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HENRY DEROZIO,

THE

EURASIAN

POET, TEACHER, AND JOURNALIST.

With Appendices.

BY

THOMAS EDWARDS.

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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

THE JEWISH
ANTISOCIALISTS

THIS
MEMOIR OF DEROZIO
IS
DEDICATED TO MY WIFE.

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P R E F A C E.

SHORTLY after my arrival in India, I had some thoughts of writing a history of the Eurasian community. I found, however, on closer study of the subject, that, as a community, Eurasians can scarcely be said to have a history. They have founded no empire, built no cities, originated no industry, developed no policy, nor have they created either a philosophy, or a religion, or a school of thought in literature, science, or art. Whole sections of their lower ranks have in the past disappeared entirely among native races, and their higher ranks are being absorbed among pure Europeans. Nevertheless there is a sense in which they have a history, and that history is a record of exclusion and repression, from the year 1786, when the general letter of the Court of Directors (17th March) prohibited the wards of the Upper Orphan School, whose mothers were natives and whose fathers were Britons,

from being sent to England for education, to the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, when the Forest School of Dehra and the Roorkee Engineering College were closed against the sons of Englishmen domiciled in India. Eurasians are the descendants of native mothers by European fathers, of every nationality, and, as a community, they have cast in their lot, since the days of Albuquerque with the race to which their fathers belonged. The Dutch, Portuguese, French, and English, who each in turn fought for the mastery of India, left behind them descendants whose history as communities in no way differs from that of their fathers. There have been, however, men of some mark among them, whose names are not as well known as they deserve to be, and I set about collecting materials for a series of biographies, which would in some fashion picture the men and their surroundings. The individuals with whom I mainly concerned myself were Derozio, Skinner, of the Irregulars, Kidd, the ship-builder, and Ricketts, the contemporary of Derozio and the founder of what is now the Doveton College. This Memoir of Derozio is the first of the series, and, so far as I am concerned, it is likely to be the last. The English reading public of India who buy books is a very small public, and it is very doubtful if any book published in India by a private person ever did more than pay the printing charges ; of course, I except what are called "text-books," which are

prepared for University examinations and cramming purposes, and books used in Government offices. I have little hope that my Memoir will sell in numbers sufficient to pay even for the cost of advertisements which I inserted in several newspapers, asking for information and papers, &c., and offering a fair price for a copy of Derozio's critique on Kant, let alone the four years' labour I have had in collecting materials. I shall be delighted to realise that I am mistaken. In search of materials for this short Memoir of Derozio and for a collection of his poetry, I have ransacked every library in Calcutta to which I could get access—departmental, public, and private. I shall be happy to hear from any one who can give me any new facts about Derozio, or who will point out any untrue or unfair statement in my Memoir. I have to acknowledge, with many thanks, the very kind manner in which I have been aided in this bit of work by the Reverend Krishna Mohun Bannerjea, LL. D., one of the few surviving friends of Derozio, the Hon'ble Peary Mohun Mookerjea, of Ooterpara, who very kindly placed the unique library of that town at my disposal, Mr. Henry Andrews, a contemporary of Derozio, the late Peary Chand Mitter, and the officials of the Home Department of the

Government of India, who very kindly allowed me to examine their library and their files.

The first rough draft of this Memoir appeared at intervals in the *Calcutta Review*. This rough draft has been corrected, re-casted, and in parts re-written.

THOMAS EDWARDS.





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CHAPTER I.

SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS.

HIN the old European burying ground of Calcutta, on the south side of Park Street, amid obelisks, pyramids, pillars and tombs of various forms, all fast falling to pieces, and from many of which the inscriptions penned by loving and grateful hands, have been obliterated, while the very name and memory of those "who sleep below" have long passed into forgetfulness, there is a nameless grave at the western extremity, "next to the monument of Major Maling on the south." Here was laid in the first flush of manhood, 54 years ago, all that was mortal of one of the highest gifted and most accomplished of Eurasians, HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO, poet, philosopher and free-thinker.

Since that day a new generation of men has arisen, to whom, though belonging to their own community, such men as Derozio, Ricketts, Kyd, Skinner, Kirkpatrick, Wale Byrne, Montague, Pote, Theobald, Dickens, and others, are names and little more. It seems to us, that if the memory of their worth and usefulness is to be rescued from that oblivion which

TO VIVIAN

AMARAPURAM

His Birth

the rapid course of time is fast accomplishing, some attempt, however imperfect, should be made to place on record something of their life and work, before the last of those who knew them as they walked the earth and played their part in life, have died out and made it impossible to recover facts and incidents that otherwise must perish.

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio was born on the 10th April 1809, in the house which stands to this day on the 24-Pergunnah side of Circular Road, at the head of Jaun Bazaar Street. The building is surrounded by a large compound in which there is a tank, and is a good specimen of the old-fashioned substantial houses of fifty years ago. Derozio's father, who was descended from a respectable Portuguese family, named DeRozario, occupied a highly respectable position in the mercantile house of Messrs. J. Scott and Co., in Calcutta; and must have been a man of some means, for the house he dwelt in was his own property, and his children received the best education that could then be procured in Calcutta. He was twice married, and the subject of this biographical sketch was born to his first wife. Besides Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, there were other three children, an elder brother Frank, who seems to have led a worthless life, and ultimately went to the bad, a younger brother Claudius, of whom little or nothing seems to be known beyond the fact that he went to

Scotland to be educated, and returned with a broad Scottish accent that stuck to him for many a day, a younger sister, Sophia, who died at the age of 17 on the 21st December 1827, and a sister, Amelia, between whom and Henry there was that warm enduring love which sometimes binds together, in a more than usual degree, a brother and sister. Amelia shared many of her brother's enjoyments, sympathised with him in his verse-making, encouraged him in all his undertakings, in short, believed in him and his power to influence thought and men, before any one else did. Of Amelia's future little is known. After death and ill-fortune had broken up the family, she seems to have gone to Serampore, where, it is believed, she married. One other relation it is needful to mention. Henry's aunt, his mother's sister, married a European gentleman, an Indigo Planter, at Bhaugulpore. Mr. Arthur Johnson, Derozio's uncle, was born at Ringwood in Hampshire in the year 1782. He served for some years in the Royal Navy ; and at the age of 25, settled in India. For many years he was a highly prosperous man, but in the closing years of his life reverses of fortune overtook him, and he died, and was buried at Bhaugulpore in September 1847, after a residence in India of forty years. A monument to his memory records that "he won the respect and good-will of all around him, and secured the lasting friendship of many by his general

worth and benevolence of heart." There is no one in Bhaugulpore to-day who knows anything about his great nephew. On frequent occasions visits were paid to the married aunt; and there, on a rock in the middle of the river, the boy Derozio saw the fakir, which was the first suggestion to his fertile imagination of the longest and most sustained flight of his muse, "*The Fakir of Jungeerah*," an eastern tale, which to this day stands unrivalled amongst indigenous Indian poems in excellence and truthfulness of delineation and in beauty and fertility of poetic imagery.

At an early age Derozio went to the school kept by David Drummond, in Dhurrumtollah, the site of which is now bounded by Goomghur on the north, Hospital Lane on the west, Dhurrumtollah on the south, and Hart's Livery Stables on the east, from each of which directions, gates entered the compound of the school. Here he received all the education that schools and schoolmasters ever gave him. Drummond was a Scotchman, a good example of the best type of the old Scotch Dominie, a scholar and a gentleman, equally versed and well read in the classics, mathematics and metaphysics of his day, and trained, as most Scotch students of the close of last century and beginning of this were, less in the grammatical niceties and distinctions of verbal criticism, though these were not neglected, than in the *thought* of the great

writers of antiquity and in the power of independent thinking. This culture and power of independent thought, Drummond seems to have had the power of imparting in an unusual degree, and on none of his pupils did he more distinctly impress his own individuality than on the young Derozio.

Amongst many of the orthodox inhabitants of Calcutta the Scotch Schoolmaster was looked on as, if not an open disciple of David Hume, nevertheless, a very doubtful person in whose hands to place their children, lest some of the independence of thought which characterised the master should imbue the pupil, and lead him to reason on subjects which they had been taught to accept with implicit faith. We do not mean to imply that Drummond was charged with open atheism ; but the feeling amongst many parents was that, on the whole, there was some danger of the faith, implicit, unreasoned faith, of their fathers being unsettled by the fearless and independent thinking for themselves which characterised some of Drummond's pupils. In a house in the Chitpore Road, near what is now the Adi Brahmo Samaj, Mr. Sherbourne, a Eurasian, the son of a Brahmin mother, conducted one of the most successful schools in Calcutta. Sherbourne was proud of this parentage, and received from his pupils, the yearly offering, *puja burik*, made to Brahmins. At his school nearly every distinguished native of a former genera-

tion received the rudiments of an English education before passing to the Hindu College. Among the number of Sherbourne's pupils were Prosono Coomar Tagore and his brother Huro Coomar Tagore. There was another famous school in Boitakhanah, presided over by a most estimable and orthodox pedagogue, a distinguished member of the Old Mission Church, Mr. Hutteman. Round him the faithful gathered ; but those who cared less for orthodoxy and more for a thorough education, sent their sons to Drummond of Dhurrumtollah. Hutteman was a good classic, and turned out some fine scholars, but if thought and the power of thinking, and not grammatical niceties and the power to be unintelligible and a bore in half-a-dozen languages, are the true aim of education, then the countryman of Hume was the better educator. The naturally imaginative, impulsive and powerful mind of Derozio was quickened and spurred into action under the clear, incisive, logical guidance of David Drummond, the crooked-backed, broad-minded Scotchman, who for eight years, from the day Derozio entered his school a child of six, till he left it a lad of fourteen, watched him with interest, and aided the rapid development of his splendid powers of intellect and imagination ; and before the age of twenty, six years after he left school and entered on the work of his short life, his acquaintance with the literature and

thought of England, and so far as these could be attained through the medium of an English translation, his knowledge of the best thinkers and writers of European celebrity, was of such a character as to mark him off, at that early age, as a man not in any degree inferior to, and in some respects far in advance of, any of his contemporaries of any nationality in India. Derozio was little of a classic scholar. It is even very doubtful if he ever got much beyond the *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres* which marked the infant classic steps of the scholar of his day ; but there was no poet, or dramatic writer, or thinker of English lineage with whose works Derozio was not familiar—familiar in a sense which the examination driven, high pressure students of to-day might well envy. In mathematics he did little more than cross the “asses’ bridge.” His chief delight, his sole pursuit outside of the cricketing, the amateur theatricals, and other sports natural to boys of his years, was the literature and the thought of England, as he found these embodied in the poets, novelists, dramatists, and philosophers of that country. Till the latest day of his short life, poetry and philosophy were the chief charm of his existence. There were two places in India where the most recent works issued from the press of Britain could be found. These were the shelves of the most enterprising booksellers, and the library of Derozio, frequently

the latter alone. The boy-companions of Derozio were, almost without exception, in after-life noteworthy men. Lawrence Augustus DeSouza has shown by his large-hearted, open-handed, benefactions to the Eurasian community, in his care for the widow and the orphan, and the struggling scholar, a kingly example of philanthropy and the wise use of wealth, which will embalm his name, a precious memory, in the hearts of Eurasians. W. Kirkpatrick was one of a band of earnest men, among whom were J. W. Ricketts, Robert J. Rose, Wale Byrne, Henry Andrews, R. H. Hollingberry, and others, who labored incessantly in after-life for the social, moral, religious and intellectual advancement of men of their own blood. Kirkpatrick, M. Crowe, R. Fenwick and other East Indians were the chief leader writers of the old *East Indian*, a newspaper planned, edited and successfully carried on by Derozio till his death. Kirkpatrick also edited and wrote for the *Orient Pearl*, an annual something after the style of the *Republic of Letters*, and which contains many articles that are interesting reading to this day. J. W. Ricketts contributed to the *Orient Pearl*, as well as other leading members of the community. Charles Pote, the "Eurasian Artist," another boy-companion of Derozio, whose portrait of Lord Metcalfe adorns the Town Hall of Calcutta, along with Derozio and David Hare, gave that impetus to enquiry among higher class Hindoos.

which made the work of Duff and his successors a matter of easy accomplishment. As lads, DeSouza, DaCosta, Pote, W. Kirkpatrick, McLeod, Galloway and others, were members, with Derozio, of the same Cricket Club, that played on autumn evenings on the *maidan*, that took part in school theatricals for which Derozio wrote prologues before the age of 14, and that swam and sported together in early summer mornings in the Bamon Bustee, the great tank now filled up, which once stood at the end of what is now Wood Street, with Camac Street on the west, Theatre Road on the north, and native villages stretching out to the south and east.

At the age of 14, Derozio, as we have said, ended his school life; but David Drummond, the grim, Scottish, hunch-backed schoolmaster, and Henry Derozio, the sprightly, clean-limbed, brilliant Eurasian boy, admired and loved each other as rarely master and pupil do. None watched with greater interest his short career, and there were few sadder hearts in Calcutta, that followed Derozio to his early grave that wintry afternoon, than David Drummond of Dhurumtollah.

CHAPTER II.

DAVID DRUMMOND, SHOOLMASTER AND INTERLOPER.

DAVID DRUMMOND was a native of Fife-shire, born in humble circumstances about the year 1785, eleven years before the death of Burns. As a boy, the fame and poetry of the ploughman poet, which filled all Scotland from end to end, quickened the lad Drummond to emulate in some faint fashion what Burns had achieved for Scotland.

E'en then a wish, I mind its power,
A wish that to my latest hour
Shall strongly heave my breast,
That I for poor auld Scotland's sake,
Some useful plan or beuk could make,
Or sing a song at least.

• • • • •

In this, at least, Drummond was successful. A few of his songs, in the homely Doric of his native land, became popular, before, in the year 1813, he left Scotland for ever; and even yet in his native shire the songs of the peasant boy,—who, after a residence in India of 30 years, was laid 40 years ago in the grave, are not altogether forgotten.

The circumstances which impelled the young Scotchman to leave his native land, with a deter-

mination never to return to it, are hidden in obscurity; but there are sound reasons for believing that theological differences with his own family had some hand in it. There were not a few peasant lads in the Scotland of 80 years ago, and have been since then, whose parents pinched and saved and hungered themselves, that their sons might some day "wag their heads in a pupit." The disappointment, grief and rage when hopes of this sort, cherished through embittering poverty and a life-long self-sacrifice almost superhuman, were dashed to the ground by the refusal of the lad to enter the church because his mind had outgrown the narrow theology of the sect he had been educated to enter, may be better imagined than described. Drummond worked his passage out to India and landed, an "Interloper," in the year 1813. He lived with a friend at Berhampore for a short time, and was then appointed assistant on Rs. 125 a month, with board and lodging, in the proprietary school of Messrs. Wallace and Measures, after undergoing an examination which satisfied his employers that his attainments were of a high order. A few years after he became sole proprietor; and the Dhurrumtollah Academy under Drummond speedily attained the highest position amongst the educational establishments of Calcutta, and aided materially in diffusing a high class English education among the children of Europeans, whose

means did not admit of their sending their sons to England, as well as amongst Eurasians and natives. It was one of the peculiarities of Drummond's school that, as in the Scotland of his day, the laird's son and Jock, the ploughman's boy, sat side by side on the same form with Jenny, the herd's lassie, and romped together before and after school hours, and on the way to and from school, so in Dhurrumtollah, 60 years ago, European, Eurasian and native lads conned the same lessons, and mingled together in the same school sports. The impetus given by Drummond to education in Calcutta awoke a spirit of competition ; the means of education multiplied, and a healthy rivalry between schools of various sorts produced the happiest results.

On the 4th of March 1825 a Phrenological Society was established by the admirers of Gall, Spurzheim and Combe. This society met in the *Hurkaru* rooms, with Dr. Abel as President, Dr. John Grant as Vice-president, and Dr. Patterson as Secretary. For two years Drummond attended the meetings, and was a silent listener to the arguments and dissertations in favour of phrenology. Then, to the amazement of the society, he published his *Objections to Phrenology*, in which he declared that "phrenology was not the true interpretation of nature, that its principles threw no sure light on the enquiry regarding the operations of the human

mind." This was the death-blow, not only to the Society, which never recovered from the vigor of Drummond's attack, but to phrenology in India.

We subjoin a summary of Mr. Drummond's statement of his arguments against Phrenology. The book consists of 210 pages, octavo, and cost eight rupees :—

First.—If each organ possesses exclusively and independently perception, volition, memory, &c., it must follow that they are distinct and independent existences; and that unity of consciousness, which is in other words, a man's being *himself*, is utterly impossible.

Secondly.—If a plurality of organs act, at the same moment *in opposition* (that is, the one counteracting the other), it must follow, that they neutralize each other in the ratio of their respective forces.

Thirdly.—If a plurality of organs act, at the same moment *in conjunction* (that is, in producing one individual impulse), why not the whole of them, which would amount to all the unity of mind that has ever been contended for?

Fourthly.—If the various organs do operate upon and influence each other, this, like everything else, must be done by some particular means. How then is it managed? What connects these jarring counsels? What so opportunely informs "*Cautiousness*" that a foe is in the field, and as instantly directs

him to oppose “*Destructiveness*”? What is the medium of communication whereby the excitation of any organ whatever can have the smallest influence even on its *nearest companion*? and,

Fifthly.—The very essence of Phrenology involves the abandonment both of reason and memory (the one of which directs and judges, the other retains and restores, all the ideas and operations of the mind) by affirming that these, as well as all other attributes of the “glorious and divine intellect of man,” are the result of thirty-five ungoverned, unconnected instincts.

In the year 1829, shortly after the publication of his *Objections to Phrenology*, the tear and wear, the worry and the fret, and the intense application of a conscientious teacher’s life in India, coupled, it may be, with improprieties in diet, completely broke down the health of Drummond. Unlike the majority of his thrifty countrymen, he lived very nearly if not quite up to his income. His residence was one of the most elegantly furnished in Calcutta, and balls and suppers to kindred spirits were frequent. Nevertheless, Mr. Sandford Arnott, in presenting a copy of his own new Persian Grammar, wrote on the fly leaf—“To David Drummond, Esq., who amidst the luxuries of the East never lost his relish for the metaphysics and the muse of Scotland, which he cultivated so successfully.” For two years, 1828-30,

Drummond sought to regain health by a residence in the Straits of Malacca, and left the care of his flourishing school to a Mr. Wilson, who, whatever other attainments he may have had, was deficient in the energy and organising methods of Drummond. The clerical party in Calcutta, headed by Archdeacon Dealtry, if it did not found, at least patronized, a school in the Circular Road, which professed in newspaper advertisements to be "the only school in Calcutta where a Christian education could be obtained." This, coupled with the secular system pursued in the Dhurrumtollah Academy, and the absence of its moving spirit, began to tell in popular estimation against Drummond's school; so that, when he returned in 1830, with health little improved by his two years' furlough, the Academy had lost ground, and he was unable to carry on the heavy duties which the labour of a large school implied. Soon afterwards, with the money derived from the sale of the good-will and furniture of his school, he retired to the General Hospital, where he remained for years an invalid. Very few, even of his most intimate friends, knew what had become of him. Many of those who knew him best in the years of his prosperity had left India. A new race of men had arisen, striving for literary fame and fortune, who were ignorant of the keen, polished intellect, that in prose and verse had gained the ear of a

former generation, and was now drawing out a living death in a Calcutta Hospital. The echoes of the outside world fell faintly on the lonely invalid's ear, and one of these echoes woke the dormant power of Drummond. Sir Charles Metcalfe had freed the Press of India, and amid the general rejoicing, the illuminations and decorations and feasts, addresses and eulogiums, an ode to Metcalfe, which appeared in the *Hurkaru* with the once well-known initials D. D., woke for a time by its eloquence, its depth of feeling, and its fire, a passing interest in Drummond ; but there were few indeed of those who admired the verses, who cared to know that their author was bed-ridden in the depths of poverty, the inmate of a public hospital. An aide-de-camp of Sir Charles Metcalfe called on Mr. Smith, the proprietor of the *Hurkaru*, to ask for the name of the author, which was given ; and a subscription for fifty copies of Drummond's poems found its way from the generous Metcalfe to the bed-ridden invalid. This collection of poetry was never published. The few who ever saw it in manuscript, amongst others, D. L. Richardson, spoke of it in terms of the highest commendation, many of the lyrics being charged with "great tenderness and delicacy of feeling." It was Drummond's dying wish that they should be sent to Scotland and published there, where they would be best appreciated by a people familiar with

the genius and idioms of the Doric in which they were written, and the character, habits and associations round which he wove his web of song. The vessel containing the manuscript was lost ; and thus perished some of the finest Scottish lyrics since the days of Burns and Tannahill.

By the year 1839 he had so far recovered health that he determined to leave the General Hospital, and begin the battle of life with a frame bowed by disease, a shattered constitution, a mind enervated by long illness and seclusion from the world, and literally without a rupee. Failing health and pinching poverty were henceforth his lot till death. There were still a few friends left to him from the days of his hospitable prosperity, amongst whom were Dr. John Grant and D. L. Richardson. These, with the generous impulse of noble minds, at once offered the broken-down schoolmaster that pecuniary assistance which they could well afford. Drummond appreciated their kind offers, but his Scottish pride greater in poverty and sickness than in health and prosperity, would accept no help, no obligations, which, in the state of his health it was very doubtful whether he would ever be able to repay. He would hang on to the skirts of no man, he would be dependent on no one, he would continue to do as he had done living his life in his own way, even though that implied pinching poverty and a losing struggle with the

inevitable. Drummond's teaching days were over, not only because his impaired health rendered teaching impossible, but his pronounced views on religious subjects, now that schools in Calcutta were abundant, rendered it highly improbable that any school of his conducting would have anything but a very small attendance. He could not teach, but he could write, and he thought he saw an opening for a weekly paper. Under the auspices of Drummond as proprietor, editor, reporter, and all else but printer, the *Weekly Examiner*, "a journal of politics, news and literature," had an existence of nearly two years, 1839-41. To this weekly newspaper both Dr. John Grant and D. L. Richardson frequently contributed, to help their old friend in his new venture; but the burden of the whole lay heavily on Drummond. The ability with which the *Weekly Examiner* was conducted was generally admitted, and its opinions were respected by a large portion of the press of India.

However great Drummond's talents undoubtedly were, there were conditions of success which he could not command. His leaders were finished essays, logical and keen; but his readers were thirsting for news; the first Afghan war was working up to its tragic-ending. News Drummond could not pay for; but he served it up second-hand. Besides this, his long illness and reverse of fortune had rendered him

irritable, and he took offence at the neglect with which the *Englishman* treated his small venture, and never missed an opportunity of hitting heavily and effectively. The strength of his reasoning was always superior to his diction. He wrote hurriedly and diffusely, and cared little for style if his arguments were logically consistent and convincing. At all times he wrote with great vigour and originality, but he was occasionally rash, impulsive and deficient in tact ; and few things delighted him more than originating a controversy and arguing through thick and thin for the view he at first adopted. His religious opinions were never aired in the pages of the *Examiner*, but in private, with the few remaining of his old friends, he launched out fearlessly on a sea of speculation and discussion, that would make the listener catch his breath in wonder and amazement. To him the right of private judgment claimed by the fathers of the Reformation three hundred years ago, was a very precious thing. He would believe nothing, accept nothing, unless it could be made as evident and reasonable as a mathematical axiom. Tradition and antiquity were to him no authority ; and he built up his system of faith and the universe on a basis not much broader than the *Cogito ergo sum* of Descartes ; but he had neither health nor leisure to think it out and formulate it. Had both been granted him, the name of David Drummond would in all likelihood have

ranked with that of his own great countryman, David Hume, in the roll of Philosophical Sceptics. By the middle of 1841, Drummond was again prostrate with spine disease ; and the struggle which for months he carried on in weakness and pain to keep faith with his subscribers, was nothing short of heroic. Ill-advised, he resorted to stimulants, notably laudanum, in large quantities, to whip the last effort out of an enfeebled body and a harassed mind. Unable to sit up to write, or even to write in bed, his editorials were dictated in spasmodic gasps between the intervals of weakness and bodily agony. At last he gave the struggle up. He was not doing justice to his subscribers ; he would not take their money when he could give them no fair equivalent.

