" which should one day "*explode and tear up*" Hinduism from the "*lowest depths.*" History has demonstrated more than once the enormous defensive and recuperative resources of Hinduism; and Dr. Duff's expectations have yet to be realised in their fulness. As the *alma mater* of the Bengali Church and Com-

munity, however, the Institution earned undying fame. Until 1843 (the year of the Disruption) it was with the doubtful exception of Serampore, the only institution of its kind in Bengal. Dr. Duff's influence and policy were paramount and supreme. A long, impressive line of eminent Bengalis embraced Christianity as the outcome of their training in the Institution. At no period before or after did the Indian Church receive such notable accessions. The last in point of time on this illustrious roll of saints and martyrs is Rev. Lal Behari Day. Baptised just before the news of the Disruption reached Calcutta, he was in a peculiar and especial sense the spiritual offspring of the Indo-Scottish connection. His baptism was hailed as the fore-runner of a great ingathering among the villages; with his baptism the rural Missionary movement in the Presbyterian Church took shape under Dr. Duff's guidance. Along with Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerji, Rev. Lal Behari Day was the recognised leader of Bengali Christians. The former was essentially a thinker and philosopher, more at home-

among Sanskrit texts and Pandits than fitted to assume responsibilities as administrator of a mission. Rev. Lal Behari Day on the other hand, was a man of a practical turn of mind, a born administrator, a man of intrepid and cool judgment. Each was a complement to the other, and the Bengali Church and Community owes to these two men, much of its present assured position.

Kala Gopal De'—this was his name until baptism—was born on the 18th December 1824 in a middle class Hindu homestead in the small agricultural hamlet of Talpur in Western Bengal. His parents were of the banker (*Suvarna Vanik*) caste of non-Brahmins. Kala Gopal was a man of the countryside, *l'homme du peuple*. Until he entered Dr. Duff's school to study English, his haunts and pastimes lay amid the rich countryside,—the paddy fields, the hedgeless tracts of sweet scented herb and blossom used daily by *purohit* and householder, the cool banana groves dotted over with palmyra and jack. Bathed in light, cooled by the evening wind which blew across the wide open spaces of garden

and plough-land, the patches of green and brownish gold cactus glowing in the sunlight, the tall grasses swaying in the breeze—the village sights and scenes represented all that was real and true in Bengali peasant life. His heart ever fondly turned to the fields and hedgerows in the country. His love of nature, taste for outdoor life, the acute powers of observation he possessed, the undying interest in rural and agricultural problems,—all these he derived from his early associations with the soil and the countryside. His bold, free address, the native independence of his character, his wonderful powers of memory and assimilation were the fruits as much of early training at home as of his rustic and rural upbringing. He possessed an accurate and intimate knowledge of agricultural problems obtained from first-hand sources, and he was in a position to render signal services to the Bengali peasant population in time of drought and famine. He was the first to recognise and avail himself of the benefits of rural Co-operative Credit Societies and Land Mortgage Banks as a means of relieving agricultural indebtedness. He

himself belonged to the banker class and hereditary aptitude also enabled him to start and manage such agricultural societies at Calna with marked success. His long study of the agricultural conditions in Western Bengal, and the success attending some of his schemes to relieve agricultural distress lent peculiar weight to his "*Statement*" on Bengal agriculture (1874). This was and even now perhaps is, a standard authority on the subject. It is worthy of note that he even so far back as 1859—1860 sounded a note of warning against such evils as excess sub-division of holdings, absence of subsidiary wage-earning occupations for agriculturists in slack seasons, and the importance of encouraging weaving in rural areas. Mr. Day was probably the first Bengali to press on the Government the urgent claims of Village Education on a national scale. In 1868 his Bethune Society lecture on "Primary Education in Bengal" was printed by Government.

Kala Gopal's real public career commenced in 1846 when he was admitted as a full-fledged Christian worker of the Presbyterian Church

of Scotland. From then onwards till his retirement from active service and death in 1894 he was a devoted adherent of the Church which gave him baptism. With the differences between the "Established" and "Free" Churches he had little or no sympathy. None but a Scotsman can appreciate them, and Rev. Lal Behari Day was first and foremost a Presbyterian from conviction. If at all, he loved the "Free" Church more, as it was his baptismal home and his first ties lay there. As a Minister and Missionary of the Presbyterian Church he was a foremost figure. He had experience of all kinds of Missionary work—as Pastor in Calcutta, as Missionary in Western Bengal, as Christian author and pamphleteer. He was no mere provincial and local celebrity. His marriage to a daughter of Rev. Dhanjibhai Naoroji of the Presbyterian Church of Western India, introduced him to that part of the country, where he succeeded in creating a marked impression both on European Missionaries like Dr. Wilson and on the wider public.

Though first and primarily a preacher of

the Gospel, Rev. Lal Behari Day's tastes and predilections led him to initiate many schemes for the uplift of the Bengal Christian Community. He was perhaps the first Indian Christian to adumbrate a condensed and detailed scheme for a "National Church of India." Even in those early days the evils of Ecclesiastical divisions were to be combatted. Rev. Lal Behari Day was, as befitted one of his temperament and genius, a pronounced nationalist in political sympathies and social and religious aspirations. He was convinced that the multiplication of sects and denominations—many of them absolutely meaningless to the indigenous Christian—was conducive to disunion and weakness. His panacea was the establishment of a National Church free from foreign control. It is characteristic of Rev. Lal Behari Day that he first mooted the proposal before a Conference of European Missionaries in Calcutta. The reasons were so numerous, his tone and manner of presentation of the proposal so moderate and free from personal ill-will or racial rancour that the Conference unanimously



REV. LAL BEHARI DAY.

appointed a Committee to examine and report on the proposals. Some attempt was made to start the movement, but it eventually broke down owing to the fact that Mr. Day had by that time entered Government service out of Calcutta. Mr. Day was a firm believer in the Scriptural Church, but his nationalistic sympathies enabled him to include in his proposals, even the Roman Catholics. In common with his countrymen both Christian and non-Christian, Rev. Lal Behari Day had but imperfect sympathy for the fine drawn distinctions of dogmatic theology, and with narrow sectarianism he had none at all. His breadth of mind in religious matters made him tolerant towards those who differed from him.

These qualities were never displayed to better advantage and could not have been better employed than in the great Missionary Controversy of 1849-1856. Rev. Lal Behari Day in common with all the other indigenous Missionaries had expected in accordance with the recognised principle of ecclesiastical parity accepted in Presbyterian policy, to be

placed after their ordination as Christian Ministers on a footing of absolute equality with their European *confreres*. The "Mission Council"—governing body in India—was composed wholly of European Missionaries and would not allow such equality. Still less would it permit the native Missionaries to become members of the Council, as was done in the case of each and every European Missionary. Dr. Mackay was acting as chairman during Dr. Duff's absence in Scotland, and the former while sympathising with his native brethren, was unwilling in the absence of Dr. Duff, to create a new departure. Rev. Lal Behari Day as spokesman of the indigenous clergy, demanded immediate redress and prepared a memorial for transmission to the Foreign Mission Committee in Edinburgh. Dr. Duff on return from furlough had to meet this situation. Before his forceful personality, the movement dwindled away. But Rev. Lal Behari Day alone manfully took his stand on a question of Ecclesiastical and Christian principle. He offered resignation of his Orders if he could not obtain

alteration in the situation. His relations with Dr. Duff were almost filial and it must have caused Rev. Lal Behari Day great heart-searching before he took up this firm attitude. But having deliberated over the matter in all its aspects, the question of principle outweighed all other considerations. This episode—the only one in which Rev. Lal Behari Day ever came into conflict with his European colleagues—ended in a vindication of the position taken up by Rev. Lal Behari Day, who was placed on the same footing as European Missionaries in all matters except salary, and was given independent charge of a Mission station. Dr. Duff entertained an even higher regard for his colleague, and Mr. Day was the recipient of favours which the imperious and autocratic Scotchman never proffered to any other Indian.

Rev. Lal Behari Day's independence of judgment and balance of mind were exhibited in the troublous days of 1857. After the rebellion had been suppressed and the rebels had surrendered, a cry arose on all sides for vengeance on the mutineers. Rev. Lal Behari Day

was one of those who steadfastly resisted every attempt on the part of Christian Missionaries, to foment this feeling of vengeance. "Let us make it a point," he wrote on one occasion to his European Missionary Colleagues, "to impress the lesson of Christian forbearance and mercifulness." Like the immortal "Clemency Canning" Mr. Day strongly believed that the task before them was not retaliation but compassion and forgiveness. Rev. Lal Behari Day's attitude and words were of great significance because the Christian Community had suffered much at the hands of the rebels, for example, Gopinath Nandy one of Dr. Duff's converts and a student of the General Assembly's Institution. It is but fair to say that Rev. Lal Behari Day's sentiments found ready response in Missionary circles, and much of the clemency that was shewn to the rebels was due to the public opinion created by Missionaries.

This leads to a consideration of Rev. Lal Behari Day's connection with the various national movements in Bengal. Rev. Lal Behari Day was first and foremost a preacher of the Gospel and he allowed nothing to inter-

share with it. But he was a zealous believer in political institutions under the protecting *aegis* of the British Throne and Parliament. He was a firm believer in the British Government whose advent into India he considered, a blessing. Mr. Day was an adherent of the Congress from its start, but he does not seem to have taken any prominent part in its deliberations probably because he was then engaged as a lecturer in Government service.

Rev. Lal Behari Day was a most devoted and successful Christian worker. He was beloved and respected by the peasantry of Western Bengal because he identified himself completely with their needs and problems. His *Missionary Journals* abound in instances of enduring interest. Like John Wesley, Rev. Lal Behari Day was a "Journeyman" preacher. His passion for souls was as great as John Wesley's. Mr. Day travelled over the whole of Western Bengal as his *Journals* testify, and he planted Mission Schools, Churches, Orphanages which are still flourishing witnesses to his labours. As pastor in Cornwallis Square he was able to build up

a reputation as a preacher of originality, eloquence and erudition. While here he started a course of lectures to educated Hindus which influenced a very wide area. At that time Keshab Chunder Sen was successfully spreading the Brahmo Samaj movement. Rev. Lal Behari Day, while recognising the undeniable good in the movement, yet manfully exposed what he thought its weaknesses and deficiencies. Between Mr. Day and the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj movement a warm personal regard subsisted throughout.

Of Mr. Day's services to the Christian Community of Bengal, a few words will suffice. By means of his facile pen and through the pages of the various periodicals and magazines he either edited or contributed to, he was able to mould public opinion. The Bengali Christian Conference owes its existence to Mr. Day and a few others. He recognised the necessity of an organ for the Community, and was about to start one when death overtook him. Though a great English prose writer, he was also a prolific

Bengali author. He edited the Bengali Journal ARUNADAYA for the village Christian congregations. He also wrote Bengali and English tracts and pamphlets which obtained a good circulation throughout Bengal. His position as a Fellow of the Calcutta University enabled him to watch over the educational interests of Christians. He planned to start a Friend-in-need Society for Christians and the Missionary Societies were consulted. But before the scheme could mature, he died. The Indian Christian Association of Bengal found in him a source of strength, and the stores of his wide experience were always at its disposal.

The political views of Rev. Lal Behari Day were greatly influenced by his constant association with Europeans ever since early manhood. He was no blind admirer of his country, and he was a sincere student of all that was good and true from the West. But he recognised that without political agitation on strict constitutional lines, no progress was possible. Hence he was a Congressman, and a believer in Parliamentary institutions. Rev. Lal Behari Day never conceded that Bengalis were inferior to

Europeans. In the height of the commotion caused by the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, Mr. Day never hesitated to admonish his European Missionary colleagues of the grave dangers of racial arrogance and racial aloofness. In an address—afterwards published and sold—called "*Searchings of Heart*" Mr. Day advised Europeans to cultivate friendly feelings towards Indians. The service rendered by *Searchings of Heart* was to convince the educated and vocal classes in Calcutta and Bengal that it was unwise to condemn Christianity merely because it was the religion of Europeans. It was the good fortune of Rev. Lal Behari Day to be one of the most successful agents in calming and restoring disturbed public feeling. The Government were aware of Mr. Day's services in this matter. On the other hand, he fearlessly denounced immoral and superstitious customs, and his larger works abound in passages of this kind.

The name of Rev. Lal Behari Day will go down to posterity through his collection of writings and speeches. It is the boast of Bengal that she has produced the only Indian

poetess in English—Toru Dutt. In Rev. Lal Behari Day Bengal has produced one of the finest prose-writers of English. This mastery of the English language was the result as much of ceaseless industry as of native genius. Like Macaulay he was laborious in the care bestowed on his writings ; and in the range of his reading he was certainly unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries. His great protagonist in the Brahma controversy of 1867, Keshab Chunder Sen, readily acknowledged the erudition, industry and eloquence of Mr. Day. An eminent English *litterateur* thus comments on Mr. Day's writings :—

“ He has rendered a service by his practical demonstration that there is nothing to prevent a Bengali who has received an English education from writing like an Englishman.”

The style of Rev. Lal Behari Day is most pleasing in its perspicacity, simplicity, easy, grace, and elegance. The choice of words and their arrangement in a sentence are classical. The narrative moves easily, naturally to the close. There is no effort at all. The descriptive portions attain a very

high level of eloquence. The style of Rev. Lal Behari Day can best be compared to that of Addison or Goldsmith. Here is a sample taken at random :—

“The shades of evening had descended all over the plain when the bride-groom's party resumed their festal procession. Madhava (the bride-groom) sat in the *chaturdola*, the torches were lit, the musicians began to play, and the jackals of the neighbouring thickets frightened by so unusual a noise and so bright a light at such a time, set up an unearthly yell as an accompaniment to the marital music. The party assembled at Badan's (the house of the bride's father) all on tiptoe of expectation, heard with delight the sound of the nuptial music. Badan's heart, and especially Alanga's (the bride's Grandmother) leaped with joy. As the sound of the music became louder, the pulse of Badan and Alanga beat faster and faster. As for Malati (the bride) she had scarcely any feeling one way or the other, as she understood little of the matter.”

Rev. Lal Behari Day's most ambitious work is *Govinda Samanta*. Apart from its

literary excellence, and the accuracy of its descriptive information, it is the first book on rural and agricultural conditions in Bengal written from first hand sources by a Bengali. As such it has no rival, and was instrumental in its day in securing redress of most of the evils borne by the ryot. Its place in Anglo-Indian literature is assured, as also *Peasant Life in Bengal*, the companion volume. In lighter vein are the *Bengal Folk Tales* written at the request of European friends. Mr. Day was a great diarist like Pepys and John Wesley. His *Missionary Journals* are precious on account of the accuracy of the information they afford of rural conditions in Bengal. Mr. Day's contributions to the CALCUTTA REVIEW and his lectures delivered by request before the exclusive Bethune Society introduced him to wider circles, and finally secured an assured place in Bengali national life. To *Govinda Samanta* and to his connection with the CALCUTTA REVIEW he owed his entrance into the Government Educational Department. Sir Richard Temple, then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, offered him a post in the Collegiate

branch of the service. This Mr. Day thankfully accepted in the interests of his children. But he never surrendered his title of "Reverend" and to the end Mr. Day was prouder of being an ordained Minister of the Presbyterian Church than of filling a professorial Chair in a Government College. He was first and foremost a Christian Missionary. For example, while Government Professor in the Hooghly College, he regularly conducted an English service on Sundays at Chinsurah which was largely attended and appreciated.

Dr. Duff's death in 1878 left Rev. Lal Behari Day the sole survivor of the famous group of Ministers and Missionaries who could speak from personal knowledge of events prior to 1843. Mr. Day's intimacy with Dr. Duff, his personal acquaintance with the conditions prevailing in those pioneer days, the great services rendered by him to the cause of education and literature, his steadfast loyalty to the British Throne, all these gave him a commanding, assured position within and without the Christian Church. He was the *doyen* of the Bengali Ministers along with Dr. K. M. Banerji, and his

influence upon his contemporaries was comparable only with that of the latter. He died full of years and honours on 28th October 1894 and his remains were interred in the Scotch burial place. A few hours before his end he seemed conscious of what was said to him, though his eyes were shut, and his tongue and throat were becoming paralysed. At that time, we are told, he felt comforted by the verse, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,' which his youngest daughter repeated to him from the scripture. Throughout his illness his mind and thoughts were quite withdrawn from the present world, and always dwelt on things spiritual and the future state. During the last two years of his life, Mr. Day used to read works on the life, death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, besides the *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* of Jeremy Taylor, and similar books. He left behind him his wife, three sons, and three daughters, to mourn his loss. His remains were buried in the quiet Scotch Cemetery on the outskirts of Calcutta. On the tombstone is engraved, 'Thine eyes

shall behold the King in His beauty. For ever with the Lord.' A memorial tablet in his old Church in Cornwallis Square fittingly perpetuates his labours and fame :—

IN MEMORY OF
THE REV. LAL BEHARI DAY,

A student of the General Assembly's Institution under Dr. Duff, 1834 to 1844; Missionary and Minister of the Free Church of Scotland, 1855 to 1867; Professor of English literature in the Government colleges at Berhampore and Hughly, 1867 to 1889; Fellow of the University of Calcutta from 1877; and well known as a journalist, and as author of *Bengal Peasant Life*, and other works.

Born at Talpur, Burdwan, 18th December, 1824; died at Calcutta, 28th October, 1894.

Some of his surviving pupils and of his numerous admirers have erected this tablet.

The life of Rev. Lal Behari Day conveys some notable lessons. He was the first Bengali to attain mastery of the English language and his eminence in this domain has never been questioned or surpassed. As a Minister he asserted successfully the rights of Bengalis to equal treatment along with European Missionaries in the matter of ecclesiastical privileges. He was a most successful Missionary particularly in rural tracts, and he utilised his intimate knowledge of agricultural conditions to ventilate the grievances of the peasant and to secure his uplift. In politics he was a staunch Congressman of the moderate type with a firm belief in the benefits of partnership with England. He was a fearless upholder of the privileges and rights of his countrymen where wrong had to be redressed. Though a member of a comparatively small community, his influence on the wider public was great.

It is given to few to achieve distinction in so many fields and to touch life on so many sides. This versatility of interest gave rise to no strain on his mental equipment. *Mens*

Sana in corpore Sano was his motto. A great son of Bengal, a writer of classical English whose writings will endure, a rural reconstructionist, far in advance of his times, Mr. Day will be remembered for his broad sympathies, his contributions to English literature and his championship of the ryot and peasant.

PROF. RAMACHANDRA.

EARLY YEARS

PROF. RAMACHANDRA, the subject of this sketch was born in 1821 at Panipet, the famous battle-place about fifty miles from Delhi. His father was a Hindu Kaeth and a native of Delhi and was employed at Panipet under the Collector of Revenue. After some education in private schools, Ramachandra entered the English Government School at Delhi where he remained six years. That school does not appear to have paid any special attention to Mathematics but shortly before leaving it, Ramachandra developed a taste for that subject and studied at home with such books as he could procure. After leaving school he was employed as a writer for two or three years. In 1841 the Educational Department of the Bengal Presidency was re-organised and the school at Delhi was raised to a College and Ramachandra

obtained by competition a senior scholarship of Rs. 30 a month.

A TEACHER OF YOUTH

In 1844 he was appointed a teacher of European Science in the Oriental Department of the College through the medium of the vernacular. A vernacular translation society was instituted and under its auspices Ramachandra translated or compiled works in Urdu on Algebra, Trigonometry etc. About these translations Ramachandra writes as follows:—"These translations were introduced into the Oriental Department as class books so that in two or three years many students in the Arabic and Persian Departments were, to a certain extent, acquainted with English Science, and the doctrines of the ancient philosophy taught through the medium of Arabic were cast into the shade before the more reasonable and experimental theories of modern Science." This report clearly shows that modern mathematics can be taught even up to the College stage through the medium of the vernacular.

In 1850 Ramachandra published in Calcutta his mathematical work on *Problems of Maxima*

and Minima which won him immediate recognition in the Universities of Europe. It also brought him to the notice of the Court of Directors whose help and encouragement was, as we shall show in the following pages, of material advantage to him.

HIS CONVERSION

But before discussing his contribution to mathematical studies it is necessary to refer to one or two salient features of his life. The first in importance was, of course, his conversion to the Christian faith. We are told that before his conversion he was, like many of his educated countrymen, simply a Deist, looking down with contempt on all religions—Hindu, Mahomedan or Christian which based their teachings on any written book. Idle curiosity, however, took him to the Church one day; he was struck by the piety and devotion of some European friends for whom he had great respect. And then he took to the study of the Bible in earnest, followed by comparative study of the sacred books of other religions. As the result of these investigations he became, in the words

of his biographer "fully convinced of the truth of the Christian religion." But openly to embrace an alien faith was by no means easy. There were difficulties which had to be overcome. He knew he should have to leave his mother, wife, children and brothers, and meet with great opposition from his castemen. But he braved it all, in the fervour of his new faith, and entered the fold of Christ's Church by publicly receiving baptism on the 11th March 1852.

Like all new converts Ramachandra was a zealous evangelist. He continued to teach in the old Delhi College but he devoted his spare time to religious studies and to conversations on spiritual subjects. The influence he was thus able to exercise on the higher classes could hardly have been negligible.

MUTINY DAYS

But the times were somewhat out of joint. The Great Mutiny broke out in 1858 and Native Christians were at a discount. Hindu and Muslim vengeance alike turned on the converts to the "European" religion and many innocent Indian Christians fell a victim

to the fury of the mutineers. It was no doubt true that most Christians identified themselves with Europeans and discrimination was out of the question in a time of chaos and confusion. Prof. Ramachandra was himself in some danger but his Hindu brothers concealed him in their house "and when he could no longer stay there he left the city in disguise and eventually after many hair-breadth escapes, reached the English force which was then encamped before Delhi." After the Mutiny had subsided he was appointed in 1858 teacher of Mathematics in the Government Engineering College at Rurki and about the end of the same year Headmaster of the newly established Government school at Delhi.

IN PATIALA

Five years hence a new sphere of usefulness opened out to him. He was appointed tutor to H. H. the late Maharaja of Patiala, a duty which he performed with such credit and distinction that he was called again and again to do the offices of a Prince's teacher in

the same State. He was in Patiala for five years from 1863 after which he returned to Delhi to publish his second book of mathematics. A year and a half hence he was recalled to Patiala where the late Maharaja, on his installation to the *gadi* gave him a *khillat* and a *jagir* in recognition of his valuable services and also appointed him Director of the newly established Department of Public Instruction of his State. As Director, Prof. Ramachandra was able to do a good deal of spadework in the cause of education. He laid the foundations of a sound and efficient system of education. Though he was a *persona grata* with the Maharaja the position of a Christian scholar in high office in a Hindu State was beset in those days with peculiar difficulties. But Ramachandra's innate sense of propriety, his loyalty and high character coupled with his zeal in the cause of education tided over the anomalies of his position and he was able to show a good record of work. In 1875 he left Patiala having served the State and the Maharaja faithfully for well over a decade.

But his connection with Patiala was not to be snapped easily. For on the death of the Maharaja he was called back to Patiala as tutor to the next in throne. And he continued to serve the State faithfully and well until in 1879 an attack of paralysis obliged him finally to retire from service. He returned from Patiala very weak in health and he lay in bed for full five weeks. His last days were marked by much physical suffering but he bore it with meekness and fortitude. "At his request" says a chronicler, "portions of the Scripture were often read out to him, and prayer offered by his bed-side. Twice the Holy Communion was administered to him from which he appeared to receive great comfort." He thus lingered on for a week and "fell asleep in Jesus," on the 11th August 1880. The funeral which took place the next morning was largely attended not only by fellow Christians but by respectable members of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities who wished to show this last token of affection and regard to the departed scholar.

LAST DAYS

Such in brief outline is the life story of Prof. Ramachandra who for a period of some thirty years gave of his best to his contemporaries. A pious Christian he served the cause of truth according to his light "by pen and purse and tongue". Writing and preaching, he engaged himself in ceaseless controversies for the propagation of the faith which gave him anchor. His charity was abundant. For, besides many nameless unremembered acts of kindnesses and love he was sending the Bishop of Lahore annually Rs. 1000 for benevolent purposes. Nor was his charity confined to members of his own community. He was known all over the neighbourhood for his piety and benevolence as he led a blameless life of thought and good works. But the fame of his Mathematical researches soon outstripped his reputation for missionary and philanthropic activities. Indeed in the blaze of his achievements in mathematical scholarship his other activities have almost faded from the memory of his countrymen. Prof. Ramachandra remains to us a great

mathematician and an original and forceful thinker.

A GREAT MATHEMATICIAN

It is therefore in the fitness of things that we should study Prof. Ramachandra in his character as mathematician. And we make no apology for drawing largely from an article from the pen of Prof. P. V. Seshu Aiyar who describes Ramachandra's mathematical achievements at some length in the pages of THE INDIAN REVIEW.*

We have said that Ramachandra's work on the *Problems of Maxima and Minima* was published in 1850. The reviews of the book published in some Calcutta papers were generally unfavourable. "When I composed my work on the "*Problems of Maxima and Minima*," said Ramachandra, in a letter, "I built many castles in the air, but the Calcutta reviewers destroyed these empty phantasms of my brain." Help and recognition, however, came to him from some other quarter. Dr. Sprengar, who was formerly Principal of the Delhi College introduced him to the

* May 1927.

Hon'ble J. E. Drinkwater-Bethune of the Supreme Council who very kindly received from him 36 copies of his work and paid him Rs. 200 as donation. Also the Hon'ble D. Bethune sent to England a number of copies with directions to present copies to various persons and among others to Augustus De Morgan, one of the most famous English Mathematicians of the 19th century. On examining the work, De Morgan saw in it, "not merely merit worthy of encouragement, but merit of a peculiar kind, the encouragement of which was likely to *promote native effort towards the restoration of the native mind in India.*" Having taken further time to think, De Morgan determined to call the attention of the Court of Directors to Ramachandra's work in the hope that it would lead to acknowledgment of his deserts. He accordingly addressed a letter (July 24, 1856) to Colonel Sykes, the Chairman to whom he had previously mentioned the matter at a casual meeting. This letter was at once forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces with instructions to procure a report on the

case. Answers were received by the Court which were communicated to De Morgan on the 3rd March 1858. They contained various replies and there was unanimous appreciation of Ramachandra's services to his country and admission of the desirableness of encouraging his efforts. The Court accompanied the communication of those answers to De Morgan with a request that he would point out how to bring Ramachandra to the notice of scientific men in Europe. In his reply (March 18th), assuming distinctly the question to be, not merely how Ramachandra could be rewarded, but how his work might be made most effective in the development of Hindu talent, he recommended the circulation of the work in Europe, with a distinct account of the grounds on which the step was taken. He also entered at some length into his own view of those grounds and offered to draw up the statement which should accompany the publication. After some correspondence on details, the Court expressing entire satisfaction with his views, and characterising them as "deserving of the most attentive consideration

by all who are charged with the superintendence of education in India in its higher grades," accepted his offer to superintend the reprint of the work in England for circulation in Europe and in India. Thus came about the London Edition of Ramachandra's work on *Problems of Maxima and Minima*. Also the Honourable Members of the Court of Directors were pleased to sanction a *khillut* (dress of honour) of five pieces to be presented to him and also a reward of Rs. 2,000. This is what Ramachandra writes about the honour conferred on him. "I am much thankful to the English Government that they are so bent upon encouraging science and knowledge among the natives of this country, as to take notice of a poor native of Delhi like myself."

DE MORGAN'S PREFACE TO HIS BOOK

Now coming to the intrinsic worth of the work on *Maxima and Minima* the following extracts taken from De Morgan's preface to the London Edition will speak for themselves:

"The history of England, as well as of other countries having impressed me with a strong conviction that pure speculation is a powerful instrument in

the progress of a nation and my own birth (De Morgan was born in Madura) and descent having always given me a lively interest in all that relates to India. I took up the work of Ramachandra with a mingled feeling of satisfaction and curiosity; a few minutes of perusal added much to both. I found in this dawn of the revival of Hindu speculation two points of character belonging peculiarly to the Greek mind, as distinguished from the Hindu; one of which may have been fostered by the author's European teachers, but certainly not the other."

"The first point is a leaning towards Geometry. * * The greatness of Hindu invention is in Algebra; the greatness of Greek invention is in Geometry. But Ramachandra has a much stronger leaning towards Geometry than could have been expected by a person acquainted with the Vija Ganita (of Bhaaskara)." * * *

"The second point is yet more remarkable. Greek Geometry, as all who have read Euclid may guess, gained its strength by *striving against self-imposed difficulties*" * * "Definite limitation of means was imposed as a condition of thought, and it was sternly required that every feat of progress should be achieved by those means and no more." * * "The remains of the Hindu Algebra and Geometry show to us no vestige of any attempt to gain force of thought by struggling against limitation of means." * * But we have here a native of India who turns aside, at no suggestion but that of his own mind, and applies himself to a problem which has hitherto been assigned to the differential calculus under the condition that none but purely Algebraic process shall be used. He did not learn this course of proceeding from his European guides, whose aim it has long been to push their readers into the differential calculus with injurious speed and who often allow their pupils to read Euclid with his eyes shut to his limitations. Ramachandra proposed to himself a problem which a beginner in the differential calculus masters with a few strokes of the pen in a month's study, but which might have been thought hardly within the possibilities of pure Algebra. His victory over the theory of the difficulty is com-

plots. Many mathematicians of sufficient power to have done as much would have told him, when he first began, that the end proposed was perhaps unattainable by any amount of thought; next, that when attained, it would be of no use. But he found in the demands of his own spirit an impulse towards speculation of a character more fitted to the state of his own community than the imported science of his teachers. He applied to the branch of mathematics which is indigenous in India, the mode of thought under which science made its greatest advances in Greece."

"Ramachandra's problem—and I think it ought to go by that name, for I cannot find that it was ever current as an exercise of ingenuity in Europe—is to find the value of a variable which will make an algebraic function a maximum or a minimum under the following conditions. Not only is the differential calculus to be excluded, but even that germ of it which, as given by Fermat in his treatment of this very problem, made some think that he was entitled to claim the invention. The values $\phi(x)$ and of $\phi(x+2)$ are not to be compared; and no process is to be allowed which immediately points out the relation of $\phi(x)$ to the derived fraction $\phi'(x)$. A mathematician to whom I stated the conditioned problem made it, very naturally, his first remark, that he could not see how on earth I was to find out when it would be biggest, if I would not let it grow. The mathematician will at last see that the question resolves itself into the following:—Required a constant, r , such that $\phi(x)-r$ shall have a pair of equal roots, without assuming the development of $\phi(x+2)$, or any of its consequences."

The above extracts clearly show what a vigorous and original thinker Ramachandra was and how well he was appreciated by the illustrious De Morgan.

RAMACHANDRA'S SECOND BOOK

Encouraged by such appreciation Ramachandra published in 1861 his second mathematical work on *A New Method of the Differential Calculus*.

There were in those days four different methods in use according to which mathematicians treated of the differential calculus *viz.*, the method of fluxions; of infinitesimals; of units and of the calculus of fractions. There were difficulties experienced in and objections raised against each of these methods. These objections were stated by the advocates of each of those methods against the others and even sometimes confessed by them in their methods. Of course each of the methods had its own advantages. Ramachandra fully realised these difficulties, objections and advantages and set to work to find out a new method of the Differential Calculus which may avoid all that is objectionable in the four methods and which may at the same time combine all their advantages. This engaged his thoughts for many years during intervals of leisure. This

new book is the outcome of his deliberations. Though this new method of his is not as satisfactory as he claims it to be, yet this venture on his part to critically examine all the existing methods and devise a new method of his own, shows his grasp of the fundamentals of mathematics and his logical frame of mind, and thirst for rigour in Mathematics, a quality which is not largely found even amongst the Indian mathematicians of to-day.

MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DATTA.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

MADHUSUDAN was born at Sagardari in the Jessore District in a respectable Kayastha family in the year of grace 1828. Madhusudan's father, Raj Narayan Datta, was a substantial gentleman, and might have even passed for a rich man. He was a well-known pleader of the Calcutta Sadar Dewani Adalat, and his income was quite in keeping with his reputation at the bar. He had built a big house at Kidderpore, where he lived in a manner quite becoming his position in society. Madhusudan's mother, Jahnavi Dasi, was the daughter of Gouri Charan Ghosh, Zemindar of Katipara in his native district of Jessore. Thus both on the father's and the mother's side, the subject of this memoir was a child of fortune, and he might well be said to have been born with a silver spoon in his mouth: and as he was the only surviving son of his father, the two sons

who were born after him having died very young, he was courted and caressed by all. Thus passed his infant days until he reached his fifth year when, according to the old well-worn custom which still prevails in rural Bengal, he was sent to the village *Patshala* to learn the rudiments of Bengali learning.

COLLEGE LIFE AND CONVERSION

When three years hence he was brought to Calcutta for the first time, he found himself as it were in a fairy land. The "City of Palaces" excited wonder in his mind, and he was more than pleased with all he saw. After some time he was taken over to the Hindu College and was admitted into the lowest form thereof, as he was then a perfect stranger to English. Madhusudan with his usual zeal and earnestness commenced to grind the alphabet and no wonder that he mastered it in an incredibly short time. This struck the teacher as somewhat strange, and he began to take special interest in the young *alumnus*. In fact, Madhusudan made unusually rapid progress in his studies, and was liked by all who came in contact with him.

But English education, while it stored the mind of Madhusudan with useful knowledge, alienated him from his native tongue so that the more his love of English grew, the greater became his hatred of Bengali, which he did not hesitate to brand as a "barbarous language," not fit to be learned by a gentleman. This hatred grew more and more intense as years rolled by, and the acme was reached when he ceased to speak it except at home. Madhusudan's hatred was not confined to the Bengali language, but had a wider range and extended to Hindu manners and customs, and what is so closely connected with these—Hindu religion also. In fact, he came to hate everything Hindu and was, therefore, regarded as one who was Hindu only in name and outlandish in other respects. It is not easy to make out what it was that brought about this great change in his mind. But it seems that his natural restlessness had much to do with it. Genius that he was, he possessed in an eminent degree that which characterises it in especial, namely, eccentricity. The Hindu College in which he was educated carefully excluded re-

ligious teaching from the curriculum of its studies; and it would not be too much to say that he could not have heard one word regarding the Christian religion within its precincts. But it seems that attracted by the ripe scholarship and inspiring personality of the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerji, the recognized head of native converts, Madhusudan might have sought his acquaintance and afterwards come under his influence; and it was by force of example which his new friend presented before him that he thought of changing the religion of his forefathers. Madhusudan's father does not appear to have taken much thought about his son, evidently thinking, though erroneously, that he had done his whole duty by paying for his education and maintaining him in comfort. Barely had Madhusudan completed his sixteenth year, that is, after he had been eight years in the Hindu College, he to the wonder and amazement of most of his relatives and friends, more especially of the much-grieved father and mother, changed the religion in which he was born, and became a convert to Christianity. On this occasion the

initial 'Sri' of his name was dropped and the outlandish (as it would appear to the orthodox mind) 'Michael' took its place.

Though by his change of religion, Madhusudan dealt a very severe blow to his parents' hearts, still the old much-affected man, his father, did not altogether alienate his affection from him but continued to pay for his education, and when in consequence of his having become a Christian, he had to change the Hindu College for the Bishop's College, he regularly paid his college fee and other expenses for the four years he remained in that College. While prosecuting his studies at the Bishop's College, Madhusudan received special favour from the Rev. K. M. Banerji, who was one of its professors. As was expected, Madhusudan made rapid progress in his classical course, and was considered the doyen of his class. Among classical poets, Homer and Virgil almost monopolised his regard, and it is well known that he had read the Iliad and the Æneid many a time and oft.

MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN IN MADRAS

When Michael Madhusudan found that he

had got together a fair knowledge of Greek and Latin, he thought of stopping his academical career. Up to this time his father had regularly supplied him with all the ways and means, but he did not like to remain a burden to him any longer. So bidding a long adieu to his *Alma mater*, he sought for employment; but not finding any to his mind at Calcutta, he went to Madras to try his fortune there. He seems to have had another motive in leaving Calcutta, and that was to go in search of a partner in his life, of whom he had begun to feel the want.

As Michael Madhusudan was not a man of rank or riches,—in fact, he was almost penniless when he landed at Madras—and as his personal appearance was anything but handsome, he thought he had no alternative left but to try to gratify the desire of his heart by having recourse to his varied learning and high intellectual powers. He, accordingly, commenced contributing articles to some of the papers and periodicals of that city, and as he possessed a powerful pen and was well able to write on a variety of subjects, his

fame as a paragraph writer spread far and wide, and not only did his literary labours bring some money into his pocket, it also made him acquainted with some of the eminent men of the city, of whom the Principal of the Madras College was one. The good Principal had a charming daughter who was well grounded in literature and the fine arts. She soon found that their Indian guest was not an ordinary mortal but was adorned with qualities of a very high order. She came to like Madhusudan, and it was not long before this liking ripened into love. The nuptials took place in the ordinary way, without pomp and circumstance, and the wedded pair began their married life happily and peacefully.