The *Weekly Examiner* was abandoned. The small sum available from outstanding debts was collected, and with it, broken in health, crushed in spirits, enfeebled in mind, the friends of his better years either dead or out of India, David Drummond for eighteen months lived a life of bodily agony in the depths of a biting poverty, not often paralleled, with a "resignation, tranquillity and stoicism rarely met with." Murmur or complaint never passed his lips, and in the April of 1843, at the age of fifty-six, David Drummond, interloper and schoolmaster, slept the sleep that knows no waking, to such a life, at least, as that through which he had passed.

Over the remains of David Drummond in the New Burial Ground, Circular Road, there is a monument erected by his friends and pupils, on which are recorded respect for his character, admiration for his talents, and esteem for his worth.

CHAPTER III.

BHAUGULPORE.

N leaving school in the year 1823, Derozio became a clerk in the firm of Messrs. J. Scott and Company, and remained in their employment for two years. In this firm his father had long held a highly responsible position. There was no fascination for Derozio in the drudgery of the desk, to which so many men of his race have clung, and are clinging, rather than strike out for themselves independent sources of living, notwithstanding the earnest and eloquent appeals that have been made by such eminent men of their own community as James Kyd, the Kidderpore ship-builder, and others since his day. In face of the positive certainty that educated natives will drive, and now actually are driving, Eurasians from clerkships and quill-driving generally, no adequate effort has yet been put forth by Eurasians themselves to secure a future for their children; and the recently established Eurasian Associations are too young yet to predict much for their future usefulness. The four walls of an office and a clerk's stool were speedily relinquished by

Derozio ; and at the age of sixteen in the varied work and life of an Indigo-planter at Bhaugulpore, under the hospitable roof of his uncle Johnson, and the kindly eye of his mother's sister, the lad Derozio for a time found congenial occupation. It was here, at Bhaugulpore, with the ripple of the Ganges in his ear, and the boats of the fisher and the trader borne on the tide, out of whose broad bosom rose the Fakir-inhabited rock of Jungheera, that the youthful poet drunk in all those sweet influences of nature and much of human nature, which indelibly impressed themselves on his intellect and imagination, and stirred him to the production of his most sustained effort in poetry, the *Fakir of Jungheera*.

In a note to the lines—

“Jungheera's rocks are hoar and steep
“And Ganges wave is broad and deep.”

Derozio says, “although I once lived nearly three years in the vicinity of Jungheera, I had but one opportunity of seeing that beautiful and truly romantic spot. I had a view of the rocks from the opposite bank of the river, which was broad and full at the time I saw it, during the rainy season. It struck me then as a place where achievements in love and arms might take place ; and the double character I had heard of the Fakir, together with

some acquaintance with the scenery, induced me to form a tale upon both these circumstances. From "Forest's Tour" along the Ganges and Jumna, I submit to the reader the following description of Jungheera. The foliage he speaks of did not strike me probably in consequence of the great distance at which I saw the island, which in a subsequent part of the poem I have called bleak and bare :—

"At some distance from Monghyr, we saw on the river Ganges on our right, a singular mass of rock standing in the water, and somewhat resembling those of Colgong. It is distant about two hundred yards from the right bank immediately opposite to the village of Sultangunge. It rises about seventy feet above the level of the water, towering abruptly from its bosom ; there is one place only at which a boat can be put in, and where there is a landing-place, and a very steep and winding path leads to the summit. Here is found a small building's Madrissa, or village of Fakirs, or wandering monks who reside in it.....The whole forms a pretty object, as you run past in a boat and the thick and luxuriant foliage which crowns the summit adds much to the effect of the picture."

Here, at Bhaugulpore, there fell on Derozio's and eye, and lingered in his memory, theplash of oars in the river: the greetings and gossip of women round the well : the creaking of the yoke : the patient toil of the

ryots in their fields : the sounds that happy children make at play their voices conning lessons, squatted in the mud under a peepul tree or the shade of a verandah : the song of girls grinding at the mill : the wheel and deft hand of the potter fashioning the homely vessels of the ryot and the thicket and the jungle, full of teeming life : the roar of the tiger by night : the stroke of the coppersmith at his forge : the drums and music and songs and processions of pujahs and marriage-feasts, the rippling laughter, half muffled head and gleaming eyes, and winsome face and figure of village beauties and over all this myriad tinted, many voiced, ever changing scene, full of life and beauty and wonder, the glorious panorama of an Indian sunset, when in the west clouds wreath themselves in slow majestic motions and unfold their changeful, chameleon tints, deepening into blackest night, and day and its glories seem like a gorgeous dream of beauty, swallowed up by darkness.

It is that hour when dusky night
Comes gathering o'er departing light,
When hue by hue and ray by ray,
Thine eye may watch it waste away,
Until thou canst no more behold
The faded tints of pallid gold,
And soft descend the shades of night,
As did those hues so purely bright ;
And in the blue sky, star by star,
Shines out, like happiness afar ;
A wilderness of worlds !—To dwell
In one, with those we have loved well

Were bliss indeed !—The waters flow
 Gurgling, in darkest hue below,
 And 'gainst the shore the ripple breaks
 As from its cave, the east wind wakes,
 But lo ! where Dian's crest on high appears,
 Faint as the memory of departing years.

—NIGHT (DEROZIO.)

The moon is gone ; and thus go those we love ;
 The night winds wail ; and thus for them we mourn ;
 The stars look down ; thus spirits from above
 Hallow the mourners' tears upon the urn.
 Some thoughts are all of joy, and some of woe ;
 Mine end in tears—they're welcome—let them flow.
 We look around,
 But vainly look for those who formed a part
 Of us, as we of them, and whom we wore
 Like gems in bezels, in the heart's deep core.
 Where are they now ?—gone to that “narrow cell”
 Whose gloom no lamp hath broken, nor shall break,
 Whose secrets never spirit came to tell :— [awake.
 O ! that their day might dawn, for then they would

—ADA (DEROZIO.)

Mid surroundings and musings such as these, Derozio's imagination was kindled into enthusiasm; and those graver and more abstract speculations which in after-life, and over his early grave, earned for him, at the hands of fanatics and bigots, the calumnious name of atheist and infidel, were thought out and in some measure formulated.

It was here at Bhaugulpore that Derozio realized what it is to love and to be loved. Here he saw that light which never shone on land or sea and which only beams from the eyes of those whose lives are intertwined in the bonds which love alone can

weave. Who the lady was, or what the circumstances were which parted their lives, will probably never now be known ; but it is very evident that this episode in his life made a lasting impression on him and he steadily refused to marry, though frequently solicited to do so by his mother and sister.

From his uncle's plantation of Bhaugulpore, Derozio sent to Dr. John Grant of the *India Gazette* those poetical contributions which bear the signature of *Juvenis*. The letters that passed between Derozio and Grant are unhappily lost ; indeed so far as we have been able to learn, no single scrap of his correspondence exists, except three letters, the one dated 25th April 1831, addressed to the Managing Committee of the Hindoo College, resigning his position as master of the second and third classes in Literature and History ; another, a day later, to his friend Dr. H. H. Wilson, a member of the Committee of the Hindoo College, written in reply to certain questions submitted to him by Dr. Wilson ; and a third which we have been able to recover. These letters will be reproduced in their proper place in this short memoir. The encouragement given by Grant of the *India Gazette*, and his appreciation of the young poet's merits, induced Derozio to collect his verses and publish them in a separate volume. In the year 1827 he came to Calcutta ; and the lad of 17 saw his first production

through the press, and immediately found himself famous. Indigo-planting and Bhaugulpore became things of the past ; and Derozio, as Assistant Editor of the *India Gazette*, editor of the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, contributor to the *Calcutta Magazine*, the *Indian Magazine*, *The Bengal Annual*, and *The Kelidoscope*, and assistant-master in the senior department of the Hindoo College, adopted teaching as a profession and literature as a staff. Some of Derozio's articles in the *India Gazette* are said not to have been popular, being "flippant and pretentious." As a rule his articles were always clever, smart, and lively, and yet had an air of "coxcombery and conceit that injured the effect of much truth and originality of observation." The letters which passed between Grant and Derozio are characterised, by one who knew of their existence, as highly creditable to both, and marked by high chivalrous feeling and admiration on both sides, and mutual respect. Pecuniary matters were touched on with a delicacy of phraseology and feeling not common now-a-days. Derozio and Grant agreed to differ, and in their difference mutually respected each other. Dr. John Grant, the editor of the *India Gazette*, the contemporary, along with Derozio, of Meredith Parker, D. L. Richardson, and David Hare, is thus described by one who remembered him well : "He was a man of great information, and of infinite quotation ; could

rap you out a paragraph of Cicero, or half a page of Bolingbroke ; simmered easily into poetry ; and after dinner on his legs could pour you forth a stream of rhetoric, which, if it had had any religion in it, would have done for a Scotch sermon." Hare, Grant, Richardson and Parker, all men of ability, were the close friends of Derozio, and admirers of his genius. Of Grant it has been said, "he rocked the cradle of his genius and followed his hearse" to his grave. In 1828 his second volume, which was a reprint of the first, with some additions, notably *The Fakir of Jungheera*, raised the fame of Derozio as a poet to the highest point which his too brief life permitted him to reach.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HINDU COLLEGE.

IN the March of 1828, Derozio was appointed master of English Literature and History in the second and third classes of the Hindoo College. This appointment, seemingly so insignificant, marks the early development of one of the most important movements in the intellectual history of the native-born subjects of this land. No teacher ever taught with greater zeal, with more enthusiasm, with more loving intercourse between master and pupil than marked the short term of Derozio's connection with the Hindoo College.

Neither before, nor since his day, has any teacher, within the walls of any native educational establishment in India, ever exercised such an influence over his pupils. It was not alone in the class-rooms and during the hours of teaching that the genial manner, the buoyant spirit, the ready humour, the wide reading, the readiness to impart knowledge, and the patience and courtesy of Derozio won the hearts and the high reverence of his pupils. In the intervals of teaching he was ever ready in conversation to

aid his pupils in their studies, to draw them out to give free and full expression to their opinions, on topics naturally arising from the course of their work in the class-rooms ; and before the hour at which the usual work of his classes began, and sometimes after the hour for closing the day's duties, Derozio, in addition to the work of the class, in order to broaden and deepen the knowledge of his pupils in the thought and literature of England, gave readings in English literature to as many students of the Hindoo College as cared to take advantage of his self-imposed work. In consort with his pupils, he established the *Academic Association*, which met in a garden-house belonging to the Singh family in Manicktollah, where night after night, under the presidency of Derozio, and with Omachurn Bose as Secretary, the lads of the Hindoo College read their papers, discussed, debated and wrangled ; and acquired for themselves the facility of expressing their thoughts in words and the power of ready reply and argument. To these meetings there frequently came the unassuming large-hearted philanthropist, David Hare, in "white jacket and old-fashioned gaiters" or "blue coat," with large brass buttons, the dress-coat of his youth ; and occasionally Sir Edward Ryan, and Colonel Benson, Private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck, Colonel Beatson, afterwards Adjutant-General, and Dr. Mills, the Principal of Bishop's College, visited the meet-

ings. Poetry and Philosophy were the chief themes discussed. Derozio's attainments in philosophy were as wide and varied as his acquaintance with the poets and dramatists. Indeed, his innate gift of song, which entitles him to rank as an English poet of no inconsiderable eminence, was but the outcome of his vigorous intellect, which sought in verse an outlet for the restless mental activity that marks superior minds. No doubt, in the meetings of the *Academic Association* and in the social circle that gathered round his hospitable table in the old house in Circular Road, subjects were broached and discussed with freedom, which could not have been approached in the class-room. Free-will, fore-ordination, fate, faith, the sacredness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, and the meanness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attributes of God, and the arguments for and against the existence of deity as these have been set forth by Hume on the one side, and Reid, Dugald Stewart and Brown on the other ; the hollowness of idolatry, and the shams of the priesthood, were subjects which stirred to their very depths the young, fearless, hopeful hearts of the leading Hindoo youths of Calcutta ; but that either Derozio or his pupils revelled, as has been asserted, in the "more licentious plays of the Restoration, and the minor pieces of Tom Paine, born of the filth of the worst period of the French Rev-

lution," or that lawless lust and western vice entered into some, with the secularism and anti-theism of the Hindoo College, that Derozio taught "the non-existence of God," that he admitted it, and that he was "an atheistic and immoral poet," are all of them unproved assertions, and baseless calumnies, which Dr. George Smith, the Biographer of Duff, should have been at some pains to sift, before branding with infamy the memory of the dead. We venture to affirm that, whatever books and plays were read and studied by Derozio and his pupils, whatever topics were broached in discussion and in conversation, either in the class-room, the Academic Association, or in the friendly circle under his own roof-tree, the license of thought and the field of thinking were no greater and no more reprehensible than those over which must traverse the mind of every man who thinks out for himself the realities of nature, humanity and God. Anger, reprobation and foul names, heaped on seekers after truth are the standard weapons of more timid men ; and in too many cases the consequence of their use is that minds naturally open to the reception of truth and a love of its pursuit, bear with them through life contempt of the well-meaning fanatics who would gauge the universe and measure out the love of God by the standard of their own narrow theological dogmatism.

According to Dr. Smith* such was the notoriety of the Hindoo College that the fame of its infidelity reached even America, and an enterprising publisher "issued a cheap octavo edition of a thousand copies and shipped the whole to the Calcutta market. These were all bought at once at two shillings a copy; and such was the continued demand for the worst of the treatises that eight rupees (sixteen shillings) were vainly offered for it." In this connexion, a reference is given to the *Calcutta Christian Observer* for August 1832. On turning to the *Christian Observer* all we find is the following note:—"Hume's works were then read with avidity; also Tom Paine's 'Age of Reason,' for a copy of which 8 Rs. were offered by some of the pupils—*Ed.*" We venture to rehearse the story of the introduction of Tom Paine's works to Calcutta as told in the columns of the *Sumachar Durpun* for July 1832. It may be interesting to state, that the *Durpun* was a bi-weekly journal, published in English and Bengalee, and was the most useful of all the native papers then published. It was issued from the Mission Press of Serampore, and edited by Dr. Marshman. While interfering little in religious discussions, it nevertheless opposed Hindoo bigotry and intolerance. Its articles were distinguished by good temper and discretion. In the pages of the

* Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., vol. I, pp. 144-5, 1st edition.

Durpun "the cheap edition of a thousand copies," which Dr. Smith sells off at two shillings a copy in his life of Duff, as noted above, stands at something less than a hundred. Here is the statement made by the *Sumachar Durpun* :—"We understand that some time since a large number of the works of Tom Paine, not far short of a hundred, were sent for sale to Calcutta from America ; and that one of the native booksellers, despairing of a sale, fixed the price of each copy at a rupee ; a few were sold at this price, which falling into the hands of some young men educated in English, the anxiety to purchase the work became great. The vendor immediately raised the price to five rupees a copy, but even at that price we hear that his whole stock was sold among the natives in a few days. Some one soon after took the trouble to translate some part of Paine's 'Age of Reason' into Bengalee, and to publish it in the *Prubhakar*, calling upon the missionaries and upon one venerable character by name to reply to it. We at the same time received several letters from some of the most respectable natives in Calcutta, subscribers of the *Durpun*, but staunch Hindoos, entreating us not to notice the challenge, or to make the pages of this journal the arena for theological disputations."

Whoever gave way to "lawless lust and western vice," and comforted themselves with cold secular-

ism and immorality, it was not Derozio, nor was it the immediate circle of lads whom he most powerfully influenced. The moral teaching of Derozio was as high and pure as his own life was blameless ; and issued in as good results as ever follow in the wake of an earnest striving after truth. That he shook the citadel of higher Hindooism to its very foundation, in a fashion that no man, teacher or preacher, has ever done before or since his day, is an undoubted fact, which has been overshadowed by the *odium theologicum* heaped on his religious opinions, the splendid rhetoric of Duff, and that measure of success which the Scottish Missionary accomplished, by taking up the work of Derozio when his hands were paralyzed, first by calumny, opprobrium and the bigotry of higher class Hindoos and others, and then by death. Before ever Duff set foot in India, the theistic schism in Hindooism, which exists in strong vitality to-day as the Brahmo Somaj, and which is likely to increase in strength, and work out for the people of India a system of religious thought totally unlike the dogmatic formulæ of the various sections either of the Western or the Eastern Church, had been effected by Ram Mohun Roy. The question of English education had been discussed, and partly settled as early as 1816, in the founding of the School Book Society and the Hindoo School. Ram Mohun Roy had

himself protested against the founding of a Sanscrit College, though himself a Sanscrit scholar; and in a letter addressed to His Excellency Lord Amherst in 1823, he declared, that the teaching of Sanscrit would completely defeat the object of the Government, and waste the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India. A seminary of this sort, he says, "can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions, of little or no use to their possessors or to society. The pupils will acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since then produced by speculative men. The Sanscrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, but as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it should consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed, by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus."

The unremitting devotion and energy of David Hare, backed by the leaders of Hindoo Society, had secured the possibility of an English education, and

demonstrated its success, some years before Duff opened his school for Hindoo boys under the patronage of Kam Mohun Roy in the July of 1830. In 1824 Dr. James Bryce, Minister of the Scottish Kirk, Senior Chaplain on the Bengal Establishment, editor of the *John Bull*, and Clerk of Stationery, presented a petition and memorial to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, proposing plans for the conduct of Indian missions, which he declared* are now (1834) being "so successfully carried out." This scheme bore with it the recommendation of Ram Mohun Roy. Duff's biographer, however, asserts† that "Dr. Bryce's scheme was one for almost everything that Duff's was not." Bryce's book was published in England during Duff's residence there, after his first five years' work in India, and must have been well known to him. Duff never questioned the general identity of plan between his own work and the proposal of Bryce; and certainly Bryce believed them to be identical. The institution of the Academic Association by Derozio in 1828 had been followed by numerous imitations among the native Hindoos. Native society was in a perfect ferment, and the full consequence of the impact of European thought and speculation on Eastern ideas and systems had been fairly realised, and

* "Native Education in India," page 16.

† Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., vol. I, page 40, 1st edition.

partly demonstrated by the teaching of Derozio, before Duff reached India. The great truths and wide speculations opened out by the study of moral philosophy had been unfolded in a series of lectures to which crowded hundreds of English-speaking Hindoo youths, delivered by Derozio at the invitation of David Hare,—all this, before Duff's voice was heard addressing a native English-speaking assembly. It is a curious distortion of fact to assert as Dr. George Smith in his life of Duff does, that the college watched over and fostered by David Hare, and in which Derozio, as a teacher, effected so much, was a “college which Ram Mohun Roy was ashamed to patronize.” Ram Mohun Roy and David Hare lived through life in the greatest amity and mutual respect. It was David Hare's niece who nursed the Rajah in his last illness; and Bedford Square, the home of Hare's two brothers, was the home of Ram Mohun Roy during his stay in England; while one of them accompanied him to France on the occasion of his visit to Paris. It was the persuasion of David Hare backed by the influence of Sir Edward Hyde East, and the strong common sense of Ram Mohun Roy, which made him withdraw from a movement, the earlier stages of which he had fostered, being fully persuaded, that if his name appeared on the committee of management the objects of the Institution would be frustrated.

The large and wealthy section of orthodox Hindoos with whom Ram Mohun Roy had been long at feud, would have altogether withdrawn from the establishment of a college with which he was in any way connected.

The lectures on philosophy which Derozio delivered to crowded audiences of educated Hindoo youths, if even notes of them ever existed, as in all probability they did, have been lost. Not only so, but a critique of Derozio's on the philosophy of Kant is also seemingly lost to this generation, or stowed away in the lumber of forgotten libraries. Of this critique of Derozio's, Dr. Mill, the distinguished Sanscrit scholar, and one of the most learned and able Principals of the now defunct Bishop's (Middleton) College, declared before a large public assembly "that the objections which Derozio published to the philosophy of Kant, were perfectly original, and displayed powers of reasoning and observation which would not disgrace even gifted philosophers." Derozio's native friends have been even more eulogistic, and in their admiration of his clear, subtle power of thinking, as evidenced in this critique, have mentioned his name in the same breath with that of the greatest of modern Scottish scholars and philosophers, Sir William Hamilton. No true estimate of Derozio as a philosopher and thinker can, be arrived at so long as this critique remains unknown.

The establishment of the Academic Association and the full and free discussion nightly carried on at its meetings was followed within a few months by the establishment of between twelve and fourteen newspapers chiefly conducted by natives, advocating views of all sorts, from orthodox Hindooism to Materialism, and carrying on in print the discussion of questions raised in the Academic Association and in the numerous debating societies which sprung up as offshoots and auxiliaries of the parent society. Duff's lectures on the evidences of Christianity, as well as the rise of about a dozen native schools supported by Hindoos, all these were but the outcome of the training of the Hindoo school, and the influence and teaching of Derozio.

CHAPTER V. CHRISTIAN EFFORT IN INDIA.

TOWARDS the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, Portugal was a leading power in Europe and the world. The Portuguese had contested the supremacy of the Indian seas with the Dutch, and shown the way to India round the Cape, thus changing the commercial route of Europe, bankrupting the Venetians and Genoese, and destroying for the time-being much of the commerce of the Mediterranean. They discovered and colonized Brazil, made themselves masters of Madeira, the Azores, Cape de Verde, and were to be found in Guinea, Senegambia, Mozambique, the Indian Archipelago and China. Lisbon, their European capital, was the greatest commercial emporium perhaps in the world, and Goa—"Golden Goa"—the city of their own founding in Western Hindustan, in the splendour and magnificence of its streets, public buildings and religious and charitable institutions and hospitals, rivalled, if it did not surpass, Lisbon itself; while the inhabitants, in all the pomp and circumstance of stately, luxurious living and

eastern magnificence, were probably unmatched even in the East.

It was at Goa that the first municipality was established in India by Albuquerque, and the same great statesman and general, while granting to Hindus the full enjoyment of the customs and usages of their religion, resolutely put down *Sati*. In these and other respects, such as the Muhammadan custom of farming the taxes, the protection of merchants and traders, and the punishment of oppression, Albuquerque outlined a policy in the Portuguese settlement of Goa which the English rulers of India have more or less filled in and developed.

On a May day of the year 1542, after a voyage from Lisbon of nearly a year's duration, there landed at Goa the earliest and, in some respects, the greatest Christian hero, philanthropist and missionary that has ever laboured in India or the East. In ten years the work of his life was completed. St. Francis Xavier died in the island of Sancian, near Macao, in 1552, while attempting to enter China, and his body was carried back to Goa, where it rests. St. Xavier, on his arrival in Goa, turned his attention first to the European settlers, and, having stirred up in them a spirit of penitence for the depraved lives many of them were leading, and a religious fervour and enthusiasm which his very presence and voice seemed to produce, then turned to the native

population ; and the burning zeal and fervent spirit of St. Xavier, the colleague of Loyola, in the founding of the Society of Jesus, whose members may now be found in every part of the world, had such effect on the pearl fishing population of the coast from Manaar to Cape Comorin, on the native population of the kingdom of Travancore, Malacca, the Banda islands, the Moluccas, Ceylon and Japan, as to stand unrivalled in the records of Christian proselytising enterprise. As a Christian Missionary, St. Xavier's success was, to say the least of it, marvellous. No doubt much of his work was a mere passing wave of excitement which disappeared almost as soon as it was produced ; but the example and presence of this first of missionaries, his own high enthusiasm, his purity of life, his devotion and his faith, sowed the seeds of a new endeavour which are now, after three hundred years of little more than silent growth, beginning to influence the people of the East.

From Francis Xavier to Wilson of Bombay and Duff of Calcutta is a long way ; it includes an interval of over three hundred years ; it includes the invention of printing ; the revival of learning ; the Reformation ; the growth of commerce, literature and civilization ; the supremacy of the English in India, and the gigantic strides of Physical Science ; it includes the shattering of Protestantism into innumerable schisms and sects, the natural result of

the right claimed and exercised of private judgment. In St. Xavier's day, Christianity could present an undivided front to Heathenism, and its advocates spoke to men with an authority which, since those days, because of dissent and nonconforming and the multiplying of isms and sects is no longer possible. Even John Wilson of Bombay, with all his simplicity and mildness of character and his undoubted earnestness for the christianizing of the natives of India, records in the journal of his visit to Goa in January 1834*—"I could not but think of their devotedness (the martyr missionaries of the Augustinian order whose portraits adorn the walls of the convent at Goa) and wish that more of it were exhibited among Protestants," and then further on we read :† "I discoursed.....for a considerable time and gave a copy of Mr. Candy's 'Tracts' and my 'Exposure.' The Hindus of Goa have been well supplied with books during our visit, and many of them have heard the Gospel in its simplicity. We guarded them against being misled by Romish ceremonies. Many of them told us that they well knew that the Goakars do not walk according to the Christian Shastra." This is quite of a piece with Duff's record in his journal, of the ceremonies of the Greek Church as they presented themselves to him in St. Petersburgh. Duff declares

* Life of John Wilson, D.D. By Dr. George Smith, page 169.
† Ibid, page 171.

that he has seen nothing in the most degraded and idolatrous countries of the East to equal the idolatry and degradation of the Greek Church ; the heartless irreverence of its priests, and the superstition of the people. The truth seems to be that neither Wilson, with all his scholarship and philanthropy, nor Duff with his impulsive earnestness and fervent zeal, could ever see beyond the rim of his own theology. It was quite unknown to Duff, and seems to be equally quite unknown to the great majority of British and American Christians, that the Greek Church has accomplished a Missionary enterprise in Siberia and Northern Asia which may fairly rank in importance with any achievement of Christian endeavour in ancient or modern times ; and that some of the very finest hymns that are now to be found in the hymnals of Presbyterians, Episcopalian and Dissenters, are translations from the Liturgies of the Eastern Church. Brahminism may be distinguished by "exaggeration, confusion, contradiction, puerility and immorality," as Dr. Wilson in his first "Exposure of the Hindu Religion" says it is. Mahomedanism and Buddhism have each been characterised as snares and delusions, and as unspeakably false and corrupt. Language equally strong and much more copious has been, and is sometimes, employed by certain writers and speakers to characterise the Christian church before the Re-

formation ; and Protestant controversial writers even yet speak of the Church of Rome as the Mother of all abominations, the scarlet woman, and the "whore of Babylon." Duff speaks of the Church of Rome to Father Strickland of the Negapatam Mission as "the mother of Harlots—drunk with the blood of Saints, destined ultimately to be utterly annihilated."* Dissenters are yet eloquent over the moribund rottenness of Episcopacy, and State aided churches of all sorts ; the bench of bishops and the established clergy are a "band of dead dogs, not dividing the word of life aright," and it is only in their own little "Bethel" that purity and simplicity and adequacy of doctrine, ritual and government, are to be found. If within the sphere of Christian sects and *isms* there is such diversity of belief, such a formulating of antagonistic doctrines and practices as is compassed in the round from Jumpers and Sandimanians to the full ritual and dogma implied in a Romish Cathedral service, not to enumerate the frequent heresy hunting of Scottish Presbyterian divines, nor to take any account of Comtism, Mormonism and the latest phase of Spiritualism, and other religious cults which lie mainly outside the bounds of distinctive Christian thought, and yet have been accepted as verities by men reared in Christian lands under the shadow of Christianity in some of its forms, then

* Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., Vol. II. p. 143, 1st edition.

Christians themselves may well wonder—and the Heathen they preach to and proselytise may well be lost in astonishment and greater wonder,—what indeed, after all, are the essentials of Christianity?

Nor is this all. Even during the last fifty years, since the July morning of 1830, when Duff opened his school for Hindu boys in the old meeting place of the Brahmo Sabha in the Chitpore Road of Calcutta, and Wilson in Bombay began his work, the position of the Christian theologian has not been strengthened. The study of historical science, the growth of Rationalism, and the great advance in physical science, have made it imperative that the theologian should considerably curtail his pretensions, and that the Bible and Christianity should take their place among the other faiths of the world, a purer faith no doubt, as understood by Western minds ; but, so far as age and numbers are concerned, a younger faith and a faith that dominates but a fraction of humanity—a faith which, if it is not to sink to the rank of a philosophy, must, like all other religions, contain mysteries, and statements, and problems insoluble by human reason, and apprehended only by faith. It appears to us that the time is fast approaching in the history of Christian enterprise in India and the world when the question “ What are the essentials of Christianity ? ” will require to be faced and answered. If Christianity has any meaning

at all, it clearly implies a Christ-like life, a human life, lived out to the bitter end, it may be, in a more or less near approximation to the human life of its great founder. There have been imported into Christianity an amount of dogmatic assertion regarding the unknowable ; rash and utterly unprofitable speculation and fanciful and hair-splitting distinctions on subjects about which, however much may be believed, little can be known ; petty squabbles on ritual, Church government, Headship and State aid, which have resulted in a long series of theological wrangling, schism, rupture and dissent, that are a standing reproach to Christianity and a deep disgrace to its professors. If the evil lives of Europeans in India and other non-Christian countries have, as we are frequently reminded, considerably retarded the spread of Christianity, the bickerings, and jealousies, and rivalries of sectarian partisans who go amongst non-Christian peoples professing to teach universal brotherhood, a world-wide charity and a profound unselfishness, have resulted in mischief much more deeply rooted —have resulted amongst higher castes of educated Hindus in a total rejection of Christianity—exceptions there are, no doubt ; and in an attempt to purify and elevate the religion of their race from the centuries of accumulated myth and error that have slowly gathered round the germinating ideas that give vitality and permanence to their religion. The

Brahmo Sabha of the great Hindu reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, and its lineal descendant, the Brahmo Somaj, are indications that, if Hinduism ever ceases to be the religion of the educated higher class natives of India, it will not be immediately succeeded by any form of Christianity as at present existing. Whatever opinions may be held regarding those claims to divine commission put forth by the late Keshub Chunder Sen, and however much the movement of which the Brahmo Somaj is the outcome, may be stigmatized as "vague, ethical rationalism," no one who has an intelligent understanding of the movement will set its founder down as a band-box of vanity, a vulgar quack, a sanctimonious impostor, and the movement itself as a delusion and a snare. Self-deceived and foolish, Brahmoism may be ; but its self-deception and its foolishness have in them some of those startling qualities which, among early Christians, made the foolishness of preaching overcome the wisdom of the world. The power of Brahmoism as a factor in the religious life of Bengal is not to be despised, and its hold on the higher aspirations of Young Bengal, and we may say of India, is of a kind that Christian workers in India would do well not to undervalue or underrate.

The ideas and aspirations and life of that solitary thinker who wandered by the banks of the Lilijan and sat down, 2,500 years ago, exposed to summer's

heat and winter's cold and rain, to think out for himself the mystery of pain, disease and death, duty, the universe, and God, even now rule the lives of more than a third of all mankind. Buddhism, darkened and overlaid as it is with error and myth, has in it a vitality and a reality inferior only to those of Christianity itself. Neither Buddhism, Hinduism, nor Mahomedanism,—religions which have more or less completely satisfied the spiritual needs and aspirations of millions of human beings of all ranks and ages, and which have accumulated round them the wildest extravagance of imagination and the grossest error and yet retain their hold on such a large proportion of humanity,—can be expected to fall asunder and evaporate at the touch of the Ithuriel spear of Christianity—least of all of a Christianity split up into numerous antagonistic sects. These religions are part of the race characteristics of the peoples who possess them ; they are worked into the very tissue of their lives, and interwoven with their traditions and their history, and all that a people hold dear ; and, until events arise that shall materially alter the conditions of their existence, these historic faiths will retain their supremacy as living powers in the lives of their adherents. It is not wisdom, it is folly, to endeavour to shake the faith of a people in their historic and race-characteristic religion before they are prepared to accept or work out for themselves

a suitable substitute, and in this respect the rule of the English in India has been on the whole consistent. Following in the wake of the wisest and greatest of all the Portuguese Viceroys, Albuquerque, the rulers of India have affirmed, and again affirmed, that the people shall be left in the free exercise of their religion, and that there shall be no tampering with these rights and privileges so far as the Government is concerned.

It seems to us wise that this is so, that what is false and impure in them should be left slowly to fade before the light of knowledge and reason and the growth of purity, and that the accumulated myths and errors of ages that have saturated all these great non-Christian systems of faith, should be left to the slow, silent, ever-active influence that is sensibly making itself apparent in the efforts of some at least of the educated natives to purify and elevate the faith of their fathers. The ideas, potent now, as at their first promulgation, which have given these systems of belief an enduring vitality for centuries, it may be possible to exhibit as forming the essential principles of Christianity, the vivifying ideas of the whole structure of the Christian faith. If, on the other hand, Christians could be brought to realize that ritual and form of Church government, and the doubtful and dead theology and tradition of which the Christianity of to-day possesses

so large a legacy, however convenient and interesting and historical they may be, are nevertheless but the work of men and the formulating of the ideas of the age that gave them birth—men and ages, with all their sanctity and scholarship, less able probably to deliver judgment on the points on which they dogmatized than the men of the nineteenth century—then it might be possible for good men and true, within and without the pale of Christianity, to have a common platform from which they might labour together for charity, purity and truth. Whether this be so, or not, the fact remains that many of these dogmas were utterly unknown to the early Christians, and were added to the Christian faith at intervals of hundreds of years from the age in which the founder of Christianity lived his pure, simple, unselfish, loving life, the friend and companion of the poor, the instructor of the ignorant, the feeder of the hungry, the clother of the naked, the nurser of the sick, with the green fields and roads and streets of Palestine for his teaching ground, and the synagogue and hillside for his temple. A life such as this seems to us Christianity in its highest practical form; Christianity as its great founder himself exhibited it, a life and a faith sufficiently broad to enlist under its banner good men and true of every race and creed under the heavens, and to bind together, as one family, all nations of the earth. Wherever men

are leading a life such as this, and teaching men so to do, whether we call them Heathen, Buddhist, Hindu or Mahomedan, they are nearer the Kingdom of Heaven, than if, with but a feeble pretence or half-hearted effort after such a life, they should ring the whole changes on dogmatic theology, and prate of the eternal damnation of unbelievers, the everlasting decrees of God, His intentions from all eternity, the fore-ordination of the elect ; and squabble over candles and chasubles and the cut and colour of a priestly robe, or the form of church government in Apostolic times. It is this petty spirit of stickling and haggling over non-essentials, this tenacious adherence to dogmas evolved from the inner consciousness, and embodied in confessions of faith, and articles and catechisms, that has produced dissension, disunion and disgrace ; and that has alienated, and is alienating, thoughtful men all over the world.

Dr. Wilson came to Bombay in 1825, at the age of 24, a missionary of the church of Scotland, and died in 1875. His life was mainly spent in antiquarian and philological research, in the duties of his calling as a missionary, and in the advancement of every work of humanity. During his long residence in India, where society changes so rapidly, he became a power and authority in Bombay and took the lead in every social, civic, and philanthropic

object. In his relationship with the natives of India he was kind and conciliatory, and in the controversies which arose out of his advocacy of Christianity he was distinguished by mildness, fairness, tact and an even temper. For nearly fifty years he worked at the educational, moral, and religious improvement of the Indian people, using their own vernacular in schools, sermons, tracts, itinerant preaching and house visitation. He saw Bombay rise from a mere military station to the rank of one of the great cities of the world. In all the plans and schemes implied in this change, Dr. Wilson took an active part; and in matters of great importance to the Empire he was frequently consulted by the Government.

In the great task of educating the people of India, in successfully advocating the claims of India as a Mission Field, and in helping on every good work on behalf of the Indian people, Dr. Duff, as teacher, preacher and public man, occupies a high rank amongst those who have laboured for India's welfare during this century. Goethe has somewhere said that two conditions are necessary to great men—they must be born at the right time, and they must die at the right time; or they may outlive their fame. Time and the man came together, when Alexander Duff, Missionary of the Church of Scotland, landed in Calcutta a youth of 24, in the May of 1830, five years after John Wilson reached Bombay. Duff's

avowed endeavour was to break down the power of Brahmanism, and Christianize the high caste Hindus. He did not break down Brahmanism, and the higher class Hindus are non-Christian to this day. What he did accomplish was, to leaven the minds of his pupils in the missionary schools and colleges with Christian doctrines, and Christian ethics : to educate them in the literature and the thought of England ; and leave the leaven to work. That he could even accomplish this much, was due to the condition of affairs existing in India when he reached its shores. All attempts to christianize Brahmanical Hindus before Duff's day, and since his time, have been failures ; and missionaries in the South, the East, the West, and the North of India have been impelled to gather their converts from men of low caste, and men of no caste. Converts there have been from Coolin Brahmins in Duff's time, as well as after and before it ; but it is a gross falsehood to assert that the power of the system of Brahmanism is shattered ; it remains intact to this day, with probably as much vitality and power of endurance as it had three hundred years ago, when St. Xavier, the great Apostle of the Indies, first saw the strand of India rise in the horizon. There is a popular fallacy abroad among evangelicals and others in Britain and America that the citadel of Hinduism was stormed and overthrown by Duff and his colleagues, in conjunction

with other missionary agencies in India. It is not so, the leaven is only working ; and we incline to the belief that the result will be, not Free Churchism or Scottish Kirkism, or Episcopacy, or, as we have said, any other form of Christianity as at present existing.

Two months after he landed in India, Duff began his life's work. Vernacular preaching and teaching had reached the lower classes only, and even these with but intermittent success. On the Southern shores of the Peninsula this was the case. Many of the converts seemed to die out or disappear, without leaving any visible successors. Kiernander's Calcutta converts had so disappeared. Henry Martyn's native Christians could not be found by the missionaries that came after him. Lacroix, the greatest vernacular preacher India ever had, the friend and contemporary of Duff, affirmed, that after fifty years' work he was not conscious of having made a single convert, and the Abbé Dubois, after labouring among the people of India as no man living or dead ever did, declared his conviction that the conversion of the Hindus was impossible. Vernacular preaching and teaching had been powerless against Brahminism. Duff realised the failure, and prepared his attack on the brain and motive power of Hinduism. Hitherto, then as now, the Brahmins had been able to seize on every ascetic, moral or spiritual development that offered in any

way to assail their position ; and, by raising it to a caste, absorbe it into Hinduism, thus changing a foe to an ally. Would Duff's method succeed ? He believed it would, if not in his day, then surely in the fulness of time.

Before attempting any explanation of Duff's method, it is necessary that the condition of affairs in India at the time of his coming should be understood, in order that one may realise the conditions and causes that worked together to produce the measure of success he attained.

Until the year 1822 converts and perverts of all kinds had been excluded from the public service. Lord W. Bentinck threw the service open to all-comers of every caste and creed. Warren Hastings, in the Code of 1772, had secured to Hindus and Muhummadans their own laws of heritable succession. This included the disinheritance of perverts and remained in force till Lord William Bentinck's day. Now, for the first time in the history of India, it was possible for a convert to retain his personal inheritance, and although a change of religion implied degradation from caste, and social and family ban and curse, and *insolation*, his personal inheritance was left, and a career was possible in some branch of the service. Neither of these was attainable before 1822. Amongst the natives there had been gradually growing and increasing in strength an eagerness to obtain

an English education, brought about no doubt by the fact that the contest between the Orientalists and the Anglicans had ended in the defeat of the former. At all events the minute of Macaulay, February 1835, laid the question for ever. English was henceforth to be the language of the official classes, and Sanscrit and Persian handed over to students, scholars, politicians and others. An English education now meant an entrance to lucrative employment; it was the key that unlocked the gate that blocked the entrance to comparative wealth, and to place and power. It did not imply this only, but to the sons of native gentlemen shut out from the position their family had in many cases occupied in the government of native States by the spread of English rule, it in some measure implied a resumption of their former state; and to that earnest band of truth-seekers working silently and alone, common enough in all countries and all ages, the language of England laid bare a new world of ripe thought and speculation, and exact observation, a literature and a history full of the highest thoughts and the noblest efforts. There were "seekers after God," like Ram Mohan Roy, who procured Duff his first pupils, and whose attack on idolatry and caste-prejudices raised the active opposition of his compeers; and the spirit of religious unrest that has helped to shatter Hinduism into multitudinous castes, was probably more

apparent then than at the present day. These were some of the conditions and influences lying ready at the hand of the strong-willed, impetuous Celt, who dared to differ from his contemporaries and his predecessors, who set at defiance the express commands of the Kirk that sent him to India, and who preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Heathen by teaching English in a Calcutta school.

When John Knox saved from the rapacious maw of unscrupulous Scottish nobles some remnant of that Church property which, had they been permitted, they would have altogether appropriated, he took care that a school and a church should stand together in every parish in Scotland. From John Knox's day up at least to the regimen of School Boards, the school and the church were intimately connected. Here the Bible was the first easy reading book of every Scottish boy and girl, and lessons from its pages and the choicest of its Psalms and verses were daily repeated. As early in this century as 1828, John Wood, in the Sessional schools of Edinburgh, had in active operation methods of working which were attracting the attention of every one interested in education in Scotland. About the same time David Stow, in the slums of Glasgow, was working out and perfecting what he afterwards gave to the world, *viz.*, his training system—a system of moral and intellectual training, which in the hands of competent workers,

has produced the highest results, and is likely to outlive more pretentious systems. The relationship of the Church to the school, as Knox established it, the reading and inculcation of Scripture, as practised in Scotland for the last three hundred years, and the kindred systems of Wood and Stow, Alexander Duff planted in Calcutta, and produced results which were the admiration of his visitors, and which disarmed objectors to his system. Five years of unceasing teaching, preaching, lecturing, and expounding; then, in broken health, home to Scotland in 1835. For the next five years broad Scotland rung, from end to end, with the clear full tones of Duff's voice, rousing to a pitch of unexampled enthusiasm the Christian public, North and South of the Tweed, on behalf of Christian Missions; then back to India in 1840; more organizing and the crowning of his educational edifice with a thoroughly equipped College staff; more schools and mission stations, native converts and native preachers; and so, with more or less energy and intermission, the work of his life went on till, at the age of 57, he left the shores of India for the last time, bequeathing to India, in the organizations he left behind him, and in his life as teacher, preacher and public man, a legacy of usefulness and the highest good to its people.

As a teacher, Duff's success in India was unrivalled. The conditions which produced the eager desire for

an English education, and which materially contributed to that success, have been shortly noticed. Duff's schools, colleges and classes supplied that want, and they were filled to overflowing. But in our estimation there can be no continuous working on the lines laid down by Duff, unless the missionary agencies are prepared to supply education at a cheaper rate and of as sound a quality as that provided in the Government schools. Hitherto, missionary schools and colleges have been as fairly successful as those under Government control, if the results of the University examinations may be accepted as a test of success ; and if the various missionary schools and colleges can still go on competing with each other and with Government establishments, and are able to offer a thorough education at a still cheaper rate, and are prepared to carry on their work with a yearly increasing balance on the wrong side of the ledger, to be defrayed by increased contributions from missionary funds, then, no doubt, the pupils and students of their schools and colleges may show no diminution. But that they will be able to show students from as high a rank in native society as those who attend the government colleges, where there is no tampering with religious beliefs—no one will be prepared to admit. As it is, the bulk of the higher class Hindus are students of Government colleges, and we venture to assert

that there were more higher class Hindus in Duff's first school 50 years ago than there are at the present moment in all the missionary colleges in Calcutta combined.

The second condition necessary to produce a great man, according to Goethe, is that he should die at the right time. Duff outlived his fame except with that circle of Evangelicalism of which he was so distinguished an ornament and advocate. As a great preacher, possessing the true power of the orator to move English speaking assemblies, he, in his day, had few, if any, equals. As a missionary to the Hindus, to christianise the Heathen, his success was probably neither better nor worse than that of the missionaries who had preceded and have succeeded him, if we bear in mind the conditions in existence at the time of his coming to India. That he utterly failed to grasp any of the vivifying ideas of the system of faith which he attacked, and to turn them to any effectual purpose in his crusade against Brahminical Hinduism, is not anywhere apparent in his work. Both Wilson and Duff had the greatest contempt for every form of faith but that which they themselves professed : those who differed from them were not only mistaken, they were wicked. They thus put themselves entirely out of sympathy, not only with the people whose faith they laboured to destroy but with a large body of earnest self-devoted workers in the same field.

How the legacy of English thought and Western ideas may work on the people of India, their faiths and their institutions, lies yet in the future.

There are now two thousand years since the song of the angels fell on the ear of the Bethlehem shepherds, "Peace on earth, good will to men," and since, the cry of the Baptist, and the Carpenter of Nazareth,—"Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand,"—startled into newness of life the dwellers on the shores of the Levant. Nevertheless there is no Christian city without its slums of poverty, devilry and disease, over which float in mid air the sounds of Church-going bells. How far from being realized is the "peace and good will" announced so long ago, is evidenced in the disgraceful ruptures, bickerings and vituperation of sects calling themselves Christians, and in the clang of arms and the tramp of armed men trained to "horrid war" in every Christian land. That these halcyon days of "peace and good will" *will* come is the hope of all earnest men and the dream of the poet—when men to men the world over, will be clasped together in a common brotherhood.

"Lo ! the days are hastening on,
 "By prophet bards foretold,
 "When with the ever circling years
 "Comes round the age of gold ;
 "When peace shall over all the earth
 "Her ancient splendours fling,
 "And the whole world send back the cry,
 "Which now the Angel's sing."

CHAPTER VI.

“SUBVENSER OF ALL RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES.”

THE teaching of Derozio, the force of his individuality, his winning manner, his wide knowledge of books, his own youth, which placed him in close sympathy with his pupils, his open, generous, chivalrous nature, his humour and playfulness, his fearless love of truth, his hatred of all that was unmanly and mean, his ardent love of India, evidenced in his conversations and recorded in his lines,

“ My country ! in thy day of glory past
A beauteous halo circled round thy brow,”

his social intercourse with his pupils, his unrestricted efforts for their growth in virtue, knowledge and manliness, produced an intellectual and moral revolution in Hindu society since unparalleled. The effect produced by Derozio on his pupils and on the higher Hindu society of his day, is well and truthfully recorded in a short manuscript history of the Hindu College by Baboo Hurro Mohun Chatterji, which his son Chandi Churn Chatterji has kindly placed at our disposal.* It should be premised that the extract which follows has reference to the position of affairs in the

* See also *Christian Observer*, Vol. I.