When Michael Madhusudan found that he had another mouth to feed, he thought it necessary for him to work harder than he used to do before, when he had only himself to take care of. Fortunately for him, he was about this time offered the Assistant Editorship of the *Athenæum* a well-known Madras journal; and as the offer was quite to his liking, he did

not hesitate to accept it. The chief editor had known Michael Madhusudan from before and he was, therefore, very glad to have him for his colleague. The two editors worked in sweet concert, and the journal rose high in public esteem. Madhusudan continued to edit it for long, and, some time after, when the chief editor went home, he left the sole charge of the journal in the hands of his assistant, and as was expected, the latter executed the charge so very cleverly and well that the journal came to be more and more appreciated by the reading public.

But Michael Madhu's literary labours were not confined to journalism; he now and then courted the Muse of poetry and wrote verses. This he had commenced to do while he was in his teens, and as a matter of fact, like his great prototype Milton, he was a poet when he was in his eleventh or twelfth year. But as he held his mother-tongue in dis-esteem bordering on contempt, he courted the English Muse and indited English poetry. But before his twenty-third year he had not formally appeared before the public in that character.

In that year he brought out a little volume of poetry which contained among others his well-known poem called "The Captive Lady." That poem was evidently written after his marriage with Henrietta, for as the opening lines show, that in composing it he drew his inspiration from her, just as Vidyapati had drawn his inspiration from the Mithila princess, Lachmi Devi. The passage runs as follows:—

Oh ! beautiful Inspiration when
 She fills the poet's breast, her fairy shrine,
 Woo'd by melodious worship ! welcome then
 Tho' ours the home of Want, I ne'er repine ;
 And thou not there, e'en thou, a priceless gem and
 mine ?

Life hath its dreams to beautify its scene,
 And sun-light for its desert, but there be
 None softer in its store of brighter sheen
 Than Love—than gentle Love and thou to me
 Art that sweet dream mine own in glad reality !

Though bitter be the echo of the tale
 Of my youth's wither'd spring I sigh not now,
 For I am as a tree when some sweet gale
 Doth sweep away the eere leaves from each bough
 And wake far greener charms to re-adorn its brow.

Love had taken entire possession of his heart, and he seemed to have forgotten the 'withered spring' of his youth. He tried hard to improve his material condition, but his efforts were not crowned with success. The world presented a pleasant spectacle to him

but it was all false and meretricious. In the beautiful sonnet with which his "Visions of the Past" begins, he thus feelingly writes:—

I wept! How oft, o world! thy harlot smile
 Hath woo'd me from the fount, whose waters flow
 In beauty which dark Death will ne'er defile;
 I wept! A prodigal once weeping sought
 His father's breast and found love unforget!

But although deceived by the world, he was never deceived by his wife, who, "fair without flaw," always proved faithful to him. Her love to him was sincere, and it was as sincerely reciprocated by him. In fact, but for her, he might have been a thorough-going pessimist, the world reproving, by the world reprov'd. Madhusudan, it is true, had, when he wrote "The Captive Lady," spited Fortune for the wry face with which she frowned on him: but during the latter part of his residence in Madras he found himself so much involved for want of funds that he regretted having entered into matrimony at all. When, at last, he found that Madras, which he had so eagerly looked to for the betterment of his fortune, did not prove favourable to his expectations, he thought of leaving it and returning to the land whence he had come; and as he was of a rest-

less turn of mind, he made no delay in executing the purpose of his heart. Accordingly, in the opening month of the year 1856, he left Madras with his wife, and in due time arrived at Calcutta after an absence of about eight years.

RETURN TO CALCUTTA

On landing in Calcutta, Michael accompanied by his wife drove direct to his paternal villa at Kidderpore, but the state of things which met his eyes there almost broke his heart. Both his father and mother had departed from this world, and the big house in which they lived, and in which he himself was reared up so very fondly had passed into other hands; and to add to this, the property which his father had left behind him, and which he had longed for so very wistfully in his hour of need,—that property, too, did not fare better. Some of his Kidderpore friends had died, and as for those who were still in the land of the living, most of them could not or rather did not recognize him, and the few who did, carefully kept themselves aloof, seeing that he had renounced the religion of his forefathers and had become

a regular *sahib* with an English lady for his partner in life. All these circumstances weighed very hard upon the heart of Michael Madhusudan, and firm though he was in his general character, he could not but heave a deep sigh and shed some bitter tears. When such was the state of his mind, he had no alternative left but to leave the place, dear as it was to him, with all its pleasing associations. He, therefore, returned to Calcutta, and called at the house of his old friend, Babu Gaurdas Basack, a worthy gentleman who distinguished himself in the Subordinate Executive Service. Gaurdas, gave a warm reception to his friend, and in honour of his coming back to Calcutta, gave a dinner party at his house, in which were present among others, Babu Digambar Mitra, who was afterwards raised to the Peerage, and Babu Kishori Chand Mitra, the junior Police Magistrate.

While Michael Madhusudan was guest of Gaurdas, his friends knowing full well his restless nature, were on the look-out as to how they might make him settle in Calcutta for good. About this time the Head Clerkship of the

Police Court had fallen vacant. Michael Madhusudan was induced to apply for the place and as the Magistrate knew very well what excellent stuff the applicant was made of, gladly appointed him to the post. Besides friendship which had sprung up between the two, there was another circumstance by which that friendship fructified and grew into intimacy. Near to the Kidderpore house of Madhusudan's father stood that of Kishori Chand's elder uncle-in-law, Babu Ramdhone Ghosh, who then held the high post of Collector of Calcutta. As both the families were Kayastha by caste and as both the heads thereof were men of rank, it was only natural that there should exist good feelings between them, and as a matter of fact, not only did the male members of the two houses stand on friendly terms, the ladies too, often exchanged visits with one another. In this way something like intimacy had sprung up between the two families, and Kishori Chand's wife used to call Madhusudan '*Dada*' (elder brother), and he, too, on his part called her his 'younger sister.' In these circumstances it was not unlikely that Kishori

Chand, on Madhusudan being appointed in his office, should earnestly ask him to take up his abode at his garden house at Pikepara on the Dum Dum Road, and as the offer was rather tempting, considering the all but piteous plight in which Madhusudan's affairs then lay, he was only too glad to accept the offer. This union of two kindred souls bade fair to prove beneficial to the country; and as Kishori Chand was a charitable sort of man and loved literature with the passionate ardour of a lover, it was not surprising that his garden house attracted many worthies of Calcutta; and, as a matter of fact, not a day passed but one or two friends came in the evening to while away the time in sweet converse and innocent amusements.

BENGALI LITERATURE

Literature was the principal topic which occupied their minds. At one of these merry meetings there was almost a passage-at-arms between Piyari Chand Mitra and Michael Madhusudan regarding the formation of the Bengali language. Piyari Chand was the elder brother of Kishori Chand and a distinguished

man of letters. He was a veteran Bengali writer and was then editing a 'Monthly' in which was appearing in parts his well known novel, 'Alalergharer Dulal,' or 'The Spoiled Child,' written in popular provincial Bengali. At the time of which we are speaking, Sanskritized Bengali, if one might say so, was in vogue ; but Piyari Chand, with a view to effect a change in that form of composition, was trying to introduce a kind of writing which was understandable by the generality of the people. By this time Madhusudan had commenced to study both Bengali and its parent Sanskrit in right earnest. But this was a secret which was only known to a chosen few. The Bengali language had taken quite an altered form in the hands of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Akshaya Kumar Datta. They had shown beyond doubt that their mother-tongue was not what it had hitherto been taken to be, but was a rich language in which all kinds of thoughts, literary, scientific, political and spiritual, might be expressed with ease and elegance. The tide they had set in motion carried away many an educated mind in its course, and some of

those to whom Bengali had appeared, as no better than a 'barbarous tongue,' came to regard it with favour. Michael Madhusudan was one of these few, and as Bengali was so mixed up with Sanskrit that a thorough knowledge of the one could not be acquired without a fair acquaintance with the other, it was natural that while prosecuting his study of Bengali, he should like to pick up a knowledge of Sanskrit. Accordingly, he commenced to take lessons in Sanskrit under Ramkumar Vidyaratna, who was a renowned scholar in that parent of languages. But, as we have observed above, all this was known only to a few friends, who were thick and thin with him. Pyari Chand was proud of his Bengali learning, and he thought that he was entitled to great credit for having cut out a new path in the region of Bengali for the common people to learn the language of the land. But Michael Madhusudan was of a quite different opinion, and he referring to Pyari Chand's new novel, written as it was in vulgar Bengali, said :—

What is this low clumsy thing you are doing! Men may wear coarse cloth at home and appear before their kith and kin in it; but when they have to go

out, they cannot use that kind of clothing, but must have to put on better garment. It seems to me that you are going to root out fine clothing and would introduce coarse common clothing both at home and abroad—in private parties and in public meetings. Could such a thing ever be?

The general public knew that Michael Madhusudan was a fine English scholar; they had no inkling of his having learned Bengali. They thought that he had nothing to do with it and was not at all competent to pass opinion on it one way or the other. Pyari Chand, also, was of the same opinion; and he taking umbrage at Michael Madhusudan's humorous remarks and thinking that by so doing he was going out of his way, with the pride natural to superior learning, indignantly said :—

What do you know of the Bengali language! But this I would impress on your mind that the style of writing introduced by me will come into use and become permanent.

Madhusudan, with the look of smile peculiar to him, humorously observed :—

It is the language of fishermen unless you import largely from Sanskrit. Call you that language—it is the dialect of grocers and shop-keepers; it might find favour with these ignorant people, but to the wise and learned, classical language will always commend itself and it shall gain firm footing. You will see that I will create that language and it shall become fixed and permanent.

At this, all present who knew that Michael Madhusudan was only a ripe English scholar and was perfectly innocent of his own mother-tongue, thinking that he was not at all in earnest, raised a loud shout of laughter, while some in a jocular mood said :—

By God, you will write Bengali and that Bengali will become fixed and permanent! To be sure, that will not come to pass until the Greek calends.

Now, consider the boastful language used by Michael Madhu; this could not be unless one had the fullest confidence in his ability and power. No wonder that from this time Madhusudan firmly resolved to make his boast take a realistic form, and, as a matter of fact, it was not long before he brought out his well-known drama, "Sarmistha." Now his friends who had made a fun of his boasting at the meeting referred to above, were agreeably surprised to find that it was not at all an idle boast but a matter-of-fact reality.

Kishori Chand was not only a good scholar, he was also well read in law, and was, therefore, quite in a position to advise Madhusudan as to how he might recover the property left by his father, but which had been taken

wrongful possession of by others ; and, be it said to the credit of his friend and adviser, he really profited by his counsel, at least to a certain extent. This good service Madhusudan never forgot in his life ; and when, later on, Kishori Chand fell into a scrape, he laboured hard with that true patriot who founded the " Hindu Patriot," Harish Chandra Mukherji of laudable memory, to get him out of it. In fact, he made a virtue of gratitude and seldom, if ever, failed to prove grateful to his helpers and well-wishers.

AS COURT INTERPRETER

Clerkship in a Police Magistrate's Court was too low a post for a man of genius like Madhusudan, and Mr. Kishori Lal Haldar only voiced the sentiments of the reading public, when referring to that matter, he said ;—

Such was the appointment that was thought fit for a man who could write a poem like Byron or Scott or edit a Paper in English with acknowledged ability and success.

But it was not long before Michael Madhusudan got a lift by being appointed Interpreter to the Court. On being so appointed whereby his income was appreciably augment-

ed, he left the garden house of Kishori Chand at Pikepara, and coming to Calcutta hired the two-storeyed house, No. 6, Lower Chitpore Road, and put up there with his wife. Court Interpretership afforded some scope for the exhibition of his high intellectual powers, and before a month passed, he found opportunities for such display. Dr. George Octavius Wray was then the Chief Police Magistrate; and he was so much pleased with the able and excellent way in which Michael Madhusudan discharged his official duties that that gentleman came to look upon him as his 'friend, philosopher and guide.' He was candid enough to say that when he had 'Mr. Datta,' as he used to call his Interpreter, by his side, he could dispose of a number of cases in an hour; but when he happened to be absent, he found it very difficult to dispose of even two cases in that time.

Dr. Wry was succeeded by Mr. G. S. Fagan. Like his predecessor, Mr. Fagan also was pleased with the work of Michael Madhusudan and, in token of his high merit, entrusted him with the power of cross-examining witnesses.

Indeed, the Magistrate was so much pleased with his Interpreter that even if the latter came to Court late, he did not express any the least displeasure at it, and if, on some day, he found that the Interpreter was making unusual delay in coming, he would send his 'Orderly' to '*Pakro*' him. In this way there grew up great friendship between the two; but exceptional ability in the discharge of Court duties was not the only means that went to bind the one to the other. The European master was also charmed with Michael Madhusudan's mastery of English and classical lore. Indeed, the latter was a remarkable man and his power of rendering the principal vernaculars of the country into English was simply wonderful. At an anniversary meeting of the great deceased, the late Ray Narendra Nath Sen Bahadur said that on one occasion in the Court of Mr. B. Roberts, a Marwari witness, while giving his deposition, repeated some verses in his native tongue; and such was the versatility of Madhusudan's mind that he there and then translated those verses into English poetry, whereupon the Magistrate could not help ex-

pressing his great surprise. Similar power was, also, displayed by him in the well-known 'Jain Defamation case.' That case arose in consequence of the publication of a little book in Sanskrit verse, wherein the author vilified the Jain community in no measured terms. The case was hotly contested, and most of the eminent barristers and vakils were engaged on one side or the other. When the case was being heard, Michael Madhusudan off hand translated the verses, which formed the basis of the charge, into English 'poetry. Upon this, the counsel for opposite party said that the translation which the Court Interpreter made was not at all in consonance with the original. At this, Michael Madhusudan with the pride natural to one who is confident of the merit of his performance, replied :—

As the portion which forms the basis of the charge is in Sanskrit verse, I have translated it into English poetry. I can confidently say that the translation is quite correct and exactly represents the original. If the counsel of the opposite party has power, let him point out any error if he can.

When, at last, after deep deliberate consideration the translation made by Michael Madhusudan was found to be right and correct, all

present were astonished at his wonderful powers and, as the solemnity of the Court-room did not permit them to give expression to their feelings in words, looked at him with faces expressive of joyful surprise.

The house in Lower Chitpur Road which, as stated above, Michael Madhusudan had rented on being appointed Court Interpreter, has become a matter of history. It has a world of associations connected with it. It was in that historic house that Michael Madhusudan held sweet and solemn converse with the mighty minds of old. It was in that fine retreat that he also courted the Muse of poetry and made her yield to his wishes. It was, again, in that pleasant abode that he laid bare the rich and varied treasures of his mind and made his friends and associates partake of them to their hearts' content. In his 'Reminiscences' of his gifted friend, Gaurdas Basack, thus says of the said house:—

Madhu was then living in a two-storeyed house close to the Police Court on the eastern side of the Chitpore Road. It was in this memorable house that he wrote his principal works—"Sarmistha," "Chhotama" and "Meeradbah." Had Bengal been England, this house would have been purchased and maintained

by the public for being visited by the admirers of his genius.

Bholanath Chandra, who has gained great fame by his interesting and entertaining "Travels of a Hindu," also writes in the same strain in his "Recollections of Michael Madhu."

He says :—

The spot ought to be memorable in our literary annals. Madhu, I have been told, used to dictate to three or four amanuenses together. He moved about the room and told each in his turn what he was to write. To convey so many and so different matters in his head all at the same time is possible only for a genius.

The house was, as Gaurdas says, close to the Police Court, so very close that one could walk to it in a trice. In fact, his office was something like a *Baitakkhana* to Madhusudan, so that there was no necessity for his tiffin being taken over to it. When that hour drew nigh, he would step into his house and after taking lunch step back to his seat in Court.

Madhusudan's literary activities commenced in 1858. In that year he translated into English the popular drama of "Ratnavali" at the earnest request of the Pikipara Rajas, Pratap Chandra and Iswar Chandra. The translation was very well done, so much so that even well-accom-

plished Englishmen were struck with the complete mastery which the translator had gained over their language. The fact of Michael Madhusudan's having been induced to translate "Ratnavali" shows that he had commenced to look upon his mother-tongue with a feeling the very reverse of that which he entertained while he was in the Hindu College and after. In fact, he had by that time studied Sanskrit to advantage, and had also read some works in Bengali ; and it appeared to him that he was well able to realise the boast he had made to Piyari Chand Mitter sometime back.

The first fruit of this strong self-confidence was "Sarmistha," which is a drama in five Acts. It is based on a well-known Mahabharata story of the lunar prince, Yayati and his two wives.

'Sarmistha' was a great favourite with the poet, and not only did he translate it into English, he also named his beloved daughter after the heroine of his drama, and it was at this daughter's house that Michael's wife, Henrietta, breathed her last, only three days before the death of her husband in the Alipur Hospital.

'Sarmistha' was followed by another drama called 'Padmavati,' which, too, is in five Acts. Unlike 'Sarmistha,' this drama is a creation of the poet's brain, only that a glimpse of it has been borrowed from the story of the Trojan prince, Paris awarding the golden apple, for which the three goddesses, Athene, Juno and Venus were contending to the last, as the prize of her most exquisite beauty. Though the story is not perfectly original, still the poet by his wonderful ability and skill has made it 'a thing of beauty and joy for ever' in the treasury of Bengali literature. Besides, what makes this drama very peculiar is, that in it the poetical portion is composed in blank verse, a feature which was for the first time introduced in Bengali.

The third and last drama written by Michael Madhusudan was "Krishna Kumari" (also in five Acts), the story of which was taken from Col. Todd's "Rajasthan" and the idea of dramatising it was most probably derived from Rangalal's "Padmini Upakhyan."

But however good Michael's dramas might be, their fame has been eclipsed by the

brighter lustre of his epic poems, more especially the "Meghnadbadh," which stands at the top. Of these epics, 'Tilottama Sambhava' appears to have been written first. It consists of four cantos. The story which forms the groundwork of the poem is taken from that storehouse of Sanskrit literature, the Mahabharata,—a storehouse which is richer and more varied than the Ramayana itself.

It is written throughout in blank verse which, was for the first time introduced into Bengali poetry by our poet. True it is, the poem possesses considerable merit from a poetical point of view, but it falls far short of the 'Meghnadbadh.' The poet, however, seems to have had a strong liking for it, as it was the first work of its kind that came from his pen, and he had commenced to translate it into English; but it is very much to be regretted that he could not complete the translation.

The next epic poem composed by Michael Madhusudan is the world renowned 'Meghnadbadh' in nine cantos, which is to him what the 'Paradise Lost' is to Milton. Like the

"Tilottama", it, too, is written throughout in blank verse.

As we have already stated, the "Megnadbadh" is the best of Michael's works, and forms the main foundation of his fame as a poet. By writing this poem, the gifted author has initiated an epoch in the annals of Bengali literature and has established his claim as a great poet on a very sound basis, and has justly secured a very high and prominent niche in the temple of Fame.

The "Megnadbadh" was followed by two other poems, namely, *Birangana* and *Brajangana*. The former, which is also in blank verse, is written in the epistolary form, and consists of eleven letters purporting to be sent by Sakuntala, Tara, Rukmini, Kaikeyi and others to their respective lords and lovers. The language of this poem is easier and more flowing than that of the two poems noticed before, and there is also much in it which shows the descriptive power of the poet in strong relief.

The "Brajangana" exists in an unfinished state, as one canto only has come to light. The

poet had a mind to complete it, but he could not do so. The poem, as it now stands, consists of some songs expressive of the sorrow of the love-lorn Radhika for her divine lover, Krishna. The verses are very fine and sweet, and they are absolutely free from defects of style and language according to the strict rules of Sanskrit grammar. One peculiarity of this poem is, that the poet, after the manner of Krittibas and Kabikankan, gives his name at the end of each song.

But it was not only in Drama and Epic poetry that Michael Madhusudan distinguished himself, he also wrote two very fine farces,—*Aki-e-ke-bale-Sabhyata* and *Bura Saliker Ghare Row*. The first consists of three Acts, and is well calculated to excite laughter. The object which the poet had in view in writing it was to repress the pernicious habit of drinking, which was prevalent among some of the Calcutta Babus of the time, notably the coterie known as 'young Bengal', and the descriptions are so appropriate and telling that one has only to read them to be convinced of their correctness. It also has a fling

at that bad habit, which some of the present day Babus have contracted, of speaking Bengali intermixed with English. This farce is excellent and has no equal in Bengali literature, affording as it does infinite merriment to the audience.

The other farce, *Bura Saliker Ghare Row*, is in two Acts, and was written to give a severe wigging to a certain village Babu of age, named Bhakta Prasad, who had been guilty of carrying on love intrigue with a Mahomedan woman. For a Hindu to fall in love with a Moslem female is quite out of the common and the improbability becomes much greater when the Hindu, as in the present case, is an old man verging on seventy. But however improbable the subject may be, the poet has, by the magical power of his genius, rendered the performance highly entertaining.

Both the farces are favourites with the play-going public, and no wonder that they are still in possession of the stage, more especially *Aki-e-ke-bale-Sabhyath*.

HIS WAY OF LIFE.

As we have said above, the time during

which Madhusudan acted as Interpreter to the Police Court was the best part of his life. What with his official pay and what with his income from the sale of his books, he was above want and could snap his fingers at the fickle goddess, who had nothing but her frown for him. An ordinary man of frugal habits might have lived comfortably in the above circumstances, and could, if so minded have saved something for the future, but Madhusudan was nothing, if not extravagant in his expenses. Over and above this extravagance, he was charitable to a fault. If he found any friend or kinsman in a difficulty, he would try his best to relieve him, even at the risk of subjecting himself and family to inconvenience.

In fact, he generally postponed his own-wants to those of his kith and kin, and felt no hesitation in preferring theirs to his. One of such a turn of mind could not be satisfied with a moderate income, and it was, therefore, perfectly natural that he should be on the look-out for the increase of his income. Michael Madhusudan used to say that a gentleman

could not live well and comfortably without an income of forty thousand a year. For the securing of such an income no profession appeared to him so very favourable as the profession of a lawyer. Accordingly he thought of studying law and becoming a barrister. With this object in view, he made up his mind to go to England and qualify himself for the bar. He readily gave up his post at the Police Court. At that time Mr. Wilson was the Chief Presidency Magistrate. As was the case with his predecessors in office, he, too, had come under the influence of Madhusudan, and often found it difficult to do without him.

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF 'NIL DARPANA.'

While serving as Interpreter to the Police Court, Michael Madhusudan gave one very striking proof of his marvellous literary ability and high moral courage. This was no other than his English rendering of the once very sensational Drama, styled *Nil Darpan*. The general public knew that this was done by the *Padri*, Rev. James Long, for which he had to suffer so much both in mind and body. But the real translator was Michael Madhusudan

the Rev. gentleman only publishing and circulating it. In the Preface to the Translation, Mr. Long wrote :—

The original Bengali of this Drama—'The Nil Darpan' or 'The Indigo Planting Mirror'—having excited considerable interest, a wish was expressed by various Europeans to see a translation of it. This has been made by a Native; both the original and translation are *bona fide* Native productions and depict the Indigo Planting system as viewed by Natives at large.

The original, as we all know, was published anonymously, the author Denobandhu Mitter not daring to give out his name, more especially as he was a high Government servant receiving a fat pay. Similar feeling might have influenced Michael Madhusudan in withholding his name from the public.

Dinobandhu Babu's worthy son, the Small Cause Court Judge, Babu Bankim Chandra, says :—

In 1861, Michael Madhusudan translated 'Nil Darpan' in one single night at the Jhamapukur house of the late Babu Taraknath Ghosh, Deputy Magistrate. One man was reading out while Madhusudan sitting in a chair was continually writing, rendering the thing into English.

The said house is still in existence. Dinobandhu Babu's brother's son-in-law, Babu Mahendra Nath Bose was perfectly

acquainted with all the particulars regarding the translation. While the said Tarak Babu was in the land of the living, his house at Jhamapukar was a rendezvous of the literary worthies of the day. The great Khan of literature, Michael Madhusudan, the great dramatist Dinobandhu Mitter, and the great novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterji, were constant guests at that house, and it was not unoften that literary assemblages met in it.

In the case brought in the Supreme Court against Mr. Long by the Planting Community, the presiding Judge, Sir Mordaunt Lawson Wells, was so struck with the language of the translation that he could not be made to believe that it was the work of 'A Native.' His belief was that if it was not done by Mr. Long himself, it must have been done by some other European gentleman who was perfectly conversant with Bengali. Accordingly, His Lordship had strongly insisted upon Mr. Long disclosing the name of the real translator, at the same time holding out hope that if he did so, he would be allowed to go at large. But true to the word he had given to Michael Madhu-

sudan, he held profound silence in the matter. This firm resolve he kept to the very end; none could make him swerve from the path of duty and truth. Mr. Long was both imprisoned and fined. He had to remain "in durance vile" for some time; but the fine inflicted upon him together with all the expenses of litigation were borne by that benevolent man, Kaliprasanna Ghosh of Mahabharat fame.

MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN IN THE FAR WEST

The legal profession having raised high hopes in his mind, Michael Madhusudan was strongly bent on going to England to study law and qualify himself for the Bar. But this was no easy matter; it required a large expenditure of money, which he was ill able to bear. He had not been able to save anything, nor could he make any property of his own, worth the name. As for the property which he had inherited from his father, it was barely sufficient to meet the demand. But as that was the only resource which he could fall upon, he was perforce obliged either to mortgage, or to sell it out-and-out. He adopted the former course as the wiser of the two; and,

accordingly, mortgaged the property to a well-known pleader of Calcutta. Madhusudan took some portion of the consideration money from the mortgagee; and as regards the remainder, it was arranged that the latter should pay it over to a respectable gentleman of the place who, friend and well-wisher as he pretended to be of Madhusudan, undertook to send it on to him in Europe by instalments according as he might be required to do.

About the middle of the year 1862, in which the present High Court, where he was to practise, was established, Madhusudan accompanied by his wife and children started for his destination in the Far West.

After his arrival he did not make any unusual delay in getting himself admitted in Gray's Inn. He commenced to study law in right earnest, and as he possessed parts of a very high order, he found no difficulty in getting himself ready for his examination. But while so engaged in his study, pecuniary difficulties sternly stared him in the face, and he was reduced to such straits that he was

almost within an ace of being clapped into prison. He had, it is true, some friends among the noted aristocracy of Calcutta, but he knew them too well to rely much upon their generosity. In this unsettled state of mind, he remembered an Indian friend who was sincere in his professions, and who, he knew, would stretch out his helping hand in his hour of need. He, accordingly, addressed him a feeling letter, as his *dernier resort*, imploring his assistance in piteous terms. That friend was no other than the good and great Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, who was remarkable not only for his vast erudition, but, also, for his generosity and philanthropy. At that time Madhusudan was residing with his family at Versailles in France, and the letter bore date, the 2nd June 1864, about two years after he left the shores of Bengal. In that letter after stating his deplorable condition, which, he said, was brought upon him by the cruel and inexplicable conduct of men, one of whom, at least, he felt strongly persuaded, was his friend and well-wisher, he feelingly added, that if he did not get immediate aid, he would be cast in a French jail, while his poor wife and children

would have to seek shelter in a charitable institution, though he had fairly four thousand Rupees due to him in India.

On reading the letter so feelingly addressed to him, Pundit Iswar Chandra Yidyasagar, whose heart was full of the milk of human kindness, was so much moved that tears trickled down his cheeks. He had then very little money in his hand ; but he was determined at all hazard to save Madhusudan from his impending danger. He borrowed from one of his friends and remitted fifteen hundred Rupees to him in France. The money was received on the 28th August, and it was an opportune remittance, as otherwise Madhusudan would have been cast in a sea of troubles. In the letter which he wrote on the 2nd September acknowledging with very many thanks the receipt of the money, Madhusudan described his tender-hearted benefactor as one possessing " the genius and wisdom of an ancient sage, the energy of an Englishman, and the heart of a Bengali mother."

But the above-mentioned amount was not the only remittance Pundit Iswara Chandra made to Madhusudan ; it was only an earnest.

of larger sums which he remitted afterwards. In fact, he sent in all six thousand Rupees to Europe on Michael's account, and it is not too much to say that it was solely by the timely help of Vidyasagar that Madhusudan was able to come back to his country as a barrister.

MADHUSUDAN'S SONNETS

Although far away from his native land and amidst foreign environments, Madhusudan, when in distant Europe, did not forget his native language. While residing in Versailles in pain and anguish, he wrote, at least, most part of what is termed *Chaturdaspadi Kabita* (Sonnets). In the Sonnet to his native tongue, Bengali, he regrets having neglected it so long, not knowing that it is a rich mine of gold and diamonds. Such a high-minded man was not likely to forget the best and greatest of his friends and benefactors. Accordingly, we find among his Sonnets one to Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, in which he justly says that it was only through his favour and help that he was still in the land of the living. Most of the Sonnets were written in 1865, but this one appears to have been composed in the

year following, a few months before the poet started for India after having been called to the Bar.

Early in 1866, Madhusudan returned to England and took up lodgings at 7, Bedford Place, London, as time was fast approaching for his being called to the Bar. But here, too, he did not find the way quite clear and even. A rascal of an Indian was determined to throw obstacles in his way. He thought of writing to the Benchers of Gray's Inn against him, but fortunately for Madhusudan, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee of laudable memory happened to be there at the time, and he, with his usual kindness to injured innocence, frightened the fellow out of his malicious intentions. The way being thus made clear and easy, Madhusudan was duly called to the Bar, on the 18th November 1866. On the third day from that date he went to the Court of King's Bench in Westminster, and got his name put down in the list of English Barristers.

HIS JOINING THE CALCUTTA BAR

When Michael was about to leave England for good, he had very little money at his dis-

posal. He, however, somehow managed to get together his own passage money and other necessary expenses. He had his wife and children then living with him, but he was obliged to leave them behind. In his last letter to Vidyasagar from the Far West, which bore date, the 19th November 1866, he wrote as follows :—

You know, my dear Vidyasagar, that I have no friend except yourself. I leave my wife and two infants in this strange part of the world. Should anything happen to me during the voyage, remember that they will look to you for help, comfort and friendship. I am obliged to leave some debts behind.

The last words are significant, Michael was so sternly frowned upon by the fickle goddess with her wonted malice that even though he was so liberally helped by Vidyasagar, whenever he was in need, he could not avoid running into debt wherever he was. We don't know who his creditors were in that distant land, but whoever they were, we hope for the sake of our hero's honour that they were duly repaid.

Madhusudan returned to Calcutta in February 1867, and in due course applied for enrolment at the Calcutta Bar. But here, again, he had to face some difficulties which were thrown

in his way. This would appear from a letter which Babu Anukul Chandra Mukerji, one of the leaders of the Native Bar, and who not long after rose to be a Judge of that Court, wrote to Vidyasagar, in which he spoke of the malicious attempts made by some of the Barristers to "deprive the poor man of his gown," at the same time intimating that the Chief Justice would be disposed to be kind to him, and allow him to come in. Vidyasagar was at this time at Burdwan. Michael ran up to him there, and stating the circumstances implored his assistance. The good man at once came down to Calcutta, and trying hard for his favourite, at last, got him enrolled as a barrister of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William (Calcutta). Michael with his great self-confidence thought that he would rise very high in the profession in a short time. Of course, he had very good reason for thinking so. He possessed sterling parts and was a thorough master of English; but there was one very needful thing wanting in him, his voice was anything but 'Parliamentary'; it was rather weak and quite unbecoming one, who was to

win his way by the power of his eloquence. Besides, he did not observe punctuality in his practice; and, as a matter of fact was not very regular in his attendance at Court. It is said that Vidyasagar sometimes forced him to attend the Bar against his will. A man who was so very indifferent about his business was not likely to prosper in it. Law is a jealous mistress, and is sure to withhold her favours from one who does not court her with unabated ardour. Over and above all this, Michael had contracted irregular habits, and had become a slave to the demon of drink.

But though his income was not at all sufficient to maintain him and his family in his own ostentatious way, Madhusudan could not be made to curtail his reckless expenses. He lived far above his means, and the consequence was that he had to go deep into debt. It seemed he hoped that better day would come in course of time, but unfortunately for him that day, so eagerly longed for, never dawned. Want was his constant companion and held fast to him to the last day of his life. But though he could not reclaim him from his

wild intemperate habits, Vidyasagar did not leave Madhusudan to shift for himself. He still stood by him and now and then helped him in his hour of need which unfortunately always hung upon him in all its severity and sulkiness. In this way Vidyasagar had supplied him in all almost to the tune of ten thousand Rupees, including of course the six thousand which he had remitted to him while he was in Europe. But Vidyasagar was not the only man from whom he had borrowed money, there were other creditors besides, and the total of the debts amounted to over thirty-eight thousand, as would appear from the schedule prepared by Michael's clerk, Kailash Chandra Bose.

A BRIEFLESS BARRISTER

Madhusudan however could never get into fair practice; but for this unthought-of state of things, he himself was to blame to a great extent. True it is, he had joined the Bar, but he was not regular in his attendance at Court. He seems to have thought that it was not necessary for him to seek business but that business itself would seek him. That, how-

ever, was not to be, and the result was that he never had good practice. This being so, his hope of bettering his condition by his practice at the Bar suffered a blight. He had certainly some practice in the Mofussil, but cases in which he was engaged there were few and far between. Among his Mofussil clients, the Raja of Panchakote was one, and it was only natural that he should pay him a visit now and then. Madhusudan had, also, made a name in Burdwan, and he now and again went to argue at one or other of its Courts. But with all his practice, both at the High Court and in the Mofussil, he could not acquire money enough to pass his days in peace and comfort. In fact, he never could chase away the wolf from his door. Want always stared him in the face, and made his life anything but pleasant to him. His income, moderate as it was, needed eking out, but with all his efforts he failed to add much to it. Under such circumstances he had no alternative left but to run into debt. Uneasiness of mind brought on bodily weakness, and, though naturally strong, his health broke down under the strain. Thus, ill-health, mental deject-

ion, and pecuniary difficulties encompassed him round on every side. In that disturbed state of mind, he tried to seek consolation either by courting the Muse of poetry or by dallying with the friend of drink. Indeed, he had sunk into a habitual tippler, not a contented one. Remorse was gnawing constantly at his heart, and the worm, that dieth not, always stung him sharp.

MORE LITERARY LABOURS

When his affairs were in such a poetical posture, Madhusudan, who had already established his reputation as a poet, commenced writing 'Hectorbadh' in prose. Madhusudan's 'Hectorbadh' plainly shows that he had also a fair command of Bengali prose. The work was not an original one, but a free translation from the Iliad of that prince of poets, Homer. The task no doubt was a difficult one, but our hero appears to have executed it in a way deserving of some praise. This prose epic was allowed to remain in manuscript for a pretty long time, during which some portion of it was lost; and it was in that mutilated condition that it was given out to the

world in 1871, the author expressing a hope that he would supply the omission at some future time ; but this hope was not realised.

LAST DAYS OF HIS LIFE.

After his return from the Far West, Madhusudan lived only six years, during which he continued to practise at the Bar, excepting the last few months in which he was laid up with one ailment or other. We have stated above what the nature of his professional practice was, and the income he derived from it. In fact, his earnings, in that way fell far short of his expectations, and he sometimes found it very difficult to make both ends meet. Though he had had bitter experience in his life, he did not evidently profit by it. He continued to live far above his means, and thus encumbered himself with debts of an appalling magnitude. In this woeful embarrassing way he managed to drag on until illness, which was certainly the effect of his irregular and intemperate habits, got firm hold on him. While he was in a pitiable condition, besides Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar there were some other friends who did many a good turn to

him. Of these friends, Babu Hem Chandra Banerji and Mr. Monmohan Ghosh did him yeoman's service.

Ere long, his illness took a very bad turn, and he thought of bidding it a long long, adieu. Accordingly, a week before his death he returned to Calcutta, but as his means did not allow of his living independently there with his family, and as none of his friends volunteered to take him in, he, to the utter disgrace of the whole community of Bengal, was lodged at the Alipur Charitable Hospital, while his wife who, too, had been ailing for some time, was with her two young ones sent to the house of her daughter, Sarmistha.

His misfortune reached its height when he found that he could not have even a hasty look at his beloved Henrietta in that much-dreaded hour. That unfortunate lady, too, was struggling between life and death, and it was a matter of doubt whether she or her husband would be the sooner relieved of their miserable condition. The sufferings of Madhusudan during the last few days of his life were intense and could be better imagined than



MICHAEL MADHUSUDAN DATTA.

described. When at times he recovered from the stupor caused by the illness, he would try to restrain himself or give vent to his feelings in silent tears on pondering over the fact of his wife and children. But the end of the former was drawing nigh, and she breathed her last, only three days before the death of her husband. This melancholy news a quondam servant of his brought to Madhusudan at the hospital.