Hindu College during 1828, a year after Derozio's appointment. That year the subjects he taught, or rather the text-books studied in his classes, had been drawn up and fixed by the Committee of Management, which consisted of three Hindu gentlemen, with Dr. H. H. Wilson, the eminent Sanscrit scholar, then Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, representing the Government of India, and David Hare, the life long friend of the natives. These were—

Goldsmith's History of Greece, Rome and England.
 Russell's Modern Europe.
 Robertson's Charles the Fifth.
 Gay's Fables.
 Pope's Homer's Iliad and Odyssey.
 Dryden's Virgil.
 Milton's Paradise Lost.
 Shakespeare, one of the Tragedies.

This was the ground gone over in English History and Literature in the first three classes of the Hindu College during 1828. Derozio taught the second and third classes ; and we venture to assert that this high class teaching, winged with the strength, learning and love of Derozio's individuality, had gone home to the brain and heart of the highest class of native society in Calcutta before Duff, over whose work, which indeed was but the complement of Derozio's, such torrents of eloquence have been poured, ever set his foot in India.

“ Added to these,” I quote from the manuscript history, “ the students of the first, second and third

“ classes had the advantage of attending a Conversa-
“ zione established in the schools by Mr. Derozio
“ where readings in poetry, literature, and moral phil-
“ osophy were carried on. The meetings were held
“ almost daily after or before school hours. Though
“ they were without the knowledge or sanction of the
“ authorities, yet Mr. Derozio’s disinterested zeal and
“ devotion in bringing up the students in these sub-
“ jects was unbounded, and characterised by a love
“ and philanthropy which, up to this day, has not been
“ equalled by any teacher either in or out of the ser-
“ vice. The students in their turn loved him most
“ tenderly ; and were ever ready to be guided by his
“ counsels and imitate him in all their daily actions in
“ life. In fact, Mr. Derozio acquired such an ascend-
“ ency over the minds of his pupils that they would
“ not move even in their private concerns without his
“ counsel and advice. On the other hand, he fostered
“ their taste in literature, taught the evil effects of
“ idolatry and superstition ; and so far formed their
“ moral conceptions and feelings as to make them
“ completely above the antiquated ideas and aspira-
“ tions of the age. Such was the force of his instruc-
“ tions that the conduct of the students out of the
“ college was most exemplary, and gained them the
“ applause of the outside world, not only in a literary
“ and scientific point of view, but what was of still
“ greater importance, they were all considered men of

“‘truth.’ Indeed, the ‘College boy’ was a synonym for truth, and it was a general belief and saying among our countrymen, which those that remember the time must acknowledge, that ‘such a boy is incapable of falsehood because he is a College boy.’”

In May 1829 several of the boys in the first and second classes had acquired a remarkable degree of courage and spirit in expressing their opinions on all subjects and particularly on the subject of religion. “The principles and practices of the Hindu religion were openly ridiculed and condemned, and angry disputes were held on moral subjects; the sentiments of Hume had been widely diffused and warmly patronized The most glowing harangues were made at debating clubs, then very numerous. The Hindu Religion was denounced as vile and corrupt and unworthy the regard of rational beings. The degraded state of the Hindus formed the topic of many debates; their ignorance and superstition were declared to be the causes of such a state, and it was then resolved that nothing but a liberal education could enfranchise the minds of the people. The degradation of the female mind was viewed with indignation; the question at a very large meeting was carried unanimously, that Hindu women should be taught, and we are assured of the fact that the wife of one of the leaders of this

“ new movement was a most accomplished lady, who “ reckoned amongst the subjects with which she “ was acquainted, Moral Philosophy and Mathematics. The facts that we have mentioned will “ serve to explain the subjoined order of the “ Managers.”

It having come to the knowledge of the Managers that a belief prevails very generally “ that the students “ of the Hindu College are liable to lose all religious “ principles whatever, it is resolved that Mr. D “ Anselm (head master) be requested to communicate “ with the teachers, and check as far as possible all “ disquisitions tending to unsettle the belief of the “ boys in the great principles of Natural Religion.”

This order of the Managers seems to have produced little or no effect in stemming the rising tide of free enquiry, and so earnest were some of the lads, and so powerfully influenced by the teaching of Derozio, that they refused to be invested with the Brahminical thread ; and, instead of repeating prayers to deities which their enlightened reason and awakened conscience told them were merely the distorted, mythic creation of former days and earlier men, they chose to repeat some noble passage from the Iliad. In the February of 1830 further orders were issued by the Managers, strictly forbidding the teachers from having any communications with their pupils on religious subjects, and specially the religion

of the Hindus ; and that practices, inconsistent with Hindu ideas of propriety, such as eating or drinking in the class rooms, were to be visited with 'dismissal. In the words of the manuscript history—" It was " not until advantage had been taken by some of the " clergymen (Duff, Dealtry, Adam and Hill) of " this growing liberality, in announcing a course of " lectures (to educated Bengalees) of Natural and " Revealed Religion (in Duff's house in College " Square, nearly opposite the Hindu College) that the " Managers were determined to crush the reformers " by promulgating that famous order which called " forth the disapprobation of the public." We quote the orders : " The Managers of the Anglo-Indian " College having heard that several of the students " are in the habit of attending societies at which " political and religious discussions are held " (the discussions which led to the first ~~Reform~~ Bill were agitating the band of lads influenced by Derozio), " think it necessary to announce their strong dis- " probation of the practice, and to prohibit its conti- " nuance. Any students being present at such a " society after the promulgation of this order will " incur their serious displeasure."

Immediately on the promulgation of this order, every newspaper and journal in Calcutta, secular and religious, charged one after the other against the Managers of the Hindu College, all maintaining

the right of public discussion. The Atheism of Derozio has been so often asserted ; his antagonism to Christianity taken for granted ; and the influence of his teaching declared to "be subversive of all religion whatever," that we hope it may be some answer to these disreputable charges, glibly made by well-meaning men, to quote a paragraph from a leader in the *India Gazette*, which has considerable resemblance to the style of Derozio, and which, if not written by him, certainly speaks his sentiments regarding the action of the management.

" We regret much to see the names of such men as David Hare and Rossomoy Dutt attached to a document which presents an example of presumptuous, tyrannical and absurd intermeddling with the right of private judgment on political and religious questions. The interference is presumptuous, for the Managers, as Managers, have no right whatever to dictate to the students of the institution how they shall dispose of their time out of College. It is tyrannical, for, although they have not the right, they have the power, if they will bear the consequences, to inflict their serious displeasure on the disobedient. It is absurd and ridiculous, for if the students knew their rights, and had the spirit to claim them, the Managers would not venture to enforce their own order ; and it would fall to the ground, an abortion of intolerance. We recommend

the Managers to beware of pursuing the course they have begun. We are aware of their motives, and if we saw any danger of the College passing under sectarian influence, we should be as stoutly opposed to such a result as we are to their present proceedings. But Christianity must not and shall not be put down by the means they are adopting. It must, at least, have a hearing from those who are willing to hear, and this is all that its friends desire. They do not desire that any regulations should be made by the Managers in favour of Christianity, but a Christian government and a Christian community will not tolerate that the Managers of an institution, supported in part by public money, should single out Christianity as the only religion against which they direct their official influence and authority. We hope that Messrs. Hill and Duff will revive the meetings, if they have been discontinued, and that their proceedings will henceforth be conducted on just and equal terms. We hope that the students of the Hindu College will continue to attend in spite of the prohibition of the Managers ; and we hope that the Managers will learn to keep within their own province, else they will have a storm about their ears, which will be sooner raised than laid."

Two months after, that is, in April 1831, decisive measures were taken to remove Derozio and the more advanced of his pupils who had publicly avowed

their hostility to Hinduism. The chief mover in this matter was Ram Comul Sen, the grandfather of the well-known Keshub Chunder Sen, the late leader of the Brahmo Somaj. Peary Chand Mittra, himself a distinguished pupil of the Hindu school, and one of that band of the cultured natives of India who are the true friends of their countrymen, and the advocates of every measure of usefulness for their advancement, has very recently given to the public a Life of Dewan Ram Comul Sen, which will be read with interest by all interested in the people of India. Ram Comul Sen began life as a compositor in the Hindustáni Press of Dr. Hunter, on eight rupees a month. From this humble position he worked himself up to hold a very eminent place in the educated society of Calcutta and in the service of India. Before his death he was a member of nearly every learned, educational, and philanthropic society in Calcutta, had published his English and Bengali Dictionary, and taken an active and leading part in every matter in which the best interests of his countrymen were concerned, and notably in the spread of European knowledge. He was a firm friend of the orthodox Hindus, and as such, viewed with alarm the consequences of Derozio's teaching, which the more hot-headed among native youths carried beyond the conclusions of their master. The requisition calling the meeting of the Managers of the Hindu

College, which resulted in the practical dismissal of Derozio, was drawn up by Ram Comul Sen, and not only exhibits the alarm and distrust then prevalent in Hindu society, but bears on the face of it some of those charges against Derozio which were then industriously circulated, and which Derozio himself repudiated and challenged his accusers to substantiate.

The requisition is as follows :—

“ The object of convening this meeting is the necessity of checking the growing evil, and the public alarm arising from the very unwarranted arrangements and misconduct of a certain teacher to whom a great many children have been trusted, who, it appears, has materially injured their morals, and introduced some strange system, the tendency of which is destructive to their moral character and to the peace of society. The affair is well known to almost every one, and need not require to be further stated. The consequence is, that no less than twenty-five pupils of respectable families have been withdrawn from the College, a list of which is submitted. There are no less than a hundred and sixty boys absent, some of whom are supposed to be sick ; but many have proposed to remove, unless proper remedies are adopted. A list of these is also submitted.”

At the meeting convened by Ram Comul Sen various proposals were made, such as that—“ Mr.

Derozio being the root of all the evils and cause of public alarm, should be discharged from the College, and all communications between him and the pupils cut off. That such of the students of the higher class whose bad habits are known, and who were in the 'dining party,' should be removed. That all those students publicly hostile to Hinduism and the established customs of the country, and who have proved themselves such by their conduct, should be turned out. That boys should not be admitted indiscriminately without previous enquiry regarding their character. *That whenever Europeans are procurable*, a preference shall be given to them, their character and religion being ascertained before admission. That if any of the boys go to hear or attend private lectures or meetings, they be dismissed. That such books as may injure their morals should not be allowed to be taught, brought, or read in the College. That a separate place be fitted for the teachers to dine in ; and the practice of eating on the school table be discontinued."

These proposals were carried in their main features ; and in reference to the first, the greatest amount of discussion took place. The following question was keenly discussed by the Managers, *viz.*, "Whether the management had any just grounds to conclude that the morals and tenets of Mr.

Derozio, as far as ascertainable from the effects they have produced upon his scholars, are such as to render him an improper person to be entrusted with the education of youth."

Two of the Managers declared that all they knew of Mr. Derozio was from report only. One acquitted him of all blame for want of proof. Three considered Mr. Derozio an improper person for the education of youth. One Baboo was firmly convinced that Mr. Derozio was far from being an improper person for such an office. "David Hare recorded his opinion that Mr. Derozio was a highly competent teacher"—and no one had more and better opportunity than Hare had to form an opinion on the subject—and that "his instructions have always been most beneficial." Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson said that he had never observed any ill effects from Mr. Derozio's instruction, and that he considered Mr. Derozio to be a teacher of superior ability.

On this question the majority seemed in favour of Derozio. The next question discussed was whether, in the present state of public feeling amongst the Hindu community, it was expedient to dismiss Derozio.

Four Baboos declared it was necessary.

Two, that it was expedient.

One, that it was unnecessary."

Hare and Wilson declined to vote on a question relating to the state of native feeling alone. The removal of Derozio was thereupon determined on, and the management were wise enough to conclude —“that they had neither the power nor the right to enforce the prohibition of the boys attending private lectures or meetings.”

Mr. Wilson acquainted Derozio with the decision of the Managing Committee, and the following is Derozio's reply :—

Calcutta, 25th April, 1831.

DR. H. H. WILSON.

MY DEAR SIR,—The accompanying is my resignation ; but you will observe that I have taken the liberty of departing from your suggestion of making it appear a merit on my part. If I had grounds to believe that my continued connection with the College could be really and permanently prejudicial to that institution, the spirit to leave it without any suggestion but that of my own mind, would not be wanting. I do not conceive, however, that a temporary shock needs such a sacrifice ; and I cannot, therefore, conceal from myself the fact, that my resignation is compulsory. Under these circumstances, I trust you will see the propriety of my declining to make that appear a merit which is really a necessity. Nevertheless, I thank you heartily for having recommended me to do so, because I perceive

it to be the dictates of a generous heart anxious to soothe what it could not heal. But I dare not ascribe to myself a merit which I do not possess; and if my dismissal be considered a deserved disgrace by the wise and good, I must endure it.

As the intemperate spirit displayed against me by the Native Managers of the College is not likely to subside so completely as to admit of my return to that institution as speedily as you expect; and as the chances of life may shape my future destiny so as to bring me but rarely in contact with you, I cannot permit this opportunity to pass without recording my grateful acknowledgments to you for all the kindness you have shown me since I have had the honour and pleasure of being known to you. In particular, I must thank you for the delicacy with which you conveyed to me, on Saturday last, the resolution of the Managing Committee and for the sympathy which I perceive my case had excited in you.

Such circumstances when genuine and unaffected, make deeper impressions on my feelings than those greater acts of favour the motives for which we cannot always trace.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir, with sentiments of respect and regard,

Yours sincerely,

H. L. V. DEROZIO.

The following is the letter referred to, containing Derozio's resignation :—

Calcutta, 25th April 1831.

To

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE HINDU
COLLEGE.

GENTLEMEN,—Having been informed that the result of your deliberation in close committee on Saturday last was a resolution to dispense with my further services at the College, I am induced to place my resignation in your hands, in order to save myself from the mortification of receiving formal notice of my dismissal.

It would, however, be unjust to my reputation, which I value, were I to abstain from recording in this communication certain facts which I presume do not appear upon the face of your proceedings. Firstly, no charge was brought against me. Secondly, if any accusation was brought forward, I was not informed of it. Thirdly, I was not called up to face my accusers, if any such appeared. Fourthly, no witness was examined on either side. Fifthly, my conduct and character underwent scrutiny, and no opportunity was afforded me of defending either. Sixthly, while a majority did not, as I have learned, consider me an unfit person to be connected with the College, it was resolved, notwithstanding, that I

should be removed from it, so that, unbiased, unexamined, and unheard, you resolve to dismiss me without even the mockery of a trial. These are facts. I offer not a word of comment.

I must also avail myself of this opportunity of recording my thanks to Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hare, and Baboo Sreekissen Sing for the part which, I am informed, they respectively took in your proceedings on Saturday last.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

H. L. V. DEROZIO.

Horace Hayman Wilson's reply to the above letter of Derozio we give below. It contains the wild and unfounded charges brought against Derozio, sedulously circulated, and implicitly believed during his life-time and after his death ; and it produced the manly vindication of himself, the only one which Derozio was ever permitted to make, and which came direct from his sensitive nature, burning under a sense of injustice and the cowardly calumnious attacks of men who feared his influence more than they loved truth.

25th April, 1831.

DEAR DEROZIO,—I believe you are right : although I could have wished you had been less severe upon the native Managers, whose decision was founded

merely upon the expediency of yielding to popular clamour, the justice of which it was not incumbent on them to investigate. There was no trial intended—there was no condemnation. An impression had gone abroad to your disadvantage, the effects of which were injurious to the College, and which would not have been dispelled by any proof you could have produced, that it was unfounded. I suppose there will still be much discussion on the subject, privately only I trust, but that there will be ; and I should like to have the power of speaking confidently on three charges brought against you. Of course, it rests entirely with you to answer my questions. Do you believe in a God ? Do you think respect and obedience to parents no part of moral duty ? Do you think the intermarriage of brothers and sisters innocent and allowable ? Have you ever maintained these doctrines by argument in the hearing of our scholars ? Now I have no right to interrogate you on these or any other of your sentiments, but these are the rumoured charges against you, and I should be very happy if I could say boldly they were false ; or could produce your written and unqualified denial for the satisfaction of those whose good opinion is worth having.

Yours sincerely,
H. H. WILSON.

Next morning Derozio dashed off the following letter :—

26th April, 1831.

H. H. WILSON, ESQ.

My DEAR SIR,—Your letter, which I received last evening, should have been answered earlier but for the interference of other matters which required my attention. I beg your acceptance of this apology for the delay, and thank you for the interest which your communication proves that you continue to take in me. I am sorry, however, that the questions you have put to me will impose upon you the disagreeable necessity of reading this long justification of my conduct and opinions. But I must congratulate myself that this opportunity is afforded me of addressing so influential and distinguished an individual as yourself upon matters which, if true, might seriously affect my character. My friends need not, however, be under any apprehension for me ; for myself the consciousness of right is my safeguard and my consolation.

(1.) I have never denied the existence of a God in the hearing of any human being. If it be wrong to speak at all upon such a subject, I am guilty ; but I am neither afraid, nor ashamed to confess having stated the doubts of philosophers upon this head, because I have also stated the solution of these

doubts. Is it forbidden anywhere to argue upon such a question ? If so, it must be equally wrong to adduce an argument upon either side. Or is it consistent with an enlightened notion of truth to wed ourselves to only one view of so important a subject, resolving to close our eyes and ears against all impressions that oppose themselves to it ?

How is any opinion to be strengthened but by completely comprehending the objections that are offered to it, and exposing their futility ? And what have I done more than this ? Entrusted as I was for some time with the education of youth peculiarly circumstanced, was it for me to have made them pert and ignorant dogmatists, by permitting them to know what could be said upon only one side of grave questions ? Setting aside the narrowness of mind which such a course might have evinced, it would have been injurious to the mental energies and acquirements of the young men themselves. And (whatever may be said to the contrary) I can vindicate my procedure by quoting no less orthodox authority than Lord Bacon :—“ If a man,” says this philosopher (and no one ever had a better right to pronounce an opinion upon such matters than Lord Bacon) “ will begin with certainties he shall end in doubt.” This, I need scarcely observe, is always the case with contented ignorance when it is roused too late to thought. One doubt suggests another, and

universal scepticism is the consequence. I therefore thought it my duty to acquaint several of the College students with the substance of Hume's celebrated dialogue between Cleanthes and Philo, in which the most subtile and refined arguments against Theism are adduced. But I have also furnished them with Dr. Reid's and Dugald Stewart's more acute replies to Hume,—replies which to this day continue unrefuted. "This is the head and front of my offending." If the religious opinions of the students have become unhinged in consequence of the course I have pursued, the fault is not mine. To produce convictions was not within my power ; and if I am to be condemned for the Atheism of some, let me receive credit for the *Theism* of others. Believe me, my dear Sir, I am too thoroughly imbued with a deep sense of human ignorance, and of the perpetual vicissitudes of opinion, to speak with confidence even of the most unimportant matters. Doubt and uncertainty besiege us too closely to admit the boldness of dogmatism to enter an enquiring mind ; and far be it from me to say "*this is*," and "*that is not*," when after the most extensive acquaintance with the researches of science, and after the most daring flights of genius, we must confess with sorrow and disappointment that humility becomes the highest wisdom, for the highest wisdom assures man of his ignorance.

(II.) Your next question is, "Do you think respect and obedience to parents no part of moral duty?" For the first time in my life did I learn from your letter that I am charged with inculcating so hideous, so unnatural, so abominable a principle. The authors of such infamous fabrications are too degraded for my contempt. Had my father been alive, he would have repelled the slander by telling my calumniators, that a son who had endeavoured to discharge every filial duty as I have done, could never have entertained such a sentiment; but my mother can testify how utterly inconsistent it is with my conduct, and upon her testimony I might risk my vindication. However, I will not stop there, so far from having ever maintained or taught such an opinion, I have always insisted upon respect and obedience to parents. I have indeed condemned that feigned respect which some children evince, as being hypocritical and injurious to the moral character; but I have always endeavoured to cherish the sentient feelings of the heart, and to direct them into proper channels. Instances, however, in which I have insisted upon respect and obedience to parents, are not wanting. I shall quote two important ones for your satisfaction: and as the parties are always at hand, you may at any time substantiate what I say. About two or three months ago Dakhinarunjun Mookerjee (who has made so great

a noise lately) informed me that his father's treatment of him had become utterly insupportable, and that his only chance of escaping it was by leaving his father's home. Although I was aware of the truth of what he had said, I dissuaded him from taking such a course, telling him that much should be endured from a parent, and that the world would not justify his conduct if he left his home without being actually turned out of it. He took my advice, though I regret to say only for a short time. A few weeks ago he left his father's house, and to my great surprise engaged another in my neighbourhood. After he had completed his arrangements with his landlord, he informed me for the first time of what he had done; and when I asked him why he had not consulted me before he took such a step :—"because," replied he, "I knew you would have prevented it."

The other instance relates to Mohesh Chunder Sing, having recently behaved rudely to his father and offended some of his other relatives, he called upon me at my house with his uncle Umachurn Bose and his cousin Nondolall Sing. I reproached him severely for his contumacious behaviour, and told him that, until he sought forgiveness from his father, I would not speak to him. I might mention other cases, but these may suffice.

(III.) "Do you think marriages of brothers and sisters innocent and allowable?" This is your third

question. "NO," is my distinct reply ; and I never taught such an absurdity. But I am at a loss to find out how such misrepresentations as those to which I have been exposed have become current. No person who has ever heard me speak upon such subjects could have circulated these untruths ; at least, I can hardly bring myself to think that one of the College students with whom I have been connected could be either such a fool as to mistake everything I ever said, or such a knave, as wilfully to misstate my opinions. I am rather disposed to believe that weak people who are determined upon being alarmed, finding nothing to be frightened at, have imputed these follies to me. That I should be called a sceptic and an infidel is not surprising, as these names are always given to persons who think for themselves in religion ; but I assure you, that the imputations which you say are alleged against me, I have learned for the first time from your letter, never having dreamed that sentiments so opposed to my own could have been ascribed to me. I must trust, therefore, to your generosity to give the most unqualified contradiction to these ridiculous stories. I am not a greater monster than most people, though I certainly should not know myself were I to credit all that is said of me. I am aware that for some weeks, some busy bodies have been manufacturing the most absurd and groundless stories about me,

and even about my family. Some fools went so far as to say my sister, while others said my daughter (though I have not one) was to have been married to a Hindu young man !!! I traced the report to a person called Brindabone Ghosal, a poor Brahmin, who lives by going from house to house to entertain the inmates with the news of the day, which he invariably invents. However, it is a satisfaction to reflect that scandal, though often noisy, is not everlasting.

Now that I have replied to your questions, allow me to ask you, my dear Sir, whether the expediency of yielding to popular clamour can be offered in justification of the measures adopted by the Native Managers of the College towards me? Their proceedings certainly do not record any condemnation of me, but does it not look very like condemnation of a man's conduct and character to dismiss him from office when popular clamour is against him? Vague reports and unfounded rumours went abroad concerning me; the Native Managers confirm them by acting towards me as they have done. Excuse my saying it, but I believe there was a determination on their part to get rid of me, not to satisfy popular clamour, but their own bigotry. Had my religion and morals been investigated by them, they could have had no grounds to proceed against me. They therefore thought it most expedient to make no

enquiry, but with anger and precipitation to remove me from the institution. The slovenly manner in which they have done so, is a sufficient indication of the spirit by which they were moved ; for in their rage they have forgotten what was due even to common decency. Every person who has heard of the way in which they have acted is indignant, but to complain of their injustice would be paying them a greater compliment than they deserve.

In concluding this letter allow me to apologise for its inordinate length, and to repeat my thanks for all that you have done for me in the unpleasant affair by which it has been occasioned.

I remain, &c.,

H. L. V. DEROZIO.

CHAPTER VII.

DUFF AND THE PUPILS OF DEROZIO.