Michael was denied even the consolation which a loving husband feels at paying the last tribute of tears on the grave of his dearly loved wife. Mr. Monmohan Ghosh and one or two other friends, after duly burying Henrietta, presented themselves at the Alipur Hospital in order to give the information to the bereaved husband. The latter was very anxious lest for want of funds his wife should not be given a decent burial, and on seeing Mr. Ghosh before him, he readily asked him whether the obsequies of his wife had been duly performed, and on being answered in the affirmative, thus addressed him:—

“Monmohan, you have diligently read Shakespeare. Do you remember that passage in *Macbeth*.” Mono-

mohan asked, "Which passage you mean?" Then Madhusudan said, "Why, the words which Macbeth uttered on being informed of the death of his wife. My memory is fading away, no words now come to my remembrance, but hear, I am going to repeat those lines, and say if I have made any mistake.

"She should have died hereafter;
There would have been a time for such a word,
To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day."

"To the last syllable of recorded time
And all our yesterday's have lighted fools
The way to dusty death. Out, out brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more: it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury signify-
[ing nothing."

After repeating the verses, Madhusudan asked,

"Well, Monmohan, have I given the verses correctly?" Monmohan replied, "Yes, you have done so with great exactitude. But what necessity is there for all this now; you need not be anxious, you will soon recover."

On hearing this, Madhusudan smiled a little, whereby he perhaps meant to say that his mind only knew what the nature of that recovery was. Then addressing Monmohan, he said:—

See Monmohan, I have no money to reward the attendants and midwives attached to this Hospital. These people expect something; if they are rewarded a little, they would take better care of me. If you could spend a Rupee a day, I might get some consolation in this my pitiable state.

Monmohan said,

Only a Rupee a day! You need not be anxious about it. The needful will be done in no time.

Then Madhusudan, again, said,—

Monmohan, what more shall I tell you? See that my little ones do not die of starvation.

On this, the good Mr. Monmohan feelingly replied:—

You may rest assured that if my own sons do not suffer for want of food, your young ones shall not.

At this, Madhusudan's withered countenance was a little flushed with joy, and fondly holding the hand of his friend, said, "Monmohan! may God bless you." Then Mr. Ghosh took leave of his friend and went away.

Madhusudan was dying by inches, and the end, at last, came on Sunday the 29th June 1873, at about 2 o'clock. His funeral was paid for by a few friends, notably Mr. Monmohan Ghosh, and his bier was followed by only a handful of mourners to the cemetery, where his weary bones were laid in everlasting slumbers; and as for the two sons left by him, they had to live principally upon the bounty of

the said Mr. Ghosh, who really proved a friend indeed, even after death. If ever a monument were raised to the dear memory of Madhusudan, it would be necessary to make prominent mention of the good Mr. Monmohan Ghosh in the inscription.

REV. W. T. SATTIANADHAN.

"A man full of gifts, of transparent integrity, devoted to truth and right, he has left behind a unique example of Christian manhood. His holy devoted life, though so mysteriously cut short, will not be without its effect even in the future. So long as the Church of Christian India is in existence, the memory of his name will ever, be fragrant to all true Christians."

THE man, to whom such a tribute was paid was none other than the late Reverend W. T. Sathianadhan; and that he well deserved it we shall see from a brief study of his life. He was a man indeed, to whom Carlyle's definition of a *Hero* might be applied. "A great-soul, he was one of those, who cannot but be in earnest; whom nature itself has appointed to be sincere. While others walk in formulas and hearsays, contented enough to dwell there, this man could not screen himself in formulas; he was alone with his own soul and the reality of things."

Nowhere did Mr. Sathianadhan's strength of character shew itself more forcibly than in his conversion to Christianity. He was born

in 1830, of orthodox Hindu parents of the *Naidu* caste, who lived first at Trichinopoly, then at Madura, finally at Sinthapunthurai in the Tinnevely District. The strict training he had in the religion of his fore-fathers made him so bitter against Christianity that, when he went to a Missionary school at the age of 14, he rebelled violently against the study of the Bible. The Superintendent of the school, however, Mr. Cruikshanks, though blind, was a man of remarkable personality; and he stood firm against all attacks and insisted more than ever on his Christian teaching. Finally, so well did he succeed in his object that young Sathianadhan was forced, against his own will almost, to turn towards Christ. Not all the persuasions of his beloved parents, not all the persecutions and trials he was subjected to, were of use against his soul's convictions; and at last, as he himself said, he was "enabled to forsake home and friends and come to the foot of the Cross, where he found pardon, peace and rest to his weary soul."

He was baptized in 1847 at Megnanapuram; and became first a pupil, then a teacher on a

very small salary in Bishop Sergeant's institution for the training of young men. While there, he met and married Anna, the daughter of the Rev. John Devesagayam; and, from then to his death in 1890, Mrs. Sattianadhan was of the utmost help to her husband in all philanthropic efforts. The following tribute to her work by the Bishop of Madras is worth repeating: "It is only due to her sainted memory that I should mention here the name of Anna Sattianadhan, who, after a life of loving, gentle, unwearied Christian labours among the women and girls of this city and other parts, fell asleep in Jesus about two years ago, beloved and respected by all, leaving fruits of her toil and prayers, which will be found in eternity."

In 1855, Mr. Sattianadhan was sent to Madras to be trained. He passed the Matriculation in 1857, doing so well that he won the Grant Medal of the Doveton College. One of the examiners, who was very pleased with his papers, made the following remark in his report: "In the first class there is a name, which well deserves to be brought even more pro-

minently into view, that of Sathianadhan. His papers are better than I expected to receive from any student in the College. I have mentioned his name thus particularly, not only because I think it is but due to him to do so, but also in the hope that his example, showing as it does what persevering application can effect, may serve to incite many of next year's students to prosecute their studies with that patient industry, which seldom fails to secure success." But, he would not complete his University course, for a call to work came to him from Tinnevely. There, he had the privilege of working with the Reverend Ragland, than whom there could have been no better Missionary. This sainted man sought specially for "steadfastness of purpose and humility" in his helpers; and having got them, trusted them and met them "not now as servants, but as brothers beloved." By such intercourse, he won the affection and respect of his fellow-workers, and thus set up a good and great ideal for Missionaries to follow. "It may be remarked in passing," wrote Ragland's biographer, "that it is difficult to understand

how such intercourse as this can be productive of alienation and hostility in the native mind of India. It would seem to be better philosophy, as well as better Christianity, to conclude that our Missionaries and those of our countrymen, whose conduct towards the natives is dictated by a missionary spirit, are the true links that bind to us our Indian Empire. To hinder or to forbid such intercourse cannot but be a suicidal policy on the part of the dominant race."

In 1859, he was ordained, and, after Mr. Ragland's death, was placed in full charge of the Srivilliputhur division. In 1861, he was appointed to the Tamil Mission of the Church Missionary Society in Madras. It was there that he commenced his life-work, which may be divided into two heads, Administration and development, and Missionary work. Taking the first into consideration, it may be said that Mr. Saththianadhan's work was really unique. From a small group of more or less domestic servants, his congregation in the Tamil C.M.S. Church in Madras, rose, during the 28 years o

his service, into one of the most influential bodies in South India. This result he achieved, partly by advocating the independence of the Indian Church through the establishment of the Native Church Council. This object indeed was very dear to his heart, and he threw himself into the work with all his usual vigour of character. In 1877 he was made Chairman of the Native Church Council; and, as one of his friends wrote about him: "In the administration of this important charge, he showed much ability and tact and now for himself the respect and confidence of all who were brought into contact with him." Perhaps, a few words of explanation may be necessary here about the new Council. This was what Mr. Sathianadhan himself wrote about it. "There were five small congregations in Madras connected with the C.M.S., four of which were formed into three pastorates, subsequently reduced to two. The number of Native Christians in these pastorates is 711; Communicants 326. Two lay delegates are elected by the male communicants in each pastorate once a year, or once in two years.

These four delegates, with the two Native pastors, a European Missionary appointed by the Madras Committee of the C. M. S. society as Chairman, and two others elected by the Chairman as his assessors, compose the Council. One of the Native lay delegates acts as Secretary. The sums contributed by the Native congregations, after being applied to meet necessary expenses, are thrown into a common fund, called the 'Native Church Fund,' out of which, supplemented by a monthly grant from the Society, the pastors and teachers are paid. By this plan, the funds of the Society are being relieved, and the resources of the Native Church developed in an increasing measure every year. In five years there has been a saving to the society of not less than Rs. 2586. We are not without hope that in course of time the contributions of the Native Church will become so large as to render the grant-in-aid from the Society no longer necessary. Then the European element in the Council may safely be withdrawn altogether, and the Madras Native Church of the C. M. S. will

attain the honour of independence and self-government."

It is interesting to mention here that Mr. Saththianadhan worked for the independence of the Indian Church, not only by establishing the Indian Church Council, but also by trying to raise the status and salary of the Indian clergy. "I do not mean to say," he affirmed, "that a Native Pastor should receive a very high salary. He must devote himself soul and body to his sacred calling without working back on the world, which he has renounced for ever. But what I do affirm is that he must be placed above care and want. He must not be exposed to the temptation of involving himself in debt. The fact is undeniable that the salary allowed to a Native Pastor is insufficient."

Mr. Saththianadhan further advanced his Pastorate work in several directions, being ably seconded in his work by the leading members of his congregation. In 1873, a hall was opened for addresses and lectures and mission work. A society called "The Native Christian Improvement Society," was started. Mr. Sat-

thianadhan also established through the agency of his wife, a Sisters' society among the women which met every month for prayer and conversation, collected money and received missionary boxes from England twice a year, and contributed towards the general good in several small ways. The Pastor and his wife were also helpful in the cause of education by opening a school for girls in Napier Park, Madras. Mr. Saththianadhan re-built at a great cost, one of his churches, which is called the Zion Church of Madras. He also organised from his congregation an enthusiastic band of workers, which is still in existence.

Besides his administrative and development business, Mr. Saththianadhan did much Missionary work baptizing over 300 converts during his career. He carried out his object in two ways. In the first place, he was a powerful preacher, his language being simple yet strong, his courage of opinion undaunted, his arguments sincere and convincing, based as they were on Christ, and only Christ. As he said: "Preach the Gospel in all its simplicity and power. In this, let there be no

uncertain sound. Proclaim Christ in the perfection and union of his natures, human and Divine, in His sacred person. Preach Him in the fulness of his three-fold offices of Prophet, Priest, and King ; in the completeness of His vicarious sacrifice, and atoning work ; in the freeness of His salvation and impartation of His Holy Spirit to make it effectual ; in the gloriousness of His mediatorial office at the right hand of the Father ; and in the certainty of His second advent as the judge and rewarder of all mankind according to their deeds. Let the motto of your ministry and life be, ' He must increase, but I must decrease.' In proportion as *self* is renounced and forgotten, in that proportion will Christ your Divine Master be magnified in and through you."

In fact, Mr. Sathianadhan had that true attitude of a good Missionary, which is expressed in sincere toleration towards other religions. He appealed powerfully to the Hindu by trying " to conform himself to the circumstances, weaknesses and even prejudices of all classes, as far as it was consistent with the dictates of reason and religion." And this he did, not by

giving up or compromising his essential christian principles, but by not running to extremes in non-essentials. "It may be observed," he said "that this conformity does not involve any sacrifice or compromise of principle in matters of faith. Christianity in its essence can never change. In preaching the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel, let us give no uncertain sound. But, while it is necessary to keep in mind the grand theme and end of our preaching, it is also desirable that in non-essentials we may like St. Paul conform ourselves to the peculiarities of thought of the people among whom we live." So, very wisely, he was not exclusive in the propagation of his views of church Government. "It is not necessary," he said, "that we should anathematize those who do not belong to our own form of church Government. The Scriptures very wisely do not prescribe any one form as the only form which ought to be followed by all Christians, in all ages and in all countries. In nature we discover unity in variety. There may be essential unity, without uniformity."

He therefore advocated that ministers of the Gospel should in the first place try to gain as much general knowledge and culture as possible, as well as a competent mastery of the Bible. Secondly, they should learn the vernaculars of the people, "not in a mere smattering way," not with only "a tolerable knowledge, but with a complete mastery, which is gained only by "a critical acquaintance with the structure, the idiom and the beauties, as well as a thorough command of the language." Thirdly, he advised a real insight into the religion of the people in order that no advantage may be lost in argument. Fourthly, he desired free and familiar intercourse with the people, not only in their habits, customs and manners, but also in their thought and feelings, in their joys and sorrows. "Christianity," he said, "teaches us the brotherhood of man just as emphatically as the Fatherhood of God. If this truth were kept steadily before the mind, it would take away all "race antipathy, and facilitate mutual intercourse." Fifthly, he advocated a personal and family religion, desiring his fellow-workers to be always conscious of the



REV. W. T. SAITHIANADAN,

sacred dignity of their office. "It is very essential," he asserted "that the people should see in your life and character the sanctifying and transforming nature of the Gospel you preach. You must be living epistles of Christ." Lastly, Mr. Sathianadhan was able to see greatness among foreigners. He recognised merit in European Missionaries. He esteemed the character of his English friends. "I could not bid final farewell to England without a pang," he said. "My visit to that glorious country has become a memorable event in my life. It was my privilege to hold communion with Christians of the highest and poorest type, Christians who though in the world were not of the world, angelic characters of whom the world was not worthy. They are distinguished for their philanthropy, benevolence, self-denial and whole-hearted consecration." At the same time, as we have seen, he was a true patriot, and his longing was to see his country as advanced as other countries. "In my travels through the country," he said, "when I noticed the magnificent cathedrals and churches and chapels by which it is inters-

persed, and all the indications of wealth and prosperity, physical, temporal, intellectual and moral, I could not but heave a deep sigh and exclaim, "O, when will my poor country attain this eminence and glory ! When will she accept the Bible, and follow its holy precepts ?"

Mr. Sathianadhan also promulgated his Missionary labours by his literary work. He compiled an excellent commentary in Tamil on the New Testament. He wrote a Church History in English and Tamil. He edited the *DESABHIMANI*, an Anglo-Vernacular monthly journal, and also the *MISSION SCHOOL MAGAZINE*. Besides all these, he contributed valuable articles to Missionary periodicals on Church questions.

His work was much appreciated by every one. Bishop Sell paid him the tribute of making him one of his examining Chaplains. In 1878, he and his wife were asked to go on deputation work to England. There they received a warm welcome, and we have the following testimony to their wholesome influence : " Mr. Sathianadhan's visit to this country in 1879, accompanied by his wife, will still be fresh in

the recollection of many, and the service then rendered by them both to the cause of Missions was of the most solid and valuable kind. It was felt that a church, which could produce such representatives was worthy of all honour, and the reality and value of missionary effort was brought home to the minds of all, who came in contact with them in a way, which no mere reading of missionary reports could effect."

In 1882, Mr. Sattianadhan was nominated a Fellow of the Madras University by the Governor of Madras. On this occasion, an address was presented to him by the members of his congregation, and it is interesting to read the following extract from it: "We are painfully aware that the education of the present day has the dangerous tendency of drifting towards Materialism and Atheism, that Christian learning and Christian influence are undervalued, if not despised, and that the spiritual element in education is apt to be sadly overlooked in the eager pursuit of material good, and therefore we cannot but hail with joy the appointment of one, than whom a more earnest

opponent of anti-Christian tendencies cannot be found."

In 1884, Mr. Sathianadhan was given the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, in recognition of his services. The following is an extract from the Commission granting the honour: "We therefore being vested with the authority aforesaid and following the example of our predecessors, have judged it expedient, in consideration of your proficiency in the knowledge of the Greek and English languages, of your Theological learning, of your distinguished services in the Church and in Missions to Heathen, as an Administrator, Preacher and Lecturer, of your valuable published writings, and also in consideration of your proficiency in the Study of Divinity, Uprightness of Life, sound Doctrine and purity of Morals, that you be dignified with the Degree of Bachelor in Divinity."

In 1891, he was made Vice-President of the Tamil Church Council of which the Bishop of Madras was President. But Mr. Sathianadhan had not long to live after that. In 1890, he had lost his beloved wife, a blow

which he never got over, and on the 24th February 1892, he himself received his call to his eternal home. There was great mourning over his death, and the Rev. Mr. Walker spoke thus about it: "Well we have lost a good and true man. When we remember that as a lad, he was a bigoted heathen, and then think of all God did for him and by him, we may well take courage in our Mission work. The loss to the Tamil Church is great indeed. Such blanks are hard to fill. We can only wait on our Lord and Saviour in faith and prayer that He will raise up other monuments of His grace and power, to be witnesses to the heathen, and pillars to His church."

The basis of the Rev. W. T. Sathianadhan's work was his personal influence; and here we cannot do better than quote the opinions of some of his friends, both Missionaries and laymen, both Christians and Hindus. As he himself said, he tried to model his life-principles on the teachings of Christ. But the teachings of Christianity had a worthy foundation in the sterling character of Mr. Sathianadhan, "His powers of organization, his strict discipline,

his sense of duty, his innate strength of character and force of will," his solid good sense, fearless convictions, his untiring and inspiring energy, his earnest sincerity and singleness of purpose, his wide generosity and magnanimous toleration, his gentle sweetness of disposition, all made him respected and loved everywhere. A Missionary co-worker wrote of him: "For ten years I have been in close official connection with him, and I grew more and more to love him and to value his high Christian character, his devoted life and his great ability as an administrator of a large mission". Finally the Bishop of Madras testified to his worth: "I shall miss him greatly, and his loss will be felt throughout the Diocese. His natural powers and ripe experience, his unreserved self-surrender to the Saviour in early life, and his constant singleness of purpose in serving Him and promoting His glory, made him eminent among his brethren, and won for him the sincere esteem of all who care for the affairs of our Native Church."

Mr. Sathianadhan's wonderful character exercised itself on others, not only through his

own personal influence, but also through the influence of his family. His home became the centre of a most wholesome friendship. His wife we have already spoken of ; his children were brought up on beautiful principles, and grew up, capable not only of giving him valuable help, but also of faithfully continuing his work after his death. Their best tribute to his affection and care was their living-up to his pathetic last appeal to them : "Live together in peace and love. Try to serve your dear Redeemer, and glorify Him all the days of your life. Keep up the reputation of the family for Christian life and devotion. I was a poor heathen, but God in His infinite mercy was pleased to call me into the marvellous light of the Gospel, and make me a distinguishing monument of His Grace. My heart's desire is to see you all, "a whole redeemed family, in heaven."

DR. IMAD-UD-DIN.

A century ago, mission work among the Muslims of Northern India was more vigorous than now. And it was successful to an extent seldom achieved in the South. The result such as it was, was remarkable, as we realise the difficulties of conversion among the children of Islam. A proud and sensitive community, well organized and disciplined, with memories of centuries of conquest and domination, their resistance to foreign influences has been singularly pronounced. And yet such was the fervour and intensity of missionary propaganda in Northern India that many important conversions took place in the first half of the nineteenth century. And the conversion of men of social standing led the way to a more rapid and wider acceptance of the Gospel.

Maulvi Imad-ud-din, the subject of this sketch, was a distinguished convert from Mahomedanism. A lineal descendant of the

famous Saint Qutub Jamal of the ancient Royal House of Persia Imad-ud-din came of a family renowned as the champions of Islam. He was born at Panipet about 1830 and was the youngest of four brothers. At the age of fifteen he was sent to Agra where his brother Maulvi Karim-ud-din was the headmaster in the Urdu language. He had his education in the orthodox fashion and was well grounded in the elements of Islamic law and religion. Already he had shown himself deeply stirred by religious feelings and he began to wait on *fakirs* and pious men in search of knowledge of the unseen. He records :—

“ I frequented the mosques and the houses set apart for religious purposes, and the homes of the Maulvies, and carried on my studies in Mohammedan law, the commentaries of the Koran, and the traditional sayings of Mohammed; and also in manners, logic, and philosophy.”

But doubts and perplexities began to knock at his simple faith, and intercourse with Christians made an end of his orthodoxies..

He began to question every Islamic injunction and dispute every accepted practice. His friend and class fellow Maulvi Safdar Ali discovered this change and warned him that he was going astray from the right path. He took him to Maulvi Abdul Halim, a learned divine and a preacher. Discussions and disputations only threw the preacher into a temper and the truth-seeker into an intractable mood of obstinacy. "From that day," he says, "I gave up all idea of disputation and controversy, and began to take great pains in acquiring knowledge. Without troubling myself with any other concerns, I read steadily night and day, and continued doing so for eight or ten years; and as I read under the conviction that all knowledge was a means of acquainting myself with the Lord, I believed that whatever time was spent in its pursuit was really given to the worship of God."

This over he had other difficulties to contend against. He was asked to seek the secret of knowledge from *fakirs* who are supposed to be adepts in the science of mysticism. Penances and bodily austerities took the

place of reading and disputation. He says in his autobiography:

“As soon as I was entangled in this subtlety, I began to practise speaking little, eating little, living apart from men, afflicting my body, and keeping awake at nights. I used to spend whole nights in reading the Koran. I put in practice the Qasida Ghousia, the Chahal Kaf, and the Hisb-ul-Bahar, and constantly performed the Maragiba Majahida, and the special repetitions of the Koran, and all various special penances and devotions that were enjoined. I used to shut my eyes and sit in retirement, seeking by thinking on the name of God to write it on my heart. I constantly sat on the graves of holy men, in hopes that, by contemplation, I might receive some revelation from the tombs. I went and sat in the assemblies of the elders, and hoped to receive grace by gazing with great faith on the faces of Sufis. I used to go even to the dreamy and intoxicated fanatics, in the hope of thus obtaining union with God. And I did all this, besides performing my prayers five times a day, and also the prayer in the night.

and that in the very early morning and at dawn; and always was I repeating the salutation of Mohammed, and the confession of faith. In short, whatever afflictions or pain it is in the power of man to endure, I submitted to them all, and suffered them to the last degree; but nothing became manifest to me after all, except that it was all deceit."

At this time, as if to make him irrevocably attached to the religion of his ancestors he was appointed to preach the Koran and the traditions in the large Royal Mosque at Agra with a view to opposing the Missionaries. And he remained there preaching and expounding the commentaries and traditions for three years. Then came perplexities assailing his faith.

"My only comfort was in engaging in more constant acts of worship. I retired into my private chamber, and with many tears I prayed for the pardon of my sins. I often went and spent half the night in silence at the tomb of Shah Abul Ala. I used to take my petitions with joy to the shrine of Calender Bo Ali, and to the threshold of the saint Nizam-ud-din, and often to the graves of the elders. I sought

for union with God from travellers and *fakirs*, and even from the insane people of the city, according to the tenets of the Sufi mystics. The thought of utterly renouncing the world then came into my mind with so much power, that I left every body, and went out into the jungles, and became a *fakir*, putting on clothes covered with red ochre, and wandered here and there, from city to city, and from village to village, step, by step, alone, for about 2,000 *cos* (2,500 miles), without plan or baggage."

Physical austerities coupled with such devices as the writing of the name of God a hundred thousand times availed him not though these gave him a reputation among the orthodox which he thought he ill-deserved. Many flocked to him and some gave him money and others became his disciples; but his mind became uneasy and his faith was daily diminishing. Further experiences created a positive abhorrence to the religion of Mahomed and he began thereafter to lead an indifferent life.

"When I came to Lahore, and the people

saw that I was not living in conformity with the law of Mohammed, the leaders of the religion began to censure me ; for although, in a certain manner, I still believed that Mohammedanism was true, I no longer thought myself to be bound by its requirements. But at times, when I thought of my death, when I must leave this world, and thought of the Judgment Day of the Lord, I found myself standing alone, powerless, helpless and needy, in the midst of fear and danger. So great an agitation used to come over my soul that my face remained always pale, and in my restlessness I often went to my chamber and wept bitterly. I was so perplexed, that at times I used to tell the doctors that it was some disease that made my mind restless against its will, and that perhaps, I might some day even kill myself. Tears were my only relief, but they used to give me different kinds of medicine that did me no good at all, and this again only angered me."

Meantime the conversion of Moulvi Safdar Ali at Jubbulpore, a learned and religious man according to Muslims, greatly amazed him and

directly led to his own conversion. He began an earnest study of the New Testament under Mr. Mackintosh of the Lahore Normal school. Within a year he found solace in the teachings of Jesus, went to Amritsar and received baptism from Rev. R. Clark of the Church of England. He then wrote the book called the *Tahqiq-ul-Iman* (The Investigation of the True Faith) for the benefit of the Maulvis who could not see their way to the crucified. For himself Imad-ud-din felt the peace of the new faith, descending to his soul. He thus put on record the change that came over his soul :

“ Since my entrance into the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, I have had great peace in my soul. The agitation of mind and restlessness of which I have spoken have entirely left me. Even my health is improved, for my mind is never perplexed now. By reading the Word of God I have found enjoyment in life. The fear of death and of the grave, that before was a disease, has been much alleviated. I rejoice greatly in my Lord, and my soul is always making progress in His grace.”

Imad-ud-din, like all converts, became a

zealous Christian, deeply imbued with the faith of Jesus. He wrote a number of books vindicating the ways of Christ to his Islamic brethren. He was ordained on the 6th December 1868 while the degree of D. D. was conferred on him in 1884 by the Archbishop of Canterbury.



DR. IMAD-UD-DIN.

NEHEMIAH GOREH.

BRAHMANS AND CONVERSION

IF conversion from Mahomedanism was difficult, Brahman converts were rarer still. For centuries past the Brahmans had developed a tradition, stronger and more rigid than even the Mahomedans. Hinduism does not permit of conversion into its fold. And the Brahmans have for ages been, as it were, the custodians of a culture and civilization, exclusive, aristocratic, yet singularly vital. They have been looked upon as the spiritual guardians of the race and have retained their prestige as the inheritors of the wisdom and philosophies of the Rishis—a position which, in spite of all that has happened in the vicissitude of time, they have held in unbroken continuity. It may be that they have fallen from their high estate; it may be that they are a dwindling minority; it may be that social forces and the current of modern thought have conspired to disrupt their work

and diminish their influence; but they continue, as of yore, a singularly tenacious and vital community playing their part in the economy of life with their wonted sagacity and resourcefulness.

No wonder that Christian missionaries were particularly anxious to recruit from this class. It was thought a greater achievement of missionary enterprise to have brought about a single Brahman conversion than a host of converts from what are called the lower classes. Not that the other classes were wanting in the strength of resistance to exotic influences but the conversion of even a stray member of what were known as the intelligentsia of the country gave them especial gratification. It was thought that Brahmans being the natural leaders of Hindu society, their example would lead to beneficent results from the standpoint of evangelisation. It was further considered a real conversion in the sense that conviction rather than extraneous causes alone should have led to baptism in the case of the disputatious Brahmans, who are habitually

given to argument and controversy. From this standpoint it was a great victory for the missions when Nilakanta Sastri, the pandit and scholar, abandoned the religion of his forefathers and embraced the religion of Jesus.

GOREH'S EARLY LIFE

Nilakanta Goreh was born of a high class Konkan family in a village 50 miles east of Jhansi on the 8th of February 1825. His father who was born in Poona migrated early in his career to Hindustan. Soon after Nilakanta's birth the family removed to Benares and lived in great prosperity as an uncle of the young Goreh became Dewan of a State. Goreh was thus brought up in the lap of fortune and had the best education of the time. That is to say he received his Sanskrit education under two or three very learned Shastris studying the Vedas, the Nyaya and Grammar. Thus was his faith in the religion of his ancestors fortified by his education and the traditions of his house. But mysterious are the ways of God. He says :

"In early life I was unacquainted with English, and my faith in Hinduism was undisturbed...I despised Christianity, and thought that it was a religion fitted

for ignorant *Mlechchas* only, and that it could never be compared with our philosophies, whose doctrines were doctrines of deep wisdom. I was very proud of those philosophies, and I even ventured so far as to undertake the refutation of Christianity. With this object I began to hold discussions with missionaries, read some controversial books, and even wrote in refutation of Christianity, and so I went on for some years."

That has been the beginning of some other converts as well. Goreh began an earnest study of the Bible just to pick holes in it, and ended by admiring the Sermon on the Mount which so captivated him that he found himself irresistibly drawn to it. His interest increased and subsequent conversations and disputations with the missionaries confirmed him in the belief that the religion of Christ is the only true religion. After months of conversation with Rev. William Smith which he has described in his book called *Dwij* young Goreh made up his mind to receive baptism. But he could not do it secretly. For his love of his father was so great that it was with considerable difficulty that he could make up his mind. Many a time his father implored him not to desert him in his age; his uncle who counted for some-

thing in the orthodox circles used every means in his power to dissuade him from becoming Christian. Many of his friends and relatives appealed to him and used their influence to wean him from what they thought his heresy. But all to no purpose. He met the Pandits of Benares and challenged them one after another. Men are not always won over by arguments, and we cannot say whether Goreh was able to convince the Pandits of the error of their ways. In such cases what invariably happens is that either party becomes the firmer in conviction after the disputation than even before. That is the psychology of human beliefs. Reasoning and arguments do not shake the faith of all; only when there is a will there is a way. And so Goreh became as distinctly Christian in his beliefs as the Pandits were Hindus in their ways of life and obedience. Only his deep affection for his father stood between him and Christ. But even that gave way. He delayed for a time. But delay meant further troubles and trials and so on Sunday, March 12th 1848 he set off for Jaunpur and sought the

protection of the Church Missionary Society there.

CONVERSION AT JAUNPUR

At the Mission house, Jaunpur, Nilakantha was welcomed by the Rev. Robert Hawes, the European missionary in charge. On the following Tuesday, March 14, 1848, he was baptized, and the missionary gave him the Christian name of Nehemiah, by which he was always afterwards known, save to his Hindu friends, to whom he was always Nilakantha Sastri.

The same day he wrote to "Mr. M." (*i.e.* Mr. Menge) at Benares, telling him the happy news in his own simple way :

"Through the goodness of God I arrived here safely on Monday, and to-day, *Mangal*, that is Tuesday [in English, *gladness*] I was admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ a little after eight o'clock in the morning" ("Dwij," p. 141).

GOREH'S WIFE

Though he became a Christian it was not easy for him to take his wife. Orthodox society had placed every inconvenience and obstacle in his way to reach her. She was supposed to be widowed (her husband having lost caste) and she was kept in privacy and gloom:

After great efforts on the part of the mission people and of the magistrate the husband and wife were brought together. The wife, however, continued in her own way for a time. But that was not for long. She was steadily inbibing his teachings and was baptised with her daughter, a few months after her joining Goreh. Unfortunately, to the great grief of Goreh, she died soon after and left an orphan girl who became the pride of her father in after time. For Miss Goreh received an excellent English education and wrote a small book of English verses of which one—"In the secret of his presence how my soul delights to hide"—has become famous.

WITH DULEEP SINGH IN ENGLAND

By this time Goreh was employed in the delightful occupation of writing for the mission press. He was indeed an adept in English and Vernacular and was proficient in Sanskrit. He employed his profound knowledge of the classics in translating some works to justify the ways of Christ to his fellow countrymen. It was about this time that he came in contact with the Maharaja Duleep Singh.

The Maharaja, it will be remembered, was a recent convert and the company of a scholarly and pious Christian like Goreh was one after his heart. How the Prince came to know the Pandit is described by Mr. Gardner in his life of Goreh. On March 22, 1854, the Maharaja was at Benares, where he visited the Church Missionary Society's Mission. At the Jay Narayan College, Pandit Nilakantha had the honour of a presentation to his Highness. After his return to the hotel his Highness sent a message, requesting the attendance of the converted Pandit, and favoured him with about an hour's private conversation.

One result of this interview was the choice of the Pandit to accompany the Maharaja to Europe in 1854 as his tutor. The tutor was twice the pupils' age. The Prince, it must be remembered, became a Christian only a few years before and the companionship of Goreh, another convert of culture and piety was of especial service to him. In England the Maharaja and Goreh had a splendid time visiting various places and persons of interest. Goreh was also presented to the Queen with the Maharaja.

FATHER GOREH AND THE QUEEN

Nehemiah visited various persons and places of interest, with the Prince, which are described in some detail in his letters home. He was indeed enchanted with the sights and scenes of England. The one outstanding event of the visit was his presentation to the Queen along with the Maharaja. The Maharaja was of course received with due honours in Buckingham Palace where he had a memorable interview with the Queen and other members of the Royal House.

In the course of conversation, Pandit Nehemiah's name being mentioned in high terms, Her Majesty, we are told, expressed a desire to see the young Brahman convert who had the charge of the Maharaja's Oriental education. H.R.H. the Prince Consort was also anxious to see him. Consequently, Sir John Login brought him to the Palace for a private audience.

Father Goreh had been previously instructed as to the etiquette of the Court, but on being ushered into the Royal presence it is said that he became very nervous, and forgot

all his instructions, and made a mistake in addressing his Sovereign. The Prince Consort took occasion to ask him some questions about his conversion; and, using the common parlance of the day, asked him if he intended "entering the Church." The good Pandit, says his biographer, had not heard this too-common English phrase, and told the Prince that he could not understand him, as he had already been a member of the Church eight years; on which it had to be explained to him that the inquiry was as to his intention of taking Holy Orders in the Church. The Queen was mean-while conversing with Sir John Login, when she turned to Prince Albert, saying, "Sir John Login tells me that the women of India are very superstitious;" whereupon the Prince at once replied, "So they are in this country," at which the Queen laughed heartily, and the Pandit was much amused.

While in England he attended some theological lectures at the Church Missionary Society Institution at Islington. He did not become a regular student, but joined some of the classes. He was especially struck with

Paley's "Evidences," which, with Butler's "Analogy," were two of the subjects he studied. Many years after this, Canon W. R. Churton sent him a copy of the Rev. W. E. Heygate's "Why am I a Churchman?" which he valued as completing Paley's argument. Among the students at the College whom he met at this time was Mr. James Vaughan, the author of "The Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross," and afterwards Church Missionary Society Secretary at Calcutta, whose acquaintance he renewed later on when Mr. Vaughan came out to Bengal as a missionary.

FATHER GOREH AND PROF. MAX MULLER

During his visit to England he also went down to Oxford to see Prof. Max Muller. In some of his reminiscences, the Professor gives an account of Nehemiah's first appearance when he called upon him at the Bodleian. The Pandit looked sad and despondent. Nehemiah never set much store by the Professor's Indian scholarship. He used to say he did not at all understand Hindu philosophy, owing to his Western train-

ing. His attempts to give it a Western appearance were futile. Nor, on the other hand, did the Professor understand Nehemiah's becoming a Christian. The following occurs in the *Guardian's* review of "Chips from a German Workshop," and evidently refers to the subject of our sketch:—

"Never shall I forget the deep despondency of a Hindu convert, a real martyr to his faith, who had pictured to himself from the pages of his New Testament what a Christian country must be, and who, when he came to Europe, found everything so different from what he had imagined in his lonely meditations at Benares."

The visit to England, involving, as it did, a great deal of fashionable life, was, as we might imagine, not at all congenial to the retiring disposition and modest tastes of our young convert. So, after less than half the time of his three years had expired, he obtained leave of Sir John Login to return to his native country.

Many a young Indian would have been only too glad of their opportunity of such English travel, and would have made the best use of it. But Nehemiah Goreh seems to have longed for India, and soon regretted his three years' engagement. Dr. George Smith, in his

mémoire published in the STATESMAN of March 12, 1896, says of him :—

“He did not cease his study of the Sanskrit books, that he might, through them, be a missionary to the Brahmans. He was welcomed in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, where his modesty was never destroyed by the lionizing which injures Hindu and Moslem visitors to England, both Christian and non-Christian.”

He thus only spent sixteen months in Europe, and then, bidding good-bye to all, joyfully set sail for his native country. He had the good fortune to sail in the same ship as the celebrated Dr. Alex. Duff, who was also returning from a trip to Great Britain. It reached Bombay on Nov. 16, 1855.

MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA

Goreh left Bombay for Poona the home of his ancestors, where he continued the discussions with the Pandits—discussions interrupted by his tour to England. He then went to Benares. At Ahmednagar he gave four lectures to some young men who called themselves deists. Three of them were so much impressed, that they began to study Christianity, resulting in their conviction of its truth. These three were the Rev. Ratonji Naoroji of the C. M. S. at Aurangabad, the Rev. M. Kassimbhai of the

American Mission at Satara, and the late Mr. Shahu, Daji Kukade, who was for more than 25 years the Marathi Editor of the DNYANODAYA Moulvi Safdar Ali, Extra-Assistant Commissioner of Bhandara, also owed his conversion to the instrumentality of Nehemiah Goreh.

Nehemiah then settled down to the quiet work of teaching and writing for which he seemed to have been peculiarly fitted. For about 13 years after his return from England, Nehemiah acted as a Catechist and Headmaster of a Girl's School under the C. M. S. Afterwards adopting what are called "High Church principles," he joined the Gospel Propagation Society. In 1861 he was ordained as Deacon by Bishop Milman, who sent him to start a Mission at Mhow in Central India, and afterwards to Chanda in the Central Provinces.

FATHER GOREH AND KESHAB

When Fr. Goreh was at Cawnpur, Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, the great Brahma leader came to call. Mr. Hill introduced the two men to one another, and was struck at once with the contrast between them—"Keshub

handsome in person, confident and agreeable in deportment, with a ready flow of rhetoric; Nehemiah diffident, thoughtful, reticent." Keshub had given a public lecture in the station theatre, in which he had set forth the grounds and principles of his movement. The conversation turned upon this, and to the Pandit's great astonishment especially, the Babu acknowledged that he had never read Paley or other books on the evidences of Christian faith. Patiently had Nehemiah, says his biographer, weighed and thought out every argument, *pro* and *con*, of every author and authority to which he could procure access before arriving at a conclusion upon the most important of all subjects! This Brahma movement, as might be expected, at once secured his attention and he was more impressed by and interested in a Brahma missionary who remained after Keshub's departure, and whom some pupils of the school took him to see. He daily visited this man at the Bengali's house in the town at which he was lodging, and hoped he had made some impression upon him. He described him as an earnest

and devoted man. On his leaving, the Pandit set himself to write the first of his tracts for the Brahmōs. This took him to Calcutta. In Calcutta, where he arrived on May 29 he made his headquarters at Bishop's College; but he sadly missed good Dr. Kay, who had been his host there at his last visit.

He remained at Calcutta until his ordination, in 1868, and received continual kindness from the Rev. B. T. (afterwards Archdeacon) Atlay, and the Rev. H. J. Matthew, the late Bishop of Lahore. He had no definite place on the College staff, but he appears to have undertaken some work among the students, at least occasionally.

Nehemiah visited England again in 1876, when he was admitted a novice in the Society of St. John the Evangelist. During his stay of 18 months in England he read a paper at a Missionary Conference at Grantham. At the end of 1877 he returned to India, and proceeded to Indore. In the middle of 1879 he went to Poona, where the remainder of his life was chiefly spent in the Mission House at Panch Howds. Frequently, however, he made journeys



NEHEMIAH GOREH-

to places often widely distant from each other. Sometimes he would be in Bombay delivering lectures to the Jews. At the close of 1882 he paid a visit to Pandharpore. In 1883 a house was taken for him in the heart of Poona, that he might be in easy contact with educated Hindus.

HIS WORKS

In this year he wrote his important work in Marathi, entitled, *Is there any proof that Christianity is a Divinely-given Religion?* It was written to meet certain religious difficulties of the Pandita Ramabai, not then a Christian. At Calcutta in 1888, he published a series of Lectures, entitled, *Christianity not of Man, but of God.*

His talents were not confined to eloquence. He was a writer, quite as much as he was a preacher, and he wrote both in English and in the vernacular. He first became known as the author of a Hindi work, *Shad Darshan Darpan*, an examination of the six philosophic systems of the Hindus. This book appeared in English under the title, *A Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical Systems*.

by one Fitz Edward Hall, D. C. L. (Oxon.) In Calcutta Father Goreh came in touch with the Brahmōs and especially with Keshub Chandra Sen. His criticism of the Brahmō Movement which he thought was a compromise between Hinduism and Christianity appeared in a *Letter* published in 1867. Then came lectures and pamphlets innumerable, defending Christianity against Hindu orthodoxy and the tenets of Brahmōism. Almost the last and one of the most useful to missionaries was—*The Genuineness of the Holy Gospels*—published in 1887.

THE END

During the last years of his life Father Goreh was much engaged in the revision of the Book of Common Prayer in Hindi and Marathi. Gradually his health failed more and more, and on the 29th October 1895, he died, aged 70 years, after having been most tenderly nursed by the Sisters and Brothers of the Society he had joined. It has been remarked:—

“The intense devotion and self-denial of the Brahmān Missionary, his genuine humility and modesty, as well as his profound erudi-

tion, set off the external mode of his life, his poverty, his emaciated look, his plain mendicant-like attire—made him to be regarded by the people generally—European and Indian alike—as a *Sadhu*—the *beau ideal* of a Christian Missionary.”

Father Goreh's name will always have a prominent place in any record of missionary enterprise in Northern India. For, not only was he a distinguished convert himself but he was a great preacher and missionary by instinct and by training. By his example and the vigour and persistency of his advocacy he was able to convert several men who afterwards became his colleagues in the propagation of the Faith.

Above all it was the character and example of a life of singular purity and piety that made Goreh the great Christian evangelist that he was. Father Benson in one of his letters has given a charming account of Father Goreh's last days, the sad, contemplative Oriental brooding over the immensities, and we cannot do better than close the sketch with a description of the same.

As years went on, says Father Benson, he became feebler and less capable of taking ordinary food. He felt, too, that he ought to be going back, so as to work among his own people. Physical infirmity developed scrupulosity. Of course, at last he could not live by rule. He had to live a painful life, but cheerful amidst it all, although depressed. The body was depressed, but the mind was always resting in God's goodness—not with the ecstasy of a Spaniard, or that mixture of contemplation and action which gives brightness and calmness to an English Churchman, but with a sense of perfect repose in God as the end to be attained when this weary life of isolation and feebleness should be over. There was never any cloud of distrust. He did not distrust God; he distrusted himself. Sore wrestlings with Satan could not be wanting to one who was so exceptionally called from Satan's tyranny to bear witness to the truth. Was joy wanting to Lazarus? He had a sense of joy too deep to show it. Was joy wanting to One greater than Lazarus? Surely not. Yet the expression of joy was not such as beams upon the triumphant face of a modern philanthropist; I would sooner have the joy of Fr. Goreb in his weakness of body, his spiritual struggles, his sense of isolation from every natural surrounding, than all the outward joyousness of an active partisan who rejoices in the success of plans which surpass his expectation because his expectation is not calmly resting in the security of God.

KALI CHARAN BANERJEA

A CHRISTIAN PATRIOT

WHAT has been said of Nehemiah Goreh holds good equally in the case of Kali Charan Banerjea, the high class Kulin Brahman, who born of humble parents, rose to the highest distinction in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as scholar, patriot and reformer. Like all converts Kali Charan was a zealous Christian and he took a prominent part in all movements calculated to further the tenets of Jesus. But he was more than an assiduous propagandist or preacher of the gospel. To him at any rate change of religion seems to have imparted a broader and fresher outlook. He was above all a patriot, burning with passion for the service of his fellow-men in every possible way. As a citizen he was imbued with true civic spirit and he threw himself whole-heartedly into all movements—social, political, educational and religious. Kali Charan was bound to make a mark in any sphere of work in which he was

engaged. For, leadership came to him as by divine right, and for no less than quarter of a century he continued to be the valued friend, philosopher and guide of his countrymen in Bengal. In the words of Sir Andrew Fraser, late Lieutenant Governor of Bengal "Kali Charan was a man who made his mark in many departments of work in Bengal: a distinguished graduate and servant of the University, a successful advocate and able teacher, a valuable member of the Corporation of Calcutta and of the Bengal Council, a keen though not extreme politician, deeply interested in the cause of Purity, Temperance, Education, Social Reform, a strong supporter of the Youngmen's Christian Association and a beloved and trusted leader in the Church of Christ." Such in brief was the life of the great Christian patriot—Kali Charan Banerjea. Kali Charan was born at Jubbulpore on Feb. 9, 1847, the eighth child of his father Bandopadyaya who had gone thither in search of employment, leaving his family house on the Hooghly. The father died suddenly while Kali Charan was quite young and the family remov-

ed to their ancestral home in Khanyan where the fatherless child and the widowed mother were brought up under the care of the brothers of Bandopadyaya on strictly orthodox lines. Kali Charan was, according to the usual custom of his caste, invested with the sacred thread in his eighth year in the holy temple of Kalighat, Calcutta: and he led the normal life of the Hindu youths of Bengal. Only he was distinguished even in his boyhood by those traits of character which share so resplendent in the latter years of his life—his habitual humility of spirit, and a deep sense of piety and religion. These manifested themselves in his daily intercourse with fellow students and teachers who were deeply impressed with his diligence and earnestness.

AT SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.

Kali Charan showed himself equally smart in his studies. After a brief spell at the Hooghly Collegiate School he got himself admitted into the Oriental Seminary. Subsequently he joined the Free Church Institution where he came under the inspiring spell of that great educationist, Dr. Duff. In 1862 he passed the

First Arts Examination with distinction and received a monthly scholarship. This enabled him to pursue his studies uninterruptedly and also help his family which was financially much handicapped. At this time he also secured the tutorship of certain members in the family of Prosonno Kumar Tagore which placed him above want and freed him to continue his studies. He got through his B. A. in 1865 with a gold medal, standing fourth in the list which included Rash Behari Ghose and others.

On taking his degree he was appointed Professor in the Free Church College under Dr. Duff who was loth to part with so devout a scholar. For Kali Charan had won the heart of Dr. Duff by his piety and gentleness equally by his diligence and earnestness; and one may take it he was permitted to stay on in the College. In the following year he secured his M. A. degree, standing alone in first class in Mental and Moral Philosophy. He also obtained the University gold medal and some prize books. He was now a full blown professor on Rupees three hundred a month.

CONVERSION.

The Free Church Institution and the influence of Dr. Duff turned his thoughts to Christianity and the daily study of the Bible whetted his appetite for christian ideals and the tenets of Jesus. Above all he was more than inspired by Dr. Duff's eloquent pleadings for Communion with God and his prayerful sermons seem to have gone straight to the heart of the earnest pupil. But study and conversation apart, he continued quite an orthodox Hindu in his ways of life and obedience. He wouldn't even touch the food defiled by the shadow of one of lower caste—in right Brahmanical fashion.

But Missionary influence was persistent, till in the end, even before he left College, he found himself irresistibly drawn to Christianity. Late in life Mr. Banerjea himself explained the circumstances that paved the way to his conversion.

'Although as an infant I used to visit a mission school, an astrologer's warnings led to my removal from all possible missionary influence, until years after, when the repetition by a fellow-lodger of the lessons on the Sermon on the Mount received in a mission school Bible class, awakened in me a strong desire to join a mission school myself. I prevailed

upon that fellow-lodger to persuade my guardians to fall in with my desire, and I found myself in the Free Church Institution. When eventually I was led to the Saviour, I owed my conversion under God to close personal intercourse with one of my professors, a medical missionary now in glory. The missionary had endeared himself to my whole family, and was always welcome to visit me, and pray with me and for me by my bedside when suffering from illness.

Another of the early influences that led him to Christianity was his association with B.L. Chandra and others among his fellow students who had lost faith in the religion of their fathers. Chandra, though a Christian had not been baptized. He and Kali Charan used to read the Bible together, pray together, and discuss the providence of God and the possibility of revelation in their long walks together. Soon other friends followed fast and a goodly company of fellow students began to meet for daily discussion and prayer, followed by readings from the Bible. Kali Charan was at this time in his third year class. He had not discarded his sacred thread, the emblem of his Brahmanhood. But he could not long continue in this suspense. He resolved to make a clean breast of his intentions to his mother and brothers. This was no easy thing. The thought of his poor mother and

the disappointment he had to cause her worried him greatly, and he spent many a sleepless night. But the call of Jesus, he thought, was peremptory. It could not be delayed and he made up his mind to risk everything for the cause. In all his struggles one sees him in the company of his good old friend Chandra who is unwearied in his efforts to soothe and alleviate the pangs of a brooding spirit in the trials of separation from his kindred. The mother and brothers implored him to reconsider his decision, they appealed to his affections, equally to his duty, but he stood firm. They tried threats, and the poor mother, in her rage and desperation, went so far as to lock him up to prevent his return to his friends. Chandra is again in service, bidding him be of good cheer in spite of all obstacles and goading him to pursue the path of Jesus. Thus after months of desperate struggle, on February 28, 1864, at the age of seventeen, while he was in his third year class, Kali Charan was baptized by the Rev. W. C. Fyfe, Principal of the Free Church Institution. In reading the story of this eventful period in the life of

Banerjea his biographer Mr. Barber takes care to add:—

Though he had now been cut off by his family he continued to send them money from the scholarship he was receiving. When he graduated and became a professor in the Free Church Institution, he used to send a large part of his salary for the support of his family, and to aid on such occasions as marriages, just as he would have done had he remained a Hindu and lived under the joint-family system.

After baptism Kali Charan made several attempts to claim his wife, Elokeshi, but in vain. Indeed it was not till after a petition was duly filed in Court and she was about to become a "legal widow" that her people yielded, and she joined her husband. Mr. Barber adds, that they took a house in Chinsurah near her old home and there the husband taught the young wife the principles of the faith for which he had suffered so much, and she too was baptized. Mr. Banerjea continued to visit his old home, and though no other members of the family ever became Christians they welcomed him among them.

AS AN ADVOCATE

We have said that Kali Charan became a Professor in the very College in which he had studied. But his spirit could not be narrowed

to the vocation of teaching. It was bound to impress itself on a wider public, and what could be more appropriate than that a public-spirited man should take to Law and advocacy. He passed his B.L. in 1870. He was not by nature very ambitious or pushing, traits which go to make the successful man at the Bar. But honesty always pays at the end and his steady work in the Court soon won him a fairly decent *clientele*. He soon obtained a fair amount of appellate work in the High Court, but he was largely in requisition in out-station criminal cases, especially in the Hooghly District. Indeed very early in his professional career his persuasive powers as an advocate came to be recognized, and he was engaged in many a case where the trial came up before the Jury. Thus he proved himself an able lawyer with a lucrative practice.

HIS MANY-SIDED ACTIVITIES

But Law is a jealous mistress and brooks no rival interest. To achieve greatness at the Bar requires an absolute and exclusive devotion to it. But the demands on Mr. Banerjea's time were multifarious and his inte-

rests were diverse. A religious congregation or a political meeting or an engagement at any social or welfare meeting was enough to desist him from accepting any brief, however tempting. For so imperious were his public interests that he seldom failed to respond to public requisitions even though they stood in the way of his private interests.

First of all he gave much of his valuable time and energy to mission work, now as lecturer, now as organiser and always on important committees of business. Next came temperance work and work in connection with the Y. M. C. A. Kali Charan was constantly in demand as a lecturer on all questions of political, social or educational reform. His powers of oratory were so popular that he could hardly escape public demand on any occasion of importance. He was especially popular among the students as he was about the most tolerant and catholic among the public men of the time. Though an ardent Christian his generous impulses and activities were never confined to work among his own denomination. For he was above all a patriot

and his powerful voice and pen was exercised in the service of his countrymen of whatever caste or religion. Then again for years, in conjunction with his friend and companion Joy Gobind Shorne, he was engaged in editing the INDIAN CHRISTIAN HERALD. It need scarcely be wondered at, said a friend of Kali Charan, that a man whose attention was diverted in so many directions had eventually to give up his career as a legal practitioner, and depend entirely upon the income he derived as law-lecturer at the City and the Ripon Colleges, and as an Examiner at the Calcutta University. Later on, it will be remembered that he was employed as Registrar of the University, an office which he held with distinction till he was compelled, owing to failing health, to relinquish.

POLITICAL WORK

It would be surprising if one of Kali Charan's catholic interests and multiform activities had not taken a prominent part in political life. Indeed politics was his *forte* for we see him in the forefront of all political activities even at the

very commencement of his career. The fact is Mr. Banerjea's sympathies had never been confined to his own denomination. He freely fraternized with people of all shades of belief and was always ready to co-operate with all on the broad non-sectarian basis of common citizenship. This wide toleration and earnest patriotism made him the universal favourite of his countrymen all over Bengal. For Kali Charan belonged, to the school of Ananda Mohan Bose and Rash Behari Ghose—two great contemporaries of his, whose political faith and patriotic ardour he shared to the full. Like them too he was a scholar and orator, who devoted his whole energies to the political redemption of his countrymen.

As early as 1877 we find Mr. Banerjea addressing large gatherings of his countrymen in the Calcutta Town Hall with a force and eloquence second only to that of his illustrious namesake—Surendranath Banerjea. The subject of the meeting was the great grievance that the Indian Civil Service was not open to the youths of the country. The resolutions were that, "in order to redeem the gracious promises



KALI CHARAN BANERJEA.

made by England for the admission of Indians to high offices, practical facilities ought to be given them at the competitive examinations of the covenanted Civil Service; that the test of qualifications should be the same for them as for other candidates; that the age limit should be raised from nineteen to twenty-two; and that there should be local examinations in India, held simultaneously with those in England." Mr. Banerjea we are told, electrified the audience by his speech and among other things made the following reference to Lord Macaulay's accusation, that the Bengalis were ever promising but never fulfilling: 'Shade of Macaulay, how shall you meet the curt retort to your accusation of the Bengalis? Here is a whole land of promises with not an acre of performances.'

MR. BANERJEA AS A CONGRESSMAN

Thus Mr. Banerjea was in the very centre of the political movement then gathering momentum. It took organised shape in 1885 in the formation of the National Congress. And we see Mr. Banerjea in the thick of that movement. For he was a member of the Con-

gress from the very beginning and soon became one of the leading lights of the movement. His practical judgment and forceful eloquence coupled with his lofty character were a power for good in the counsels of the Congress Committee or in the open session. In the third session of the Congress we see him appointed to the Committee charged with the duty of considering the constitution and working of the Congress. He was reappointed to the same Committee again in the fifteenth Congress at Lucknow in 1899. In 1890 at Calcutta it fell to him to move the omnibus resolution in which were reaffirmed, in ten clauses, important decisions arrived at in previous Congresses.

The separation of Judicial and Executive function was the subject of numberless discussions and resolutions and Mr. Banerjea dealt with it in a spirited speech in the ninth Congress. This resolution demanded the appointment of a Committee to devise schemes for the separation of functions. Mr. Banerjea showed the need by a shocking case that had then occurred, in which four men were sentenced to death and three to transportation for life in

which rules of law were disregarded and the magistrate acted as a prosecutor and Judge combined. It was a telling speech which won immediate acceptance by the Congress. In the eleventh Congress at Poona we find him pleading again for simultaneous examinations, complaining "that the deafness of the Government reminded him of the Bengali bogey, *khanu khutla*, the cutter off of ears, only it was the Government whose ears were cut off." Kali Charan, we have seen, was deeply interested in education. In the twelfth Congress at Calcutta we find him moving a resolution asking for improvements in Universities and in general teaching and Universities in particular. He pointed out that the Universities afforded no post-graduate facilities for teaching or study. When we consider the rapid advance that the Calcutta University and other Universities have made in this direction we can realise how far ahead of his times he was in matters educational. In the fifteenth Congress Kali Charan was responsible for a motion protesting against the prohibition imposed by

Government on teachers taking part in political movements. We find him again at the seventeenth Congress taking his due share in the proceedings of the session. Kali Charan was an all round man and this time he drew attention to a vital defect in the composition of the Privy Council—a defect since rectified. He urged, in a resolution, the appointment of eminent Indian lawyers to the Judicial Committee. He was warmly seconded by Mr. (now Sir) Sivaswami Iyer who pointed out that it was merely an extension of the principle already applied in the High Courts.

Such were his Congress activities and they were not confined to the Christmas season of the year only. For he was also a member of various political bodies in the city, doing his bit unweariedly from day to day. He was a member of the oldest political body in Calcutta—The Indian Association. Upon the death of his old friend A. M. Bose Mr. Banerjea was elected its President in the last year of his life.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Kali Charan's work for the members of his own faith was incessant. It was only natural

that he should do his utmost in that direction. His mission work, his educative propaganda, his social and temperance activities, his daily routine in connection with the Y. M. C. A. the Refuge or the home for invalids and outcastes and his labours on behalf of his brethren in faith need not detain us. They will ever be cherished with gratitude by members of his faith and his name will find an abiding corner in their heart.

But what is more striking is the testimony to his large-heartedness by members of other faiths. When at a public meeting convened to congratulate Kali Charan on his elevation to the Legislative Council in 1897, Dr. Macdonald remarked that Mr. Banerjea was a representative of the Christian community, the late Sir Gurudas Banerjea, an orthodox Hindu sprang to his feet and said "It is a mistake to think so. Mr. Banerjea is a representative of all Communities." That was his distinction and a distinction of which he was justly proud, a distinction too which is full of lessons to us in these days of communal wrangles.

A GREAT LIFE

It is now time to bring these scattered notes to a close. Mr. Banerjea had lived a strenuous, well-filled and honourable life, devoted to the service of his fellow countrymen without distinction of caste or creed. To the end, he was busy with his public work. But diabetes, that fell disease which has wrought havoc in this country, found him an easy prey. Already his system, never very robust, was weakened by unwearied labours: physical and mental strain told upon his health which could no longer resist its fatal inroads. But he walked cheerfully and in faith. The great Congress of 1906 met in Calcutta under the presidentship of Dadabhai. Mr. Banerjea attended the session and was deeply grieved by the split between moderates and extremists that seemed almost inexorable. He fainted on the dais and had to be carried home. About the same time he attended the Temperance conference, in great weakness, and even addressed the meeting which was honoured by the presence of Samuel Smith M. P. from England. During that season Dr. Charles

Cuthbert Hall was visiting India for the second time, and Mr. Banerjea was again at his post presiding at the lectures—though he had to be carried up and down the stairs.

It almost seemed impossible for him not to join in his usual activities. He was unwilling to lie back and take a much needed rest, and thus find recuperation for his wearied body. Shortly after this he was confined to his room and he died peacefully on February 6, 1907. 'He lived the strenuous life, and his body, never equal to the pace set by his soul, wore itself out on the threshold of three score.'

The sad event stirred public feeling to an amazing degree. The most outstanding figure since Krishna Mohan Banerji was no more and Indian Christians were overwhelmed with grief. The funeral was most impressive, attended by leading men of all nationalities including the Lt.-Governor. The High Court, the Corporation, the Congress and many other public bodies passed resolutions of sorrow and respect. At the great memorial meeting held subsequently Sir Andrew Fraser, the then Lieutenant

Governor of Bengal said of him that he was :

" A man who had done great things for his country, and had left a great mark behind him. Yet he was always a man who seemed to be going quietly along the byeways and never pushing himself forward but ever keeping himself secluded. Again and again he came from his apparent retirement to take his place as a leader and a leader in some of the best things that had been done for this country during his life; again and again did he come forward and take his place as a leader in times of difficulty and stress and emergency, and when the work was done, he went quietly back into retirement. Kall Charan Banerjea was always in the presence of God. He was always walking with Him in spirit, in purity, in righteousness, in truth, and in sincerity, in loyalty and in love, and he was a man who could have exalted himself if he had chosen; he was a man capable of taking a very prominent place, but like the disciples whom Christ called back into the desert places to rest, he retired to the Lord whom he loved that he might be consoled by that great companionship. He was now in the presence of the King of Kings, but his voice still spoke to them, and his religious life was an example to them.

The late Sir Rash Behari Ghose, Mr. Banerjea's colleague in public life, referred to his friend's death in touching terms, and paid a tribute worthy of the man and the occasion. In his presidential address to the twenty-third Indian National Congress Sir Rash Behari said :—

'When we think of the lovely Scotch Cemetery in Koraya where the remains were laid we cannot help feeling how much learning, how much modest and unassuming simplicity, how much piety, how much winsome tenderness, and how much patriotism lie

buried in the grave of Kali Charan Banerjea. That hand which everybody was glad to touch is vanished. That voice which everybody was glad to hear is still. But if to live in the hearts and memories of those whom we leave behind is not to die, then Kali Charan is not dead but is still alive. True, he no longer lives in his own person, but he lives in us and will live in those who succeed us, enjoying an immortality which is not given to all the sons of men.'

THE MEMORIAL IN BEADON SQUARE

A suitable memorial has since been erected in Calcutta in Beadon Square—the spot where for years he had preached to large gatherings of his countrymen. What could be more appropriate than the great semi-circular seat in stone masonry with a medallion bust in bronze? The inscription reads:—

'This seat has been erected by the Christian friends and admirers of Kali Charan Banerjea, to perpetuate the memory of one, who by his high character, great qualities of head and heart, became a prominent leader in all movements intended to further the spiritual and social welfare of his country and whose teaching testified to the truth and power of Christianity'

PANDITA RAMABAI

"It is characteristic of Ramabai that she works with all her heart and soul for the highest ideals she knows; and as soon as more light dawns upon her, she leaves the things that are behind, and reaches out to that which opens up in the vista of the future. This thought explains the developments of our work and plans during the past years, and prepares those who know her well for further surprising developments in the future."

THIS tribute to Ramabai written by a friend, who had long been intimate with her, exactly reveals to us the secret of the success of this wonderful woman, who, with undaunted courage, unfailing pluck, and immense labour at a very unfavourable time, won, light and liberty for herself and her sisters out of darkness and bondage. A poor Indian widow, yet a heroine in every sense of the term, Pandita Ramabai deserves indeed to be a prominent personage in the History of India. As a biographer says of her, "among the new women of India, few if any have deeper claims to distinction than the Ramabai Sarasvati, who has proved herself a thinker

as well as a heroine, and whose name deserves to be enshrined as a household word in the home of every one of her Indian sisters."

Ramabai was born in April 1858. Her father was Ananta Shastri Dongre, a learned Brahman. His teacher had been tutor to one of the princesses in the family of the Peshwas, and to that fact therefore must have been due the happy effect that Ramabai's father, unlike the rigid Brahmans of that time, was yet strongly in favour of women's education. Ananta Shastri was rather surprised, we are told, to hear of an Indian woman knowing Sanskrit, and he made up his mind to get his wife educated. But public opinion was against him. His own wife and mother frustrated his plan, which he was obliged to give up for that time. After some years his wife died, and he married a little girl of nine years to whom his mother gave the usual domestic training. The worthy Shastri insisted this time on his right to teach his wife. Things however were made unpleasant for him: and he took her away to a forest in the Western Ghats, on the borders of the Mysore State. Here he

built a little home for her, and lived by the proceeds of his rice fields and cocoanut plantations. He taught her Sanskrit, and introduced her to the secrets of Puranic literature. The Brahman pandits in the Mangalore District objected strongly to his enlightened views about women and summoned him before their assembly to give reasons why he might not be excommunicated for his heresy. The Shastri, nothing daunted, began to quote passages from the ancient sacred books which did not forbid education to women and Sudras. So he was not excommunicated, but was allowed to pass as an "Orthodox Reformer". And so he went on with his work of love, and succeeded so well in his efforts that, when the children were born, she was able to carry on their religious education herself. "It would be scarcely too much to say", says Mrs. Sullivan,

"That Ramabai's ideal of educated Indian womanhood was formed in germ, when as a little child, she sat on her mother's knee, and looking up into that dear face, felt that her mother was the embodiment of wisdom and tenderness, the best mother in the world."

Ramabai was given a complete education in Sanskrit. She tells us:—

Secular education of any kind was looked upon as leading people to worldliness, which would prevent them from getting into the way of Moksha or liberation from everlasting trouble of reirarnation in millions and millions of animal species, and undergoing the pains of suffering countless millions of diseases and deaths. To learn the English language, and to come into contact with the Mlechhas, as the non-Hindus are called, was forbidden on pain of losing caste, and all hope of future happiness. So all that we could or did learn was the Sanskrit grammar and dictionaries, with the Puranic and modern poetical literature in that language. Most of these, including grammar and dictionaries, which are written in verse form, had to be committed to memory.

Ramabai, at twelve years of age could repeat about twenty thousand sacred verses, and it was no wonder that afterwards she came to be known as "Pandita". She was able to get a good knowledge of Marathi from her parents, and later, when she was travelling, of Canarese, Hindustani, and Bengali. Thus she became, as Mrs. Dyer calls her, "a prodigy of erudition".

Ramabai's father was a very religious man, and tried to carry out his ideals into practice. One of these was hospitality; and for thirteen years he entertained pilgrims who came to the sacred places near his home. Finally all his property was swallowed up, and he was forced,

with his family, to leave his home and begin a pilgrim's life himself. Ramabai was only six months old then, and had to be carried about for a time in a cane box on a man's head. Thus "my pilgrim's life began", she tells us, "when I was a little baby".

Anantha Shastri was a Puranika or Puranic reader. This is how his daughter writes about his profession.

"Ever since I remember anything, my father and mother were always travelling from one sacred place to another, staying in each place for some months, bathing in the sacred river or tank, visiting temples, worshipping household Gods, and the images of Gods in the temples, and reading Purana in temples or in some convenient place".

The reading of the Purana served a double purpose. The first and foremost was that of getting rid of sin and of earning merit in order to obtain Moksha. The other purpose was to earn an honest living without begging.

For seven years they travelled about. They were very orthodox Hindus and extremely strict about castes. For instance, on a long journey by sea they allowed not a bit of food or a drop of water to pass through their lips, and that went on for three days of misery. It was

not wonderful, therefore, that the father's health broke up, and he did not know what to do for his living. The children, of whom there were three, had had no secular education as we have seen and so could not earn their living. Ramabai says :

"Our parents had unbounded faith in what the sacred books said. They encouraged us to look to the Gods to get our support. The sacred books declared that if people worshipped the gods in particular ways, gave alms to the Brahmans, repeated the names of certain Gods, and also some hymns in their honour, with fasting and the performance of penance, the gods and goddesses would appear, and talk to the worshippers, and give them whatever they desired. So we spent all the money we had in giving alms to Brahmans to please the Gods. We went to several sacred places and temples to worship different Gods and to bathe in sacred rivers and tanks to free ourselves from sin and curse, which brought poverty on us".

About this time, famine had been making itself felt, and in 1876-77 it reached its culmination. The little family sold all its valued possessions, reaching finally even the cooking vessels of brass and copper, and even then half of the proceeds was devoted to charity. Finally, Rambai writes :—

"The day came when we had finished eating the last grain of rice, and nothing but death by starvation remained for our portion. Oh! the sorrow, helplessness, and the disgrace of the situation."

Ramabai gives a very pathetic account of these terrible days. The little family consulted together, and at last made up their minds to go to the forest to die. They left Tirupati, wandered in the jungle for eleven days and nights, living on water and wild dates. At last, the father collapsed, and made up his mind to die leaving the others to either drown themselves or separate, and go about severally. He bade farewell to his children. Says Ramabai :—

"I was his youngest child," and my turn came last. I shall never forget his last injunctions to me.

His blind eyes could not see my face, but he held me tight in his arms and stroking my head and cheeks, he told me in a few words broken by emotion to remember how he loved me and how he had taught me to do right and never to depart from the way of righteousness. His last loving command to me was to lead an honourable life if I lived at all and to serve God all my life. 'Remember, my child', he said, "you are my youngest, my most beloved child. I have given you into the hand of our God. You are His and to Him alone you must belong, and serve all your life." He could speak no more. My father's Prayers to me were heard by the Almighty, the all-merciful Heavenly Father, whom the old Hindu did not know. The God of all flesh did not find it impossible to bring me a great sinner and unworthy child of his, out of heathen darkness into the saving light of the love and salvation. I listened to my father. I was but too young, too bewildered to understand him. We were after this dismissed from father's presence. He wanted one hour for meditation and Preparation before death".



PANDITA RAMABAI.

It was a heart-rending situation, but relief came for a while. The son, hitherto unused to manual labour, now had the sudden idea to offer to work. That such a course was left to the very last shows their pride and unwillingness to take to manual work through "pride of caste, superior learning and vanity of life."

And so the infirm father was carried down to the nearest village by the son, and the little family took refuge for four days in the ruins of an old temple. There the old man had fever, and since nothing but coarse food could be given him, succumbed to the malady and died on the third day. A grave was dug for him by the servant of a good friend, and the son carried the dead body tied up in his dhotie like a bundle. The Shastri was buried; for according to the Sastras, a Sanyasi like him could be buried and not burnt. That same day, the mother was attacked by fever. But the little family had to leave that place to look for work. They walked for some distance, and then, by the kindness of some people, got the train-fare as far as Raichur, where they stayed for some weeks in helpless misery.

Sometimes, they suffered intense hunger. Once the mother was so hungry that poor Ramabai had to go to a neighbour's house to beg for some bread. She tells us :

I went there very reluctantly. The lady spoke kindly to me, but I could on no account open my mouth to beg that piece of bajree bread. With superhuman effort and a firm resolution to keep my feelings from that lady I kept the tears back ; but they poured out of my nose instead of my eyes, in spite of me, and the expression of my face told its own story. The kind Brahmin lady guessing what was in my mind, asked me if I would like to have some food. So I said, "Yes, I want only a little piece of bajree bread." She gave me what I wanted, and I felt very grateful, but could not say a word to express my gratitude. I ran to my mother in haste, and gave it to her. But she could not eat, she was too weak.

So the mother also died, and shortly after, the sisters; and the brother and Ramabai were left alone. They wandered on to the north and east of India. The wages for manual work were very small, sometimes only about Rs. four a month. Sometimes, they were unusually hungry, and they swallowed the hard stones of the wild berries, as well as their coarse skins. Sometimes, they were so cold that they had to bury their bodies in grave-like pits, and cover themselves with dry sand. But still they kept their old faith as long as they could, though

wavering somewhat in their adherence. For three years, they wandered about, actually doing about four thousand miles on foot.

After wandering even as far as Kashmir they found themselves in Calcutta in 1878. All the great troubles she had undergone had but strengthened the fine character of Ramabai and given her that steadfastness which later stood her in such good stead. Her tender heart felt more than ever now for the poor, the helpless and the down-trodden. True to her father's training, Ramabai had all along felt that Indian women and especially child-widows were in a very unfortunate position, and she made up her mind to devote her life to their cause. She condemned the practice of child-marriage and also the custom of seclusion within the purdah. She declared that, since ignorance was the cause of evil, women, especially high-caste girls, should receive some education. And, as they would not have time enough for study after marriage, they should be taught before marriage. Ramabai did not know English then. So she advocated the teaching of Sanskrit and the study of the

Vedanta. Being, as we have seen, a very capable woman, she began to give lectures, which created a great sensation in Calcutta. All her statements she strengthened so well with quotations from the Hindu Sastras that the Pandits gave her the title of "Saraswati"; and Sir William Hunter thus reported of her in one of his letters to England:—

"Last October (1880), while I was writing these pages, an accomplished Brahman lady was travelling through Bengal with her brother, holding public meetings on the education and emancipation of women. 'They were received everywhere,' says an Indian correspondent, 'with great enthusiasm by the Hindus, who were delighted to hear their holy Sanskrit from a woman's lips. It seemed to them as if Saraswati, the Goddess of eloquence had come down to visit them. Instead of a hot confined room, we had a long and broad terrace, open to the sky, and with the Ganges flowing at our feet. The meeting was at half-past four in the afternoon, by which time the terrace was shaded from the sun by trees and houses to the westward. At the eastern end of the terrace, a small marble table with a glass of flowers on it, and some chairs were set, and there Ramabai stood up facing the west, and addressed the audience. On her right was the Ganges, covered with large broad-sailed boats of a type, which has perhaps lasted for two thousand years. There was little or nothing to remind her or her audience of European civilisation. It was such a place as Buddha might have chosen for addressing his followers.'

* * * "This young lady is twenty-two years of age, the daughter of a learned Pandit and public official, slight and girlish-looking, with a fair complexion and light-grey eyes."

Ramabai's brother died sometime after their arrival at Calcutta. He was very anxious about his sister; but she assured him that with the help of God all would be well with her. And so it was. She had not been married by her enlightened father at an early age, like most Brahman girls. He had had a lesson in the case of his elder daughter, and so he put off Ramabai's marriage till his death. When she was twenty-two, she was still unmarried. Then, having given up by that time all rigidity in her father's religion, she married Bipin Bihari Medhavi, a young Sudra Bengali pleader, who was an M. A. of the Calcutta University. They went to Assam, where they lived happily for two years. Then Mr. Medhavi died suddenly of cholera, leaving her alone with her little daughter, whom she had called, Manorama or "Heart's Joy."

After the death of her husband, Ramabai went to Poona and began to lecture and write largely on the education of women. She found well-known people like Ranade, Kelkar, and Bhandarkar, strongly supporting her. Whenever she had time, she carried her

teaching into practice by giving instruction to women in morality and religion. Finally, she founded a society of women called "The Arya Mahila Samaj," branches of which were formed throughout the Mahratta country.

Ramabai had always wished to help Indian widows, like herself by starting a home of education and shelter for them. But it was difficult to get financial help. One day, a little Brahman widow of twelve years, who had been cast off by her relatives, came to her, begging not only for food and a home, but also for help against the grasping hands of wicked men. Ramabai, who was never slow in action, began her beloved work of rescue, by taking this poor child into her own little home. Later, this woman was able to help her in her settlement at Mukti.

In 1882 a Commission to enquire into the question of education in India was appointed; and included women's education as one of its special agenda. This Commission received a pleasant reception from the three hundred Brahman women of the Arya Mahila Samaj, at which the eloquent Ramabai spoke on her pet

subject. She was asked to give her evidence before the Commission; and, putting forward the views of reformers like her father, her brother, her husband and her friends, she spoke boldly about the urgent need of education for Indian women. She suggested the training of men-teachers and women-inspectors; and she requested that, since in India the conditions were such that proper medical treatment could only reach the sick women of India through the women themselves, the study of medicine should be thrown open to Indian women.

Ramabai's evidence created a great sensation and reached the ears of Queen Victoria herself, bearing fruit later in the starting of the women's medical movement by Lady Dufferin. The Pandita now began to feel the need for herself of a good training and of a proper acquaintance with the English language. So, overcoming a great deal of natural hesitation, she left for England in 1883. She was met there by the Sisters of Wantage, one of whom she had known in Poona. She went to their home, St. Mary's Home as it was called,

for a year to learn English. Then she went to the Ladies' College at Cheltenham, where for two years she supported herself by teaching Sanskrit, at the same time studying Mathematics, Natural Science and English Literature. "I owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to the Sisters", she wrote to Miss Beale, the late Lady Principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College, "these ladies took great pains with me and taught me the subjects which would help me in my life".