 **A**S early as the year 1833, this indignant denial of the vile calumnies circulated by bigotry was printed in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine and Review* (see pages 92-4); and the same correspondence appeared in the *Bengal Obituary*, and must have been perfectly well known, not only to Dr. Duff, who spent an active life in India and England for nearly thirty years after 1848, but to Duff's biographer, Dr. Smith. Not only in the newspapers of the day, but in a fragmentary sketch of Derozio's life given in the *Bengal Obituary*, these charges were declared to be "the offspring of unfounded calumny," and yet, in the face of this, Dr. George Smith, fifty years after the events, revives these detestable untruths, and sneers at Derozio as "a Eurasian of some ability and much conceit," in order that his faultless idol, Dr. Duff, should walk the stage, "the first missionary of modern times," in the borrowed plumes of the achievements of the dead Derozio. Duff needs no such borrowed plumes; and his biographer, by the ungracious belittleing of Derozio, and the all but

ignoring of the influences which alone made it possible for the Scottish missionary to effect what he did, mars the usefulness and truthfulness of his work, and lays himself open to charges which few biographers would care to incur. We have set forth chronologically the influence of Derozio on the higher class Hindu youth, and the consequences which followed on the impact of Western thought and culture, as exemplified in the teaching of Derozio, on Eastern culture and the higher Hinduism of India. We have endeavoured to exhibit, that to the despised and all but unknown Eurasian lad, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, belongs the chief glory and high honour of being the first, and to this day, the most effectual motive power to move to its very depths the religious sentiments, aspirations and beliefs of educated Hindus. That Duff only entered on the heritage of Derozio is evidenced in many ways ; and that, had it not been for the well-meant zeal of Duff and other Christian ministers, and the fierce bigotry of religious zealots, Derozio's splendid powers and unparalleled influence might have effected a mightier revolution in the religious beliefs of educated Hindus, than all the missions and missionaries sent to India since the days of St. Francis Xavier. How little hold Duff had on the higher class, or any educated class, of Hindus, is truthfully attested in the pages of *The Enquirer*, a journal conducted,

fifty years ago, by one of the most distinguished pupil-friends of Derozio still alive. And how truly and fearlessly and fairly Derozio taught his pupil-friends to think and reason, may be gathered from the pages of that journal. We quote a single passage from *The Enquirer* of March 1832, little more than two months after Derozio was laid in his grave ; and in this connexion, it should be borne in mind that the influence of Derozio over the educated higher class native society of Calcutta continued unabated till his death, and is even now a living reality. We quote from the *India Gazette* of March 10th, 1832, in which the article from *The Enquirer* is reproduced :—

"Mr. Duff's lectures on *Christianity*, intended originally for the Hindus, are now attended by them very rarely. The seats of the audience remain for the most part vacant, but for a few East Indian and European gentlemen that take some interest in the business. The Hindus, we know not why, have given up in a great measure hearing the Rev. gentleman : we could recognise for some time past only about half-a-dozen natives among those that attended the lectures. This is certainly a neglect ; for, considering the claims that have been attributed to Christianity, and the influence it is said to have had over the civilization of man, its enquiry does become important to every one. In consequence of the

few Hindus that attend Mr. Duff, a friend has undertaken to write a weekly abstract of the lectures for *The Enquirer*. We insert the last lecture delivered on the 8th. While we hope on the one hand that the argument of the Parson will be considered upon by our Hindu friends, we must also on the other hand ask the lecturer to give up his indiscriminate abusive declamations against any that are said not to be followers of his doctrines. To say, for instance, that those who after hearing his lectures are not convinced of the truth of his positions, are unbelievers of Mr. Duff's religion, (not from any error of the understanding, but from obstinacy), is equally illiberal and unbecoming a lecture on Christianity. Mr. Duff is very fond of the expression '*the disease*' (of those that differ from him in religion) '*is in the heart and not in the head*', but hitherto every one perceives he is led more by enthusiasm than by sound judgment..... We blame the Hindus in consequence of their fanatical cursing and swearing against apostates from their religion ; and Mr. Duff, with all his information and all his refined notions, can be but little better than they if he be so intolerant ; and if he in a public capacity charge with criminal and wilful obstinacy those persons that do not feel the truth of religion after his manner. Mr. Duff also dotes on the expression, '*we are bound to believe this, and if we doubt this, we must reject all*

history ; here again is a very great misapprehension. Belief is not arbitrary. It comes home itself, how, we do not know. We believe this because we feel it so. We doubt that, because, likewise we feel it so. To say we are bound to do a thing is to suppose we have the power to do it ; and we are *morally obliged to exercise that power*. Now bring this phrase to matters of religion, and see how inconsistent you become. The Christian believes in Jesus ; the Hindoo does not ; if both of them be sincere, the former feels the truth to be in Jesus, the latter takes a contrary view, and feels it elsewhere. We have supposed both to be true in their saying ; and if we be an advocate for the opinion of the one the utmost one can say against the other is, *he is, much mistaken or deceived* ; in other words his *understanding has erred*. To say this is one thing, and to assume Mr. Duff's dictatorial tone, and attribute obstinacy and criminal wickedness to unbelievers of our system, is another and a different position. A word to the wise is sufficient, and we dismiss the subject with the hope that our lecturer will stick to such arguments and such reasonings as may bring conviction to the minds of his hearers ; and give up imputing bad hearts to them, and thereby running the risk of prejudicing them against him."

This is the sort of criticism which Derozio's students were able from his training, in the class-room,

the *Academic* and kindred Societies, and in his intercourse with them as friends, to bring to bear on the argumentations of Duff and other advocates of Christianity. That Krishna Mohun Banerjee, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, and others of Derozio's pupils went over to Christianity, was only what was to be expected, was only the logical consequence of the teaching of their friend and master ; but that some one else should claim the credit of this awakening and this powerful impulse of independent thinking amongst higher Hinduism, is due to the ignorance and fanatical hero-worship of men who are unable apparently to see outside the rim of their own theological horizon, and who measure the universe of thought and feeling by the narrow institutes of sectarian theology, the confession of Faith, and Catechisms and effete metaphysics of generations of men who, neither in learning, culture, training, purity of life or common-sense, have any claim to rank as teachers or leaders of thought, or formulators of religious dogma for all men and for all succeeding ages.

Duff himself in his own rhetorical way, admits to the full, that the result of English thought and teaching on higher Hindu Society had been effected and exhibited before his coming to India, and unconsciously pays the highest tribute to the influence of Derozio. In the month of June 1830, that is less

than a month after he landed in Calcutta, Duff writes thus :—“ We rejoiced when in the metropolis of British India, we fairly came in contact with a rising body of natives *who had learned to think and discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom*, though that freedom was ever apt to degenerate into license in attempting to demolish the claims and pretensions of the Christian as well as every other professedly revealed faith. We hailed the circumstance as indicating the approach of a period for which we had waited, and longed, and prayed.”

This “ rising body of natives who had learned to think and discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom ” was the work of the Hindu College English education, and the product of Derozio’s teaching and influence. Students of Duff there were none ; and it is nearly fourteen months after June 1830, before the first examination of the General Assembly’s Mission School took place, and then the highest pupils or students of Duff’s school, on the 15th of August 1831, in the Freemasons’ Lodge, 118, Dhurrumtollah, passed a highly creditable oral examination in distinguishing the parts of speech, repeating the rules of syntax, giving the roots of the leading words in their reading lesson, and answering questions on Genesis and the Gospels (see the *India Gazette* for Monday, August 15th, 1831,) Was it these students of Duff’s that Dr. George Smith refers to in a

passage of his biography ? (see page 140, vol. I). "It was a sultry night in August (1831) when twenty of the foremost students of his own (Duff's) and of the Hindu College took their places (in a room in Duff's house) in expectation of a novel exposition." If so, their progress since their examination in the same month must have been even more marvellous than any educational statistic yet recorded.

The estimation in which Derozio was held by his contemporaries even at the time of his connexion with the Hindu School, may be gathered from the following extract from the preface of Miss Emma Roberts' *Oriental Scenes, with other Poems*. In the year 1830 this gifted lady was resident at Agra, and her friend Derozio undertook to see her volume of poems through the press :

"There is however one person to whom more particular acknowledgments are due, and she, with great pleasure, mentions her obligation to Mr. H. L. V. Derozio, to whose invaluable assistance she is indebted for the superintendence of her volume through the press, a task which the distance of her residence from Calcutta precluded her from performing, and which none, save a poet, could have executed so ably. The author must ever deem herself fortunate in procuring, for so important an undertaking, the aid of a gentleman whose well earned reputation confers honour upon the pages

"which have experienced his guarding care from those typographical errors which they could not otherwise have escaped." Had Derozio been the wild "Atheist, the immoral poet," the constant referrer "to the most lascivious plays of the Restoration," the dreamer and teacher of filthy grossness, it is not at all likely that the accomplished Emma Roberts would have soiled the purity of her name, and tarnished her reputation by allowing Derozio to handle her proof sheets and emendate her verses. We look on this tribute to the worth of Derozio as one of the strongest refutations of all the calumny and abuse heaped on him.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EURASIAN MOVEMENT OF 1829-30.

IN January 1822, in consequence of a decision of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, which declared that a large proportion of East Indians did not come under the denomination of British subjects, a subscription to defray the expenses of an appeal to the King (George IV) in Council was inaugurated. This was the commencement of the first combined movement of the East Indian community, which, after eight years of agitation and organisation, culminated in the Petition of the East Indians, Christian inhabitants of Calcutta and the Provinces comprised within the "Presidency of Fort William," to the Hon'ble the Commons of the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled," presented to the House of Lords by the Earl of Carlisle on the 29th March 1830, and to the House of Commons by the Honorable Williams Wynn, on the 4th of May of the same year.

Towards the close of last century fears regarding the increasing numbers and loyalty of Eurasians were

spread abroad chiefly amongst the servants of the Company ; and, whether from a sense of danger, a feeling of shame and disgrace, or a determination to hedge round the preserves of office in the gift of the Directors from all but those of pure European birth and education, Eurasians were effectually excluded from positions and offices which they were well fitted to occupy. A general letter of the Court of Directors, 14th March 1786, prohibited those wards of the Upper Orphan School of the Bengal Military Society, who were born of native mothers by British fathers, from being sent to England for education. In the *Gazette* of June 1792, it was notified that no person, the son of a native, shall henceforth be appointed to employment in the Civil, Military or Marine services of the Company, or as sworn officers of the Company's ships, between Europe and India. In 1795, during the Governor-Generalships of Lord Cornwallis, all persons not descended from European parents on both sides, were prohibited from serving in the European branch of the army, unless as fifers, drummers and bandsmen. Those of their number debarred from serving in British regiments, who entered the service of native princes, were immediately recalled on the outbreak of hostilities. This was the case in 1801, when the Mahratta war began. Indeed, up to the renewal of the Charter in 1834, the general tendency of the rule of the Company was to level

Eurasians to the same rank as natives, while, at the same time, offices to which natives were eligible, such as those of Munsiffs and Sudder Ameens were closed against Eurasians. Besides this, outside the Presidency towns, they were subject to the rule of Muhammedan law. English by parentage, the majority were denied the rights of British subjects, and in the Mufasal they had the benefit neither of *Habeas Corpus* nor trial by Jury. Christians by profession, they were subject to the hateful rule of the Koran in criminal matters. English by birth, education and habits, they were in the eye of the law natives ; nevertheless, when lavish grants were made for the education of natives, no provision was made for Eurasians ; they were then considered not natives, and, loyal to the race of their fathers, many of them with the feelings, tastes and habits of gentlemen, were debarred from entering the British army, or, indeed, serving India in any but the lower offices of the service. Before the year 1791 the Company's services, civil and military, were open to Eurasians ; and members of the community before that date, and for some time after, held positions in the service which, on the whole, notwithstanding a few recent exceptions, they have never attained since. The soldier who commanded the Bombay army during the campaigns of 1803, 1804 and 1805 was General Jones, a Eurasian. Colonel Stevenson, another

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Eurasian, was Quartermaster-General of the army for many years. To these we may add the names of Colonel Nairne, Major Deare, Captain Routledge, Lieutenant Mullins and Colonel Skinner of the Irregulars, all of them distinguished officers, notable for fearless bravery and gallantry in action, capable soldiers and leaders of men in the days when war was learned in the field and camp, and not as now-a-days in a cramming establishment and in the bureau of a Military Department. There are yet in the civil service, and still more largely in the army, members of the Eurasian community who, through family connexions with the Directors of the late Company or other high officials, found an entrance to these services ; but if the fact of their birth is not denied or ignored, it has been frequently suppressed.

The causes that worked together to produce this exclusion from the higher offices of the Indian service we have hinted at. We do not think that the Eurasians were entirely blameless. In all probability an amount of self-conceit, not always well-grounded in sterling capacity, was as apparent towards the close of last century, as it is to-day, among many individuals of Eurasian birth ; and there may have been foolish talk and vapouring amongst the more restless and headstrong which gave some ground of truth for statements issued, not with the authority of the Company's responsible officers, but nevertheless

from the Government press, which damaged considerably the chances of Eurasians occupying any but subordinate posts, and represented them as a dangerous element in India to be suppressed and regarded with suspicion. Besides this, it seems to us, there can be little doubt that the influence of many Directors and other Indian officials was exerted to prevent the rise of Eurasians to higher offices, in order that European uncles and cousins might not meet in the various services of India, and be continually associated on terms of equality with nephews and cousins born of native women, who, even if they were legitimate, and on this account brought no stain on the family honour, had nevertheless in their veins some of the blood of the subject-races ; and might be ready to presume on their European ties, and be a standing dishonour and disgrace to the family escutcheon. Whether we have been successful or not in enumerating all the causes which produced the *Gazette* Notification of 1792, and the Resolution of Lord Cornwallis' time, 1795, Eurasians were effectually excluded by these orders ; and notwithstanding the *Lex Loci* Act of 1831, the concessions granted to men of Indian birth at the renewal of the Charter, 1833 and 1855, and the various minutes and resolutions since these dates, it is certain that Eurasians have not, during this century, occupied the favourable position with regard to service in the great

departments of State in India which they occupied before 1790. Nor is this all ; before the Missionary and Government schools and colleges were established, it was only a comparatively small number of purely native men who possessed a sufficient acquaintance with English to render their services available as clerks and writers and in other posts in the various Government and mercantile offices. These positions were filled almost exclusively by Eurasians up to about 1835. Since then, not only has the Eurasian community largely increased without any corresponding multiplication of offices in which their services are desirable, but the consequence of Missionary and Government education has been, that large numbers, yearly increasing, of pure natives have been competitors with Eurasians for those very posts which, up to the first quarter of this century, they, because of their English education, almost monopolised. While pure native races have been provided by Missionaries and the Government with schools, colleges and splendid staffs of teachers to carry on their education, Eurasians have had to depend almost entirely on their own resources aided by private philanthropy. The consequence is that all the advantages and facilities are on the side of Hindus and Muhamedans, and so culpably negligent have successive Missionaries, Church dignitaries and rulers of India been, that a

large proportion of the lower section of Eurasians have sunk in the social scale and practically disappeared among native races.

In November 1825, a general meeting of East Indians was held at the house of Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. W. DaCosta, in the chair. This meeting, acting on the advice of an eminent firm of Solicitors in London, Messrs. Collett, Wimbourn and Collett, appointed a committee of seven to draw up a draft petition to Parliament. The gentlemen composing this Committee were Messrs. Wordsworth, DaCosta, G. Reed, J. L. Heatly, A. Imlach, H. Martindell, with J. W. Ricketts as Secretary. By February of the following year, 1826, the draft petition was ready, and lay for some time at the house of Mr. Imlach, 40 Cossitollah, for the inspection of all who might feel interested in, or care to make observations on it, and subscriptions amounting to Rs. 2731 were obtained to meet the probable expenses of its presentation to Parliament. By the end of March 1826 the petition was in the hands of a member of the Calcutta Bar for the purpose of undergoing legal revision. There it remained till the May of 1827. It was then evident that the petition should be entrusted to other hands. Accordingly a second member of the Bar received the petition for legal revision, with the usual fee of 40 Gold Mohurs. It was not till the December of 1828 that it found its way back to the Committee, who, anxious

for its completeness in all its parts, submitted it to a third gentleman. On the 28th February, 1829, a Meeting of the Committee read, discussed and approved of the thrice revised petition, had it engrossed, and placed in the Town Hall for signature, and printed in several newspapers. A General Meeting of the Committee was held in the Town Hall, on the 20th April 1829, at which J. W. Ricketts was unanimously appointed the Agent of "the East Indians," a designation which, as including the whole body to which they belonged, they preferred to all others, to proceed to England as a deputy in support of the petition, and it was agreed that a fund should be raised "to promote the great and important objects contemplated by us." By the 18th of July 1829, subscriptions amounting to Rs 12,677-5-6 had been received by the Committee, which, after deducting necessary expenses, left a balance of Rs 8,906-4-0.

Mr. J. W. Ricketts generously offered to undertake the journey to England and the advocacy of the claims of the East Indian community there, on condition that his passage money and the bare expenses incident to the journey and residence in England, should be defrayed by the community. The community on their part, while gladly availing themselves of Mr. Ricketts' services, considering the responsible public character with which that agent was invested, and the "suitable degree of respectability to be

sustained on the occasion," authorised him to draw the sum of £500 a year for his support in England, including travelling expenses. It is not to be supposed that these preliminaries, scattered as they were over a period of nearly eight years, were so far concluded without a considerable amount of public discussion, letter-writing and opposition. A small section of the Eurasian community, choosing for themselves the name of Indo-Britons, as distinguished from East Indians, headed by Mr. Charles Reed and J. L. Heatly, the former a gentleman of considerable ability, and possessed of a genius for litigation, opposed the action of the East Indian Committee, and did their best to invalidate and render abortive what had already been effected. The Indo-Britons were worsted in the discussion and their efforts rendered unavailing. J. W. Ricketts sailed for England in the *Andromache*, Captain R. L. Laws, and, after a protracted voyage, reached London on the 27th December, 1829, the very month in which Lord W. Bentinck, acting on the advice of Butterworth Bayley and Sir Charles Metcalfe, abolished *Sati*, and the year which saw the suppression of the *Thugs*. George the IV. was entering on the last year of his reign. The Test and Corporation Acts of Charles II's reign, which excluded dissenters from civil offices unless they qualified themselves by taking the Sacrament according to the rules of the Church of England, had just been

repealed. Pitt, Castlereagh, Canning, and the whole strength of the Whigs had unsuccessfully advocated the remission of the disabilities of Roman Catholics. Ireland, under the complete control of Daniel O'Connell, the priests and the Catholic associations was on the verge of rebellion, clamouring for the admission to the Imperial Legislature of members of the Romish Church. The Metropolitan police and the Irish and Scotch constabulary were founded by Sir Robert Peel, and in the same year Benjamin Disraeli published his first novel, *Vivian Grey*, while Gladstone was an undergraduate of Christ's Church, Oxford. The Radicals of Glasgow and the west of Scotland, incited to rebellion by Richmond, the ever-to-be detested Government spy, armed with pikes, were sabred down and ridden over on their way from Glasgow to Stirling by a party of dragoons; and Baird and Hardy, Scotch Radicals, were executed for treason, because they gave expression to political sentiments much less strong than may be met with any morning now in the columns of a liberal newspaper. Parliament was to meet in February of the following year, 1830. In that Parliament O'Connell introduced a bill for universal suffrage, triennial parliaments, and vote by ballot, which was rejected by a majority of 306 on the 28th May. When Ricketts landed in England, and during the whole period of his residence there, the great

struggle for reform occupied the chief attention of statesmen and politicians, and through every grade of society the rising wave of liberalism was producing a commotion unequalled in the history of English politics. To gain the ear of statesmen, to get a hearing for the Petition of the East Indians from the Lords and Commons of England, and to produce an interesting debate in both Houses, amidst the turmoil of reform and the struggle of opposing statesmen, was no easy achievement, as Ricketts' countrymen were not slow to acknowledge. On his first landing in England, Ricketts interviewed the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, President of the Board of Control (Lord Ellenborough), and several Directors of the East India Company. By the middle of February he considered that he was in possession of sufficient data to warrant him in believing "that nothing in a satisfactory or tangible shape was to be looked for at the India House," and he resolved to turn his undivided attention to Parliament. Accompanied by Mr. John Crawford, he called on the Right Honorable C. W. Williams Wynn and obtained his consent to present the Petition to the House of Commons. The Earl of Carlisle undertook to present the Lords' petition. Lord Ashley, then a member of the Board of Control, received Mr. Ricketts with the greatest cordiality, entered with interest into the subject of his mission, was himself

anxious to present the petition to the House of Lords, and would have done so but for the influence brought to bear by the Board of Control and the Government. In the interest of East Indians and their petition, Mr. Ricketts corresponded with the Duke of Wellington, Lord Carlisle, the Right Hon'ble Sir Robert Peel, Lord Calthorpe, the Hon'ble Sir Alexander Johnston, for some time Chief-Justice and President in Council, Ceylon, Sir John Bowring, then Dr. John Bowring, Editor of the *Westminster Review*, and others. He was also examined at great length before the Lords' Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company on the 31st March 1830, and before the Commons on the 21st and 24th of June ; and, although on the last occasion suffering from fever, he acquitted himself in a manner which won for him the highest praise.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TOWN HALL MEETING, 9TH MARCH 1831.

IN all the meetings and controversies which at that time were moving Eurasians to strive for the rights hitherto withheld from them by the unjust jealousy of the Indian rulers and advisers of those days, Derozio played an independent and important part. The men that as happy boys shouted together in play, now stood on the same platform and raised their voices in indignant protest and appeal against the social and legal ban that denied them even the name or the rights of British-born subjects, and withheld from them the rights of trial by jury and *Habeas Corpus*. Differences of opinion as to the line of action and the name which the united community should take, Indo-Britons, East Indians, Indo-Europeans, Anglo-Indians, very early arose in the movement which ultimately culminated in the East Indians' petition to Parliament of 1830, on behalf of which J. W. Ricketts undertook a journey to England, as their agent, to press the justice of their claims to the legal status of British subjects. Derozio, himself a member of Committee, was opposed

to the proceedings which J. W. Ricketts brought to such a successful termination. Derozio was impressed with the belief, all arguments to the contrary being had in view, "That the descendants of European foreigners were not included among the parties from whom the petition was said to come." He entertained the impression that in England, that class, who had numerously signed the petition, would not be properly, if at all, represented by Mr. Ricketts. On the return of Ricketts, Reed, Theobald, Theodore Dickens, and Derozio, who had consistently opposed the sending of a delegate, joined in honouring him for his modest, manly and successful advocacy of their claims; and at a meeting held in the Town Hall on the 28th March 1831, Derozio, in moving the proposition that, as a mark of approbation, respect, and affection, Mr. Ricketts should be presented, as a memorial of gratitude by his countrymen, with a silver vase, his portrait in oil, and a public dinner welcoming him to his native shore, spoke as follows:—

" Why then am I here this day. I have intimated that I have been called here by duty, and that is a voice which I dare not disobey. I am an East Indian, and therefore I ought to be here. I am interested in the welfare of my countrymen, and therefore I ought to be here. I am anxious to know what measures have been adopted to promote that welfare, and therefore I ought

to be here. I love my country and I love justice, and therefore I ought to be here. Shall it be said of me that I was a man who, having committed an error, was afraid or ashamed to acknowledge it? They know me not who entertain this opinion of me:—I am satisfied that I have done him (J. W. Ricketts) wrong. Publicly was the error committed, as publicly is it recalled.....Our condition is worse than savage degradation. Of what savage tribes has it yet been recorded that the parents have consigned their offspring to infamy? No, Sir, it has been left for civilized man to do what no barbarian has ever yet conceived, and that has been to work out for an unhappy class the conditions against which we complain. Taking this view of these conditions, the petition, of which Mr. Ricketts was the bearer, was the remonstrance of East Indians against the unnatural cruelty of their fathers.....This assembly has already accorded its thanks to him, but although the acknowledgments of grateful hearts are pleasing, the labour of men in a public cause should not be passed by in that way. Mr. Ricketts has told us that our gratulations and the plaudits he has received this day have rendered him indebted to us. Gentlemen, that sentiment has made us doubly his debtors. Conceive yourselves transported back to the days of Greek and Roman glory, conceive yourselves a community existing

in those ages, with brilliant examples before your eyes of honours and triumphs accorded to those who had served their country; conceive how such examples had operated upon your minds, and how you had then welcomed to his native shore the man who for you has done much and suffered much. Many whom I have now the honour to address are aware that it is not recently that he has exerted himself to ameliorate our condition. In youth, when he first felt life in every limb, that animation was inspired by an unabating zeal to do his country service. You can testify whether I overrate him, when I declare, that if any man is entitled to the gratitude of the East Indian community, that man is John William Ricketts. Had he been entitled to it on no other ground than because the *Parental Academic Institution* (the Dove-ton College,) an establishment which, if not well supported, is less creditable to those who should support it than to its founder, owes its origin to him, such gratitude had been well deserved. Should we not, therefore, present to him some token of our regard, which he may hand down to his posterity, that the conduct of so excellent a father and so worthy a man may not be lost upon his sons; but that it may inspire his children to render such services to yours as he has done to you. If then, I am surrounded by East Indians, if there be in

your bosoms one spark of manly feeling which may be kindled into a flame ; if you consider patriotic exertion in your cause as worthy of imitation ; if you are alive to just principles of duty, I charge you by all that is dear to your hearts to support the proposition which I shall now submit."

The proposition so eloquently advocated by Derozio, was carried unanimously. At the same meeting, in seconding the motion of his friend Charles Pote, the Eurasian Artist, that a second petition should be drawn up and presented to the new Parliament, and that the agitation of their claims to equal rights as British subjects should be continued till it bore fruit in just concession to rights long withheld, Derozio spoke as follows :—

" I rise to support the proposition of Mr. Pote. As junior counsel in the case, I cannot, however, be expected to dwell so long or so ably upon its merits. But its importance and the necessity of pressing it upon the consideration of this meeting, must be my apology for the liberty I take with the patience and indulgence of all around me.

" Although our respected delegate has informed us of his having received very favourable assurances from certain noble Lords and other influential individuals in Parliament, I cannot see the evils which the adoption of this resolution is likely to entail. Why are we assembled here this

day? Are we to confine ourselves to a particular routine and exclude all matters which do not come exactly within it? Is this assembly unprepared to entertain this proposition? What is the difficulty in its way? Is it characterised by less discretion than zeal? He who entertains such a notion has certainly misunderstood the object of my friend Mr. Pote, and attended but indifferently to the tenor of his suggestions. It is not required of the committee to prepare a petition this moment, nor is it supposed that any individual present has such a document ready in his pocket which he has only to lay upon the table for instant signature. Such speed is not contemplated by us. We only call upon our friends to request the committee to draft another petition, and, that no haste may do mischief, to take care that it shall be fully approved of before it is signed and despatched. Suppose this resolution is adopted, and that it afterwards becomes unnecessary, what harm will be done? We shall only have to change our minds—a matter of no inconvenience. Were there no other consideration, the fact that one House of Commons rarely takes cognizance of petitions addressed to its predecessor, should be alone sufficient to convince us of the imperative necessity of appealing to the Legislature of Great Britain again. What have we hitherto done? What have we yet obtained?

Where are our spoils? Have our rights been restored? Have our claims been conceded? No, sir, we have but just taken the field, and now, shall we rest upon our arms? The spirit of exclusion has only been startled upon his throne; but there sits the demon still mocking our efforts, and grinning over his triumphs. Our hearts must not faint, our nerves must not slacken. Let us not trust our cause to men who have nothing for us but empty profession. Our friend Mr. Ricketts has told us, that Lord Ashley sympathises with us, and that Sir Alexander Johnston is deeply interested for us. But their sympathy and their interest, however likely to call forth our gratitude, should never claim our confidence. Do you suppose, that any Member of the Legislature, touched by so much tenderness, will address either House of Parliament in some such way as this? Gentlemen, here am I overflowing with the milk of human kindness, anxious to restore to that long-neglected and unjustly treated race, the East Indians, those rights—*which they do not demand*. No, sir, such will never be the language of legislators: the benevolence of statesmen seldom incommodes them to such an alarming degree. But the very facts which Mr. Ricketts' report communicates to us should lead us to distrust noble Lords and honourable gentlemen. What are those facts? Lord Ashley felt for us!

We thank his Lordship. He promised to present our petition. This was generous. But when the time came for his Lordship's hand to follow up the benevolent suggestions of his heart, that hand became suddenly paralyzed. Weighty matters of State pressed upon his heart, and the petition was left to make its own way into the House of Commons. I am apprehensive, (though I only suggest the possibility of the thing) that matters of State may be as burdensome to our other sympathising friends in Parliament, and that such paralytic attacks as, we see, do sometimes afflict Lord Ashley, may be common to others who are deeply interested in our welfare. To protect ourselves against such mischances, it would not perhaps be the most unwise course to petition the Legislature. Gentlemen, you have nothing to fear from firm and respectful remonstrance. Your calls for justice must be as incessant as your grievances are heavy. Complain again and again, complain till you are heard. Aye, and until you are answered. The ocean leaves traces of every inroad it makes upon the shore ; but it must repeat those inroads with unabated strength, and follow them up with rapidity, before it washes away the strand."

Though the memory of Derozio has been shamelessly neglected by his fellow Eurasians, his body resting in a nameless grave in an obscure

corner of a dilapidated graveyard, and his very name, if known at all to the rising generation of men of his own blood, known in a hazy sort of way, the calumnies of his life still clinging to his shadowy memory, the course of action so ably and wisely advocated by Charles Pote and Henry Derozio, has not altogether been without fruit. But we venture to think that, had Eurasians been more energetic in their assertion of equal rights, and an equal share, not only of posts in the Government of India for which they were suited, but of an adequate State-aided system of education for their children, their position to-day would not have been that of a race burdened in the battle of life with conditions which, in some respects, they themselves have induced. Through this reprehensible apathy and indifference to their own best interests, which rarely allows them to rise much higher than talk and platform oratory, even in the December of 1876, on the occasion of the inauguration of *The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association* in the Town Hall of Calcutta, with Sir Richard Temple in the chair, when the Eurasian population of Calcutta was proved by the census of that year to number over 11,000, and probably double that number in the whole presidency of Bengal, less than three hundred Eurasians came together to organize a movement on which so much of their own future depended, and which afforded them an opportunity

of manifesting the reality of their earnestness to help themselves, and exhibiting to the Legislators of India and England their determination to make known their just complaints, "to complain again and again, till they were heard and till they were answered," to follow up with unabated strength and rapidity every means which would ensure the education, the social status, the political influence, and the future well-being of their class.

CHAPTER X.

THE PUPIL-FRIENDS OF DEROZIO.

Expanding like the petals of young flowers
I watch the gentle opening of your minds,
And the sweet loosening of the spell that binds
Your intellectual energies and powers
That stretch (like young birds in soft summer hours,)
Their wings to try their strength. O ! how the winds
Of circumstance, and freshening April showers
Of early knowledge, and unnumbered kinds
Of new perceptions shed their influence ;
And how you worship truth's omnipotence !
What joyance rains upon me, when I see
Fame in the mirror of futurity,
Weaving the chaplets you have yet to gain,
And then I feel I have not lived in vain.

Derozio's Sonnet to the Students of the Hindu College.

HE lads most powerfully influenced by Derozio, and who were in closest contact and sympathy with him, numbered over eighteen. A note or two regarding the more prominent of these may be interesting.

Krishna Mohun Banerjea, of all Derozio's pupil-friends, was probably the most intimately acquainted with him ; and is the one above all the rest who has distinguished himself as a scholar and a thinker. At the time when Derozio taught

in the Hindoo College, Krishna Mohun Banerjea was a pupil of the first class. Although never in the classes of the College taught by Derozio, he and the others, to be afterwards enumerated, continually associated with him during the intervals of school hours and in the gatherings at Derozio's house, as well as in the *Academic* and other associations, and in the conducting of the *Hesperus* and other papers. Krishna Mohun was the leader of the advanced Liberal party amongst the Hindoo youths of Calcutta, and he, though a Kulin Brahmin, sat down at Derozio's table with other advanced thinkers of his countrymen, and, in defiance of all caste rules, partook freely of beef, beer and other European luxuries. The Brahminical thread was thrown aside, and Pope and Dryden were held in more esteem than the sacred books of the Hindoos. At a meeting of the more bold and liberal-minded of Hindoo youths, held at the house of Krishna Mohun, from which he himself was absent—the date being 23rd August, 1831, four months before the death of Derozio—carried away by their impulsive feelings, and each inciting the other, after partaking of some roast beef, the members proceeded to toss the remainder into the compound of an adjoining house, occupied by a Brahmin held in high estimation for holiness, shouting at the same time sufficiently loud to reach the ears of

the inmates :—"There is beef—there is beef." A personal encounter followed. The family of Krishna Mohun, indignantly appealed to by the orthodox Hindoo community, had no other alternative than to ex-communicate the arch offender. Compelled to flee from the home and friends of his boyhood, and suffering acute mental torments, he was attacked by fever, on recovery from which he entered on his course as journalist with renewed vigor and with more uncompromising decision. At this point of his history he came into immediate contact with Duff. On the 28th of August 1831 the *Enquirer* announced the baptism of Duff's first convert, Derozio's pupil, Mohesh Chunder Ghose. Duff's next convert was the Editor of the *Enquirer*, Krishna Mohun Banerjea, also the pupil-friend of Derozio; but neither of these men joined, or in any way laboured for, the Church of Scotland. They were not Duff's converts, in any true sense of the word and they can be called so only in the sense that, having gone the whole round of speculation, they were in a position, before they came in contact with Duff, to appreciate the arguments and the claims of Christianity. That they were subject to other influences than those of the Scottish Missionary, is evidenced in the fact that they were admitted to the Episcopal Church of England,—not to the Kirk of Scotland. The truth is both Banerjea and Ghose had long been

in contact with and receiving religious instruction from gentlemen, clerical and lay, belonging to the Episcopcal Church. These men were in truth the first fruits of Derozio's influence and teaching, followed out to their legitimate conclusions, rather than the result of any sustained effort on the part of Duff. The whole fabric of Hindoo prejudices had been broken down by Derozio, and a love for truth and a struggle for its attainment planted in its stead ; and no idea was oftener embodied in words by Derozio in conversation and discussion, or burned into his pupil-friends' memories more deeply, than this :—" Whatever comes before you in the semblance of truth, that enquire into with all diligence, out of the high respect due to truth." In defiance of the mandate of the managers of the Hindoo College, forbidding attendance at religious and other discussions, Derozio, in opposition to their bigotry and intolerance, encouraged the students to attend the lectures of Duff ; and when remonstrated with by Mr. H. H. Wilson on the injury to his own position in the school, of thus directly setting at defiance the mandate of the managers, he declared it was no business of his to put a stop to free discussion and the search for truth.

Krishna Mohun taught for some time in the Hare School, has been professor in the now defunct Bishop's College and examiner in the College of Fort William, is honorary doctor-in-law of the Cal-

cutta University, honorary chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta, member of the Asiatic Society, and member of the Calcutta Municipality. He has published tracts, sermons, and articles in various forms. In one of his earliest, "*Persecuted*," he demonstrated that caste was an after-growth of Hindooism, having no existence in its earlier stages. His Dialogues on "Hindoo Philosophy" are nearly out of print, but will well repay perusal. His most recent work is "The Aryan Witness," 1875, and two supplementary essays on the same topic, 1880, published by Thacker, Spink & Co., of Calcutta. For many years he has been an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, and he has laboured incessantly during a long life for the educational, intellectual and spiritual progress of his countrymen. One of his daughters is well known as Mrs. Wheeler, the Government Inspectress of the Zenana agencies.

Mohesh Chunder Ghose is spoken of by those who remember him as a "most spirited lad," and a great friend, though no relation, of Ram Gopal Ghose. During the last illness of Derozio his pupil-friends watched by his death-bed in turns. Mohesh Chunder Ghose was present when the Rev. Mr. Hill visited Derozio, and heard all that passed between them, unless what may have been said in a few whispered words ; but though he himself afterwards became a Christian, and had no reason for with-

holding the truth, he declared there was no death-bed recantation, no document signed by Derozio declaring his belief in Christianity, but that Derozio died as he had lived, searching for truth. This testimony he maintained during the whole term of his short life. He was baptised in the Old Church by the Rev. T. Dealtry, afterwards Bishop of Madras. In the same church Krishna Mohun Banerjea, a short time afterwards, preached the funeral sermon of his old friend and associate. The audience was a crowded one, and amongst the worshippers was David Hare, who knew the preacher and the dead as lads in the school of his own founding.

Ram Gopal Ghose was born in the October of 1815, the son of Gobindo Chunder Ghose, a Mooktear of the Rajah of Cooch Behar, and an accountant in a Calcutta mercantile house. He received his earliest education in English at the School of Mr. Sherbourne, an East Indian, who was amongst the earliest teachers of English to natives in Calcutta. Dwarkanath Tagore and other well known native gentlemen were also pupils of Sherbourne. At the age of nine he was sent to the Hindu College, where he was favourably noticed by David Hare, whose interest in all the lads, and anxiety for the success of the College, was unremitting. Ram Gopal's father was subsequently unable to pay the fee of Rs. 5-5-3 a month for his schooling. David Hare had young

Ghose placed on the free list. At the age of fourteen he came under the influence of Derozio, and besides doing the work of his class, engaged in the extra studies which Derozio voluntarily directed. The best preparation for public life, however, which Ram Gopal received was in the Academic Society founded by Derozio. At the age of 17, on the recommendation of David Hare, he became assistant banian to a Jewish merchant named Joseph; but long after leaving the Hindu College he continued his studies, and for some years he took his seat in the first class on the Saturday forenoons and took part in the work of the class. In private study and in intercourse with Derozio and his companions at the Academic and elsewhere, he broadened and deepened his knowledge and acquired a facility of expressing his views. He contributed a series of letters to the *Gyananeshan*, then edited by Russick Krishna Mullick, on the Inland Transit Duties, which attracted the notice of Sir Charles Trevelyan, and which aided considerably in effecting their abolition. On the death of the *Gyananeshan* he started the *Bengal Spectator*, which Peary Chand Mittra edited for some time. He also founded the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, in which Duckinarunjan Mookerjee and Tara Chand Chuckerbutty were active members. This afterwards became the Bengal British India Society. Mr. Kelsall

joined Mr. Joseph in the business in which Ram Gopal was now a valuable and trusted assistant, and on Mr. Joseph retiring, the firm afterwards became Kelsall, Ghose & Co. He remained partner in the firm till the commercial crisis of 1847 was bridged over, and then retired from the business with two lakhs. Shortly after he was offered a Judgeship in the Calcutta Small Cause Court, which he declined. He then began business on his own account, and the firm of R. G. Ghose & Co. was one of the best known in its day. On the Bengal India Association, ceasing to exist, he, in conjunction with others, founded the British Indian Association, which exists to this day. He was appointed a member of the Council of Education, and took an active interest in many educational institutions in Calcutta. There was scarcely a society of any eminence, social, political or literary, with which he was not associated, and he was appointed to nearly every Government Committee to conduct enquiries regarding every subject of public importance.

In 1853, when the renewal of the Company's Charter was being discussed in Parliament, Ram Gopal called a meeting at the Town Hall to advocate the admission of educated natives into the covenanted service. The meeting was one of the largest that had ever been gathered in Calcutta, and the speech which he made on the occasion was one of his

greatest efforts. Some time afterwards, at the instance of the Government of Bengal, the Justices proposed removing the Burning Ghats from the position they had occupied since the founding of Calcutta, to the banks of the Salt Lake or Tolly's Nallah. Orthodox Hindus received the news of this proposal with consternation, and Ram Gopal being appealed to by his countrymen, threw the whole weight of his influence against the proposal, and was able to defeat the project. In grateful acknowledgment of his services the Hindus of Calcutta, after his death, raised a suitable memorial of his worth.

Ram Gopal Ghose, who began life a poor lad, whose father was unable to pay for his school fees, died leaving property amounting to three lakhs. A few days before his death he cancelled all the debts which his friends owed him to the extent of Rs 40,000. He made ample provision for his widow and relatives, and bequeathed Rs 20,000 to the District Charitable Society of Calcutta, and Rs 40,000 to the Calcutta University.

Gobin Chunder Bysack belonged to the weaver caste. He was not prepossessing in appearance, owing to a decided squint and other peculiarities but he was a distinguished writer and speaker. While at school he wrote verses which Derozio frequently revised, and gave him hints regarding. He was a man of considerable reading and liberal attain-

ments. In the pages of the *Reformer*, then owned by Prosono Coomar Tagore, a series of articles attacking Christianity appeared, written by Gobin. These were replied to by the Hon'ble Ross Donnelly Mangles in the pages of the *Enquirer*. The distinguished scholar and antiquary, Rajendra Lala Mitra, L. L. D., C. I. E., was partly educated at the school of Gobin Chunder Bysack.

Russic Krishna Mullick was one of the most distinguished students of the Hindoo College. He suffered cruel persecution from the members of his own family on account of his religious convictions. He was drugged, carried off from Calcutta, and placed in irons. Afterwards he abandoned his father's house, took up his residence at Chorebagan, and for some time conducted the *Gyananeshan*. As a deputy collector he was distinguished as a thoroughly reliable and meritorious officer. His son now occupies the important position of superintendent of roads for the Calcutta Municipality.

Amrita Lall Mitra was, in early life, the officer in Charge of the Toshakhana, and discharged his duties with zeal and faithfulness. He laid down his office a poorer man than when he took it up. He was son-in-law of the late Sir Rajah Radhakant Bahadoor, for a long time the esteemed head of the orthodox Hindoos of Calcutta, and one of the original founders of the Hindoo College. Amrita Lall Mitra never

took part with the unorthodox party. Though keeping on friendly terms with his old fellow-students, he conformed to all the practices of orthodox Hindoos. He suffered from asthma all his life and enjoyed indifferent health, and latterly he retired to Benares where he recently died. His son is now a well-known pleader of the High Court of Calcutta.

Huru Chunder Ghose was appointed moonsiff at Bancoorah. The salary was small, and the temptations to accept bribes were great and of daily occurrence. These he resisted and drew on his family for support. His name still lingers in the district where he laboured, as that of a good judge and a godly man. He afterwards became Magistrate of Calcutta and Judge of the Small Cause Court, in the entrance hall of which his bust now stands with the following inscription on the pedestal :—

HURU CHUNDER GHOSE,

Born 1808, died 1868.

For 15 years one of the Judges of the
Court of Small Causes.

His son is now Registrar of Assurances in Calcutta.

Radhanath Sickdar was the best mathematician in the group of Derozio's friends, and was long employed in the Surveyor-General's office. Physically he was the sturdiest of the lot ; and held the theory that the food of a people determined their character and capacities. Beef-eaters, he declared, ruled the

world. Though not a Christian he had renounced Hindooism altogether and lived after the English fashion. He believed that India would never become a great nation till the inhabitants made use of diet consisting extensively of beef, in which he largely indulged. He fell a martyr to his own theory, and died of a skin eruption induced it is said, by beef-eating.

Ramtonoo Lahiree was distinguished less for strength of intellect than for the generous unselfishness of his nature.

Madubo Chunder Mullick was a quiet, unassuming man, who went into business in a castor-oil factory, and met with heavy losses.

Duckinarunjun Mookerjee's father was a Kulin Brahmin of no special standing in society, and of no special culture or force of intellect. After his marriage with Duckinarunjun's mother he dwelt in her house, and was a sort of pensioner on his wife's family. The relation of the father to the Tagore family seems to have been perfectly well known to Duckinarunjun, and the latter does not appear to have held his father in much awe. At all events, whoever took the young and ardent Hindoo lad to task, for associating with Derozio and for being influenced by his open frankness, winning ways and hatred of all shams, ecclesiastic, civil, social and moral, it was not his father. His undisguised

admiration for Derozio's accomplished sister, and his avowed sympathy and participation in the ideas and aspirations then stirring to their depths the best blood of young Hindooism in Calcutta, induced his relatives to withdraw him from the society of Derozio for a time. The cause of his rupture with his father may be stated in a few words : the part Derozio played in the matter is stated by Derozio himself in his letter to H. H. Wilson of 26th April 1831. Duckinarunjun and Krishna Mohun Banerjee were very close friends ; and shared in common much of those high hopes, infused by Derozio, for the future of their countrymen and for the purifying of the religion of their fathers. At the invitation of Duckinarunjun, Krishna Mohun went to spend a few days with him at his home. After about a week, during which the intercourse of the two ardent lads had been uninterrupted, Duckinarunjun had occasion to leave the house on business, leaving Krishna Mohun alone in his quarters. Duckinarunjun's father, who had up to this time made no remonstrance regarding his son's visitor, took advantage of Duckinarunjun's absence to abuse, most vilely, the lad Krishna Mohun Banerjee, so that he was driven from the house in the absence of his friend. Duckinarunjun on his return learned the cause of his friend's disappearance, and was so hurt by the conduct of his father, that he declared he

could no longer remain in a house where the feelings of his friends were outraged and his most intimate companion driven by abuse from the house. He took a house near Derozio's in Circular Road, with the result, so far as Derozio was concerned, as detailed in the letter above noted. He afterwards returned, not to his father's house, but to that of a relative ; and when the outburst of outraged Hindooism came, that subjected Russic Krishna Mullick to cruel persecution, and that drove Krishna Mohun Banerjea from the home of his childhood, Duckinarunjun received Krishna Mohun and sheltered him for a month. The well known tendencies of Duckinarunjun, shortly after the death of Derozio, became so obnoxious to the advisers of his family that, with their advice, he was drugged, carried from Calcutta, and kept for some time at Benares, from whence he again returned to Calcutta. The drugging and the Benares discipline, whatever it may have been, did more than its work. From the day of his return to Calcutta till his death, more than thirty years afterwards, he was never the same man intellectually or morally that he had been. He seemed as if his reason had been shaken: he behaved in an odd and to him unusual manner; and he appears for a time to have lost all moral control of himself. The philtre with which he was drugged seems to have destroyed his nobler nature and awakened all that was animal in

his composition ; and ever afterwards the nobler instincts of the man were clouded. He plunged into debauchery and excess of the lowest kind, in part suggested to him by either a deeply cunning or a grossly unwise medical adviser ; and it was only when health and purse were impaired that he in a great measure abandoned his evil courses ; but to the end of his days he was distinguished for low animal cunning and intrigue, so much so, that not even his friends would trust him. Of course the friends of his College and Derozio days, out of respect for themselves, fell away from him ; and it was only after a cleaner line of life had been entered on, that some of them had further intercourse with him. His habits became more respectable, or rather less disreputable. He settled down to quiet and vigorous work as editor of a newspaper printed in English and Bengalee. This change was partly due to the loss of a legacy, some Rs 60,000, which he inherited from his maternal grandfather, and which he was induced to lend to David Hare with the promise of eight per cent. interest. Hare, though never a bankrupt, got into difficulties, and could only give to Duckinarunjun some land in Calcutta as part payment,—payment in full so far as Hare was concerned,—of the debt of Rs 60,000.