As we have seen, Ramabai and her brother, before they reached Calcutta in 1878, had become dissatisfied with the Hindu religion. They had found it inadequate for their needs and longings. When they went to Calcutta, they came into touch with Christians and attended their services and social gatherings. This is what Ramabai wrote of the first one of such she attended:—

We looked upon the proceedings of the assembly with curiosity, but did not understand what they were about. After a little while, one of them opened a book and read something out of it, and then they all knelt down before their chairs and some one said something with closed eyes; we were told that was the way they prayed to God. We did not see any image to which they paid their homage, but it seemed

as though they were paying homage to the chairs, before which they knelt. Such was the crude idea of Christian worship that impressed itself on my mind.

She was given a copy of the Bible in Sanskrit, but found the language and the teaching so different from what she was accustomed to, that she did not spend much time on it then. Later, while instructing the women about religion, she began to carefully study the Shastras, and found what she thought were many contradictions among them. For instance she quoted the following from the Mahabharata:—"The Vedas differ from each other; *Smritis*, that is, books of sacred laws, do not agree with one another; the secret of religion is in some hidden place; the only way is that which is followed by great men". But what chiefly set her against the Hindu religion was its attitude towards women. No woman could attain Moksha. Her only god was her husband, however undeserving he might be; and only by pleasing him could she attain Swarga, or higher existence, and that too as his wife and slave. But, she could not get Moksha or utter liberation, which was the true heaven, as a woman, for she could not study

the Vedas through which alone the true knowledge of Brahma was to be had.

Ramabai found the Sudras in the same case as the women. As for low-caste people, they were not given hope of any sort. Placed in the same category as the lowest species of animals, whose very shadow and sound were thought to be defiling, the only hope of Heaven for them was the very remote chance of being reincarnated as one of the higher castes. In the meanwhile, the sacred Brahmans kept as far from them as possible and never thought it necessary to provide them with even temples for worship.

One day, Ramabai met Keshub Chunder Sen and was taken by him to his house and introduced to his wife and daughters. He gave her a copy of the Vedas to read, in spite of her protestation that women should not be allowed to study the sacred books. So, fortified by his large-heartedness, she began to read the Vedas and Vedanta, but still she was not satisfied. Then she came across a Bengali translation of St. Luke's Gospel, after which she read the book of Genesis, which was

explained to her by Mr. Allen, a Baptist Missionary. The stories in both appealed to her. Having no religion to hold to, she thought she would like to try the Christian religion. But her husband, who was then alive, was very vexed with her and stopped her religious studies for a time.

After his death, she went on with the study of the New Testament. When she went to England she was much impressed by the Christian work of the Sisters of Wantage. She saw that a new force, called the love of Christ, had come into the lives of women, a force which filled them with pity and love for all fallen creatures, specially for unfortunate and erring women, to whom the Hindu religion was very severe. She heard the story of Christ and His generosity to the sinful Samaritan Woman. She read of His divine pity for all sinners; and she realised that Christianity alone, among all the religions she had known, was the true religion of uplift, salvation and hope for the down-trodden and the wicked. As she said :

"While the old Hindu Scriptures have given us some-

beautiful precepts of living, the New Dispensation of Christ has given us the grace to carry these principles into practice; and that makes all the difference in the world. The precepts are like the steam-engine on the track, beautiful and with great possibilities; Christ and his Gospel are the steam, the motive power that can make the engine move”.

So she became intellectually convinced of the truth of Christianity and was baptised at Wantage in 1883. After that, she went on with her religious studies, for she knew that real heart-knowledge of Christ had not come to her. As she wrote, “I came to know, after eight years from the time of my baptism, that I had found the Christian religion, which was good enough for me; but I had not found Christ, who is the Life of the religion and the Light of every man that cometh into the world”. For two years, she tells us she was very unhappy. Then she realised, from a book called “From Wealth unto Life” by Mr. Haslam, the Evangelist, that instead of working upwards, she was working from the top against all recognised rules. Gradually light came to her. She wrote as follows about her struggle:—

“I do not know if any one of my readers has ever had the experience of being shut up in a room, where

there was nothing but thick darkness, and then groping in it to find something of which he or she was in dire need. I can think of no one but the blind man, whose story is given in John 9. He was born blind, and, remained so for forty years of his life, and then suddenly he found the Mighty One, who could give him eyesight. Who could have described his joy at seeing the daylight, when there had not been a particle of hope of his ever seeing it? Even the inspired Evangelist has not attempted to do it. I can give only a faint idea of what I felt when my mental eyes were opened and when I, who was 'sitting in the darkness, saw great light', and when I felt sure that to me who, but a few moments ago 'sat in the region and shadow of death, light had sprung up.' I was very like the man who was told, 'In the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk'. 'And he leaping up stood, and walked, and entered with them into the temple, walking and leaping, and praising God.' The Holy Spirit made it clear to me from the word of God, that the salvation which God gives through Christ is present, and not something future. I believed it. I received it, and was filled with joy."

But all that took a long time. In the meantime, she had progressed much in several ways. In 1885 she went to America in response to an invitation from her cousin Mrs. Anandabai Joshi, who had gone there sometime before to study medicine. Her theories now began to take practical shape. She was so fascinated by the educational system of America, that instead of staying a few weeks as she originally intended, she stayed there three years. She studied the public school system and took a

training in Kindergarten study as well as in methods of agriculture, weaving, printing, laundry work, sewing work, embroidery and so on. She found a good friend in Miss R. Bodley, A.M., M.D., the Dean of the Women's Medical College, Philadelphia, from where Dr. Joshi took her degree of M.D. Ramabai had always advocated that a school should be started by Indian women for Indian Women, where they could have industrial as well as mental training; but, hitherto, her highest ambition had been to secure a Government appointment in India. Now she went further. She began to compose a series of Marathi Text Books for girls. Then, she wrote her well-known book, "The High Caste Hindu Woman", wherein she spoke of the evils of Hindu social life, such as the ignorance of the women of India, child-marriage, the joint-family system, and the non-marriage of Hindu widows. To this book, a preface was written by Dr. Bodley, where was related in sympathetic terms the life of Anandabai Joshi, with the history of Ramabai herself and an appeal for help for a home of study for young widows

in India. This work, by which Dr. Bodley declared "that the silence of a thousand years had been broken," won many adherents for Ramabai, chiefly among those who had worked against slavery and in the Women's Christian Temperance Union. In 1887, a tentative committee of women was formed to consider Ramabai's plans; a few months later this committee presented its report; and an Association was organised, called the Ramabai Association. It was a very unsectarian one, in as much as its Vice-President, Trustees and Executive Committee came from different denominations. Its headquarters were in Boston, and it had "circles all over the country" whose members took an agreement to contribute a certain sum for ten years for the support of a High Caste Widows' Home in India. Ramabai was so overwhelmed with pleasure at the forming of this Association, that we are told, she sobbed for very happiness. "I am crying for joy", she said, "that my dream of years has become a reality."

In 1888, she travelled from Philadelphia to San Francisco and other important places;

speaking about her pet scheme. She was made so happy by her American friends that, when she left for India, she felt as if she were going to a strange country and to a strange people.

The news of Ramabai's return caused a good deal of excitement in Bombay. As we have seen, she had created a small sensation before she had left for America; and now the rumour preceded her that she was intending to open an educational home for Indian Women. Sure enough when Ramabai reached Bombay, the first thing she did was to open the "Sharada Sadan" or "Home of Learning." She received her greatest support from the Brahma Samaj, which formed a sort of half-way house between Christianity and Hinduism. The Brahmans, being fairly liberal-minded, sent their daughters to the Sharada Sadan. In 1890, this school was removed to Poona and established in a fine bungalow with a large compound. Pupils began to come in. A great impetus to Ramabai's work was given when Miss Sundarabai H. Powar, who had been doing missionary work in Bombay, left the mission,

and joined Ramabai as her helper. In 1892, when the inmates had increased to 40, the Home was finally opened.

One can safely say that Ramabai kept four ideals before her at the beginning. In the first place, she wished to develop her pupils into useful members of society, and not into mere bookworms, and so she trained them to be teachers, housekeepers, nurses, wives and mothers. In the second place, she wished to keep her pupils Indian and not Anglicize them. She desired them not to practice Western ideals of life, but the old simple customs of food, dress and life. In the third place, she wished the institution to be a real home for girls. The teaching staff was treated more or less on the same level as the "pupils". "I wish them to become acquainted with as many good people as possible; to learn what the outside world is like from pictures and books and to enjoy the wonderful works of God as they ramble in the garden, study with the microscope, or view the heavens from the veranda on the roof". The result, therefore, was a close bond between

Ramabai and her pupils, a sweet motherly love and care on one side and a touching devotion and gratitude on the other.

Finally Ramabai wished to steer a neutral line in the religious teaching of her home. She liked Missions and missionary work. As she said:—

"Missionaries are showing by their Precept and example that Christianity does not mean going into other countries and taking possession of them putting taxes upon the people, introducing the liquor traffic, and gaining a great deal of revenue from the infamous traffics in rum and opium. As their numbers multiply they are gaining a foothold in the country, and also commanding the love and respect of the people by their earnestness in missionary work. And finally, the blessed Gospel will be everywhere preached by the missionaries; and I hope someday we shall owe to their labours and their prayers a great army of Christian apostles among our people, who will eventually regenerate the whole Hindu nation through their lives and their teachings".

But she felt that at that time when the Hindus were all against Christianity, it was not possible to reach them through missionary methods. She was sure that her own methods would prepare the way for the work of missionaries. She said;

"We give them (the pupils) all liberty to keep their caste and customs, and we have made all arrangements for it. They are not prevented from praying to their own Gods, nor from wearing those

Gods round their necks, if they want to; and some girls in my school do so, as I used to years ago. Do you think I have gone against the religion of the girls? No, not in any way. I have not taught the girls any religious system. If they wanted any religious training, they might go out of the school to the missionary, or to the Hindu teacher. But I am glad to say that some light came to them, not from ourselves, but from God. If the widows and ignorant women of India were made independent in spirit, they would surely and naturally adopt Christianity as she had done. "Christ", argued Rambai, "came to give different gifts to different people; some He made prophets; some He made preachers; some He made teachers. Since I have become a Christian, I have thought He has given me the gift of being a sweeper. I want to sweep away some of the old difficulties that lie before the missionaries in their efforts to reach our Hindu widows.

But she herself did not hide the fact that she was a Christian. Her little daughter, aged eight, constantly affirmed that she was a Christian and that the Bible was her Shastra. Rambai herself held family worship in her own rooms with her daughter and a few Christian friends. The door was left open, and the Hindu pupils were free to come in and go out, and gradually many of them fell into the habit of attending daily worship, joining in the prayers, and kneeling when the Christians knelt. The Bible was placed among the other books in the library. All this brought a great reaction against Rambai. It was rumoured

that contrary to her promise, she was teaching Christianity to her pupils. Much abuse and criticism followed and pupils fell away. But Ramabai, strong in her convictions, firmly averred that she was free to act as a Christian in her own house. Soon, the Christian spirit began to work. Several of the girls, who had no Hindu relatives alive, professed themselves Christians, and in 1896, fifteen of them were with Ramabai at a Christian camp meeting at Lanouli.

Between 1896 and 1897, the great famine of India reached its culmination, and Ramabai was able to do much relief work. She undertook trips to the famine-stricken parts of not only the Bombay Presidency but of the Central Provinces as well. She visited poor houses and relief-camps, travelled in jungles and wildernesses, and snatched hundreds and hundreds of widows and girls from the jaws of death.

It was fully a work of faith. Ramabai had only a few rupees in hand, and the money from America was, owing to several reasons, often delayed sometimes decreased. But

Ramabai prayed in unquestioning hope, and soon remittances poured in from all sides. The work increased by leaps and bounds. After first getting together sixty girls and women, Ramabai returned to Poona for three days. Then she started again for the Central Provinces. Her heart ached with grief for the girls :

Ever since I have seen these girls in the famine districts some fallen into the hands of wicked people ; some ruined for life and turned out by their cruel masters owing to bad diseases, to die a miserable death in a hopeless, helpless manner ; some being treated in the hospitals, only to be taken back into the pits of sin, there to await a cruel death ; some bearing the burdens of sin, utterly lost to the sense of shame and humanity ; hell has become a horrible reality to me, and my heart is bleeding for those daughters of fond parents, who have died leaving them orphans. Who with a mother's heart and a sister's love can rest without doing everything in her power to save at least a few of the girls who can yet be saved from the hands of the evil ones ?

Ramabai was soon called back to Poona, because the plague had broken out there. The Government ordered that no more inmates should be sent to the Sharada Sadan. Then Ramabai began her work of organisation. She hired a dozen tents and sent an establishment into the open country twenty miles away, while she herself stayed in Poona. Some time

before that, she had purchased a piece of land at Khedgaon, and planted it with useful crops and fruit trees, the produce from which she hoped would yield a good income a few years later. Now, in her dilemma, she thought of the farm. Grass huts and a large barn were erected, and a number of people were sent there. The work of rescue, therefore, went on in quite an efficient manner. Ramabai got together from five hundred to six hundred starving women and children; keeping about three hundred for herself, she passed on the rest to different Mission institutions. She gave the name of Mukti to the home. She started various departments for her rescued people, such as painting, weaving, basket-making, and she organised a children's school and a home for the deformed and mentally afflicted.

In 1898 the ten years of help from the American circles came to an end; and Ramabai received an urgent invitation to go to America to renew the Association. She had by that time secured the help of Miss Abrams, a good missionary of the Methodist Episcopal

Church. With her, therefore, at Mukti, Miss Sundarabai Powar in the Sharada Shadan and Gadre, an educated Brahman convert, as chief steward, Ramabai felt free to go to America. She had in 1897 sent three bright girls to America for further education. Now, she took with her two other girls. Those five girls were given a home with Mrs. Roberts, Principal of the A. M. Chesbrough Seminary, North Chili. The education of her own daughter Manorama, had been provided for by a good Christian lady in America. After eighteen months in England, Manorama joined her mother on the way to America, and was also left in the care of Mrs. Roberts.

Ramabai found her efforts crowned with success in America. The old executive committee of the Ramabai Association was dissolved, after giving a vote of the utmost confidence in the Pandita and her work. A new committee was formed, which promised to support the Sharada Shadan as before, but with no time-limit, and also to help in the work at Mukti. Out of the money sent in former years by the Association, Ramabai had used some

to buy a good deal of property. Now this property was transferred to the care of Ramabai.

Partly from anxiety, partly from weariness, Ramabai had fallen ill in America. When she recovered, she went on a visit to England, with the hope of forming an English Association to assist her, but she met with no success. After visiting the Keswick Convention with great joy, she returned home. Before leaving for America, she had furnished new plans for a new building at Mukti; and on her return, the building which had been completed, was dedicated to God's service. This is what Mrs. Dyer wrote of the institution :

"In January 1889, my husband and I paid a farewell visit to Khadgaon before leaving India. We found the work going on most satisfactorily, and a number of industries in full swing. These industries were chiefly of an agricultural nature, preparing food-stuffs for consumption at Mukti, and the Sharda Shadan, and thus reducing materially the expenditure of both establishments. The dairy department provided all the milk, butter, and ghee, for both institutions. A gift of fifty pounds sent to Ramabai by a lady in England, instead of a legacy, had then recently enabled her to enlarge this department of the work by the purchase of more cows; and while in America the previous year a wealthy American friend had given her some American churns and other improved dairy appliances, including some very nicely-contrived cans, in which milk was daily sent by rail to Poona. We went to see the cows, a number of which had young

calves. Ramabai was then anticipating the increase of this department into a regular business of supplying dairy produce to customers in Poona; but the subsequent famine made it very difficult to maintain the cattle, and all the milk and ghee obtainable were needed to sustain and succour the famine victims. A deaf and dumb woman was in charge of the churning department, and eagerly displayed to us the superiority of the new churns over the previously employed native methods."

About this time, Mr. and Mrs. Norton and Mrs. Baker, three missionaries from America, came to Mukti; and through their help Ramabai was able to carry out a long-cherished scheme into effect. Her heart had long ached over the poor girls' who had been sinned against by the world. Now she started a rescue home for them, and secured for her first superintendent, Miss Edmunds, who had been in charge of a similar home in America. When the girls increased to twenty, she set apart for the site of the home, a large plot she had purchased sometime ago near the Mukti property. Before Miss Baker left, the foundation stone was laid; and when Mrs. Baker went to America, she was able to get the money for the completion of the home, which was filled in three years with three hundred inmates. This home was called the Kripa Sadan.

Christian conversion was progressing apace in the homes. In 1898 a mission band of 35 was formed at Mukti under Miss Abrams, on the basis of the Student Volunteer movement. Ramabai's influence was also felt in several other ways. For instance, she was able to arrange that no liquor should be sold at Khedgaon.

In 1900 came another great famine in North India, and again Ramabai helped greatly. Here is what she wrote about it :

" In August, 1899, famine was officially declared; the wells dried up, the fruit trees planted round them withered away, the cattle yielded so little milk that it could only be provided for the babies, as there was no grass, and vegetables were an impossibility. One morning nearly two hundred starving people came into our compound as I went out early to see what could be done to save the dying fruit trees. The people literally besieged me; the women took hold of my hand and begged for work. I was so overcome by this sight that I could only say a few words to comfort them, and invited them to come to our barn and join in prayer to God for the salvation of their souls and bodies. All followed me silently and sat down in an orderly and reverent manner as any Christian congregation to hear the Gospel and to ask God for rain and food. All heard the glad tidings of a Saviour's love, and of God the Father of us all, who is ever ready to hear and answer prayer.

Sixty were employed at once, and others told to come later on as there was no work for them this week. Some went away disappointed, others sat around as if determined never to leave the premises.

till they got work. Little boys and girls spoke in such a piteous manner that I could not but promise to employ them all. But they would not leave till all their names were written on the roll, and they got a positive promise of employment next week."

Ramabai took in about 1,500 girls from Gujerat, Rajaputana and other countries round about, besides sending many to mission orphanages. A normal school of 50 for training teachers was organised among the girls, 50 new classes were opened; and the kindergarten section took in 400. Thus, all were soon busy, half a day in the Industrial department and the rest of the time at their books. The garden and fields, the oil press and dairy, the laundry and bakery, the making of plain Indian garments, caps, lace, buttons, ropes, brooms and baskets, the spinning of wool and cotton, the weaving of blankets, rugs and sarees and other cloth, embroidery and various sorts of fancy work, thread winding, grain parching, tinning of cooking vessels, and lastly a printing press, furnished employment suited to all capacities.

By 1900 the schools had grown into great institutions. 580 in the Mukti Sadan, 60 in the Kripa Sadan and 100 in the Sharada Sadan.

were under training. 16 paid teachers came from outside to teach and there were 85 others to help. Most of the latter received only a normal pay, but obtained their boarding and lodging from the schools.

It is pleasant to note the results. 70 teachers and workers were produced in eleven years from the Sharada Sadan, and 80 from Mukti learnt to earn their living during the past three years. 85 of these two sets found work in the institutions themselves and 65 of the old girls were either married or became teachers and workers in outside places.

In 1900 Manorama Bai returned from America after finishing her higher school course. She had hoped to return to America to take her, B.A. but had never found the time for it. Instead, she graduated at the Bombay University in 1917. She became Principal of the High School of Sharada Sadan, which was removed to Khedgaon. Sundara Bai Powar left the work about this time, in order to join another work where her presence seemed more necessary.

In 1902, a boys' orphanage had been opened at Dhond by Mrs. Norton with special Industries for them. Zenana work was also started, and soon was in full swing. About 1903, a magazine called the MUKTI PRAYER BELL was started. In 1912 by special request a school was opened by Manorama at Gulburgh and placed on a Christian basis.

The church at Mukti did not belong to any special denomination. Eventually, it was left in the charge of the Rev. W. Robbins of Poona. A foreign mission was opened and the first meeting was held at Mukti one Easter Sunday. Some money was sent to the China Inland Mission, some to Armenia; a great deal to other missions in India. In 1902, a system of prayers circles was introduced, through which each member of all the institutions was remembered in prayer daily by name, by friends all over the world. Indeed, Ramabai believed much in the power of prayer. In 1903, Manaroma and Miss Abrams were sent to take part in the Australian revival. The Welsh revival was also encouraging, and in

1905 a new Prayer circle was opened at Mukti to pray for the revival in India.

Pandita Ramabai who has been called the Moses of her people spent fourteen years in a translation of the New Testament into the simplest Marathi, as far as the Acts of the Apostles. It was published in 1912 and about it was written thus: "Many in Western India will feel deeply indebted to Pandita Ramabai for her simple, yet beautiful, translation of the New Testament." Many papers of tracts and gospels were printed at, and distributed from, Mukti. In 1918, Ramabai printed 23,000 copies of a Life of Christ in Marathi. She also wrote a Marathi cookery book, with the Gospel portion printed on the back of each simple recipe.

The expenses of Mukti were very heavy, but were not felt as a burden even during the great War and so the work went on. One almost holds one's breath, wrote a visitor at the magnitude of this work, "going on in every department without hitch, and then to realise that the human head of this huge enterprise is just this most wonderful woman, Ramabai.

My heart rejoices as I see what God is doing through one of India's daughters."

The Secret of Ramabai's power, as we have said before, was her immense faith. Great were her financial trials, but prayer was offered always and in many instances relief came.

After the girls from the Gujarathi famine had got settled into the institution, Rambai put all the surplus funds into buildings, to meet the requirements of the enlarged family. For some time, funds came in sufficient amounts to continue the building, but then came a time when money again became scarce, and the strain of living from hand to mouth, and buying supplies in small quantities, and doing without many things that were needed became very wearisome. Among the cold weather visitors to India that year, was a Gospel Minister, carrying on a large work in London, who was interested more than most in foreign missions. He came to Mukti and saw the work with which he was much impressed. This friend was both able and willing to relieve the most pressing needs, and after his return to England, he so pleaded for Ramabai's work

that one wealthy friend sent money enough for all the clothes needed, and funds for current expenses were sent in sufficient amounts to relieve anxiety.

It is pleasant to hear of the force of Ramabai's personality from one of her close friends.

"The chief characteristics of her life were her noble, dignified and commanding personality, her wonderful administrative capacity, her exceptionally loving, sympathetic and generous nature, her great spirituality and deep humility, her immense mountain-moving faith, her strength of character, and quiet, winning, humorous ways, and above all her great passion for winning souls. In spite of the innumerable demands upon her time and attention, she always found time to show her love and friendship for the little children who crowded round her, the weak and disabled and mentally defective whom she considered her friends, as well as for the birds, cattle and other animals, which she called each one by name, and fed with her own hands. On special occasions such as Durbar Day, she held feasts for these her favourites, when delicacies were distributed both among the children as well as the dumb birds and beasts. The feeding of her birds and cats was her favourite recreation after the day's work. But the greatest feature of her character was her Himalyan faith in the Heavenly Father, which was sustained by her unceasing, prayerful spirit. Besides stated times of prayer and meditation her whole life was a prayerful one, and herein lay the whole secret of her great success. Prayer was the power which worked her great institution. The word [of God] was her ever abiding strength."



RAJAH SIR HARNAM SINGH.

RAJAH SIR HARNAM SINGH.

ENGLAND'S best assets in the past under the operation of the Law of Primogeniture have been the younger sons of noble families. With traditions, atmosphere, education and culture, open to the scions of great and historic houses, which would or should enable them to attain any height, their prospects in life have been disproportionately limited. But their outlook of life has not been so restricted. On the other hand, the incentive for work has been proportionately larger and the result sometimes admirable.

There is in India no lack of houses and families in which the circumscribing limitations of what would correspond to the Law of Primogeniture, operate prejudicially to the prospects of younger

* The writer of this sketch has drawn largely from a contribution to the INDIAN REVIEW by Dr. Sir Debiprasad Sarvadhicari,

sons. But the counterbalancing good fortune of England is sadly lacking here. The law of compensation is not in full operation. Otherwise, there would have been a stronghold of culture and worth, as the background and support not merely of every such family and house but of the country, the value of which it would be impossible to over-estimate. Look around as carefully as we may, the vista is indeed depressing and poor, as any Indian State and any house governed by the Law of Primogeniture would prove. The means of education of our Ruling Princes are far from ideal and the education of the younger members of their families, with no large roseate prospects before them, is poorer still. Their education, however, ought to be the prime care of the Government of India and is no less a matter of anxiety to the people from the larger political point of view.

A SCION OF THE HOUSE OF KAPURTHALA

There are, however, notable exceptions to the general prevalence of neglect and disappointment in these directions. One of the most notable is the case of Raja Sir Harnam Singh

Ahluwalia, K.C.I.E.—a distinguished son of the Kapurthala ruling family.

His name stands foremost among the pious and pure Christians whose change of religion is due to a deep sense of spiritual conviction. Rajah Sir Harnam Singh literally gave up his earthly kingdom for the Heavenly, for he was born heir presumptive of the Kapurthala Sikh State. He was born on the 15th of November 1851, and was the second son of His Highness Rajah-i-Rajgan Sir Randhir Singh Bahadur, G. C. S. I., the Kunwar Sahib. His brother, Tikka Sahib Kharak Singh, came to the Kapurthala Throne in 1870, and if he had died sonless, Prince Harnam Singh had the assurance of coming to the Throne. But the Prince, having weighed earthly pre-eminence with membership in the Kingdom of Christ, chose the latter and forsook all for Christ.

EARLY STRUGGLES

He is thus an entirely self-educated and wholly self-made man, and life's early handicap not only did not daunt him but really served to inspire him. It en-

couraged him and made him exert himself all the more. In fact, his early life was full of hard struggles, and he had many enemies. His knowledge of Christianity was first gained through the Rev. J. S. Woodside of the American Presbyterian Mission when he was but 9 years old, under whose tuition he was placed. He was but four years under his tuition, yet his mind was saturated with the truths of Christianity, and in 1872, two years after the accession of his brother, he left the State, and he went to Jullunder where the late Rev. Golaknath was labouring, and, under his instructions, decided to accept Christianity, and was baptized by Mr. Golaknath in 1874, and afterwards married Mr. Golaknath's youngest daughter. He thus cut himself off entirely from the State. He was busy for some time in acquiring a knowledge especially of English, although he was well up in Persian and in Punjabi, his own vernacular. He now speaks English faultlessly. Sir Harnam Singh, while changing his faith, did not change his costume but as far as his culture and enlightenment go, he has few equals and fewer superiors.

His brother died within seven years of this accession, and, in 1877, the Government of Punjab appointed him Manager of the Oudh Estates which are more valuable than the State of Kapurthala. Prince Harnam Singh remained in this position for 18 years, and, under his management, the Estates made great progress, and the income was more than doubled. He established schools and dispensaries for the people. While thus engaged, the Prince was Honorary Secretary to the Hemp Drugs Commission during 1893-99, and did invaluable work. He was also an Honorary Magistrate and has long been a Fellow of the Punjab University. He served also as a nominated Additional Member of the Imperial and the Punjab Legislative Councils, and showed much independence in the Council-debates and had even opposed "the Land Alienation Bill." In this connection, he pointed out in one of his speeches that the measure, if passed, would result in the bigger fishes swallowing up the smaller ones. His prophecy has evidently turned out to be true as is now generally acknowledged both by the Press and

the People of the Punjab. He has also served on some official Committees of investigation, always rendering valuable help.

A NOBLE PATERFAMILIAS

Sir Harnam Singh was invited to be present in England at King Edward's Coronation. He was knighted in 1899, and the title of Rajah was conferred on him in 1907, which was later made hereditary. He is now honoured by the Sikhs and orthodox Hindus alike, who esteem him for his gentlemanliness and saintly character. His wife, who died last year, was a faithful friend and comforter to him, and a helpful adviser. She was gentle-mannered and one of the best educated women in India. Her philanthropy and sympathy went hand in hand, and she spent much of her time and money for charitable works. She rendered valuable help in starting the Dufferin Fund.

Sir Harnam Singh was blessed with seven sons and one daughter, and all are living except a son. He has given excellent education to them, all of whom have been educated in England.

SIR HARNAM'S SONS

The Raja Sahib's eldest son, Kunwar Raghbir Singh, O. B. E., is a member of the Punjab Commission and is now Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana. The second son, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, C. L. E., who is a distinguished District Officer in the U. P., and has been a Deputy Secretary in the Educational Department of the Government of India, was selected some time back to make some delicate and important enquiries about Indian labour conditions abroad, particularly in Mauritius and Guiana upon which largely depends the future of Indian Labour Emigration. Recently he acted as Commissioner of Allahabad. The third son, Lt-Col. Kunwar Shums-hera Singh, is a member of the Indian Medical Service and is the Civil Surgeon of Rawalpindi, Jullundur. The fourth son, Kunwar Dalip Singh, is a well-known Barrister in Lahore, and is now acting as a Judge of the Punjab High Court. The youngest son, Kunwar Jasbir Singh, holds the responsible position of Special Manager in the very important Estate of Balrampur in Oudh. One of

his sons, Captain Kunwar Indarjit Singh, gave his life in the Service of his King and Country on the fields of France in the Great War. The only daughter, Rajkumari Bibi Amrit Kaur, is an accomplished lady, who would be the pride of any family and would adorn any society.

A CAREER OF SERVICE AND HONOUR

"I have attained the age of more than three score years and ten, and now I wish to die in peace" is the Raja Sahib's ever recurring theme, and he has no personal ambition or thought of individual advancement. All that come to him receive his help and advice; and many from all parts of the country throng to him, confide in him, and return reassured and helped. He knows the Punjab and the Province of Oudh, and has more than a nodding acquaintance with Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces; the only Provinces of which he does not personally know much are Assam and Burma. The Raja Sahib has known, in some cases intimately, all the Viceroys from Lord Canning downward, all the Lieut.-Governors in the Provinces of the Punjab and

the United Provinces during the last fifty years and all the Commanders-in-Chief, Members of Executive Councils and Secretaries in Northern India and many other notables besides. His intimacy with the Indian Chiefs and Princes and their advisers and friends has been singular, and if only he would consent to break his silence or at all events record for future use his reminiscences, great indeed would be posterity's benefit. They would be useful to the historian. He has been to Europe on several occasions, and has had the honour of being received in audience by the late Queen-Empress Victoria, the late King-Emperor Edward VII and the present King-Emperor and the Prince of Wales. So he has seen and known four generations of the Sovereigns of India.

A GOD-FEARING CHRISTIAN

A good God-fearing Christian, with unlimited tolerance for other faiths and creeds which he knows at close quarters, his piety is deep but unostentatious as are indeed his charity and abiding sympathy with all good deeds. A genuine sense of joy lightens

up his face and a cheery smile that slowly spreads greets all that come near, gives reassurance and makes them feel at home. But injustice and tyranny and any approach to them would make him flare up and the wicked and wrong-doer would have no escape from his displeasure. A man among men anywhere, he attracts attention in his striking Oriental garb, with his spotless Pugree, always in position. Change of faith and free-mixing with Europeans and Anglicised society has not led to a change of dress, manners or habits, which are the simplest imaginable. His houses at Simla and in Jullundur (Punjab) are delightfully well-appointed and perfectly cosmopolitan in taste. The Raja Sahib is one of the oldest residents of Simla. His residence, "The Manor", was designed and constructed by himself forty years ago, and his orchard and fruit-garden are one of the most attractive in that quiet and salubrious locality of Simla.

A FULL CAREER

Much of the Raja Sahib's early time was spent at Lucknow in improving and managing the Oudh Estate of the 'Kapur-

thala State during the present ruler's minority. The tale of his stewardship was graphically told in the *Pioneer* a quarter of a century ago, and people, who are almost forgetting it, might well recall it to mind. After the Sepoy War, the aid of Sikh rulers and Bengali educationists was called into requisition for pacifying Oudh, thanks to Lord Canning's far-seeing policy. The influence for good in the Kapurthala State was great. And young Kunwar Harnam Singh, as he then was, maintained and increased this influence during his managership of the Kapurthala Oudh Estate. He was worthily seconded by influences represented by Raja Dakshina Ranjan Mookerjee, and Rai Bahadur Prof. Raj Kunwar Sarvadhikary. The Canning College, the Talukdars' Association, the British Indian Association of Lucknow, the *Lucknow Times*, and the *Lucknow Express*, as they came in the wake, added to such influence and the turbulent Oudh barons in turn became England's firm friends. Much of the credit for the work is undoubtedly Kunwar Harnam Singh's who.

has for over forty years been First Honorary Secretary and later, Honorary Life Secretary of the British Indian Association. Fitting is it indeed that his son, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, should now be serving the U. P. Government as an acting Commissioner while another son of his, Kunwar Jasbir Singh, should be loyally serving the ancient house of Balrampur.

It is a pity and an irony of fate, that the Raja Sahib's vast and varied experience is not more utilised in the Councils of the Empire. In the *Pioneer's* words in 1900, the eyes of the Indian world were turned to the indomitable Raja Harnam Singh when the Punjab Land Alienation Bill was having its passage through the then Imperial Council of India. There was a time, when, under favourable circumstances, the Raja Sahib might have put through his pet Railway Scheme in the Doab, but for vested interests standing in the way. And though years have gone by, it still requires taking up.

THE RAJAH IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE

He has been doing his duty loyally and steadily in the Council of State

for India, where it is a pleasure to meet him as a colleague. Though he does not talk much, he advises a great deal. He serves well indeed, though seemingly he but stands and waits. In spite of his early change of faith, he is a good and stalwart Khalsa Sikh at heart.

How high the house of Sir Harnam Singh is held in official esteem will be demonstrated by H. E. Sir Edward Maclagan, accompanied by Field Marshal Sir William Birdwood paying a farewell personal visit to the Rani Sahiba at 'The Manor' and by his stopping his special rail motor car at the Summer Hill Railway Station on the day of his departure from Simla, in order to spare the Raja Sahib the trouble of having to undertake the long journey to Barnes Court and to let him bid good-bye to the Punjab Governor, near his own home. It was a singular honour indeed, that was highly appreciated, though there was no newspaper boom about it.

TYPE OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND CHARACTER

His flower-garden, his orchard, his books, his guests, his friends, his faith, his charity and his trusts take up much of his time, and his

worthy and devoted lady willingly and cheerfully seconded his efforts in all and every one of these directions. The Raja Sahib's Educational Trust has been a relief to many indigent students, and enabled them to prosecute their studies. His recent endowment of about Rs. 80,000 in memory of his son Capt. Kanwar Indarjit, I. M. S., M. C. towards the cause of medical research shows his keenness in all matters affecting the country's good. He is studiously punctilious in the slightest concerns of life, is courtesy personified even in the smallest details to the extent of insisting on seeing his guest to his room, every night, after his long and informing after-dinner talks, no matter how many nights it might be. Methodical and business-like in all that he undertakes, not a paper on his table nor a book on his shelves would be allowed to be out of place and the smallest of specks would attract his attention. His figure that well bears the burden of years and cares, would willingly take up any other rightful burden even in the even tide of life,

burdens that the services of God or man might require. It is a mellowed sunset, almost Turner-esque in its richness. In Sir Harnam Singh's life, we have the best specimen of Christian life and character, proving the power of Christianity. He, apart from his station in life, has enthroned himself in the hearts of the people to whom he is a faithful friend, and really a king of their hearts, though not a temporal ruler. He stands out as a noble example of what a Christian should be, despite his position in the world. Cheerfully, withal, is he ready to lay down all burden, at the appointed hour uncomplainingly, for his never-ending and none too pessimistic theme is "Let me depart in peace." May such departure be deferred ever so long, for men like the Hon'ble Raja Sir Harnam Singh can be ill-spared by his country, his friends and his Government at this juncture.

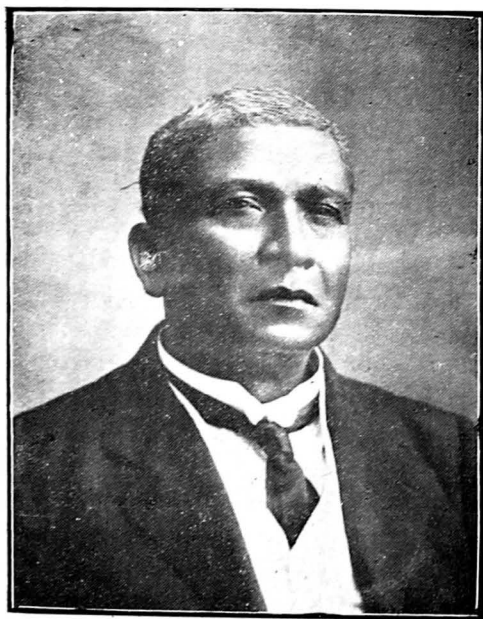
L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI.

Seek we sepulture,
On a tall mountain, cited on the top,
Crowded with culture.

Browning.

Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai* was born into a period of stirring events. During more than half a century, new forces brought change into the changeless East. Young Indians breathed a new atmosphere intellectually and spiritually. They came under a new stimulus, compounded of many elements, each of them new and inspiring. To that stimulus must be attributed the sudden upward growth in politics, education and social life. Unfortunately, the mighty movement of the 'Indian Renaissance' has taken a political turn which may retard the full realization of the achievements it was destined to produce. On the whole, it must be admitted, science and

*Sketch prepared by Rev. L. Prasep.p. S. J., M. A. Principal, St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore.



L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI.

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literature, arts and industries, have been less productive than politics. The period has had its great men, too. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the founder of the 'Servants of India', and, perhaps, the best constructive statesman comes first to the mind. To him must be added Dr. Bhandarkar, famous educationist and Sanskrit scholar; Romesh Chandra Dutt, Indian Historian; Rabindranath Tagore, the poet of world-wide renown; Sir J. C. Bose, the international scientist; Mahatma Gandhi, the reformer who has staked his fame and the triumph of his cause upon 'satyagraha' and 'charka,' non-co-operation and the spinning-wheel.

Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai, though great, has no such title to fame as has any one of these. He was no poet or scientist of the first class, no leader in state-craft; he headed no political or religious movement. In brief, he was not hero in the accepted sense of the word.

The days of hero-worship died with Carlyle's apotheosis of the hero. Yet the term has been coupled with the name of Swami-

kannu Pillai by many friends and admirers, standing by his remains before they were lowered into the grave. From a Memoir aiming at offering a disinterested appreciation of his life and character, even the appearance of exaggeration must be eschewed. All the same, it may be affirmed that, though no hero, he had the stuff of which heroes are made. Was he, like Browning's Grammarian, a 'high man aiming at a million,' and, in the attempt, missing 'an unit'? Time is the best historian: no one is entitled to forestall its final verdict on the abiding value of the services rendered by Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai to his country. The history of Indian Chronology and the Annals of the Legislative Council of the Madras Presidency of which he was the first Secretary, the second nominated and the first elected President, when they come to be written, will look incomplete and poor without a chapter dedicated to his name. More than this, his figure stands out prominent in the golden leaves of the 'Book of Life,' which Angels keep and which none but the best of us may read. If he failed to achieve greater

things it was not for lack of genius within, but because of the external circumstances of birth and religion which, from the very outset, prescribed boundaries to the possibilities of the part he was destined to play.

For, in his case, it cannot be too much emphasised that he came of humble parentage. Despite his many lucrative appointments in after years, which sheer want almost forced him to court, and despite the simplicity of his manner of life, poverty continued in a way, to dog his career throughout. In a letter to a friend, dated 24th December 1923, he writes :

“I am frightened to think I am running so fearfully in debt with you. Besides the Rs. 100 which I hope to pay in January and in February, I hope to pay Rs. 500 in March out of my pay (it is only Rs. 2,000 against Rs. 1,500 which I now draw). My February increment goes to X”.

And likewise, a large share of the remaining money went, each month, to the many relations who depended on him

In the light of the above letter, it is pathetic to read the following lines, the last he wrote on the 30th of July, 1925, to his Spiritual Director : '...This morning a curious reflection occurred to me. I am perturbed in mind because my family is not well provided for. But I know as a matter of Faith that after death I shall be perfectly satisfied with God's actual disposal of my family.' He never enjoyed the leisure, '*otium cum dignitate*,' necessary for the highest achievements. From humble official beginnings he climbed in fact to all but the loftiest rung of the ladder of office. Yet no one will deny that to be a Catholic, in a country like India, is no recommendation to preferment. If he rose high, his success was entirely the outcome of personal effort. As the late President of the Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Mr. M. Ruthnaswami, M.L.A., put it, L. D. Swamikannu Pillai "like Burke could say he was not cradled and dandled into office. He was challenged at every step and had to produce the passport of his efficient and hard work, before he was allowed to pass on."

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

Louis Dominic Swamikannu Pillai was born on the 11th of February 1865 at Madras*. His parents, like those of other celebrated men, were poor. Mr. Louis Pillai, his father, hailed from Somanoor. In early youth he had been a student of the Seminary at Pondicherry, but was compelled to abandon the ecclesiastical career on account of the straitened circumstances of his family, and in 1856, he settled down in his native village as a clerk under Mr. Cherry, a Forest Officer, in the Taluk Cutcherry. With a view to enhancing his small earnings, he undertook to teach French to the children of some European settlers in those parts. At this time, he seems to have fallen under Protestant influence. He found his way to Madras where, after a period of theological training, he worked, between the years 1861—1866, with the Rev. Mr. Simpson who was in charge of the Sylvan Garden, Royapettah.

Though born of Catholic parents, Swamikannu was baptized in the Protestant Church, through the exertions of

Mr. N. Subramanian, a former Administrator-General of Madras and a devout Protestant. In vain were the protests of the mother, unwilling to see any of her children brought up outside the Catholic Faith. She, in the end, wrote to her brother-in-law, the Rev. Fr. Aloysius of Coimbatore, acquainting him with all the circumstances of the event. The priest came to Madras and succeeded in having the boy then one year and a half old, baptized again in St. Peter's Church, Royapuram. In 1870, the family, consisting of the father, mother, two sons and a daughter left Madras for good and returned to their native village. Mr. Louis Pillai was first employed for a short time at Podanur; he, later, moved on with the children to Ootacamund and was entertained as a low-paid teacher in the Breeks' Memorial School in that town. Young Dominic was sent to learn the three R's in the Catholic parochial school managed by the Rev. C. Biolley, a venerable priest now nearly ninety years old. Let us, in passing, pay a tribute of love, may be the only one recorded in print, to this dear veteran

soldier, who spent the best and longest portion of his days in the mission field without once revisiting France, his beloved country. We do it the more willingly because there is reason to believe that Fr. Biolley took a special interest in young Swamikannu and recommended him and his brother to the Jesuits at Negapatam on the East Coast. The two boys travelled from Ootacamund to Coimbatore on foot—there was no railway in the early seventies—and the story goes that the amusement of rolling limes along the road helped them to walk the long distances. They joined St. Joseph's College at the beginning of 1874, and Swamikannu was placed in the Second Class, corresponding to the Second Form of the present system of education. It is here that the nine-year lad began to lay the foundation of that deep scholarship for which he has been deservedly praised. There was nothing very remarkable in his outward appearance. One of his teachers has left a description of him at this period. "He was not a very big man then, a sprightly little boy, with a pair of

sparkling eyes, full of life and cheerfulness, who had already contracted the inveterate habit of being, though the smallest of the lot, the first boy of his class."

From the first, two influences were at work in moulding his intellect and character. He felt the strength of the classical tradition built up by such humanists as were the Jesuit Fathers at St. Joseph's. The names of Fr. Bruni, Dr. Barrow, Fr. Gallo and Frs. Abreu and Bangar were often on his lips in after life. To this list must be added the name of the late Fr. Jean, one of the most enthusiastic Latin scholars of the day. As Rector of the College, Fr. Jean came in contact with the young student, was struck by his extraordinary mental gifts and greatly encouraged him in the study of Latin. He seems to have contributed the largest share to the boy's intellectual development, so much so that, despite all the honours heaped upon Swami-kannu Pillai in mature life, he continued to pride himself on having been the disciple and the intimate friend of the Rev. Fr. A. Jean. The other influence, altogether spiritual, was

derived from his bond of union with the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin of which he became from the start a junior member, and with its Director, the Rev. Fr. Eyraud. For, it must be borne in mind, that no appreciation of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai can be complete, if it neglects to take stock of the spiritual aspect of his life. Intellect and religion are the two pillars on which rested the structure of his future greatness.

The Jesuits were quick to realize that young Swamikannu was not to be ranked with the average boys one meets at College and that, even thus early, he was a coming man. His splendid abilities made an impression also on his fellow-students. He was the quickest learner ever seen at the School, and this, coupled with the fact that he had already received from his father a good grounding in Latin and French, made him often the centre of wonder and admiration. He was full of life and heartiness withal, of fun and frolic, the pleasantest comrade whose company was much sought after by everyone.

In those early days of St. Joseph's at Nega-patam, the Fathers used to hold school 'concertations'. Each class was divided into two rival camps, say the Romans and the Carthaginians, with the two best boys as their respective leaders. Every now and then, a subject for concertation was chosen beforehand, and on an appointed day, the staff and the students of the institution assembled in the big Hall to witness the intellectual match. Little Swami-kannu Pillai was at home in such contests. He had a perfect mastery of the Latin grammar, its declensions, pronouns, irregular verbs, its higher idiomatic elegances, and it was a pleasure to see him unravel difficult questions put to him by bigger boys and come off victorious from the ordeal. Nowadays, the century-old 'camp system,' is held to be quite out-of-date, yet we may be permitted to doubt whether the improved methods of pedagogy offer a more potent stimulus to the mental activities of the boys. The dominant place assigned to 'method' and the craze for 'precocious speciali-zation' has unmistakably been attended by a proportionate decrease of initiative and:

thoroughness. Under the influence of the new Psychology, educationists have laid greater stress on the development of the art of teaching than on the labour and toil involved in the process of learning. Anyway, L. D. Swamikannu Pillai was, characteristically, a product of the Old School often identified with the '*Ratio Studiorum*' or Educational System of the Jesuits.

In December 1878, he sat for the Matriculation Examination. Much was expected of him and we suspect, it was with some feeling of disappointment that the results were received. He had secured the fifth place in the Presidency, a splendid achievement for a boy of thirteen, though, perhaps, not up to the expectations of his teachers and companions. When he joined the F. A. class in the beginning of 1879, a considerable change was noticed in him, which became more and more marked as days passed. His usual cheerfulness and merriment did not altogether desert him; but an air of seriousness and gravity now characterized all his movements and actions. He became, so to say, wedded to his studies, and

wasted no time in vain and fruitless amusements. The result of this intensified application was a first class both in the F. A. and B. A. examinations in which he ranked first and second respectively in the Presidency. The latter, especially, was a remarkable feat for young Swamikannu who, under very unfavourable circumstances, had chosen Mathematics for his optional subject.

In 1882, Sir W. W. Hunter, President of the Education Commission, paid a visit to St. Joseph's, accompanied by the Rev. Dr. William Miller of the Christian College, Madras. Swamikannu Pillai, a mere lad of seventeen who had just passed his B. A., was asked by the authorities of the College to prepare an address of welcome. He did so, and greatly distinguished himself by reading a Latin poem, the elegance and melody of which were much appreciated by the distinguished visitors. In reply, Sir W. W. Hunter improvised a few Latin verses complimenting the youthful Latinist as well as the Institution which he compared to a classic ground, and its Rector to a gardener that had come from a far-famed

Academic grove in the West to cultivate rare and delicate plants at Negapatam.

After taking his degree, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai offered his services to the College in which he had received education, and he followed its vicissitudes when, at the time of the Concordat of 1886, St. Joseph's College was transferred from Negapatam to Trichinopoly. Needless to say that, as a Professor of English, he contributed not a little to its popularity in the new home. Indeed, it would be hard to praise too highly his splendid talents. His intellect was of the first order, strong and penetrating and clear. As he used to say, 'he took to Latin as a fish takes to water' and would read his classics as Macaulay put it with 'his feet in the fender.' He was in fact a model student to the end of his life. It was said that he knew fourteen languages, both Eastern and Western, and was equally at home in Tamil and in English. In fact, he seems to have taken, as far as a man may, all forms of learning as his province. Indian Chronology and Scientific Astronomy were his special subjects in which he did pioneer work. But.

He was equally interested in Mathematics, Politics, History, Religion and Philosophy. His mind was as wide as it was powerful. The list of his published works* bears testimony to the depth of his scholarship on the one hand, and on the other, to his industrious habits which enabled him to continue his studies and researches of his youth amidst the incessant official duties of his career. THE INDIAN CHRONOLOGY and THE INDIAN EPHEMERIS are enough to immortalize the name of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai as a leader in a new line of investigation in which he was held to be one of the three or four authorities in the whole world.

He had a facile pen. 'English,' wrote Mr. Ruthnaswami, 'in his keeping was a polished instrument of expression.' Even a short conversation with him was enough to make one feel he was in the presence of a first-rate literary man. There was a ring of eighteenth

* Indian Chronology, 1911
 Indian Ephemeris, 700 A. D. to 2000 A. D., 1922
 Indian Antiquary
 Secrets of Memory
 Phonal Shorthand in five volumes
 Madras Year Book 1924.

century style in his polished and crystal-like sentences. They reminded you of Addison and Steele. It was difficult to resist the impression that he had made a special study of these writers, and many thought that, in other circumstances, he might have become a very distinguished member of the little Senate over which the author of CATO ruled like a king. These achievements would have been even greater if Swamikannu Pillai had been in a position to devote exclusively to science and literature the rare talents of his mind. But he was too poor for the seclusion of the scholar's cloister. It is indeed much to be regretted that no Mæcenas came forward to offer young Swamikannu a scholarship for higher studies in England when he topped the list in the B.A. Examination of 1882. It would be vain and profitless at this distance of time to indulge in the forecast of mere possibilities, but one cannot help thinking that in few other instances, University money was destined in the long run to show better returns. As it is, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai must for ever remain a genius of

"unfulfilled renown," a scholar to whom the great opportunity was never offered.

FROM CLERK TO PRESIDENT
OF COUNCIL

But let us retrace our steps to pursue chronologically the narrative of his life. The first attempts to cut a career for himself were not attended with much success. Of all professions, Education is the least remunerative from a financial view-point, and Mr. Swamikannu Pillai was unquestionably in need of money. From St. Joseph's College he joined the Government Secretariat as a clerk on Rs. 50. Dissatisfied with the personnel, the work and its monotonous drudgery, he accepted, in 1890-91, a post of Lecturer in Latin in the Presidency College. He tried, but found it extremely difficult to enter the Provincial Educational Service. At this period, he was already a Master of Arts, he became a Bachelor of Laws of the Madras University and took the LL. B. Degree of London. In the Provincial Civil Service Examination for which he competed, the first place went to his rival Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao. This

failure, if such it can be called, was a bitter disappointment to Swamikannu Pillai who, conscious of his abilities, was trying hard to find an opening to an official career. Fortunately, Sir Henry Stokes came to his rescue. He had come in contact with Swamikannu Pillai in Madras, and, struck by his linguistic and scholarly attainments, offered him a post as Deputy Collector in 1892. Few acts of kindness, if success be the measure of their value, have been bestowed on more deserving persons. From hence onwards, it became easy for Swamikannu Pillai to carve his way to the top of the ladder and bstride this narrow world like a colossus. He soon became Asst. Secretary to the Board of Revenue (1895-1906), Secretary to the same Board (1906-1911), and Registrar of Co-operative Societies (1911-1917). It was a new department where much legislation and reform was needed. The name of Swamikannu Pillai shall be for ever associated with the history of the co-operative movement in this Presidency. For, his mastery of the literature on co-operation in English, French and German enabled him to

do much pioneer work and he took infinite pains to popularize the scheme by his tours and many lectures. He was appointed Collector and District Magistrate (1917-1920), Director of Agriculture for a short period and First Secretary to the Council (1920-1923). Whilst in the latter office he was deputed by the Governor of Madras to go to England to study Parliamentary procedure. He succeeded Sir P. Rajagopalachari as President, when the latter was appointed to the India Council, and was elected in the second reformed Legislative Council as its first non-official President. The choice was anything but popular with a section of the representatives of the people, but even they, in the end, had to confess that his tact and gentle and affable manners won for him the good will of the House. Such was the career of this man, who, step by step, through no favour or luck, but sheer ability and hard work, rose from the humble status of a clerk to position second only to that of the Governor himself.

But the greatness of Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai lies not in

success, but in the fact that he succeeded because as a man he was great. He had no doubt the initial advantage of splendid abilities with which to make a start. But even these, after all, are not so rare in our days of cheap and universal education. Many of his contemporaries both at school and in public life, ranked not far below him in mere wealth of intellectual attainments. The key to his felicitous career must be searched for elsewhere. To the remarkable talents with which nature and heredity had endowed his mind, he was fortunate enough to add the best qualities of a really noble heart. He lost none of the opportunities which education in a Jesuit College offers, especially to Catholic students, for the building up of character.

A PERFECT GENTLEMAN

Newman's well-known definition of a gentleman fitted him like a glove. As his friend Mr. M. Ruthnaswami put it, 'he was modest to the point of self-suppression, shy and reserved at first approach but genuinely cordial on deeper acquaintance, pure in private life, and a puritan in his public career, animated by the

spirit of sacrifice for those who were near and dear to him, he passed through the disappointments and troubles of public life with a lofty courage and an unbreakable trust in God's. For, we must remember, Swamikannu Pillai was no Wordsworth content to commune with nature, but had to deal with men of the world and rub shoulders with them. A public career is no bed of roses in which to lie for much solitary contemplation. The Council Hall, in a special manner, is the greatest arena for the play of character. And Swamikannu Pillai as Secretary and President of the Legislative Council, it was remarked, never deviated from fine manners and courtesy. He had an imperturbable temper, and there has been not a single occasion on which even momentarily he lost his self-control or behaved discourteously. Swamikannu Pillai was, by nature, shy and reserved. Free and straightforward in the discharge of the duties attached to his official capacity, he anxiously shrank into himself from the hard world. He was ever ill at ease in ordinary society, but longed to escape back to the

bosom of his family or the intimate conversation of a few friends. He was too deeply intellectual to move freely on the picturesque stage of our metropolitan society and too dignified, perhaps too respectful, to adopt in it the simple style and quaint humour that were the charms of his conversations with friends and acquaintances. This recalls to mind another trait in the character of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, his extreme courtesy which, coupled with his geniality, modesty and humility, conveyed to those, who happened not to know him, no idea of his intellectual attainments and social position. Courtesy is not so common nowadays as many people would have it. It is not mere politeness, a quality much more fashionable and which is, often enough, only a cloak with which we cover a multitude of sins, more especially the sin of selfishness. The courtesy of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai was old-fashioned and genuine. With him it was a quality of nobility, an expression of the fine soul, inseparable from kindness and gentleness and the love of ordered beauty and the understanding of the pleasure and pain of others.

A MODEL CATHOLIC

Now to these gifts, great as they were, we must add yet another as the crown and coping-stone of the whole. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai was, above, all a model Catholic layman. Religion was the very root and branch of his being. Much as he loved letters, science and art, the beauties of nature and the charm of his children, yet all these pleasures were secondary. Born of Catholic parents, educated in a Catholic College, he remained to the end a fervent Catholic in mind and heart. His respect for Ecclesiastical authorities knew no bounds. Not all, perhaps, realise to the full the implications of this last statement. Obedience and submission are held almost in contempt in our days. Few can now appreciate Newman when he talks of the 'real pleasure of submitting.' There are occasions in the life of a Catholic when a man of the mental gifts and the social position of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai must find submission to the ordinary views and opinions of other men, even when placed in authority, very hard to the flesh. Perhaps, Swamikannu

Pillai never appeared greater in the eyes of those who can see than when such an occasion came in his way in 1917 after the Bishops' Conference at Bangalore. In it some measures of discipline were discussed and adopted by the Bishops of the Archdiocese of Madras with a view to introduce more uniformity in the attitude of Catholic laymen towards the social and political problems of the day. To a section of the community, the Conference was unpopular. An agitation was soon set afoot to oppose the action of the Bishops. For some time and in perfect good faith, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai adhered to the party of opposition, but on recognising his mistake, he withdrew from the party and published a pamphlet "The Agitation anent the Bishops' Conference", condemning the movement and undoing the possible evil his co-operation might have caused.

Piety is the truthful attitude which creatures assume in respect of their Creator, an attitude of the soul often gathered up into particular actions and concentrated in special rituals. It centres around the altar and delights in the

fulfilment of all the practices by which intelligent beings express their adoration and worship of the Deity. The elaborate and majestic ritual of the sacramental life of the Catholic Church on the one hand, and on the other, the stupendous wealth of well-regulated devotions towards God and His Saints are intended to express the concrete aspect of the virtue of religion. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai was a man of deep and sincere piety. Let no one be tempted to scoff at him for keeping a lamp burning day and night before the images of Saints or for joining in a procession in honour of the Blessed Virgin. To be sure, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai felt quite at home with the badge of a sodalist and a lighted taper in his hand, more at home, we believe, than when he had to attend official ceremonies in presidential robes or a University Convocation amidst Fellows and Senators in antiquated costumes. The late Duke of Norfolk, whom Swamikannu Pillai resembled so much in the piety of his life, knew how to harmonize the outward manifestations of religious belief with

the respect due to worldly greatness.' Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, we have said, was a socialist and a member of the Apostleship of Prayer and kept up the practice of reciting the Office of the Blessed Virgin and preparing for all the feasts celebrated in her honour. He faithfully followed the First Friday devotions. As a young man, he was a weekly communicant, but when Pius X recommended to the faithful the practice of frequent and daily Communion, he quietly adopted the practice and urged it on his children. He had a child-like love for our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament and a tender devotion for His Passion. Rosary and Night Prayers were sacred in his family, and they had to be recited in time, and under no condition to be omitted. Grace before and after meals was always to be said aloud even when non-Catholic and Hindu friends were present, so much so, says his daughter in a letter to which we shall refer presently, that when some Hindu friends invited the children to their table, they would expect them to say Grace before meals. Briefly, he practised all the devotions and exercises

he had learnt at school, and promptly added others as they came to be adopted in the Church.

HIS DOMESTIC LIFE

The last trait in the character of Mr. Swami-kannu Pillai, his domestic virtues and the love of his family, have been dealt with charmingly by one of his most favoured children. We would fain reprint the whole letter as it stands, did we not fear that it falls outside the scope of an essay. But no one can hope to describe it more feelingly and more sweetly than that part of the letter which refers to his domestic life. It is, therefore, fitting to wind up this Memoir with a quotation from it :—

“As you have expressed your desire to get some details about the domestic life of my beloved father, I shall just mention the personal experiences of a child of his father. My first experience of him was his great love for his children. Nothing which could increase their innocent pleasure he would deprive them of, at any cost whatsoever to his personal convenience or expenditure. I say innocent, because what I shall say hereafter will prove that he was never an over-indulgent father. He would come home late at night in these days, perhaps somewhere after eight. But we, his little ones, could not sleep without seeing him that evening. Even if sleep closed our eyes, we would wake up again at the announcement of his coming and rush to the gate to welcome him. Sleep would fly. But there often would people be waiting to see him. If they came on business matters, he sent-

them away quickly, as eager to listen to our childish joys and sorrows and happenings of the day as we were to prattle out our stories. Our first exchange of news being over, we would say our prayers. After that, we went for supper. He would finish his frugal repast quickly and would keep us amused with anecdotes from his rich fund of sparkling humour. More than once, he told us that he was never happier than when surrounded only by his family. He was never in a hurry to rise from table after supper, because that was the only time for our confidential and mutual chats. Although he was most uninterfering, each one of us felt he must know everything. That was all the more reason why we felt that he must know all our secrets.

"After supper when he rose to go to his office room, again we, his darling little ones, would follow him for some more 'robber stories', 'fairy tales', 'Nursery Rhymes' or 'baby poems.' By this time, nature would really assert herself and sleep would clasp us tight in her angry arms and weigh down our naughty lids, so much so, an aunt or elder sister would have to carry us to bed. Even then, if we woke up on the way to our beds, we would tear ourselves away back to the arms of our loving father. Perhaps, he would come himself to put us to bed. He used his original powers to amuse his darlings at home, as much as to compose great works. Each toy and sweet had a story of its own. So it was not only gratifying our sweet teeth but also feeding our baby intellects with new ideas. Father was our great store-house of Nursery Rhymes. Later on, I used to wonder whether he did not think them too insignificant to be retained in his memory side by side with all the greater things. I was nearly forgetting to say that he never failed to supply us with these stories and Nursery Rhymes in their usual garb of Picture Books. Those books are gone long ago and the dear story-teller himself has since closed his sweet eyes for ever to the fleeting pleasures of this mortal world.

Such was Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, who, loved, admired and lamented

ted by all, passed away on the 10th of September, 1925 :

A combination and a form indeed
Where every good did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man.

Hamlet, III. iv. 55-57.

NARAYAN VAMAN TILAK

INTRODUCTION

NARAYAN VAMAN TILAK, the Christian poet of Maharashtra, was a striking character in many respects. Patriot, poet and missionary, he wielded a great influence on the life and ideals of his countrymen in Western India. A towering personality among Indian Christians, he touched his generation at more points than one, now by his faith and piety, now by his indefatigable social service and again by his unfailing spirit of patriotism. Unlike his more famous namesake Bal Gangadhar Tilak, he seldom interfered in politics but like him had dedicated his life to learning and service. "Tilak was of the company of the men of faith for whom the unseen verities are far more evident and more sure than the passing shows of the world, and both by the witness of his life and character, and through the magic of his poetry was able to-

-share with others the vision which was his own unfailling inspiration." So writes Mr. J. C. Winslow who has contributed an excellent life sketch of the patriot-poet for whom he offers a secure place among the "Builders of Modern India." Indeed, the influence which his ideals and writings have exerted in Maharashtra particularly among the Christian community, is of a quality that deserves wider recognition and it is but fitting that the name of this pious and patriotic poet should be included in any record of the lives of Christian worthies in India.

PARENTAGE

Mr. Tilak was born at Karazzaon in Bombay Presidency in 1862. He came of the famous family of Chitpavan Brahmans which has produced in recent times such brilliant men as Ranade and Gokhale and Tilak. Pandita Ramabai and Nehemiah Goreh belonged to the same stock but it was left to Tilak to add to their service by his divine gift of poesy. It has been said that the natural scenery amid which his early childhood was passed and the life of the home in which he grew up contribut-

ed considerably to the making of the future poet and religious leader. Mr. Winslow, to whose *Life* of Tilak, we are indebted for the material for this sketch, gives a charming account of the prodigal beauty of the mountain sides and the simple freedom of the home wherein he was born and nurtured. For the home that reared him was not his father's. His father's village was Chikhargaon, in another part of the District; but Vaman Rao (for that was the name of his father) was a Government Registrar with a considerable circle of villages to visit. The peripatetic officer found little time to be in the company of his wife and children and Narayan was brought up in his mother's home where he was the idol of his mother's father—an old Sadhu who after a pilgrimage to Pandarpur was spending his declining years in retirement, devoting himself solely to worship and meditation. Narayan's mother Janakibai, was a woman of a most lovable nature and of a deep religious faith. She was moreover a poetess and a ready composer of women's songs; and Tilak believed that he inherited his poetical

faculty from her. When Narayan was seven years old, this happy home life was broken up and a new home was set up at Kalyan. For Vaman Rao was transferred to Mokheda in the Nasik district and the peripatetic father now and then visited this separate establishment which was an hour's run from Bombay. Seventeen children were born of whom three boys and two girls alone survived. Sakharam the second son, was in favour with his father, as also was Sakhu, the younger daughter; but the youngest boy Mahadev, was disliked as much as the eldest, Narayan. It would appear that some astrological reading of Narayan's life forebode a change of religion which hardened his parent against him. And when Janakibai died after a raging fever Narayan was deprived even of the consolations of a mother's love.

EDUCATION

The ties of home having snapped so early Narayan went about straining every nerve to make both ends meet. His father had sent the other four children to be under his charge and Rs. 8 a month on which to keep them. It was a heavy burden; and his own education had

to suffer in his efforts to run the establishment on the allowance. But Narayan was a plucky boy. He studied Sanskrit under the famous Vedic scholar Ganesh Sastri Hele and won the first prize for elocution and oratory. English, he began to master by a curious method—that of getting the dictionary by heart.

When he had plodded halfway through the volume, he went one day to the headmaster of the High School, eager for more thorough instruction in the language. "How much English have you learnt?" he was asked. "As far as M," was the reply. The headmaster took him into the school free of charge, and in two years educated him up to the fifth standard, poetry, languages and history being the subjects which attracted him most. The brothers also had a good English education.

Narayan himself, says his biographer, after reaching the sixth standard, was obliged to leave school and set about earning enough to supplement the slender means of himself and his brothers and sisters, but he continued to prosecute his studies diligently in all leisure moments, and was throughout life a student of

English literature, acquiring thereby the power of writing and speaking English with ease and fluency.

Soon after he left school, when he was barely eighteen, Narayan was married to Manubai, a girl of eleven in the family of the Gokhales at Jalalpur. Then followed years of constant change of occupation and scene. We are told that his mind was in the ferment of a great unrest.

His impetuous and untiring intellect was pressing forward unceasingly into ever new fields of enquiry. He would sit for hours absorbed in study, heedless of meal-times and oblivious of any who might be seated with him. He had a passion to excel in oratory, and committed to memory whole speeches from Burke and Pitt and from translations of Demosthenes. But poetry—Sanskrit, Marathi and English—was always his best-loved study; and his own poems, growing daily richer in imaginative power and more accurate in technique, flowed from him in moments of inspiration with extraordinary rapidity. Some Sanskrit poetry also he wrote in these early years; but this never stirred him as did his own beloved tongue, and he continued it but a short time.

LIVELIHOOD

Leaving his wife with her own people at Jalalpur, Tilak would go forth on long and distant wanderings, returning to them from time to time for a few months' sojourn. He wandered in this way for a year or two in Khandesh

often begging his food from place to place as a Sadhu, but for a time settling down to regular work as headmaster of a school in Dhamak in the Varhad District. He would give speeches, *Kirtans* and *Puranas* in different places, and often earned in this way sufficient for his scanty needs. At one time we hear of him in sacred Dwarka, at another at Nagpur, at another at Rajnandgaon, working for six months in a printing press. Presently he is in Poona, and then again in Bombay, supporting himself by writing letters for illiterate people or by teaching in a Girgaum school. He had an enthusiasm for popular education, and during this period started, in succession, three schools in the Nasik neighbourhood—one at Panchavati, one at Murbad, where his father was now *talathi* and one at Wani. He had a natural gift for teaching, and was loved both by the children and by the many adults who attended the school.

COMING TO FAME

About 1887 his first son Vidyadhar was born but died after a year. A daughter born in 1889 also died in quick succession and in 1891

was born his son and heir Dattatreya and from this time forwards he took his wife to be with him and resolved to train himself to a settled life. This was made possible by the courtesy of one Appa Saheb Butt, a wealthy citizen of Nagpur who employed him to edit a great mass of Vedic literature gathered by him at enormous cost. At this time a great religious controversy was raging in Nagpur; and Tilak, from the first no-negligible opponent and now freshly equipped from his armoury of Sanskrit scriptures, entered the fray, and by his refutation of the leading and most orthodox *sastras* earned for himself the title of *Pandit*.

His fame as a poet also spread abroad and he began now to publish for his patron a monthly magazine called RISHI for the discussion of religious and philosophical questions. But his restless spirit bade him move onwards and he shook the dust of Nagpur off his feet and the RISHI expired.

REVOLT AGAINST CASTE

For while engrossed in the study of different religions and philosophies his mind was

undergoing a supreme metamorphosis. He had ceased to be bound by the word of the Veda: he had begun to analyse the teachings of the Smrithis and question the conclusions of ancient learning. Earlier still in life the atmosphere of freedom and unconventionality in his mother's home helped him to take a broad and tolerant view of things and he felt himself free to follow his own nose. He shook himself free from fanatical orthodoxy. Thus early developed in him an independent and liberal outlook taking him away from the round of orthodox tradition. Caste and the performance of religious rituals became hateful to him. Indeed, he openly defied some regulations of caste and the youthful pilgrim "fared forth in independent and fearless adventure for the truth."

Yet another strand was woven into the texture of his thoughts—the vision of his country's freedom and splendour. In early years, he came under the influence of a schoolmaster. Though this man never knew how to be truly useful to his country, yet he had the burning

love of a true patriot. He made the little-heads under his charge as dizzy with patriotism as his own. "This circumstance and others gave a peculiar turn to my mind. I well remember that even in my tender years, when I sat in the schoolroom for a lesson in geography, my mind was absent, for I was musing over the deep problem of India's future." "Henceforward," says Mr. Winslow, "It was this yearning love for his country even more than his own eager quest for truth which spurred him on. He longed to find for her a path by which she could become great and free, and could shake off those shackles which seemed to him to chain her. Whilst not indifferent to her political bondage, it was, above all, her moral and spiritual slavery which distressed his soul. Particularly he longed to sweep away the twin barriers of idolatry and caste."

CAUSES OF HIS CONVERSION

All through the ten years of wandering which followed the marriage his mind was pressing forward on its untiring quest. Well, it was this spiritual unrest which drew him from place to

place. He wandered about like a Sadhu in quest of truth and fell in with a kindred spirit from Bengal. They tried Yoga for a time and gave it up. It was after this that he began to edit a new monthly on religion and philosophy. But his new opinions were too much for his patron and he quitted service and obtained employment from the Raja of Rajnandgaon. On the way he came in contact with a European who became the immediate cause of his conversion. After some conversation on poets and poetry the stranger asked him about his attitude to Christianity:—

I told him my new doctrines, and, to my great surprise, he observed that I should be a Christian before a couple of years were passed. I thought it a mad prediction. We talked a long time. He said, 'Young man, God is leading you. Study the Bible and study the life of Jesus, and you will surely be a Christian.' I simply ridiculed what I regarded as this man's audacity. At last he prayed and gave me a copy of the New Testament. I promised him that I would read it, even though I should dislike it at first. I made the promise, not so much for any interest I had in the Bible, as for the feeling of personal friendship which this man's kindness had awakened. I got out at Rajnandgaon, and we parted with a hearty good-bye. Strange that we never thought of enquiring as to each other's name, residence or occupation!

"According to my usual custom, I resolved to go through the book marking with pencil the points worth noticing; but, when I reached the Sermon on the Mount, I could not tear myself away from those

burning words of love and tenderness and truth. In these three chapters I found answers to the most abstruse problems of Hindu philosophy. It amazed me to see how here the most profound problems were completely solved. I went on eagerly reading to the last page of the Bible, that I might learn more of Christ."

He continued his studies at Rajanandgaon which only confirmed his intellectual acceptance of Christianity. He concluded that Christ was the teacher whom India and the world needed.

"Five points in regard to Jesus Christ impressed me most deeply. First, I found in Him the ideal man. Second, it is He, and He alone, who makes love to God and to man of the same importance. Third, His perfect identification with His Father. Fourth, His inconceivable faith in Himself as the life and the light of the world. Fifth, His Cross and the whole history of His crucifixion."

But the knowledge of His teachings led to an appreciation of His power. Mr. Tilak records some instances where the power of Jesus and the efficacy of prayer are verified by some miracles. It was at this time too that he came in contact with Rev. Misal and Baba Padmanji, a learned convert in Bombay with whom Tilak carried on a considerable correspondence:

"It was on the 10th of March, 1894, that I wrote my first letter to any Christian. This was to a man whom

I knew by reputation as a writer. A few months after this date I believe I was a true Christian at heart."

He had found in Jesus Christ the goal of his long search, "that living Guru who could most richly satisfy his soul's hunger" ; and to Him he gave himself in thankful devotion and with all the passionate enthusiasm of his ardent nature.

HIS CONVERSION.

"As a Hindu I had, and still have, a typical respect and love to my Guru; and, when Jesus became my Guru, naturally I regarded and loved him with all the fervour and intensity of a real disciple. I experienced a peculiar fellowship with Him. This much I know that I could not be happy if I missed Him."

Conviction slowly led the way to conversion. But he could no more escape persecution than those who had gone before him. Poverty, loss of employment, loss of friends, every obstacle stood in the way. His own wife turned against him and sought with the help of others to dissuade him from being baptized. But God, he felt, was with him and was leading him to the Cross. Someone appeared uttering the words, "Follow Him, fear nothing." He at once wrote to the Rev. J. E. Abbott, of the American Marathi Mission, requesting him to publish the fact that he was a Christian. He did so,

and he was greatly relieved. At last he came to Bombay, and was baptized on the 10th of February 1895, exactly two years after he received the Bible from the gentleman in the train.

Estrangement from friends and relations was cruel but separation from his wife and son caused him the keenest pangs. When the news of his baptism arrived, his wife became frenzied with grief. "Look after her for me," he had said to his brother (who had come to him in Bombay to see for himself what Narayan was planning to do, and who carried back the news), "but be careful! Remember, Ganga is near." The warning, says Mr. Winslow, was not unneeded. Several times the distracted woman tried to fling herself into the river or into the well. For weeks she was as one beside herself, while her sister cared for her.

"She wrote passionate letters to her husband, in prose and in poetry, pleading with him to return. She said bitterly that she would write a tragedy and dedicate it to him. She seemed to be sick unto death with

the agony of separation. He sent her repeated assurances that he would be true to her, promising never to marry another nor to take away her child, though friends encouraged him to have the boy with him, believing that his mother would then soon follow. One thing only he could never do. He could never forsake Christ nor re-enter the fold of Hinduism."

But then his wife was in an agony of distraction. His prayers and expostulations to her to follow him unto Christ had no effect. She was a resolute child of orthodoxy and she endeavoured to reconvert her husband to the faith of his forbears. It is interesting to find that Bal Gangadhar Tilak secured permission from the leading Sastris of Benares for his restoration. But all to no purpose.