About this period in the life history of Duckinarunjun Mookerjee the young Maharani of Burdwan

had been left a widow. The deceased Rajah had no male issue, and before his death he had adopted as his heir a lad whose sister and whose aunt he married ; for all of whom he had amply provided. The income of the young widowed Rani amounted to about Rs 1,000 a month, more or less. Doomed by Hindoo law to perpetual widowhood, and imprisoned for life within the walls of the Zenana, if we except those rare occasions when religious rites permitted a short excursion to a neighbouring temple, the slumbering passions of the young Maharani, inflamed no doubt by the tales and gossip of the women servants, and it may be by intrigues, something of which may have come within her knowledge, devised means with the help of her women servants to enjoy in secrecy the society of that sex from which her widowhood debarred her. Rumour says, with how much or how little truth it may be difficult to say, that more than one paramour secretly visited the Maharani and remained in her chamber all night, to be as secretly conveyed without the precincts of the Rajabari before the zenana or the household were stirring. The young Rani had expressed dissatisfaction at the management of her estate, and desired to have advice regarding her share in the Raj and a new Dewan or minister. Something of the young handsome Duckinarunjun Mookerjee, his gallant ways with ladies, his

prepossessing appearance, and his ability reached from the other world, the ear of the imprisoned lady through the ever prattling tongues of women, only too ready to aid their mistress in the accomplishment of her desires. The Dewan of the palace was communicated with, and Duckinarunjun, whether he was conscious of the fact at the time or not, was led in conversation on the business of the Raj past the windows of the Zenana, between the chinks of which the lovely widow peeped out at the well-mannered, handsome Duckinarunjun as he strolled in converse round the Rajbari. Taken with his appearance, means were devised by which Duckinarunjun, carried in a basket, found his way by night within the Zenana to pass the night in the company of the Rani, consulting with her regarding the injustice she was labouring under at the hands of the executors of her deceased husband's will. The basket business went on with more or less intermission for about a year, when an elopement from the palace of the Rani and her jewels with the sympathetic Duckinarunjun was planned and effected in order that proper legal advice might be obtained and measures taken to secure the best interest of the Rani. At a short distance from the palace there stood an ancient Hindoo temple to which the ladies of the Burdwan Zenana went once a year to perform certain religious rites and to make their offerings at the shrine of

the divinity. It was arranged that on the evening when the yearly poojah came round, the young Rani, accompanied by one or two of her confidants, zenana domestics, should steal away from the group of returning ladies and enter a carriage which was to be in waiting to drive her to Calcutta in company with her adviser Duckinarunjun Mookerjee. The eventful night came, the religious ceremonies were completed and the train of women, about fifty in number, were returning to the palace as day was departing and deepening into that speedy darkness which dwellers in the tropics know so well, when the Rani, unperceived, slipped aside, found the carriage, and was whirled towards Calcutta as rapidly as horses could carry her. It was not until the zenana had been reached, and each one was settling in her own quarters, that the runaway was missed. A hue and cry was raised throughout the palace, and a body of sowars (horsemen), which formed part of the palace retinue, was sent off to scour the country in search of the lady who had so suddenly vanished. One party of sowars took the road to Calcutta: the carriage with the Rani and her Dewan, Duckinarunjun was speedily overtaken, and the Rani rescued. Duckinarunjun was being most unmercifully maltreated by the sowars, and in all likelihood would have been killed outright and left on the roadway, when three Missionaries travelling dâk from Calcutta, attracted by the noise

came on the scene. They could not wait to settle the matter and see the lady and her friend in safe keeping, but they told the sowars, "we have seen this man in your power being illtreated, if he disappears, or any ill befalls him, we will bear witness to what we have seen." Overawed by the Missionaries Duckinarunjun was left unmolested further, and the lady was hurried back to the palace which she had so shortly before quitted.

Some time after the Rani left the palace and came to Calcutta in order to prosecute her claims. As a widow it was of course impossible that she could again enter the married state. Duckinarunjun though nominally a Hindoo, was not held in much esteem by his co-religionists. A Brahman in the service of Duckinarunjun performed a marriage ceremony, and the Rani and her former Dewan lived together till her death, long afterwards, as husband and wife. One son was born who, when he came to an age sufficiently old to comprehend the peculiar relationship of his father and mother, has been heard to reprove his father for being the cause of his not being born Rajah of Burdwan. All his life Duckinarunjun Mookerjee lived in the midst of scheming and intrigues. In the incidents that led up to the Mutiny and throughout its progress, the former pupil of Derozio schemed all round, at one time making overtures to some members of the Tagore family

regarding certain designs of the King of Oudh, at another seemingly working hard as a loyal subject in the interests of England. All his manœuvres during the period of the Sepoy Rebellion will probably never be revealed ; but he had sufficient craft to make it appear to Duff and the officials of the Foreign Office that he was a highly deserving and loyal subject. He obtained from Lord Canning the escheated estates of Man Singh, who had joined the rebels. Afterwards he was made a Rajah by the Foreign Office ; and lived on his estate till his death, if not shunned, at least regarded with no feelings of respect either by his co-religionists or his tenantry. Were the true state of matters revealed, probably Duckinarunjun deserved something quite different to what the Government of India in its guileless liberality bestowed on him.

CHAPTER XI.

PUBLIC MAN AND JOURNALIST.

DEROZIO'S career, after the severance of his connection with the Hindu College, was essentially that of a public man and journalist ; poetry he rarely touched. Though but a lad of one-and-twenty, he had taken a leading part in one of the greatest and most momentous movements in Indian society, from which his name can never be dissociated ; and he had already made his mark as a leader of thought in India, as a philosopher of unusual acuteness, as a poet distinguished by wonderful command of language, fertility of imagination, and that wide sympathy with Nature which marks the highest intellects, and as the advocate of his own class. There remained for him, though he knew it not, but eight more months of life and work. Full of life and hope and conscious power, the sole support of his now widowed mother, his sister Amelia, and his younger brother, he projected, managed and edited the *East Indian*, the first newspaper that was the recognized organ of Eurasians and which advocated their claims and the claims of every question, honest and true and liberal, with an elo-

quence and ability and a power of argument of which East Indians may well be proud. Dr. John Grant, a journalist of no inconsiderable ability, the first editor of the *Government Gazette*, said of the *East Indian*, that "whatever differences of opinion existed among his (Derozio's) contemporaries as to the mode of conducting it, there could be none whatever as to the talents, the perfect honesty, and the unfettered views of the editor." Into this venture, the *East Indian*, he poured the little fortune of the family. The expenses which he incurred in establishing the paper, in the typographical improvements which he introduced, and in equipping the office of the *East Indian* at No. 9, Cossitollah (now No. 11, Bentinck Street,) with every facility for the execution of printing in all its branches, swallowed up the little capital Derozio had at his disposal. On through the closing months of his life he labored in the printing office and the editorial chair and on the public platform, with an energy, a devotion and an ability which, had he never achieved anything else, would have marked him off as no ordinary man. He was the chief speaker at a meeting of East Indians held in the Town Hall on the first of July 1831, for the purpose of approving the draft of their *second* petition to Parliament. J. W. Ricketts occupied the chair. About 150 East Indians were present, as well as a number of Hindus, who took a warm interest in the proceedings.

We subjoin a summary of Derozio's speech on the occasion gathered from the *India Gazette* of Wednesday, August 3rd, 1831 :—“ Mr. H. L. V. Derozio stated, that before proceeding to the rejection or adoption of the draft of the second petition, he would make a few remarks on the mis-statements and misapprehensions that had gone abroad regarding the views entertained by East Indians of their disabilities. Their grievances were of two kinds, political and legal ; but it had been said that they were seeking for privileges to which Europeans and Hindus and Mahomedans were ineligible. The petition stated that they were without any Code of Civil Law. He did not know of any case in corroboration, but would not allow his want of information on this point to be conclusive against it. Judging from the law itself, the argument was certainly in their favor, and nothing could be thrown into the opposite scale but prevalent practice, which a single decision would in a moment overthrow. The law, whatever the practice, was unsuited to their condition, for it regarded them as Hindus and Mahomedans ; but in what did they assimilate ? Their conduct, habits, thoughts, usages and feelings were totally dissimilar, and was it to be said in the nineteenth century, that in legislating for a whole body it could be just to place them under laws totally unsuited to their circumstances. It surely could not be considered a great

privilege to be placed under British Law. Let the many who had been ruined in the Supreme Court speak their sentiments ; for, bad as it was, it was better than the jumble of Hindu and Mahomedan Law to which they were subject the moment they crossed the Mahratta Ditch. One great evil arising from this state of the law was, that the greater portion of the East Indians, located as they were in Calcutta, had not the means of acquainting themselves with that law, to which they became subject when they passed its boundaries. He here mentioned as a case in point. An East Indian gentleman who had been educated in England, having returned to his native land, and while ignorant of the laws to which he was subject, was, through the subornation of perjured witnesses against him, thrown into one of the zillah jails for a period of two years. This was an evil of great magnitude, and the circumstances were such as no European could be placed under. It had been said with regard to the legal and political privileges which they claimed that, if admitted into the civil and military services, they would on this point have advantages over what are permitted to the Hindus and Mahomedans, and at the same time would be entitled to hold lands in the interior which Europeans were prevented from doing. The admission of East Indians to certain rights did not preclude the possibility of other classes of the popula-

tion also securing for themselves the privileges to which they were entitled. If East Indians were permitted to enjoy all the privileges they now seek, it would be impossible to withhold the claims of others. Their enemies had tried to set both the European and native community against them by saying that they sought exclusive privileges, well knowing that if they once entered the breach, there would be many to follow. He denied that they had assembled to claim such exclusive privileges. They were in reality fighting the battle of the whole community, Native, European and East Indian. Derozio then took a view of the arguments against them which stated that the men of talent and influence of their own class, not only refrained from joining in their proceedings, but were opposed to them. How was this known ? he asked. The men themselves did not state it ; and if the present measures were disapproved of, why were they not here present, to state their sentiments. They had talent to reason on the subject, or at any rate had sufficient to understand what might be advanced in opposition. He found that they had the talent of staying at home, but that was not a distinction that he or those present were ambitious of. With all their influence and mental powers, let them only propose to get up a meeting opposed to the views of the present, and they would, to their mortification, find a beggarly

array of East Indians. They had talent enough to send an agent to England, and had influence to cause an interesting debate in Parliament on the subject of their claims ; and if this were want of talent and influence, they could do very well without the talent and influence that stayed at home and did nothing. Derozio then depicted the consequences of losing the present opportunity ; and the responsibility resting on them to secure for their posterity all the advantages and privileges possible. He expressed high hopes for the new ministry, and believed that the introduction of the Reform Bill was but the preliminary step to the introduction of more important reforms. This argued well for East Indians, for they had not now to deal with ignorant and partial men. He advised them to continue to present their claims ; success invited them forward and hope cheered the way. Did they fear to rise in the scale of political importance, to be considered worthy of confidence and honour, to be placed under a definite code of laws, and to gain for their children rights and privileges which had not descended from their fathers to themselves ? And he concluded a brilliant and most effective speech by moving the adoption of the Draft petition."

His friend Pote seconded the resolution, and Drummond of Dhurrumtollah, his old master, wasted with illness, rose to point out that the definitions

of the petition were not sufficiently clear ; and that the petitioners were really Christians born in India. Derozio overruled the objection by pointing out that clauses 1 and 2 of the petition were explicit enough. The petition was approved.

Some discussion then followed as to sending a delegate to England, and the names of Ricketts and Pote were presented to the meeting. Ricketts was willing to go ; but he said that it would entail the loss of his appointment. Pote generously would not hear of this, and himself offered to go. On the vote being taken, 48 only voted, Ricketts 33, Pote 15, the others thinking it premature till sufficient funds had been got together to clear expenses.

The other speakers at the meeting were Crowe, W. Kirkpatrick, W. R. Fenwick, Mr. Wollaston and H. Andrews. The latter gentleman is still living, and evinces the same warm interest in every measure of usefulness which distinguished him fifty years ago.

The second petition was transmitted to Mr. John Crawford in England for presentation to Parliament, but, owing to a change of ministry and other causes, so far as we know, it was never presented. The petition will be new to men of this generation at least, and as besides it bears the touch of Derozio's hand, we reproduce it here :—

THE EAST INDIANS' SECOND PETITION.*Calcutta, June 27, 1831.***M. L'BLANC, PRINTER.—EAST INDIAN OFFICE.****THE EAST INDIANS' SECOND PETITION.**

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the undersigned inhabitants of Calcutta and the Provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

1st.—That your Petitioners are natives of, and residents in, British India; Christians in religion; and acknowledging subjection to the Crown of Great Britain; but labouring under certain grievances which they desire to bring under the notice of your Honorable House in the hope of being relieved from them.

2nd.—That your Petitioners consist;—first, of those or of the descendants of those, who have been born out of wedlock, of native mothers, and who, although of Christian fathers, and united with Christians in faith, in language, in habits, in manners, in feelings, and in opinions, are yet regarded in the eye of the law as without the pale of Christianity. Secondly, that your Petitioners consist of those, or of the descendants of those, who, though of native descent (some entirely and some partially) and born in wedlock, profess the Christian religion, and are assimilated

to Christians by education, feelings, manners, and opinions, but are in like manner regarded by the law as aliens to the Christian faith.

3rd.—That in conformity with the general tenor of Parliamentary enactments relating to India, professors of the Hindu religion are governed in their civil relations by Hindu law, professors of the Mahummudan religion by Mahummudan law, and both Hindus and Mahummudans are subject, in criminal matters, to Mahummudan law ; Hindu and Mahummudan law, both civil and criminal, being modified by the rules and regulations of the East India Company ; while those persons only whom the British Legislature have described as British subjects, or whom the administrators of the law interpret to be so described, enjoy the advantages of the law of England, as extended by statutes to British India.

4th.—That by the rigid interpretation which successive Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William have given to the phrase “British subjects,” as equivalent to “*British-born* subjects,” your Petitioners, although neither Hindus nor Mahummudans, but Christians in their feelings and principles, habits and associations, are entirely excluded, when resident in the Interior, from the benefits of the law of England.

5th.—That the effect of the position in which your Petitioners are thus placed is to subject them, al-

though Christians, along with the professors of the Hindu and Mahummudan religions, to Mahummudan criminal law, which (whatever modifications that law may have undergone by the Company's Regulation) is abhorrent to their feelings and degrading to their characters, as contradistinguishing them from their Christian brethren.

6th.—That a further effect of the position in which your Petitioners are placed by the state of the law, or the interpretation given to it, is that in the civil relations of life they have no law whatever for their guidance. Not being Hindus, they cannot regulate those relations by Hindu law. Not being Mahummudans they cannot regulate them by Mahummudan law. And not being British-born subjects, they cannot enjoy the advantages of the law of England. Your Petitioners, being without any written law binding upon them in the most important relations of life, are therefore dependent upon what any judge may consider the practice with regard to them in those relations. This leaves them so much in the hands, and at the discretion of the Minister of Justice, that they respectfully solicit from your Honorable House that consideration to this particular which its importance demands.

7th.—That your Petitioners are systematically, and as a class, excluded from all superior and covenanted offices in the Civil and Military Services,

and from all sworn offices in the Marine Service of the East India Company ; and that on the notification of the appointment of any one who may be then residing in India, they have been stigmatized as a body by a provision publicly announced in the Gazette of Government, that the appointment should not be valid if the individual appointed be “ the son of a native Indian.”

8th.—That your Petitioners as a class are further systematically treated as ineligible to most of those subordinate employments in the Judicial, Revenue, and Police Departments, which are open without reserve to the Hindu and Mahummudan natives of the country.

9th.—That by a General Order, dated the 27th February 1808, of the Commander-in-Chief, for the time being, of his Majesty’s Forces in India, they were as a class expressly declared, and are still practically considered to be, disqualified from holding his Majesty’s Commission in the British Indian Army.

10th.—That by stipulations in treaties with the powers of India, which still preserve a shadow of independence, your Petitioners, though regarded as natives of India, are practically debarred from engaging in their service in any capacity, without the special license of the Supreme Government of India.

11th.—That the spirit of the entire policy of the East India Company's Government towards your Petitioners has been, and is, degrading, invidious, and proscriptive ; and that instead of encouraging, they have discouraged, every attempt made by your Petitioners to improve their own condition and that of their offspring.

12th.—That your Petitioners respectfully refer to the evidence given before the Select Committee appointed by the last Parliament to inquire into the affairs of India, in corroboration and proof of their allegations ; and they confidently solicit from your Honorable House a thorough consideration of the grievances herein brought to notice, and relief from their future operation.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Next month, September 1831, there occurred that "passage at arms" between Derozio and Captain Macnaghten which will be referred further to.

It was not alone on the platform and in the social circle that Derozio advocated the claims of his class. In the columns of the *Hesperus*, an evening paper which, while teaching in the Hindoo College and assisting Krishna Mohun Banerjee and other of his students in the pages of the *Enquirer*, he had successfully launched, he championed the claims of

Eurasians. The evening *Hesperus* gave place to the *East Indian* daily, and the Eurasians of those days responded to the call of Derozio, and worthily supported him and his staff, in the endeavour to secure for East Indians an organ of their own, in which to ventilate their grievances, to attack public shams and official derelictions, and to maintain for themselves a position of power and influence in India, which is still the far off goal, even of the most sanguine Eurasians of to-day. The subscription for this paper was Rs 5 a month, a sum much in excess of what a high class daily may now be had for; and during the two years of its existence, 1830-1, which covered the closing years of Derozio's life, it was distinguished for its public spiritedness and the talent with which it was conducted. No doubt feeling ran high and articles charged with bitterness and sweeping assertions, and it may be, personalities, roused the opposition of other sections of the Press of India; but in those days an amount of personal feeling and vigorous outspoken language was probably imported into public discussions which now-a-days would not be indulged in, unless by the more rabid organs of the press. However this may be, in Derozio's editing of the *East Indian* a circumstance took place with the like of which this generation is not altogether unfamiliar. At that time the old *John Bull* was edited by Robert Adair Macnaghten,

a gentleman who, for many years before his death in 1846, was a Captain on the Retired List of the Bengal Army, a writer of distinguished ability both in verse and prose on the press of India, and who, along with John O'Brien Saunders, Cobb Hurry of the *Delhi Gazette*, and others, since the days of the deported Silk Buckingham, had gradually developed the high tone and ability of the Indian Press, and freed it from the leading-strings of Government control, till it could rank in usefulness, vigor and independence with the press of any country in the world. An article from the pen of Derozio in the columns of the *East Indian* had stung Captain Macnaghten of the *John Bull* beyond the ordinary bounds of prudence, and he made his appearance in the editorial office of the *East Indian* armed with a cane to demand satisfaction from Derozio. The latter was then a neatly dressed lad of twenty-one, and the Captain a man of at least thirty-five. On acquainting Derozio with the object of his visit, and exhibiting his cane, "I have come to have satisfaction;" Derozio replied, "Then take it." There must have been something in the tone and bearing of Derozio which speedily effected the evaporation, either of the courage or the intention of the Captain, for he contented himself with gently laying his cane on Derozio's shoulder, and declaring, "Consider yourself assaulted, Sir," then turning on his heel, he left

the office, followed by the gay laugh of the amused Derozio. Nothing further came of this passage-at-arms beyond a war of words in the various newspapers. We subjoin Derozio's letter closing the discussion :—

(*The India Gazette, September 29th, 1831.*)

CAPTAIN MACNAGHTEN AND MR. DEROZIO.

Captain Macnaghten says in to-day's *John Bull* that he is determined not to read the *East Indian* and *Hurkaru* any more. Regarding his assault upon me there are two statements—his supported by Captain White, and mine by Mr. King. Whatever opinion the public may entertain regarding the assailant and the assailed, it will be unanimously admitted that the unfairness of the transaction belongs to Captain Macnaghten. When *gentlemen* come to assault others for supposed aggressions, the parties cannot conceal their names from each other without the imputation of cowardice and the suspicion of being ruffians. Captain Macnaghten never gave me his name. I found him out, and even after I succeeded in unmasking him, he continued (till to-day) to call himself "Tit-for-tat," as if he shrank from identifying himself with the person that assailed me. I dismiss this business from my hands, and the thought of it from my mind, with the satisfaction of having done nothing wrong. Persons of character and respectability, whose good opinion I desire, will acquit me

of everything improper in this transaction. My conduct will sufficiently prove that I had not the least suspicion of being assaulted, as I was ; that I endeavoured to find out my assailant ; and that upon discovering his character, I was prevented by my friends from pursuing him as a gentleman. I am sure there is no other officer in the army who would have come to a stranger as Captain Macnaghten did to me, without in the first instance giving up his name.....Circumstances depending entirely on my being put in possession of my assailant's name would have influenced my decision regarding the course to be taken.....Captain Macnaghten has done his tattered character no good by attempting to patch it up in this way.....It is not in my nature to entertain a feeling of resentment long ; and now that the affair is about to pass from public attention, and that excitement has given place to reflection, I pity the man who has brought himself into a situation so deplorable. He is even now upon his knees, entreating the *Hurkaru* to spare him the recollection of his former disgrace ; and it is to be hoped that the editor of that paper will grant the prayer of a fallen man who suea for mercy. With these sentiments I withdraw myself from the scene in which I have been obliged for some days to act so conspicuous a part. Having fixed upon my assailant the infamy which his conduct deserves, I

abandon him to his own reflections and the charity of the public.

H. L. V. DEROZIO.

27th September, 1831.

No detailed estimate of Derozio's career and influence as a journalist can ever be hoped for, till some future biographer more fortunate, if not more painstaking, than I have been, may be fortunate enough to disentomb files, more or less complete, of the *India Gazette*, *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, *Indian Magazine*, *Calcutta Magazine*, the *Bengal Journal*, the *Enquirer*, the *Hesperus* and *The East Indian*. It is in the pages of these journals, now seemingly lost, or existing only in a mutilated form, that, with the exception of the *Fakir of Jangheerah*, the most finished productions of Derozio in verse and prose, are shut up. There is not a newspaper office in Calcutta, and we suppose Calcutta is a fair example of India generally in this matter, that possesses a complete file of its own issue. In the case of the *Indian Daily News*, the lineal successor of Dr. John Grant's *India Gazette*, and the old *Hurkaru*, there is not a scrap existing of the older journals which it succeeded. There is not a library, public, private, or departmental, which contains complete files of the Calcutta newspapers of the first half of the century ; and however interesting and useful extracts from

the *Calcutta* and other *Gazettes* may be, it will be utterly impossible to write the history of that period of India's progress, commercial, social, and otherwise, as fully as could have been done if these and other journals had been preserved. The difficulty of preserving cumbrous files of books in India is well known. In a single night the ravages of white-ants may do much to destroy the most unique and valuable volumes ; and, if left undisturbed, a few years would complete their destruction. In England, if kept from damp, books may lie for years unimpaired, though covered with dust. Besides this, the rapid changes in society, the various hands through which the property of public journals passes, and the carelessness of servants render it more uncertain that files shall be preserved and transmitted. It seems to us that, in the matter of the preservation of public newspapers, and providing easy public access to their files, the Government have not been as mindful as they ought ; and we venture to suggest, that steps should be taken to complete, as far as possible, the blank files of defunct journals ; and early sets of those at present existing secured. There are, we are persuaded, cartloads of minutes and trashy reports lumbering the record rooms of Indian Departments, which might very well disappear and make room for that record of public intelligence and stream of criticism, suggestion and discussion, on all the multifari-

ous topics which concern the press, and the men of the then existing generation, from which the social, political and constitutional history of a country can most truthfully, and with the greatest minuteness, be gathered.