CONVERSION OF HIS WIFE

For five years he waited for her—years of unwearying love and prayer. He was given work with the American Marathi Mission at Ahmadnagar. For two years, says Mr. Winslow, his wife remained at Pandharpur, but soon, worried to death by the-

constant harassing of relations, she was about to escape from them when her husband arrived to visit her, and found to his joy and astonishment that she was willing to return with him to Ahmadnagar, if provision were made for her in a separate house. He agreed gladly, and secured her a house in the city. "She let him go to her daily, and read and pray, but not teach. Presently she consented to live within the same compound with him, though still in a separate house; and, when plague broke out at Ahmadnagar, they went together to the Mission station at Rahuri, where Christian friends found her willing to receive instruction. So, little by little, she drew nearer to him. At last she ceased to keep caste with him, and let him bring the water and help with the cooking. They went together in the hot weather of the year (1900) to Mahableshwar, and there it was that the barriers which had restrained her so long suddenly crumbled away."

The one bar to its acceptance was now removed. They returned to Rahuri, where she was baptized with her son Dattu; and from

that day onwards until the day of Tilak's death, she was his first guide and counsellor.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

With the acceptance of Christ and the restoration of his wife and child, his restlessness ceased and he settled down to his life work with the American Marathi Mission at Ahmednagar. Then followed twenty one years of steady work "marked by domestic life of rare beauty and happiness, and a public-ministry of increasing usefulness."

It was at this time too that he came in close touch with some of the leading spirits of the evangelical movement in Western India—Dr. Abbot and Rev. Hume. Between the latter and Tilak there grew up a beautiful friendship consecrated by mutual admiration and confidence. Together they worked for the mission for one and twenty years. Tilak showed his appreciation of Dr. Hume's friendship by desiring in his will that two pictures, one of Dr. Hume and one of himself, should be hung side by side in the theological seminary, inscribed respectively,

"The Foster-Father" and "The Foster-Child"

His principal work was done in the Seminary where he co-operated with Dr. Hume in his educational work, teaching Hinduism and non-Christian systems, Marathi and Sanskrit, the Gita with Sankara's commentary, Kirtan making and Church history. Ordained on 31st August 1904 he also preached in the Mission Church. He loved rich and dignified ceremonials as calculated to inspire Indian Christians. He believed that full stress should be laid upon the observance of the fasts and feasts of the Church, and he wrote an admirable booklet for Indian Christians upon the meaning and value of the season of Lent.

In the midst of this educational and ministerial work Tilak still found time for much social work in the city. He was the friend of all, and did much to promote a better mutual acquaintance amongst all classes in the town. He was always eager to stimulate literary and artistic activities. He conducted for some time a class for the study of Marathi poetry, and also gave much encouragement to the teachers of painting and drawing, helping them to start a club for the improvement of their art.

In 1903 plague broke out at Ahmednagar. His daughter Tara was attacked; and the father and mother went with her to the hospital and ministered to the needs of the sick and wounded. Later he began to work among the village Christians in and around Rahuri.

"I have been a volunteer worker in the Mission since last January. I am impressed with the idea that our chief need is *voluntary Christian service* by Indian Christians, with the guidance of Missions, and in perfect co-operation with the paid agency of Missions. I have been enabled to build a house on a splendid site at Rahuri, which is called 'Christ-Sadan,' i.e. Christ-Home. Here Mrs. Tilak and I have pledged ourselves to receive the enquirer after truth, the forlorn, and the fallen. Besides this the house provides for a volunteer Christian worker during the time he waits upon the Lord for preparation."

SOCIAL WORK

With this must be added his efforts for the creation and working of voluntary institutions for teaching the 3 R's and peripatetic organizations for preaching the Gospel among the Mahars in the District. Next year he wrote :

"The work of Christ Sadan has been steadily progressing. Enquirers from remote parts of India come and stay, are helped to understand the meaning and necessity of the salvation offered by Christ. Last year five such persons visited the Home, each staying on an average four weeks. One hundred and eleven letters were written to answer the questions and doubts of enquirers residing in different parts of India. Christ-Sadan, as usual, is open to sick, the old and the fallen, and the writer is thankful to God that

He has up to now enabled him to help these, giving him very often extra work to do and extra wages for it, and inspiring sometimes brothers and sisters to contribute pecuniarily towards the work."

But all through the years in Ahmednagar Tilak's spare moments were filled with literary work. His poetry must be dealt with separately but a word must be said of his journalistic work as also his work in Marathi prose.

AS A JOURNALIST

In 1900, he started editing a vernacular monthly paper, called CHRISTI ("The Christian"). It was carried on entirely by himself and Mrs. Tilak, without pecuniary help from the Mission, and was intended partly to supply useful Christian knowledge to simple Christians and partly to interest non-Christians also. In 1904, with the help of Mr. B. N. Kotak and the Rev. Ganpatrao Navalkar, he started THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN, an Anglo-vernacular monthly paper, widely circulated among Christians and non-Christians, which ran for three years. It was in this paper that Tilak began his translation into Marathi of *The Imitation of Christ*, two books of which he composed before his death. In the hot weather of 1905, he was at Kedgaon,

helping Pandita Ramabai in her translation of the New Testament.

A paper for children, called BALBODHMEWA, was edited at this time by Miss Hattie Bruce under the auspices of the American Marathi Mission. Tilak began to write for this in 1895, and from that time till 1909, when it came to an end, was a constant contributor to its columns, both in prose and verse.

From the first, too, Tilak wrote frequently for the DNYANODAYA, an English-Marathi weekly published now by a group of Missions, but in Tilak's time by the American Mission. It deals mainly with religious topics and is intended primarily for Christians, but especially of recent years has come to reach a wider circle of readers. The paper has an English and a Marathi editor, and the latter post was accepted by Tilak in 1912, and filled by him from that time onwards until his death. The columns of the paper gave him free scope for the expression of his views, not only on specifically religious questions, but on current matters of political, social and moral interest, on which he could "turn the

searchlight of Christian principles." Much of his most vigorous writing, both in prose and verse, appeared in the DNYANODAYA.

He was reaching a wider fame, says his biographer, through his public speaking in many places and through his contributions to the monthly Marathi magazine MANORANJAN. He was also a secretary and leading member of a society for the publication of modern Marathi poetry, known as Saradaprasadan Mandal. The public recognition of his literary merit reached a fitting climax in May, 1915, when he was appointed president of the Natyasammelan'—almost the highest honour, it is said, that the literary world of Maharashtra can bestow.

One aspect of Tilak's character was his deep love for India. His intense patriotism found adequate and frequent expression in all his writings, particularly in his poems. But he was above all an Indian Christian proud of his ancient heritage and anxious to Indianise the Church in the interests of Indian Christians.

Tilak felt that patriotism could transcend the differences of religion or sect, and be

a powerful bond for uniting a divided India.

"It will be a blessed day for India," he used to say "when every Indian, of whatever school, sect, or religion he be, unites with others in the common service of the Motherland, under the inspiration of patriotism. There is only one thing that will unite Christians, Mussulmans, Parsees, and Hindus, with their thousand and one castes, and that is the love of country."

HIS POETRY

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, with whom he had considerable intercourse in earlier days, he saw less after his conversion; but the nationalist leader never forgot him and he sent him later a presentation copy of *Gitarahasya*, the famous commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita*, which he wrote during his six years' imprisonment. Some of Tilak's patriotic songs deserve to be remembered. It is the Rishis and Sages of ancient Ind that still inspire his Muse and he sings in praise of the large hearted toleration of his countrymen for men of other faiths. In one of his abhangs he sings:

Thrice blessed is thy womb, my Motherland,
Whence mighty rishis, saints and sages spring;
A Christian I, yet here none taunteth me,
Nor buffeteth with angry questioning.
I meet and greet them, and with love embrace:
None saith, "Thou dost pollute us by thy sin!"

My Guru they delight to venerate;
 They say, "He is our brother and our kin."
 Let no man fancy that I idly prate;
 Such kindness greets me always, everywhere.
 Saith Dasa, O thou peerless Mother mine,
 Thy generous sons thy generous heart declare.

Few things pained him more than the discovery that a Christian was lacking in such patriotism. It is recorded that on one occasion two Indian students of the theological seminary were dining with him, and in the course of conversation one of the students indulged in some offensive criticisms of India and Indians. Tilak, unable to endure it, left the table hurriedly, and presently composed a poem beginning with the lines :

When as I heard men slander thee, Mother, it
 grieved me so,
 For very rage I thought my soul would burst her
 bars and go!

One of the ways in which Tilak helped to make his fellow Christians more truly Indian was by teaching them to study and love the older Marathi literature, specially the devotional poetry of Dnyaneshwar, Namdev and Tukaram, on which he constantly fed his own spirit. He believed that it was "over the bridge of Tukaram's verse" that he came to Christ.

The poetry of the Maratha saints, instinct with the emotion of loving devotion to God and longing for Him was, he believed, a *praeparatio evangelica* for the Christian Gospel. "We esteem all the world's saints," he wrote, "as prophets of God, and the sayings of the Hindu saints form our first Old Testament."

But undoubtedly Tilak's greatest contribution towards the "naturalization" of the Christian Church in India lay in that treasury of devotional lyrics with which he enriched her. Until he began to pour forth his bhajans, says Mr. Winslow, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Marathi-speaking Christians had no outlet for the pouring out of the heart's devotion in the worship of God. "The emotion changes with the mood of the music. Now it is a song of worship and adoration; now a passionate yearning for the Presence; now a transport of loving devotion; now the peace of a calm self-surrender to the divine Lover. This to the Indian is worship, and from this the Indian Christian of Maharashtra was cut off till Tilak came."

Till his time the devotion of the Indian soul fed itself on English hymns translated into doggeral Marathi. Now all this is changed, and the Christian Church in Maharashtra possesses a collection of Christian psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs which for literary merit and wealth of spiritual conception can have few rivals indeed.

The wealth of Christian poetry which Tilak has left behind him includes, not only three or four hundred original hymns of his own, but also renderings into Marathi poetry of some of the best English hymns, such as "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty," and Addison's "The stately firmament on high," and also of some of the Psalms, and of ancient canticles of the Church, such as the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

Another debt which the Christian Church owes to Tilak is his encouragement of what is called the kirtan as a means of preaching to non-Christians, and of edification for Christians also. The kirtan is a form of religious service, conducted by a single leader with a small choir assisting him, in which

hymns in praise of God alternate with the spoken description of His doings, usually of his doings when incarnate in human form. This form of service is said to have been originated, or at least to have been popularized, by the poet-saint Namdev in the fourteenth century. "A real kirtan," Tilak said, "ought to be a happy combination of music, poetry eloquence, and humour, all contributing to drive home religious truth." Tilak himself was a master of this form of preaching, and men would sit spell-bound through long hours of the night whilst he told them the story of the life of Christ, and sang and even danced in an ecstasy of devotion. And with the help of his songs, the kirtan has now won a wide popularity in the Christian Church in the Marathi country.

It was natural that Tilak, conscious of India's great spiritual heritage, should hesitate to go in for Western forms of ceremonial and worship. He wrote :—

Think not of India as of a child's buffonery or
a jester's tricks and airs ;

Here have sprung sages that were lords of yoga
whose light abides unto this day,

Men whose faith was their very life, their all, and
the world their home.

Yes, even here such kingly saints were born, and
in the hearts of all men they shone resplendent.
What boots it to bring here a masquerade of
strange disguises and of foreign airs?

All that you gain you'll squander in the end, and
about your neck Ignominy shall lay her garland.
Saith Dasa, Here be the Lord Jesus Christ set up
on high—that is our need alway!

HIS PATRIOTISM

As we have already said, Tilak, unlike his
great namesake, was no politician but he was
a patriot who honestly believed that the
salvation of India could come only through
Christ. He wrote to his son towards the
close of his life :—

"I believe that, unless India follows Jesus Christ,
all her efforts to improve her status will ultimately
fail. I am exclusively and wholly a preacher of Jesus
and Him crucified. I repent to have wasted much of
my life in trying to serve my country by taking part
in all her different activities. Jesus was a patriot
and wished to serve His country, and He tried to lay
for its future structure the foundation of the Kingdom
of God. Without that foundation civilization may
prove a way to utter destruction, materially, as in the
case of Belgium, or morally, as in the case of Ger-
many."

Tilak was for a time a member of the Home
Rule League but he laid greater emphasis on
the removal of untouchability than on removal
of foreign domination. When War came in
Europe he urged his fellow countrymen to

throw themselves heartily in support of the Empire, and towards the close of the War in 1918 he went so far as to say that the schemes for immediate independence which advanced politicians were pressing were premature and might even be disastrous. Tilak died before Gandhi started his Non-co-operation but we have an interesting record of Tilak's view of Satyagraha. One of the last things Tilak did, two or three days before his end, was to dictate a last message to his countrymen upon the true method of satyagraha as employed by "the greatest *satyagrahi* in history, Jesus of Nazareth." He warmly admired Mahatma Gandhi, whom he described as "in every sense truly worthy of the title Mahatma"; but he considered that he was gravely mistaken in "striving to make satyagraha popular in India, where extremists, anarchists and other mischief-makers are only too eager to abuse so lofty an idea."

The closing years of the nineteenth century witnessed a great revival of Maratha poetry, a revival in which Tilak's part was considerable.

Indeed he might almost be said to be the pioneer of the movement.

MR. TILAK'S POETRY

The new school of Marathi poets hoisted a flag of revolt against the eighteenth-century standards of Marathi poetry, sedulously perfected by Moropant and his school, and affectionately cherished and cultivated by Marathi men of letters in the first three quarters of the last century. Indeed as Prof. Patvardhan pointed out in a scholarly article on Tilak's poetry :

Polished elegance of language and harmonies of sound, when combined with clever intellectual surprises, passed for the highest poetry before the advent of Tilak, Kesavasut, and their school. Mr. Tilak was among the first to break away from the trodden path and introduce innovations, both as regards metre and conception. He was one of those who carried into effect the healthy influence of the Wordsworthian school, who led Marathi poetry out of doors and taught her to realize the free, open and bracing air of Nature, lured her out of the melancholy precincts of asceticism, coaxed her into discarding the yellow robes of renunciation, and persuaded her to enter with an eager, founding heart into the world of rainbow hues and sunny splendour. The New School of Marathi poetry has emerged from the cramping conception that restricted the field of poetry to matters of piety and devotion, to matters of other-worldly interest, and has taught poetry to live and move and have her being in this world, in the realities of material life. The waving grasses and smiling flowers of the

field, the dancing ears of corn and the nodding heads of trees, the rolling piles of clouds and sparkling drops of dew; these came to be discovered anew, and the might and mystery of the known world lent a fullness and wealth to the new song never before dreamt of. Mr. Tilak shares the credit with Kesavasut, though the latter, who is somewhat junior to the former, was the bolder and bolder innovator. The school to which they belonged brought poetry down from heaven to this world or rather brought the poetic muse to find her delightful abode as much on earth as beyond it. Like the lark of Wordsworth, Marathi poetry in their hands came to be true both to heaven and home."

Tilak and Kesavasut were the true pioneers of this movement.

Perhaps it will not be altogether misleading to say that whilst Kesavasut has often been compared with Shelley, Tilak may be called the Wordsworth of Maharashtra. Wordsworth was his own favourite English poet; and Tilak certainly resembles him in the simplicity of his diction and dislike of artifice, in his love of children and of poetry about them, and in his love of flowers, trees, hills and valleys, and the whole world of Nature, which for him was replete with spiritual meaning a reflection of the Uncreated Beauty at the heart of it.

Tilak's poetical activity, says Mr. Winslow, may be divided roughly into four periods. The first is the period preceding his change of faith, that is, down to the year 1895. During these years he was a diligent student of Sanskrit poetry, and the poems of this time bear the mark of it. The second period is from 1895 to 1900, when he became known

as the poet of flowers and children, from the number of poems he composed on these themes. The third reaches down to the end of 1912, and comprises a great output of both secular and devotional poetry—on the secular side, poems of home life and love, poems of Nature and national and patriotic songs; and on the devotional side, most of the Christian hymns collected together in the *Bhajan Sangraha*. The fourth period covers the last six years of his life, when he wrote almost entirely religious poetry, and specially the first book of the *Christian* (the only book he completed out of eleven) and most of the abhangs in *Abhanganjali*, published just after his death. The periods overlap to a considerable extent, but they do roughly indicate the dominant character of the successive stages of his writings.

We can but touch on one or two of Tilak's poems in this brief sketch in which we are more concerned with his life as a Christian.

Tilak started a small monthly magazine called KAVYAKUSUMANJALI, devoted entirely to Marathi poetry; it was the first of its kind,

but ran only for about a year. In the early nineties Kesavasut, Datta, and Vinayak were beginning to write, and soon the stream of the new poetry was in full flood. The barriers of Sanskrit pedantry and bondage to outward forms were swept away before it. The men of Maharashtra found to their amazement that their national literature had passed through a new birth, and that poetry could speak to them in the familiar language of their homes, and illumine with a new beauty the actual world in which they lived.

Tilak's love of natural beauty and his extraordinary gift of expression are sufficiently proved. But a passage in his great poem *The Flower of the Forest* must be quoted for the elegance of style and beauty of sentiment. The poet complains that the flower is wasting its beauty in the lonely waste and urges it to come and live in the world of men :

Yet once again I tell thee—life and love,
 These are not twain but one, for love is life,
 And to lose love is to be surfeited
 With nothing else but self, which is to die.
 He that for love's sake scorneth happiness,
 He only findeth happiness fulfilled.
 He that for love's sake yieldeth up his flesh,
 He only findeth true salvation.

Love is salvation, love is happiness,
 Yea, love is heaven, and God Himself is Love.
 Come, let us clothe us in the form of love,
 And then perforce must we be joined with God?
 Ah! sweetest floweret, He that rules this world,
 Love is His Name! What can I tell thee more?
 Cease now thy hermit days and come with me!
 None other boon but this I ask of thee.

The poem has received many interpretations but we must find room for Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's. He wrote:

"In this poem some have discerned the doctrine of the Bhagavad Gita about contemplation and action preached by the poet. It may be so; but to me it is enough to read into it a simpler moral, that our habitual way of treating flowers is more or less desecration. The moment flowers bloom we pluck them for our gods or women; and the gardens of God, where they form such a splendid galaxy of stars to teach us how they grow and worship, are laid bare and turned into waste places. So we turn flowers, as we turn men, into means, when they ought to be all ends in themselves; Mr. Tilak's heart of poetry bloomed when he felt the forest flower in its proper place; the flower then entered into his spirit and yielded music. True gardener he and the like, who give room enough for the soul of man to grow in his proper place like a flower living free in its garden, instead of being plucked for our selfish ends to decorate our bodies and serve our tables of artificial life."

Now the flower poems naturally develop later into the rich Nature poetry in which gods and hearts and rivers and hills play their part. Indeed the whole earth becomes a temple filled with the presence of God and resounding with his praises.

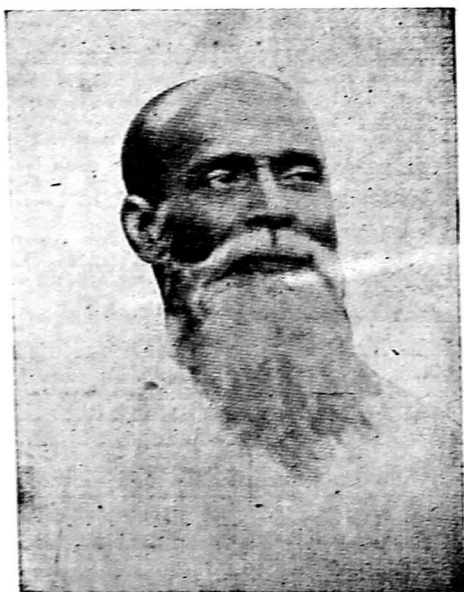
I waited, nor had need to tarry long
 When earth broke into universal song.
 The trees with mute, gesticulating speech
 Proclaim Thy still-new wonders, each to each.
 The birds pour forth their blitheful minstrelsy;
 Known unto them their language—and to Thee!
 What marvel if I, too, with them awhile,
 Sharing their secret utterance, nod and smile.
 The grasses' rippling merriment and dance—
 How could mere voice such utterance enhance?
 The babbling brooks entranced sing Thy praise;
 The mountains listen in entranced amaze.
 Saith Dasa, O my God, where'er I be
 In this Thy world, Thy worshippers I see.

The last group of secular poems comprises his national and patriotic songs. His *Beloved India* is the National Anthem of Maharashtra. The late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, no mean judge of poetry, wrote very warmly of these and other literary efforts of Tilak. "Tilak," he wrote:

loves his land, sees in it a diadem of the terrestrial globe, sights the vision of saints, seers and soldiers of the past of his country, discerns a beneficent Providence in India's association with Britain, and sounds the poet's trumpet-call with his larger faith and hope for the future. Mr. Tilak's poem called *Ranasing* has all this power of prophecy in it, and I for one have read it heartened many a time. There dwells the soul of his flowering poetry in it. To enter into the spirit of that poem and let that spirit flow into ours, we must read along with it his poems headed *Tumultuous Noises*, *Uproar*, and *Absence of Unity*. The poet meets a number of men, some educated, others illiterate, who wrangle over the present times in India, when Congress and conference, Moderate and Extremist, Atheist, Theosophist and

Arya Samajist, Brahman and Sydra, touchable and untouchable, social reformer and social reactionary, Moslem and Hindu, divide the minds and hearts of India, and no one can say where we are and whither we are going. On another occasion the poet seems mad with joy when all around him is conflict, and he is asked how he could be musical amidst all this noise and disturbance. These poems give his answer—it is out of discord concord will come, as light comes out of darkness; the very noises of the times, so tumultuous, have behind them the song of God, which struggles to come out. And, says the poet in his poems on *Co-operation*, on *True Liberty*, and on *Perpetual Youth*, it will be a song of harmony if in the midst of these discords his countrymen will follow him, and see with open vision how Nature in India—her mountains, rivers, trees, plants and birds, seeming to give discordant noises, and going different ways, work all together co-operant for God's ends, because they are selfless. Let the student of Mr. Tilak's poetry and the perusal of these poems with his lyric *Always Young*, and find hope for his country in its perpetual youth. India is ancient we say. Yes, her youth and growth are ancient, and therefore eternal. 'Come and see,' says the poet. The vision is for him who *will see*. See it with Mr. Tilak's two lyrics, *Beloved India* and *Triumph Britannia*, which conclude the first volume of his poetry."

We have already referred to his hymns and religious songs. They are gathered together in the *Bhajan Sangraha* published in 1906. The bhajans are of many kinds. Some are adapted for preaching and singing in connection with evangelistic work. Others are intended for Christian worship. Of the latter some are hymns of praise, some of penitence



NARAYAN VAMAN TILAK.

some are in the form of petition, and many are hymns of personal devotion and consecration. Mr. Winslow selects three hymns: *The mother Guru, A broken and contrite heart,* and *A Christmas Carol* as typical pieces deserving of high praise. The hymns, of course, lose much of their original force in translation, but even in the English version, one could see the beauty of the true hymn. A word must also be said of his great attempt at Epic poetry.

The *Christayan* belongs in the main to the last period of Tilak's life. For many years he had cherished the design of writing a life of Christ in Marathi verse, which should be the first great Christian Purana, comparable with the Ramayan, or life of Rama.

From time to time Tilak made every effort to complete the Epic. But the *Christayan* does not breathe the spontaneity of his hymns as he had to force the task on himself. And then his mind was full of an anthology of Marathi poetry. Fragmentary as it is, the *Christayan* however will remain as "a masterpiece of Christian Marathi literature." But

during the last years of his life the composition of his abhangs and the organization of "God's Darbar" occupied most of his time; and so it came about that, when he passed away, of the long poem which he had planned he had written but the first section, that on the Incarnation, extending to some sixty-two pages, comprising eleven chapters, of which the last is incomplete. The work was published posthumously by his son in 1921.

The *Abhanganjali* is the crown of Tilak's work, and though their Christian conceptions will make it difficult for his Hindu brethren to appreciate them fully, it is by these that he will be remembered in the years to come. Their simple charm recalls the elevating atmosphere of the New Testament. Here is one in the wreath of songs he was contributing week after week to the DYNANODAYA—songs which won for him the sobriquet of the Christian Tukaram of Maharashtra.

"The more I win Thee, Lord, the more for Thee I
 pine;
 Ah, such a heart is mine
 My eyes behold Thee and are filled, and straightway
 then,
 Their hunger wakes again!

My arms have clasped Thee and should set Thee free,
but no,

I cannot let Thee go !

Thou dwell'st within my heart. Forthwith anew the
fire

Burns of my soul's desire.

Lord Jesus Christ, Beloved, tell, O tell me true

What shall thy servant do ?

(*Abhanganjali*, No. 124.)

“Here we have once more the same cry that echoes with such passion of desire through the ‘songs of all the Maratha poet saints.’” A critic of Maratha poetry recalls that Namdev uttered it five centuries ago :

“Why dost Thou leave me suffering ?

O haste and come, my God and King !

I die unless Thou succour bring.

O haste and come, my God and King !

Like Tukaram too he had a mystic sense of union with his Maker. His vision of Christ leading to a final decision, and his experience of trance-like ecstasy in which all consciousness of the world is lost, are brought in a beautiful little poem *Love's Samadhi*. Here Tilak exhibits something of the mystic vision of Sadhu Sundar Singh.

Ah, Love, I sink in the timeless sleep.

Sink in the timeless sleep ;

One Image stands before my eyes,

And thrills my bosom's deep ;

One Vision bathes in radiant light

My spirit's palace-halls ;

All stir of hands, all throb of brain,
 Quivers, and sinks, and falls.
 My soul fares forth ; no fetters now
 Chain me to this world's shore.
 Sleep! I would sleep! In pity spare;
 Let no man wake me more!

And yet Tilak was no visionary. He was full of warm sympathy for the sufferings of mankind and he threw himself wholeheartedly into all social and humanitarian movements. With all his Brahminical love of abstractions, he was diligent in deeds of service which he valued even more than his poetry.

The untiring vigour and youth of his spirit, which remained unchanged till the end, is seen in the following poem, translated, it is believed, by himself :

What has been done is not enough, do something more
 Labour on, oh labour on, do something more!
 Vain is the mango tree which holds but one cluster of
 blossoms;
 Fruitful it might be called, yet in very truth it is
 fruitless.
 Not for a handful of jewels is earth called the mother
 of riches,
 But for the mines of gems that lie hid deep in her
 bosom.
 Ending and death are one, no need for cavil or ques-
 tions; To feel that one's work were done were in-
 truth to die prematurely,
 Unresting, the spheres roll on, nor is sleep ever known
 to their Maker;

- That the Maker's servants should rest, what a false ideal and unworthy!
- Cleave not to the thought that the past holds enough of good in its keeping;
- What is good, what is fair, what is best, this is known alone to the Godhead
- Speak not of less and more, thus yielding again to temptation;
- Why strive ye to limit the life that knoweth no limitation?

RENOUNCING THE WORLD

After twenty years of quiet, faithful work in the service of the Mission, he was now launching out upon a new quest with the same spirit of dauntless adventure that had marked his early days. In July 1916 he wrote to his son :

"I am at present studying, and meditating on the life of St. Paul, not for others but for my own personal guidance and help. I am doing it humbly and prayerfully. . . . God has been leading me, where I can't say just now, but I can say towards some larger service. India needs Christ, not so much Christianity, and Christ she is to get in and through Indian apostles, as God raises them. I am praying for this."

More and more he felt that God was calling him to become such an "Indian Apostle". "I trust that I am the elected Tukaram for Maharashtra," he writes ; and adds, with characteristic boldness, "a Tukaram and a St. Paul blended together." He believed that hundreds would follow him, and that together they

would build up an Indian Church on genuinely Indian lines.

Nevertheless, for a year after this, yielding perhaps to the persuasions of kind friends—who were loth to let him go, Tilak still remained in the service of the Mission. But in July or early August of 1917, says his biographer, there came to him a vision of Christ—a vision too sacred to be described at first except to his closest friends, but about which later he composed several abhangs, the first of which is here given in translation:

Ye ask, and so to tell ye I am bold;
 Yea, with these eyes did I the Christ behold,—
 Awake, not sleeping, did upon Him gaze,
 And at the sight stood tranced with amaze,
 "My mind wonders," I said, "it cannot be!
 'Tis but my own creation that I see!
 "Poor hapless fool!"—for so did I repine—
 "How crooked and perverse a faith is mine!"
 Yet was my patient Lord displeas'd not,
 Nor for one moment He His child forgot:
 Again He came and stood regarding me;—
 Ah, surely ne'er was mother such as He!
 I called to Him in sudden agony.
 "My child," He answered, "wherefore dost thou
 cry?
 "I am before thee, yea, and I within;
 "Merged in a sea of blindness hast thou been.
 "Lord, grant me eyes to see!" I cried again,
 And clasped His feet in ecstasy of pain.
 He raised me up, He held me to His side,

And then—I cannot tell what did betide;
 But this alone I know, that from that day
 This self of mine hath vanished quite away.
 Great Lord of yoga, Thou hast yoked with Thee,
 Saith Dasa, even a poor wight like me!

The meaning of this dream was a clear call to Christ. His mind was made up, and on September 6, 1917 he wrote to the American Marathi Mission thus:—

The War, its moral consequences in the world, the new life and new angle of vision which it has diffused in nations, the new aspect of the mode of the world's thought and will, all this affecting India has made India quite ripe and quite ready to accept the great Originator and Helper of human life—social, political, moral and spiritual—Jesus Christ. But India will go after a man, a man elected by God to meet her ideals. Most humbly, but most firmly, I state to you and to the world that God has elected me, a weak sinner, for this purpose.

Dr. Hume replying on the mission's behalf expressed their consent to his wish in a note of touching solicitude and earnest admiration for Tilak's resolve to renounce the world in true Hindu style and become a true servant of God. So on September 8, at the age of fifty-five, Tilak announced his *Sannyasasram*, the traditional last stage of life according to the old Sastras. The *Sannyasasram* lasted but twenty months—"twenty months of gloriously crowded life of service untainted by worldly

considerations of any kind"—the service most truly Christian. The principal work that engaged him during this intensive period, apart from literary activity, was the movement he called "God's Darbar."

GOD'S DARBAR

The Darbar was the outcome of convictions which had been gradually forming in his mind as to the relation of Christianity to India's ancient faiths and as to the way of presenting Christ to India. The aims of the Darbar were stated to be:

"To form a brotherhood of the baptized and unbaptized disciples of Christ, by uniting them together in the bands of love and service without in any way opposing, or competing with Christian Missions, Churches or other Christian organizations; to esteem all as our brothers and sisters, since our Father-God dwells in all hearts; to imitate 'the Son of Man,' the Lord Jesus Christ, as our Guru, who served men in uttermost love, though they nailed Him to the Cross; to manifest an eager desire to be considered the true brothers and sisters of that 'Son of God'; this brotherhood to become a real universal family, to be known as real friends of men and real patriots, through whom the world gains once more a vision of the Lord Jesus Christ, so that the Christ who was originally Oriental may become Oriental again; that Christian love, Christian freedom, and the Christian strength which enables men to rise above circumstances may be demonstrated to the world; that Christianity may gradually lose its foreign aspect and become entirely Indian; and the character of this brotherhood shall be such as to create in our fellow-countrymen the

kindly attitude which will lead them to glory in thinking of Christian people as their very own."

HIS LAST DAYS

But he could not go like this for ever with a body—the frail and uncertain vehicle of his indomitable spirit. The closing days are described with touching simplicity by Mr. Winslow. In Jan. 1919 he wrote :

"I am experiencing a very strange spiritual phenomenon. I am ill, very ill indeed, suffering from more than one symptom, sometimes in bed unable to move this way or that. But I pray; my prayer is such as absorbs me altogether in itself; and the result is that I am well, so well that it is very hard for anyone to believe that I was sick a short time ago. Thus it has been going on almost all through this month. This hour I am very ill, and the next hour I am very well. . . . This hour the *ghar* rules the *ghardhani*, the next hour *ghardhani* is himself again and rules the *ghar*.

But by the end of that month he was worse again, and was persuaded to go for treatment to the Wadia Hospital, of the United Free Church Mission, at Poona, where he remained throughout March and April.

On April 16th he wrote :

Neither doctor nor I can tell you whether I am improving. But one thing is certain, and that is, 'Blessed, doubly blessed, is all this pain; it is experiencing the Cross in my body. Blessed, thrice blessed, is this sickness! it is perfect union with Christ.'

In May he was transferred to the J. J. Hospital in Bombay, where it was hoped that an operation might be possible; but once again the doctors dared not operate, and he became rapidly weaker. When his wife and daughter visited him, on the day before he died, he gave them, in the midst of burning fever, his last message.

"He asked us not to fear death, as it was only a temporary bodily separation, which led to a perpetual union of souls and a passing into a better life. He asked us to rise above circumstances and be victors in the battle of life with the help of God defying all the forces of evil."

The spirit in which he faced death can be seen best in the abhangs which he composed during this last illness.

Lay me within Thy lap to rest;
 Around my head Thine arm entwine;
 Let me gaze up into Thy face,
 O Father-Mother mine!
 So let my spirit pass with joy,
 Now at the last, O Tenderest!
 Saith Dasa, Grant Thy wayward child,
 This one, this last, request!

On Friday, the 9th of May, his spirit, says his Christian biographer, "passed with joy" to the "great festivity"; and it was the note of festival which marked the service in the Hume Memorial Church, in

Bombay, the next evening, after which his body was carried to Worly to the strains of his own bhajans, and there cremated, according to his own wish.

SUSIL KUMAR RUDRA

IN THE present circumstances of India, politics are more absorbing than anything else; and naturally, politicians loom large in the eyes of the public. Workers in other spheres of life, though eminent in their own way, do not attract quite that attention and respect which they deserve. Such was the fate of Principal Rudra, the noble-hearted patriot and educationist, whom Mahatma Gandhi revered as a "silent servant." Only the very few who came in personal contact with Rudra knew anything of his intense patriotism, his enthusiasm for all progressive causes, his high intellectual attainments and his generous and comprehensive sympathies. In an age of communal wrangles he stood for peace and unity. Indeed he was very much like Hakim Ajmal Khan whom he resembled in more than one respect—in his lofty patriotism, his freedom from communalism, and his devoted friendship with Mahatma Gandhi and C. F.

Andrews. When Susil died on Tuesday 30th June 1925, the two friends wrote of him in the most touching terms. Mr. Andrews recorded that in his last moments Rudra's thoughts were about his country. One of his last utterances was "O my country, my dear country." The love he bore to Mahatma Gandhi was almost too sacred to write about. Writing in *YOUNG INDIA*, Mahatma Gandhi recorded some striking instances of Susil's unflinching devotion to himself and his own feelings for the truly Christian patriot.

"Ever since my return home in 1915," writes Mr. Gandhi, "I had been his guest whenever I had occasion to go to Delhi. It was plain sailing enough so long as I had not declared Satyagraha in respect of the Rowlatt Act. He had many English friends in the higher circles. He belonged to a purely English Mission. He was the first Indian Principal chosen in his College. I, therefore, felt that his intimate association with me and his giving me shelter under his roof might compromise him and expose his College to unnecessary risk. I, therefore, offered to

seek shelter elsewhere. His reply was characteristic: 'My religion is deeper than people may imagine. Some of my opinions are vital parts of my being. They are formed after deep and prolonged prayers. They are known to my English friends. I cannot possibly be misunderstood by keeping you under my roof as an honoured friend and guest. And if ever I have to make a choice between losing what influence I may have among Englishmen and losing you, I know what I would choose. You cannot leave me.' 'But what about all kinds of friends who come to see me? Surely, you must not let your house become a caravanserai when I am in Delhi', I said. 'To tell you the truth', he replied, 'I like it all. I like the friends who come to see you. It gives me pleasure to think that in keeping you with me, I am doing some little service to my country.'

Mahatma Gandhi adds that his open letter to the Viceroy giving concrete shape to the Khilafat claim was conceived and drafted under Principal Rudra's roof. "He and Charlie Andrews were my revisionists. Non-co-operation was conceived and hatched under his

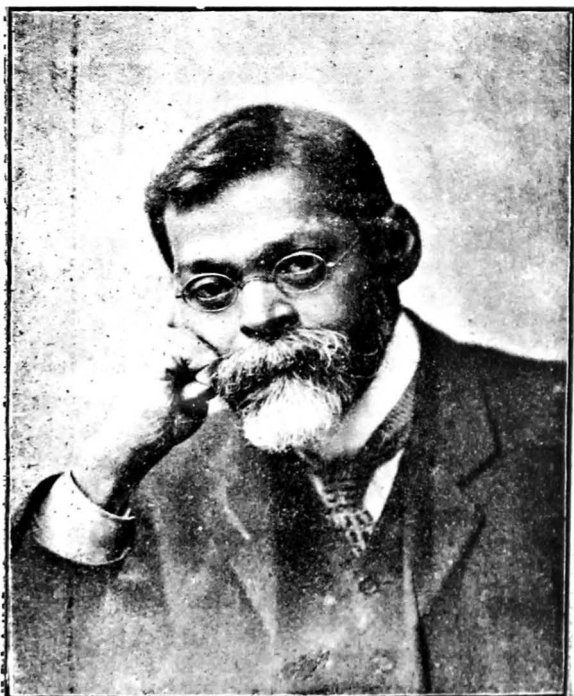
hospitable roof. He was a silent but deeply interested spectator at the private conference that took place between the Maulanas, other Musalman friends and myself."

Mr. Andrews himself has written more than one appreciation of Susil's character and his devotion to the country. Among his numerous references to Principal Rudra's activities we must draw special attention to his articles in the YOUNG MEN OF INDIA. In the series of articles Mr. Andrews contributed to that Journal soon after Susil's death, we have a fairly copious and detailed account of Susil's life and work, and we make no apology for reproducing the sketch at some length. It will be noticed that Mr. Andrews wrote at considerable length, but we must here be content with these extracts which reveal the character and genius of a truly Christian patriot.

"Susil Kumar Rudra" "wrote Mr. Andrews," was the oldest and dearest of all my Indian friends, and I owed to him more than I owe to anyone else in the world: for he it was who really taught

me to love India with all my heart,—truly and sincerely, and in no artificial manner. He carried me through those first intensely critical days of my life in India, when I might easily have taken a wrong turn, and have in consequence become that which I should have hated myself for becoming.

“Our original friendship grew out of an earlier friendship, which I had with Basil Westcott, the youngest son of the late Bishop of Durham, and the youngest brother of the present Metropolitan of India and the present Bishop of Lucknow. Basil and I were the closest friends in our college days; and practically speaking never a single day passed without our meeting each other and having meals together. We shared together the common ideal of coming out to India to join the Cambridge Mission in Delhi, which Basil Westcott's father, the Bishop of Durham, had founded more than thirty years before. Basil came out to India first, and we used to correspond with one another quite regularly every week. The long letters I received from Basil in Delhi constantly referred to Susil Kumar



SUSIL KUMAR RUDRA.

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Rudra, who became for Basil (as he became afterwards for me) a guide, philosopher and friend in the very early days of his own Indian missionary life, which was so suddenly to be ended by death.

“In the few days that I remained in Delhi, I got to know Mr. Rudra intimately as a friend. It was a case of love at first sight, and this love never seemed to change or vary or alter on either side; there was never, throughout the whole of the twenty-one years that followed, the slightest shadow cast upon our friendship. From the very first day I found that his house was my own. He made one so welcome in it, that I knew that it was no formal invitation when he told me all that he had was mine, and that I must always feel his own house, as my own house, and his own children as my own children. They were very young; for only a short time before Mr. Rudra had lost his wife by a terrible illness after giving birth to his youngest child. The father had been left quite disconsolate, when his wife, who was the one stay and support of his home, was gone. He had to bring up his three children

and to be both father and mother to them and also to carry on the whole of his work in the college at the same time. I think it was the wonderful sympathy of Basil Westcott at the time of Susil's greatest sorrow which won his heart more than anything else. In all his difficulties, which followed the death of his wife, Basil was able to give him comfort as perhaps no one else could do. Therefore, when I came to Delhi and we learnt so quickly to love each other, it was the most natural thing in the world, that I should come into the same place in his life that Basil had occupied before my coming. It would be difficult to explain how extraordinarily simple and easy this was. There was not the slightest barrier of race, caste, or creed between us. Indeed it often seemed to me as though I had known him already all my life, and I think he felt the same thing towards me ; for he used often to tell me that it was quite wonderful to him how simply he had learnt to love me. I have spoken of it as easy and simple ; but if it had not been for the circumstances which I have already explained, about Basil, I do not

think it could have been so simple and natural as I have said. Susil Rudra was extremely shy, self-diffident, and reserved with strangers; and it was not at all an easy thing for him usually to break through that reserve quickly. But I would repeat the phrase I have already used and say again, that with both of us there seemed to be love at first sight and that love at first sight never altered or wavered.

“ In the course of the year 1905 (if my memory holds good), the vital issue came as to whether Susil Rudra should be appointed Principal of the College, or one of the European staff should be appointed Principal over his head. Two names had been suggested. One was my own, and the other was the name of Mr. Western, who is now the head of the Cambridge Mission. We both protested with all the strength we could against any such act, which should place a younger European over the head of an Indian of such experience and wisdom as Mr. Rudra himself. Fortunately, we had the sympathy of many of the Cambridge Brotherhood on our side, but the Bishop of Lahore, at that time, was strongly

against any revolutionary step (as it was supposed), such as the appointing of an Indian to be principal of such a large college, as that of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The Bishop's point of view was that the Indian parents would object to such a step being taken and also that in any emergency an Indian would not have sufficient strength of character to command the situation.

"The issue became so vitally serious, that I was obliged at last to offer my own resignation from the Mission, if any supersession of Mr. Rudra, as Principal, was made by the committee. In the long run, the result reached was a supremely happy one. Mr. Rudra was appointed Principal by the almost unanimous vote of the Mission Brotherhood, and he remained Principal of the College for more than seventeen years.

"During those years of his principalship, the College flourished as it had never done before. Instead of distrusting him as Principal, the parents showed, in a practical way, that they trusted his wisdom and guidance even more than they trusted that of any European. Fur-

thermore, when different times of crisis occurred, some of them of the most serious character, Mr. Rudra, as Principal, always rose to the emergency and carried the College through the crisis without any break whatever. It is not necessary to enter into details concerning this step, which was taken with such brilliant result because it became known all over India and in England also, that the Cambridge Mission, by its bold policy of trusting the Indian and placing him in authority over the European staff, had shown in a more signal way than mere words, that it was possible for Indians to govern themselves and to exercise government over others with wisdom and discretion.

“ I well remember how Mr. Gokhale, while he was sitting on the Royal Commission, joyfully cross-examined me with regard to Mr. Rudra's principalship, with one single object in view all the while. He wished to elicit from me the fact that a staff of eight European Oxford and Cambridge graduates of high distinction, found it the greatest pleasure and satisfaction of their life in India to serve under an Indian Principal. I was as eager to tell the

good news as he was eager to put the question to me. It was quite interesting to watch the effect of that declaration on Lord Islington and other members of the Commission, including Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who had come out fresh from England. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald himself did not fail to drive the matter home; and his cross examination was on exactly similar lines to that of Mr. Gokhale. Every point that Mr. Gokhale made, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald made also; and there can be no doubt that this page of evidence in that Royal Commission on the Public Services of India carried very great weight, both with the Government of India and with the Government of Great Britain.

“Mr. Rudra, as Principal, gained his remarkable influence owing to two inseparable qualities in his own character and nature. He was profoundly unselfish and profoundly Christian. His devotion to Christ was the very centre of his unselfishness, and it was through that unselfishness of character, that he showed most clearly in deeds rather than in words his supreme devotion to Christ. No one who is

truly unselfish can be otherwise than humble; for service is the very soul of humility. Therefore, with Mr. Rudra, unselfishness was always marked by a perfectly natural humility—the humility of one who is truly great and wise.

“Something must now be said about Mr. Rudra’s own Christian position. He was all through his life one of the most sincere and devoted Christians I have ever known. His love for Christ was the deepest thing of all his inner experience, and his daily conduct was consciously built up on his devotion to Jesus. Every act of the day was done in the name of Jesus, and the thought of Christ was very rarely absent from his mind even for an hour. I have rarely met anyone in all my life who turned so naturally to Jesus Christ for an answer to all his difficulties, as Susil Rudra did. Just as the sunflower turns towards the sun, instinctively and naturally, so in his daily life Susil Rudra turned towards Jesus for his light and inspiration.

But this conscious personal faith in the living Christ was not gained in a day. It was

with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Rudra passed through the critical time of his youth in Calcutta, when intellectual trials on every side beset him and for a time disturbed the very foundations of his belief in Jesus and his inner life. He had often told me about these inner struggles, while he read scientific works and studied every book that gave any light upon the subjects which were dearest to his heart. For a time the light had grown dim ; and it was only in the atmosphere of the Oxford University Mission, in Calcutta, that he was able to regain his devotion and to solve his intellectual problems. For some years he lived within the precincts of the Oxford Mission House, in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, and the life of simple devotion led by the fathers and sisters of that Oxford Mission did more than anything else to re-establish his Christian faith and to solve his intellectual difficulties. When once the struggle was over, a pure faith came back ; and at no subsequent period in his life did he ever go through the same stormy tempests of doubt, which had assailed him in the years of his early

youth, while studying in the University of Calcutta."

Mr. Andrews then relates some personal incidents which reveal the depth of Susil's character and the source of all his inspiration in Jesus Christ.

One of the most perfect things about him was his entire and utter freedom from any race prejudice or feeling of dislike for members of another religion, or creed, or race, or caste. So deeply had he been filled with the Christ spirit of treating every one as his brother and his friend, that it did not seem even possible for him to make any distinction between man and man. I have seen him dealing with the College sweepers with a tenderness and a delicacy of perception of their needs that often put me to shame, and taught me lessons of sympathy and humility. It was at his own suggestion that again and again gatherings were held at the College in which the sweepers were treated as guests and made partakers of the family festival of the College days. Another lesson which I learnt

from him was the treatment of those who served as the College servants, with an absolute equality and respect and even reverence. For it is only through *their* work, as he used to say that we ourselves are able to do *our* work. When I was in Simla, shortly before his death, an old servant who had been with him for many years, found me out almost immediately after my arrival at the house of the Raja Sahib, Sir Harnam Singh, on Summer Hill, and asked me at once concerning the 'Burra Sahib'—for that was the name by which he was always called in the College. The servant had tears in his eyes as he spoke to me; and he told me that he was determined to get leave from his present work in order to go down and do something to help the 'Burra Sahib' in his sickness. He came to me again and again, and when he could not get leave to go down, he asked me what he could get to send to Mr. Rudra in his illness. I mentioned 'Oranges,' which the doctor had ordered; and within half an hour, he had returned from the bazaar with all the oranges he could find, and asked me personally to take them down and give these,

as his offering, to his former master. This servant was a Mussalman and not a Christian, but even to mention such differences as these seems out of place when speaking of Susil Rudra, for he had the most wonderful gift of all of utter sympathy with those of different religions from his own. The Hindus in Delhi claimed him as almost a fellow-Hindu; and the Mussalmans in Delhi claimed him as almost a fellow-Mussalman. The Sikhs were also devoted to him and some of his most affectionate students in the College belonged to the Arya Samaj who had his warmest sympathy and support. Swami Shraddananda was always a most welcome guest at his house. Mahatma Gandhi has told in the pages of YOUNG INDIA how Principal Rudra's house was his home right up till non-co-operation and even after non-co-operation had begun. In the same way, Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib of Delhi was one of his very dearest friends; and Hakim Sahib would come to call on the 'Burra Sahib' and Principal Rudra himself would go quite constantly to see the Hakim Sahib, in mutual friendship and deep regard. It was

one of my greatest pleasures to be present on such occasions.

“To me, this perfect equality with everyone from the highest to the lowest was a lesson in courtesy which I could never forget, and the one thing which made it come home to me more than anything else was this, that it was so obviously centred and rounded in Susil Rudra's own devotion to Jesus Christ. In the New Testament, he found drawn at full length the picture of what a perfect life should be. Someone has asked the question in literature, ‘What constitutes a “perfect gentleman” in human life?’ Susil Rudra found this in the daily study of the Sermon on the Mount. I think if he had been asked the question he would have said: ‘There is one perfect gentleman in human history, and the name is Jesus.’

“It is a pleasure to me to dwell on this characteristic of Susil Rudra, my friend, because, living as I did in daily contact with him. I could not fail to be impressed by it and to understand it. During those years in Delhi when he was principal of the College many

young Englishmen came out to the College with their characters completely unformed and their ideals often of a character somewhat unsuited for the life of a Christian professor of a mission college in India. There would sometimes be a sense of race superiority, and also of religious superiority combined with that of race. There would be also the reaction, which is sometimes natural to youth, when strange surroundings and people are met with for the first time. Along with these things there would be the reserve of the Englishman, as he faces the new situation and new people. Again and again with my own eyes I saw the miracle accomplished, which made one after another of these young teachers from the West more humble and gentle. It was the principal's influence that made the change. In others whose characters were already formed on lines of deep humility, that character in them was still further deepened by contact with Susil Rudra.

"I remember so well how one such who only came as a visitor to the College, and stayed with us for a few months, Mr. J. S. Hoyland of

Nagpur, was so deeply touched by the beauty of Susil Rudra's character, that his whole life was silently moulded by what he saw. All his instinctive sympathy with India was marvelously deepened and widened and strengthened by his daily contact with the Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. A short time ago, when I was with him in Nagpur, we spoke together about this, and mutually told each other what an unspeakable debt of gratitude we owed to Susil Rudra. * * *

"Faith in Christ was the very soul of his soul, the very heart of his heart, the very life of his life. He could say, as few men could say, the words of St. Paul : ' I am crucified with Christ ; nevertheless I live ; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.' Again and again when I questioned him and asked him about this wonderful and beautiful faith, he would tell me that it came to him through a sense of the mystery of the resurrection of Christ from the dead. Christ was always to him the Risen Christ of mankind, the living Lord of life and death. It was this Risen Lord whom he himself followed. According to the words of the Apostle

Paul, he could say ; 'Ye are dead and your life is hid with Christ in God. If he then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above.'

"The resurrection of Christ from the dead was therefore to Susil Rudra, not so much a simple historical truth (though he believed implicitly in the historical fact of the resurrection), but rather a living experience to be experienced anew every day with living power. He was in communion day by day, not with any fanciful picture of Christ, not with some mythological theory of Christ, but with One whom he truly felt to be living and risen from the dead, and the Lord of life and death. This, then, was the source of all the strength of his inner life ; and, in his last illness, this faith in the Risen Christ supported him day by day and carried him through the valley of the shadow of death."

Such was the life of the Christian patriot and scholar who had so profoundly impressed Mr. Andrews by his strength of character and Christian piety. Indeed there was a kind of spiritual bond between him and his two friends

—Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Andrews. "Though he was a Christian," wrote Mr. Gandhi, "he had room in his bosom for Hinduism and Islam which he regarded with great veneration. His was not an exclusive Christianity that condemned to perdition every one who did not believe in Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of the world. Jealous of the reputation of his own, he was tolerant towards the other faiths." That is to say, Susil Rudra was not a Christian in the narrow and communal sense of that word, "but religious motive was the foundation for all his acts."



SADHU SUNDAR SINGH.

SADHU SUNDAR SINGH.

THE INDIGENOUS CHURCH

THE *raison d'être* of foreign missions is the ultimate creation of indigenous church and ministry, self-supporting, self-propagating and independent in character. The whole history of foreign missionary effort in India is an epitome of the attempts to reach this ideal consummation. So far as India is concerned, the ideal is not in sight by any means, in spite of the anxiety evinced by both foreign mission bodies and indigenous Christians, for its realization. Gradually, the ideal has assumed the nature of a stringent test by which to ascertain the progress of missionary enterprise as a whole or that of individual churches and mission bodies in this country. The failure made by both indigenous churches and foreign mission bodies to achieve this ideal furnishes evidence that Christianity in India has not outgrown its exotic character; and

the failure is also a measure of the extent to which the indigenous Christian community has identified itself with the great national movements in India.

One of the signs evidencing the desire of the indigenous Church to be free is the presence of the independent religious worker or preacher. There are now scores of indigenous Christian preachers who belong to no denomination, but are like the wandering friars or *sanyasis*. Untrammelled either by dogmas or forms of worship, and free to interpret Christ in their own way, a great future lies before this kind of missionary work if properly directed. At present, it is still in its infancy, but its development in numbers and influence on the popular mind render it an agency with great possibilities of good or evil. India has always been hospitable to the independent *sanyasi* preacher, and Christian friars are no exception to this. Nowhere do we find any credible account of an independent Christian preacher building up a Church or body of Christian believers. With the preacher ends

the movement. The historian will draw a moral from such movements. Religion without dogma, bare preaching and exhortation without adequate safe-guards for permanency in personal religious experiences, religious conviction without conservation through the Sacraments is barren of result and ephemeral. Jesus Christ was and is one of the greatest of independent religious Preachers, but He not only inculcated a distinctive religion but He insisted on its nurture through the Sacraments.

AN INDEPENDENT PREACHER

Among all the independent preachers in India, Sadhu Sundar Singh stands unique. He presents the spectacle or perhaps the only attempt of the indigenous Church to resuscitate the ancient ideal of a true religious *sanyasin*. He is attached to no denomination, he faithfully preaches Christ as depicted in the four Gospels, and he is pledged to the threefold vow so dear to ascetics of all ages and creeds—poverty, celibacy and chastity. The problem of Sadhu Sundar Singh is the problem that every now and then has presented itself in the

whole history of the Christian Church. In every age and in every land, there are men and women who feel compelled to preach and exhort without undergoing any theological training. Such persons chafe under the restrictions imposed by denominational Churches. They have a mandate from above which must be obeyed. So far, only the Roman Catholic Church has been supremely successful in dealing with such. It is too early to predict anything about Sundar Singh except that he is the sole example in India of a successful independent Protestant preacher.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

Sadhu Sundar Singh is a Sikh by birth. The Sikh nation is for various reasons of peculiar interest. Arising first as a religious sect resolved to reform abuses and to lead men back to a simpler, purer worship, it eventually developed into an organized military power, determined to avenge its wrongs and persecutions. Through centuries, says Mrs. Parker in her fascinating sketch of the Sadhu, its history knew many and bitter experiences, but pride of race, love of arms and a stiff cling

ing to their religious doctrines are to this day great characteristics of the Sikh nation. From such a stock sprang Sundar Singh. His father was Sirdar Sher Singh, a Sikh by descent, and a wealthy landowner in Rampur, in the State of Patiala, where on September 3, 1889, Sundar was born—the youngest son in the family. One of the family is Sirdar A. Nath Singh, commander of an Indian force in one of the Sikh States, while others have risen to even higher distinctions still.

As a child, Sundar was brought up in the lap of luxury. Every year as the hot weather drew on, he was taken with the family to spend the summer in the cooler air of the Himalayas, usually to Simla. His mother, we are told, was a refined and gifted lady, very broadminded in her sympathies. She was on friendly terms with the American Presbyterian Mission ladies and permitted their visits to her home. From his earliest days the relationship between Sundar and his mother was of the tenderest character. He was the youngest of the family and he seldom left her side. She would often say to

him, 'You must not be careless and worldly like your brothers. You must seek peace of soul and love religion, and some day you must become a holy sadhu.'

How well this blessing has been fulfilled will be evident from the following pages.

By the time Sundar was seven years of age, he had learnt the *Bhagavadgita* from beginning to end in Sanskrit. And then, at the age of fourteen, he lost his mother. "How he missed her gentle companionship no one knows, but to-day when he speaks of her, his voice is tender and his eyes look sad."

HIS CONVERSION

Sundar Singh's first contact with Christianity sprang from his education in a Mission school, where the daily Bible lesson was taught by a devoted indigenous teacher. The teaching operated on a mind naturally inclined and addicted to religious disquisition and enquiry. The inevitable result followed and Sundar Singh was baptised on his birthday. September 3, 1905, according to Anglican rites in Simla.

The Sadhu himself has given a vivid account of the immediate cause of his conversion. His experiences are always dramatic, and he expresses them in words of moving simplicity and directness. There is always a touch of the miraculous in every one of his experiences:—

'I was such an enemy to Christianity that I not only spoke ill of and persecuted missionaries, but several times I tore up and burnt the Bible because I thought that the Christian religion was false, and Hinduism alone was a true religion. One day in front of my father, I poured kerosene oil on the Bible and throwing it on the fire I burnt it. My father tried to prevent me, but so bigoted was I that I disobeyed him, thinking that by so doing I was pleasing God.

After burning the Bible I became very restless, and I was in a very miserable condition. Three days after burning the Bible, finding that Hinduism gave me no comfort, I decided to commit suicide, because to live in such misery was impossible. Very early in the morning (at 3 a.m.) I arose, and, taking a cold bath, I began to pray. 'If there be any God let Him show me the way of salvation, if not, then I will commit suicide by placing myself on the railway.'

Up to 4-30 no answer came. Presently, there came a light in my room. In that light the beloved and glorious Face of Christ appeared, and showing His wounded hands in which the nail-prints clearly showed, He said, 'Why do you persecute me? Behold, I gave My life upon the cross for you, that the world might have salvation.' Upon hearing this, His words sank like lightning into my heart, I immediately became filled with joy, and I was changed for all eternity.

Although Christ disappeared after speaking thus to me, the peace He gave me will remain for ever. This was not imagination. If Buddha or Krishna had shown himself it would have been imagination, for I worshipped them: but for Christ to show Himself, He

whom I hated, is a miracle, and clear proof that He is a living Christ. Neither was it a dream for no one can see a dream after taking a cold bath, and a dream cannot completely change a life. This was a GREAT REALITY,

In the case of Sadhu Sundar Singh, Baptism was the logical result of his researches into comparative religion. His family connections, his prospects of inheritance were the means of subjecting him to persecution in order to dissuade him from leaving and deserting his ancestral religion. Several attempts were made by his relatives to get him away, and violence was used on one of these occasions, so that the police had to be called in to quell the disturbance. But the most trying occurrence to Sundar was when his aged father came to make a last appeal in the hope of drawing him away. The sight of the father's stricken face and figure, we are told, made a deep impression on the boy, and as the old man spoke of the great love of his mother and happy days of his childhood, "there passed in fleeting panorama before Sundar's mind all the happiness of his old home, and the love that had sheltered his early days." His tears, says his biographer, scorched

his cheeks, whilst a mighty struggle went on in his heart. But he was not left to struggle alone, for he felt the presence of One who stood by him and reinforced his soul's resolve to take up his Cross and follow Him.

A GREAT VOW.

During the hard days of his search after God, Sundar had made a vow that if God would lead him into peace, he would sacrifice all that life could offer him. And now the day had come when he could make an utter self-surrender for Jesus Christ. He had long felt drawn to the life of a sadhu, and knowing what such a life involved, he willingly made the final sacrifice for it. His books and personal belongings were soon disposed of, and on October 6, 1905, just thirty-three days after his baptism, he adopted the simple saffron robe that was to mark him off for all time as one vowed to a religious life. With bare feet and no visible means of support, but with his New Testament in his hand, Sadhu Sundar Singh set out on the evangelistic campaign that has lasted to this day.

A WANDERING SADHU

From 1905 until about 1911, Sadhu Sundar Singh wavered as to his precise scope of field preaching and labour. He wandered aimlessly through Patiala and other parts of the Panjab, Kashmir and Afghanistan preaching in the open air and individually exhorting. He had immediately after Baptism and in spite of his youth deliberately adopted the saffron robe of the *Sadhu*. A certain maturity of religious experience determined this step, and it has been the means of introducing his religion to communities that had until his entrance been rigidly and continuously closed to all Christian influence. The most remarkable feature of Sadhu Sundar Singh's labours among the varied races of Northern India, Tibet and other allied countries has been the influence exerted upon the religious teachers and guides of these several communities. The history of indigenous religious effort in India, if not in the East, discloses no movement so fruitful in result among the priestly classes. In Tibet, Sadhu Sundar Singh had found ready listeners among the Lamas.

scattered throughout the invulnerable monasteries of that priest-ridden land. Similarly, the Sanyasi mission and the conversations with *rishis* in Western Tibet afford an instructive example of this distinctive feature of Sadhu Sundar Singh's work. What effect it will have is another matter. But the point for remark is that Sadhu Sundar Singh has peculiar aptitudes for preaching to the priestly classes on account of his ascetic connections.

After his return from Tibet, he had a great desire to go to Palestine in the belief that to see the place where his Saviour had lived and died would inspire him to fuller and better service. But when he reached Bombay, he found it impracticable, so in 1909, he returned to North India through the Central Provinces, preaching as he went.

PREPARING FOR THE MINISTRY

Soon after, Sundar Singh underwent a course of studies at St. John's Divinity College, Lahore. The years 1909 and 1910 were spent in study, and during vacation time, he continued his evangelistic work as heretofore. It was now that he, with Mr. Stokes of

Kotgarh, inaugurated the Brotherhood of Service. And like the great English preacher John Wesley, "the Sadhu looked upon the world as his parish, and he preached everywhere and to all who would give heed to his Message."

A PREACHER OF THE CHURCH BUT OF
NO DENOMINATION

In 1911, Sadhu Sundar Singh finally decided with the full approval of his Diocesan (Bishop Lefroy) to launch out as an independent religious preacher subsisting on the alms of his hearers. But Sadhu Sundar Singh has been careful to almost invariably insist upon his converts being admitted through Baptism into the Christian Church. He has no predilections for any particular Church; but directs each convert to the nearest Mission station. Such a course of conduct implies self-abnegation which is by no means a distinctive element in the character of most independent preachers. Some of Sadhu Sundar Singh's converts have followed the example of their leader. Kartha Singh is the most conspicuous example, and it is noteworthy that, like Sadhu

Sundar Singh, he comes from Patiala. The nature of the influence exerted by Sadhu Sundar Singh can be gauged by the fact that he was assiduous in his labours not only in far-away Tibet but also in his home in Patiala. In this respect, Sadhu Sundar Singh stands alone and unique among most, if not all, indigenous preachers of modern times. The secret of Sadhu Sundar Singh's success is two-fold. In the first place, he is a real and true Sadhu. He has relinquished wealth and power for Christ. He has no home except where he resides for the time being. He has no ambitions to found a Church as a distinctive body of Christians. Secondly, he has no denominational prejudice although he believes in Church organization and in the Sacraments. His preaching is based on personal experience. He believes in the power of the Bible to carry conviction to the minds of his hearers. From a mere provincial or local worker, his influence has naturally and inevitably developed into a natural feature. He is unaffected in manner conscious of nothing but the message he feels charged to impart.

TRAVELS IN TIBET

Sadhu Sundar Singh went to Tibet in the hot weather of 1913 and returned to Northern India for the cold season. Here he chanced upon one whom he calls the Maharishi of Kailash, an aged saint in meditation on the inaccessible heights of the Himalayas. The Sadhu gives a thrilling account of his experiences with the "Maharishi." Early next year, he was in Bengal, and by the end of the year he had traversed Nepal, Sikkim, Kashmir and Bhutan. We have no space here to detail his experiences of travel in these parts, his great experiment in fasting, his imprisonment and the miracles he is reported to have wrought among the mountain folks of Northern India.

IN MADRAS AND SOUTH INDIA

Early in 1918, without any idea of the protracted tour in front of him, the Sadhu came down to Madras intending to visit a few places before starting for Tibet. But his fame had preceded him, and invitations poured in upon him from all over South India. An offer voluntarily made by a gentleman in Madras to act as interpreter for a few weeks caused

him to alter his plans, and to accept a programme which eventually included Travancore and Ceylon.

Every day fresh entreaties reached him from all directions, and out of them grew that great evangelistic tour not only through the South and Ceylon, but also Burma, the Federated Malay States, China and Japan.

TRAVELS IN THE EAST

In the cosmopolitan cities of Rangoon, Singapore and Penang, the large audiences were perhaps as mixed in race, status and language as anywhere in the world. Here the Sadhu came in contact with Chinese, Japanese, Malays, Europeans and various Indian peoples, and his addresses were usually translated by two interpreters. Urdu, Burmese, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Chinese and English were the means of communication, whilst business men of different races, army men, clerics and government officials took the chair or shared the same platform with him.

After an extensive tour in China and Japan, the Sadhu returned to Kotgarh. But the call of Tibet was insistent and once again in 1919

he found himself preaching the Gospel in various places of Tibet.

VISIT TO ENGLAND.

Meanwhile, his friends were persuading him to go to England. Towards the end of 1919 his good father made truce with him and even gave him his passage money. The Sadhu left Bombay by the *City of Cairo* on January 16, 1920. The ship stopped at few ports on the way. On Sundays he was asked to conduct services for all on board, and on February 10 he arrived at Liverpool and was met by friends. Two days afterwards he found himself in the home of Dr. Rendel Harris in Manchester.

The *Westminster Gazette*, a leading London paper, under the heading 'A Remarkable Visitor to London', on March 10th published the following:

Without irreverence, Sadhu Sundar Singh, who is now on a mission to Christian England, may be described as the nearest approach in the flesh to the best pictures of Jesus. His smile irradiates a strong Eastern face, and when he unbends, as with little children, he becomes a winsome personality and immediately wins their confidence. This morning as he entered the little room of the Cowley Fathers I thought I had never seen a more remarkable Eastern figure. His hair and beard are black—a soft glossy

black—and the skin is a wonderfully clear olive. His garb is that of the Indian ascetic, and his tall, manly figure adds dignity to the flowing robes. On his feet were sandals, which however are discarded in his own country. 'We have our castes, in India,' he explained to me, 'our high castes and our low castes, and people do not understand you if you say that having embraced Christianity you belong to this sect or to that. They think it is another caste. I am free to go anywhere, and there is no barrier of sect.'

He is carrying out his principles in England in a notable manner. High Churchman like Father Bull and Evangelical Churchman like the Rev. Cyril Bardsley are associated with his visit. The Bishop of London is to preside over a meeting of London clergy when Sadhu Sundar Singh will speak. At the same time he is speaking in Westminster Chapel for Dr. Jowett and in the Metropolitan Tabernacle for the Baptists. He is just teaching Western people the true Catholic spirit from Eastern lips.

The Sadhu then went to Cambridge, and as at Oxford besides other meetings, he addressed one for undergraduates at Trinity College. Returning to London he fulfilled some engagements for the Y. M. C. A., spoke at the Annual Meeting of the London City Mission; the Central Missionary Conference for Great Britain, went down to Brighton and thence to France to address the meeting of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.

On April 1st, he occupied the pulpit of Dr. Jowett at Westminster, who introduced him with the words, 'I feel it an exceptional

honour to have beside me in my pulpit a Native Christian from India, who has been so manifestly blessed in Christian work.'

The Sadhu had a crowded programme in England. He spoke at the Albert Hall under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society and again at the Queen's Hall where thousands had gathered to listen to the eastern mystic who spoke in parables like the apostles.

IN AMERICA

Dr. Jowett and others introduced the Sadhu to the American people, and an interesting American programme was sketched out for him. On May 30th the Sadhu was at the Union Theological Seminary in New York. Then followed engagements in Hartford, Baltimore, Pittston, Princeton University, Brank Presbyterian Church, New York, the Marble Collegiate Church, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Boston and other cities. On June 25th he went to the Silver Bay Students' Conference, and spent four days addressing eight hundred students and their leaders. Early in July he was in Chicago, and passed on to Iowa, Kansas and other places, finally arriving at San Francisco.

where his journey and work in America ended.

Whilst in America the Sadhu met with several of the chief religious leaders, amongst whom were Dr. Fosdick and Dr. Robert Speer. He was also entertained in one place by Mrs. Stokes, the mother of his friend and fellow-sadhu of former days.

IN AUSTRALIA

On July 30th 1920 the Sadhu left America for Australia. On August 10th he landed in Sydney, and for a week he held meetings in churches, chapels and the University buildings. A Sydney paper commenting on one meeting said:—

'One could never forget Tuesday morning, August 10th, when the Sadhu walked into the grounds of St. Andrews' Cathedral to address a meeting of 700 clergy and others in the Chapter Home. It was the nearest conception one could form of what our Lord must have been like when he walked the streets of Holy City old, for the very presence of the Sadhu brought with it an atmosphere of things Christlike. . . and during the twenty minutes he was speaking, there was not a sound. And now he has gone back to his own land, but ere he went he left us a new vision of the Christian Saviour.'

He spent his 31st birthday in Adelaide, and spoke at Melbourne, Perth and Fremantle to large and enthusiastic gatherings.

BACK TO INDIA AND TIBET

The Sadhu arrived at Bombay on Sept. 25.

In 1921 he left for Tibet again with a donation from his father towards his humanitarian and evangelical work.

TO EUROPE AGAIN

On his return to India he was pressed with invitations for another tour to Europe. Prior to his departure he stayed for a couple of days with Mahatma Gandhi in his ashram, and on January 29, 1922, he embarked for England. He visited Jerusalem and Cairo, passed through important centres in Switzerland and Germany, Sweden and Norway, Denmark and Holland. In England he took part in the Keswick Convention when he preached a sermon.

Insistent calls to Finland, Russia, Italy, Greece, Portugal, Servia, Roumania, the West Indies, America and New Zealand, had also to be declined and an immediate return to India following the Keswick Convention was arranged for.

WITH THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA

Arrived in Denmark the Sadhu spent three days in Copenhagen, and besides speaking at

several meetings he received a call to visit the Dowager Empress of Russia at the King's palace, and on May 27th a remarkable interview took place. At its close when the Sadhu rose to go, Her Imperial Majesty desired him to bless her. With humility he replied that he was not worthy to bless anyone, since his hands had once torn up the Scriptures, but that His pierced Hand alone could bless her or anyone.

IN INDIA AGAIN

On his return to India by the end of the year he was advised to take some rest from constant evangelical work. The cool air and the quiet of the Himalayas having restored his health, the Sadhu began his preaching tour, visiting important centres in northern and western India. In the spring of 1923, he visited his old home at Rampur, and on April 10 wrote:—
'My father died in Rampur. I am not sorry, because I shall see him again in glory. He passed away as a Christian. My separation is only bodily and for a short time.'

A PREACHER IN PARABLES

A word must now be said of the power

and persuasiveness of the Sadhu's utterances. Wherever he goes he carries about him the spell of a magnetic personality. Apart from the respect which the Sadhu robe always commands in a country like India, the Sadhu has the appearance of a truly venerable ascetic. "No one can look upon him for the first time without being struck by his close likeness to the traditional portrait of Christ." His utterances are simple, direct, personal. He does not philosophise, much less does he engage in vapid eloquence or tiresome rhetoric. Whether in English or in Urdu he speaks the simple language of the Bible and his talk is always interspersed with parables and allegories.

And his simple narration of spiritual experiences touches the imagination of the listener as no eloquence could do. THE DAILY CHRONICLE wrote :—

The secret of this man's power lies in his utter self-abandonment to a high idealIt is surely a token of good that we of the West, who are so obsessed with the materialistic spirit of the age, have come in close contact with one who stands for the supremacy of the spiritual.'

An English divine truly remarked :

The Sadhu is perhaps the first of the new apostles to rekindle the fire on dying altars.

A TRUE MISSIONARY

Sadhu Sundar Singh has been a missionary in the truest sense of the word. He deliberately selected regions hitherto unreached by foreign Mission bodies. Tibet, Kashmir, Nepal, Bhutan, the upper reaches of the Himalayas, these have been his fields. Nor can it be said that he had chosen easy spheres. He has undergone persecution and torture in no ordinary degree. He has faced death more than once. Like St. Paul he carries on his body the marks of his devotion to the Master. But he is a missionary—a “bringer of good tidings”—nothing more. He has no particular message to the organised indigenous churches beyond that which every Christian preacher carries—devotion to Christ.

Sadhu Sundar Singh in his life and preaching conveys a great lesson to the indigenous Church. Although intensely nationalistic in his outlook and in his preaching, he has no hatred of the foreigner. Like St. Paul, he is international in his vision.


His Christian experience has enabled him to transcend the petty bounds of colour, race and caste. He is a true *sanyasin* in this respect. Foreign missionaries would do well to cultivate this spirit.

Extraordinary success in soul-winning has not altered the Man or his Message. His message appeals equally to the priest and the laymen, to the Hindu and the Christian. Among western audiences, he has left a great impression because of a purely oriental presentation of Christ. Prayer constitutes an important element in his teaching and personal life.

It is claimed that Sadhu Sundar Singh is a Christian mystic but it does not appear that St. John has influenced him much either in his preaching or in his interpretation of the Christian life. St. Paul and St. Peter would appear to be more closely akin in view-point to Sadhu Sundar Singh than any other of the Apostles.

LEADERS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ

BEING A RECORD OF THE LIVES AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PIONEERS OF THE BRAHMO MOVEMENT.

 HISTORY of the Brahmo Samaj was published in two admirable volumes by the late Pundit Sivanath Sastri. It was his further desire to supplement these volumes with a third giving the lives of Brahmo leaders. But the Pundit did not live to do it. The present volume may be said to fulfil the Pundit's aim—in a way. For it contains a record of the doings of Brahmo leaders since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy; that is to say, it is a narrative of the social, religious, educational and philanthropic activities of the pioneers of the Brahmo movement. Now pioneers and reformers have ever lived a life of courage and devotion and their self-denying services to their fellow-men cannot but be an inspiration to those who come after them. Apart from its biographical interest the volume is enriched with an exposition of the philosophy and tenets of Brahmoism as interpreted by the leaders who preached and made the new faith popular. There are also copious extracts from their writings and speeches which must add considerably to the value of this publication.

CONTENTS—Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, Kesav Chandra Sen, Pratapchandra Mazumdar, Sasipada Banerji, Ananda Mohan Bose and Pundit Sivanath Sastri.

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Raja Ram Mohun Roy

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WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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Eminent Mussalmans

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