The influence which Derozio exercised in society, on the platform, and in the press, to bring about, what he himself never lived to see, the first fruits of the moderate assertion of their rights as British subjects by the Eurasian community, has, up to the present time, never yet, we venture to think, been realized. There is no argument used now-a-days on behalf of the Eurasian community which Derozio and the men with whom he was associated 50 years ago, did not use with more eloquence, with greater moderation, and with more indomitable perseverance and ability. It has been the fate of Derozio, as it has been that of other eminent men, that the sun of his short life should go down in baseless calumny and the white heat of religious controversy ; and that the men of succeeding generations, distant from his own, should have imposed on them the task of clearing his character from unjust charges, vindicating his fame as a poet of no mean eminence, and estimating in some fashion his influence on the thought and action of his time. The influence which he exercised on behalf of his own class, and on the general thought of his time, through the press and on the

platform, we have pointed out rather than exhibited in detail. That detail can be forthcoming only on a minute study of what we have hitherto failed to obtain access to, if indeed they exist, *viz.*, the files of those journals in which Derozio wrote, and which he conducted with such marked ability, but which the community, who ought to have preserved his memory green, have, to their own shame, allowed so speedily to be annihilated. Even the Library of the Doveton College, an essentially Eurasian Institution, has neither a copy of his works nor a leaf of a newspaper of his conducting, not even a single report or record of the numerous meetings and proceedings, in all of which Eurasians had a vital interest, nor yet a complete set of the reports of their own Institution ; and the few books composing the Library are dropping to pieces, a shameful monument of Eurasian zeal and gratitude, to the honor of their fathers and the memory of their dead.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LAST DAYS.

HERE remained for Derozio but one more public appearance, and, singularly enough, that was at the examination of the pupils of the Doveton College, an institution founded by his friend J. W. Ricketts, and the history of which has been told in the *Calcutta Review* by Dr. George Smith, its second Principal, (see vol. XXIV. page 288,) and by the present writer in the January number of 1881. On the Tuesday, of December 13th, 1831, eleven days before his death, Derozio took part with Mr. Speed of the Hindu School, in examining the classes. There were present the usual concourse of parents and friends ; and of clergymen there were gathered Messrs. Dealtry, Yates, McPherson, Piffard, and notably Duff. On the conclusion of the examination, Derozio, with the warm impulsiveness of his kindly nature, though he was weighted with an amount of work and care under which many ordinary men would wince and sink, declared his intention of delivering a course of lectures on Law and Political Economy, with a view of qualifying the Doveton's

pupils to avail themselves of the judicial situations which had so recently been opened to East Indians.

These lectures were never delivered. Eleven days after, the grave closed on the brilliant lad, and there was quenched one of the most hopeful lives. It is beyond question that, had the lectures been delivered, they would have gathered round Derozio in the Doveton spirits as earnest, unselfish, and noble as those which characterised his connection with the Hindu College.

In *The East Indian* of Saturday, 17th December, there appears a report of the examination of the pupils of the Dhurrumtollah Academy : this notice contains the last lines written for the *East Indian* by Derozio. After commenting on the excellence of the examination passed by the boys, the notice goes on to say that, " the most pleasing feature in this institution is its freedom from illiberality. At some of the Calcutta schools objections are made to natives, not so much on the part of the masters as of the Christian parents. At the Dhurrumtollah Academy it is quite delightful to witness the exertions of Hindu and Christian youths, striving together for academic honours ; this will do much towards softening asperities, which always arise in hostile sects ; and when the Hindu and Christian have learned from mutual intercourse how much

there is to be admired in the human character, without reference to differences of opinion in religious matters, shall we be brought nearer than we now are to that happy condition when

“ Man to man the world o'er,
Shall brothers be and a' that.”

To those parents who object to the bringing up of their children among native youths, we desire to represent the suicidal nature of their conduct. Can they check the progress of knowledge at certain schools ; can they close the gates of the Hindu College and other institutions ? If not, is it not obvious that they cannot withhold knowledge from Hindu youths, and if they manifest illiberal feeling towards those youths, are they not afraid of a reaction ? In a few years the Hindus will take their stand by the best and the proudest Christians ; and it cannot be desirable to excite the feelings of the former against the latter. The East Indians complain of suffering from proscription, is it for them to proscribe ? Suffering should teach us not to make others suffer. Is it to produced different effect on East Indians ? We hope not. They will find after all, that it is their best interest to unite and co-operate with the other native inhabitants of India. Any other course will subject them to greater opposition than they have at present. Can they afford to make more enemies ?”

The clear, far-seeing wisdom of these, the last public words of the greatest Eurasian in many respects that has ever shed lustre on his race, and the broad charity and toleration which they exhibit, clearly mark him off as not only much in advance of the men of his own day, but far ahead in wide sympathy and true liberality even of the men of to-day. Eurasians have, from their earliest existence as a community, declined to have their sons educated side by side with the native lads of India, for moral and religious reasons which in our estimation have been unduly intensified and needlessly persisted in, to their own hurt. The words of Derozio may well ring in the ears of this generation and rouse them to a consciousness of their past unwisdom :— “In a few years the Hindus will take their stand by the side of the best and the proudest Christians.” How complete a fulfilment of Derozio’s words is the present condition of Eurasian youths, ousted from the lower grades of Government service by native lads; and competing with them in higher education and in the attainment of that rank which the impress of a University degree marks as scholarship, with all the advantages of heavily subsidised Government Colleges thrown into the scale on the side of the natives. “The East Indians complain of suffering from proscription, is it for them to proscribe ? ” Eurasians have suffered from the

effects of that proscription which Derozio, a man of their own race, their truest friend, and their ablest advocate, pointed out fifty years ago and counselled them, that "suffering should teach them not to make others suffer." Derozio's advice was not followed, and the Eurasians of to-day are reaping the folly of their fathers' sowing.

We have quoted Derozio's last public appeal to Eurasians. Probably, the last poem he wrote, is one which did not appear in print till the January of 1832, after his death, when it appeared, along with other contributions of East Indians, in the *Orient Pearl*, an annual, the volume being "inscribed to Sir Charles Metcalfe as a testimony of esteem of the editors for his enlightened views and liberal policy." The poem "Independence" is not in the collected edition of his poetical works, compiled by Mr. Owen Aratoon. The verses are not in his best style, but as they breathe some far away echo of the worry and the fever and the fret through which his manly independence and indomitable spirit rose, we reproduce them here:—

INDEPENDENCE.

Look on that lamp which seems to glide
Like a spirit o'er the stream,
Casting upon the darkened tide
Its own mysterious beam.

My heart,—and shall that little lamp,
 My glorious image be ;
 Shall the night so mirk, the stream so damp
 Be lit and cheered by thee ?

Lo ! in the breath of the tyrant wind
 The trembling flame looks wan
 And pale, as if fear had seized its mind ;
 It fades, alas, 'tis gone !

And wilt thou tremble so, my heart,
 When the mighty breathe on thee ?
 And shall thy light like this depart ?
 Away ! it cannot be.

In the autumn of 1831 an unusually high rate of mortality prevailed in Calcutta and its suburbs, the chief causes of death being cholera, dysentery, and fever. In the village of Baraset near Barrackpore whole families had been swept away ; and in the vicinity of Bhowanipore nearly a third of the inhabitants had died. In the villages between the Salt Lake and Calcutta the mortality was not less great. Every day during November there were carried to Kalighaut about fifty dead bodies, and to the neighbouring ghauts about half that number. On the Diamond Harbour road a family of ten men were carried off in a few days, leaving only the widows. Everywhere in Calcutta and its neighbourhood cholera was prevalent ; and nearly every case proved fatal. On Saturday, December 17th, 1831, the day on which there appeared in the *East Indian* the notice, already referred to, of the examination of the pupils of the school in which

Derozio received all the education schools could ever give him, he was stricken with cholera, and for six days he struggled with the disease, till the bitter ending came in death. There crowded round his sick-bed, not terrified by the ravages of cholera, but rising above the fear of contagion, the pupil-friends of the Hindu College. All through the sleepless, weary, painful nights and days, there watched the sick-bed of the dying Derozio, Krishna Mohun Banerjee, Ramgopal Ghose, Mohes Chunder Ghose, and others, sharing the anxiety and fatigue of Derozio's mother and his sister, Amelia. Dr. John Grant, the man of all men who first recognized Derozio's brilliant capacity, who rocked the cradle of his genius, and followed to the grave his hearse, was in constant attendance; and when some hopes were entertained that the splendid constitution of the dying lad would withstand the ravages of the disease, the doctor's melodious voice rose in the sick chamber, reading to the East Indian boy the second book of Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*. The pleasures of hope were very brief. Racked with pain that filled the room with low moaning, worn out by sleepless days and nights and the violence of cholera-morbus, on Saturday, the 23rd December 1831, the weary eyes closed in death; and there disappeared from the great river of this mortal life one of the most brilliant morning-

lights that ever sailed adown its stream. For him, as for all true men, death had no fear, however much they hate it, gate though it be to life, "the gloomy entrance to a sunnier world." This is how Derozio sings of death and fate, and man's eternal energy—

Death ! my best friend, if thou doest ope' the door
 The gloomy entrance to a sunnier world,
 It boots not when my being's scene is furled,
 So thou canst aught like vanished bliss restore.
 I vainly call on thee, for fate the more
 Her bolts hurls down, as she has ever hurled :
 And in my war with her I've felt, and feel
 Grief's path cut to my heart by misery's steel.
 But man's eternal energies can make
 An atmosphere around him, and so take
 Good out of evil, like the yellow bee,
 That sucks from flowers malignant a sweet treasure.
 O ! tyrant fate ! thus shall I vanquish thee,
 For out of suffering shall I gather pleasure.

The "poor self-satisfied creatures," as Robert Dick, the baker and geologist of Thurso, said of his own detractors, "who make an image of God after their own hearts, and not after the image of their maker," made Derozio's short life and sudden death the peg on which to hang a homily, to point a theological moral, and adorn a tale. "Atheistic and immoral poet, subverser of all religious principles whatever," were howled over his grave by the "unco' guid ;" and repeated in mocking parrot tones half a century after his death, by small men, hedged round by a comforting theology of their own. That Derozio thought for himself on all topics, is beyond

question. That he could neither subscribe to the unquestioning acceptance of the authority of the Romish Church in matters of faith, to the sacerdotalism of episcopal clergyman, to the fervid evangelicalism of Duff and his admirers, or to the passionless, unhuman theology of Calvin, that would "damn to all eternity" millions of beings who never heard the gospel according to their reading ; or, who having heard it, would not, could not accept it, was beyond doubt. With Derozio, as with Sir William Hamilton, Scotch Presbyterian as he was, "Truth like a torch the more it shook it shines" was the moving spring that worked the mechanism of his intellect and life. The death-bed scenes of so-called infidels and atheists are part of the current goody literature that meanders round the "Cottage homes of England." It was not to be expected that so independent a thinker as Derozio should go to his grave without a death-bed scene in which the convictions of a life-time are represented as giving place to a hearty and full acceptance of verities about which, however much may be believed, little positively may be known. That Mr. Hill, the congregational Minister, visited Derozio the Sunday before his death, that is, on the second day of his illness, and that he, as well as J. W. Ricketts and others, spoke earnestly to the dying lad regarding the unseen realities that lie beyond the grave, was only natural and Christian

like ; but that Derozio died in any other faith than that in which he lived, that is, a child-like confidence in the great loving spirit that formed his spirit, "and confessed that he was a Christian, and that he died a believer in the faith of Christ," is a statement which takes for granted that he lived and thought during his short life in antagonism to the teachings of Christ as he understood these. This conclusion we venture to think, cannot be accepted, notwithstanding the statements that have been made regarding what passed between both Hill, J. W. Ricketts and Derozio ; one of these statements going the length of asserting that a written recantation of infidelity, and a full avowal of Christianity as these gentlemen and their Church understood it, was produced and signed on his death-bed. If such a document ever existed, it was never exhibited to his closest friends, nor shown to those most likely to be made aware of its existence, *viz.*, the student friends who continually sought his society and lingered round his dying bed. They knew nothing of this confession ; and though his bed was closely watched by one or other of them day and night, no clergyman or friend with a story of confession or recantation was ever seen by them, much less any written document to that effect, bearing the signature of Derozio. The whole story seems to have arisen from the laudable anxiety of some of his friends, to get from him

some more definite avowal of religious convictions than he ever could see his way to formulate during his life, and in the course of conversation, no doubt, Derozio expressed himself, as in his calmer and more serious moments he would have done, in such a way as seemed to those anxious for his "soul's welfare," to warrant them in declaring that Derozio had died in the faith of Christ. Derozio lived in the faith and spirit of Christ as he understood that faith and life ; and in no other faith could he live or die. That he read the life and teaching of Christ differently from others ; that he set his foot firmly down against dogmatizing, against hypocrisy, against all ill, moral and intellectual, and dared to differ from his fellows and seek for truth with a fearless chivalry, a loving charity, and an undogmatizing modesty, was the head and front of his offending. He suffered the penalty of all who dare think for themselves ; and bigots and fanatics and the well-meaning men who require to have companionship and the assurance of conviction which the authority of others carries with it in religious matters, branded him an infidel.

Of few men may it be said more fitly than of Derozio, "Here lies one who never feared the face of man," who sought for truth faithfully, fearlessly and with all diligence, chivalry and charity, and after searching for it here awhile, "went to find it in another world ;" who, during the short morning glow

of his brief life, worked diligently to cultivate the intellect and purify the life of all his pupils, and who spared neither care nor sacrifice to raise the native people of India, and the men of his own race, to a social, moral, intellectual and political position which one day sooner or latter they shall attain.

There is one lesson from Derozio's life which Eurasians may well con and lay to heart. With no other education than that which a Calcutta adventure school, fifty years ago, could give him, he began to earn his own living and support his mother sister and brother, after his father's death, at an age when most lads are "cramming" for examinations, and treading on each other's feet in their eagerness to enter some of the grades of Government service. Derozio's genius and high natural abilities were accompanied by that tenacity of purpose, that steady application to work, and that determination to make one's way, without which genius and ability are merely marsh lights, to lure their possessors to uselessness and ruin. The advantages which the training of a university course bestow are not by any means to be ignored or despised ; and when a training of this sort is compatible with the means and future prospects of lads, it would be the highest folly to withhold it. But when neither the present means, nor the future prospects of a family, warrant the outlay on an expensive education,

which at the end of it leaves its possessor, not in the position to supply a demand for his labour, but in that of a competitor, one among many, with native lads as highly educated, and able to supply the demand for this kind of labour at a much cheaper rate, and Eurasians find themselves, at the end of an expensive education, little better fitted to earn a living than at a much earlier stage in their lives, it seems high time to use the years spent in college, and which lead to little in many of these cases, to the acquirement of some trade or handicraft which would render it unnecessary to import so largely, as at present, skilled European labour. As long as this remains undone, skilled European workers will continue to be brought to India, to settle here and to leave their children to intensify the difficulties that are gathering round domiciled Europeans in India.

Tributes to the memory and the worth of Derozio were not wanting.

We reproduce two. One appeared in a supplement to the *Government Gazette* of Thursday, December 29th, 1830, and the other in the *Sumachar Durpun*.—

“There are,” said the *Government Gazette*, “we feel assured, many of our readers who share our feelings of sincere concern at the premature death of H. Derozio. When we look back but a few brief years, and remember the intelligent and animated

East Indian boy, that gave such indubitable promise of something more than common-place talent, when we reflect on the formidable disadvantages he had to contend with, and the elasticity and success with which he bore up against them, so as to make for himself a name, our regret for departed genius is mingled with admiration at its buoyant energy. Destined to terminate his short career when others are but commencing theirs, he nevertheless lived long enough to acquire a reputation that is not likely to perish ; and that is honourably associated with literature, and the moral, social and political improvement of his countrymen. His works evinced a vigour of thought, an originality of conception, a play of fancy and a delicacy of tone which occasioned the more surprise when the reader came to know that the author was an East Indian boy whose peregrinations had never extended beyond Bengal, and whose *Alma Mater* had been a Calcutta School. In 1827 his published poems attracted the notice and excited the applause of a section of the London Press. Ever since, his name has been before the public, either as a contributor to various literary works, or as the able and independent editor of a newspaper. Of a diligent and active turn, he was not a youth that could sit down and eat the bread of idleness ; nor had he any false fastidiousness as to the sphere in which he could usefully exert his talents. Our youthful

poet became a teacher in the Hindu College. It certainly, one would imagine, was not the situation a young and ardent mind like his would choose had he a variety of choice. This, however, he had not—and he accordingly entered with alacrity and zeal upon his new duties. . . . *The Fakir of Jungheera* evinces an extraordinary command of language and an acute perception of the beauty of nature and those idealities which form for the poet a world of his own. Of felicity of thought, no less than the expression of that sympathy which the poetic mind holds with the world, visible and invisible, a *Walk by Moonlight*, published two or three weeks before his death, furnishes an example.

"That the interest which he took in the progress of his pupils was as deep as it was generous, and independent of all selfish motives, is sufficiently evident were there no other proof of it than the beautiful sonnet addressed to the students of the Hindu College, which he published in the Bengal Annual, 1831. Circumstances impelled Mr. Derozio to resign the situation he held at the Hindu College. Thus thrown on his own resources, he established the *East Indian* newspaper, which, however other differences of opinion exist among his contemporaries as to the mode of conducting it, there could be none whatever as to the talents, the perfect honesty, and the unfettered views of the editor. The labour

of conducting a daily paper in India must be obvious. Elastic and buoyant as was the character of Henry Derozio's mind, it could scarcely be expected, that the constant tension of faculties, caused by his connection with a daily paper of peculiar views, and the organ of a class, no less than his anxiety on other points, not necessary to be dilated on here, and perhaps disappointment of some of those hopes to which the aspiring child of genius is more especially subject, it is, we say, scarcely surprising that these should have affected his frame to a degree that he himself was probably not aware of. To these may also be added a feeling of mortification at having been misconceived in his views, even when his intentions were the most single-hearted, and devoted to what he considered the right. Youth, and the consciousness of elastic and original powers of mind are apt to lead their possessor into some imprudence, and that he should have his share of the rashness, and impetuosity of both united was but natural. Now that he is low, his friends may aver with pride, that if his speculations were not always conclusive, or his inferences legitimately formed, his moral character was irreproachable, his devotion to the spirit of what he deemed truth, even romantically uncompromising, his intention good, and his conduct as a son, a brother and friend, and a member of society, which it was his dearest wish to elevate and improve—such as to reflect

credit on his memory, and to make his death lamented by an extensive circle of friends and acquaintances."

Here is how the Serampore paper, the *Sumachar Durpan*, already referred to, notices the death of Derozio:—"With feelings of unfeigned grief we notice the death of Mr. Derozio, the editor of the *East Indian*, and formerly one of the teachers of the Hindu College. We learn that about a week before his death he was attacked with cholera, and recovered from the stroke; but afterwards lingered to the period of his lamented death.

"Among his own countrymen, Mr. Derozio occupied the first rank as a man of talent. At a very early age he produced poetry of no ordinary character, which secured the admiration of all the lovers of the art in this country, and gained him a suffrage of many eminent men in England. While in the Hindu College he laboured to instil into the minds of the youth under his care the true principles of science; and to lead them to think for themselves. The result of his tuition has been that the students brought up under it are vastly superior in acquirements to their fellow-countrymen; that body of enlightened youth form a monument by which he will long be remembered in Calcutta. To no individual is the country under greater obligations for the impulse which has been given to the native mind,

than to Mr. Derozio. If any proof be needed of this it may be found in the perpetual abuse heaped on him by some of the native papers of this Presidency, foes to every improvement.

"Thus, at the early age of 21, has this highly-gifted young man been cut off, in the midst of a career of great usefulness, and just as he was about to reap the fruit of his arduous labours in the establishment of his journal. His abilities were great, and his ideas respecting public interest were generally just. On some subjects, particularly those of the most solemn importance to man, it was feared that his high talents and the natural impetuosity of youth had hurried him into speculations which more profound enquiry might have corrected. We therefore lament his death most deeply, because, from the cause just mentioned, he never accomplished half the real good which might have been hoped for from one so richly endowed."

This high testimony to Derozio's ability and worth is all the more remarkable, coming as it did from a journal conducted by the Missionaries of Serampore, and edited by Mr. Marshman (*see Asiatic Journal*, Vol. VIII, pages 79 and 133, *Asiatic Intelligence*).

On the 30th of December 1831, the following advertisement appeared in the *India Gazette* : —

"Encouraged by my friends and most of the East Indian community to publish the memoir of my late

brother, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, I bring myself before the public and solicit their patronage to the above work.

AMELIA DEROZIO."

This memoir never saw the light ; misfortune was closing round the mother and sister of Derozio, and how bravely they met it, may be learned from the following advertisement which appeared in the same paper for a number of days :—

"Private Tuition, Circular Road, Calcutta. In consequence of the lamented and untimely death of her son Henry, Mrs. Derozio thus early publishes her intentions without delay. She purposed receiving under her roof a few young ladies and instructing them in the following branches :—English and French, Reading and Writing, Geography, History, Arithmetic, the Elements of Mathematics and Physical Science, Needlework and Domestic Economy. As Mrs. Derozio has enjoyed the benefit of the best education in England, and as she will be assisted in the duties of teaching by a very competent individual, she hopes to afford every satisfaction to the parents and guardians of the children entrusted to her care. Being also anxious to give the female education a higher character than it has hitherto possessed in India, it will be her aim to realize that object to the best of her ability. Every possible attention will be paid to the health and morals of the young

ladies. Music, dancing, and drawing at the usual charges."

We add another advertisement from the newspapers of December 29th and following dates, containing an appeal to the community to continue to support the *East Indian* :—

"The great expenditure of money that has been incurred by the late proprietor (H. Derozio) in establishing this paper, and in its typographical improvements, lately effected, will be wholly lost to his family if the paper is not continued. With the experience of some months to guide us, it is almost superfluous to insist upon the necessity of maintaining a paper which has the interests of the East Indian community in view. Individuals are too often blind to their own interests, and still more so to the general interests of the community. We would appeal to the shame that will follow, if the East Indians should be found unwilling to support their own cause. We have a confidence that the tear of sorrow and the tribute of respect which they have paid at the grave of their departed friend, will be followed by substantial service for all the trouble, toil, care and sacrifice, which have been endured in their service by the lamented editor of the *East Indian*."

A meeting of the friends and admirers of Derozio, for the purpose of erecting some suitable monument

to his memory, is thus noticed in the *India Gazette* of January 7th, 1832 :—

MONUMENT TO MR. DEROZIO.

“At a meeting held on Thursday evening, the 5th January, 1832, at the Parental Academy (now Dove-ton College), to consider the propriety of erecting a monument to the memory of the late Mr. H. L. V. Derozio, J. W. Ricketts, Esq., in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously passed :—

1st.—Moved by Mr. W. Kirkpatrick, and seconded by Mr. M. Crowe—

That this meeting is desirous of recording its sense of the loss which our community has recently sustained by the death of Mr. H. L. V. Derozio, whose short but brilliant career of public usefulness has left a chasm in our ranks not easily to be filled up.

2nd.—Moved by Baboo Mohesh Chunder Ghose, and seconded by Mr. Wale Byrn—

That a stone monument, bearing an appropriate inscription, be erected by public subscription to the late Mr. Derozio, as a testimony of our esteem for the memory of one whose loss we have so much reason to deplore.

3rd.—Moved by Mr. J. A. Lorimer, and seconded by Baboo Krishna Mohun Banerjea.

That a committee consisting of the following gentlemen :— Messrs. Wale Byrn, A. DeSouza,

W. R. Fenwick, D. Hare, D. M. King, W. Kirkpatrick, J. W. Ricketts, J. Welsh, and Baboos Duckinarunjun Mookerjea, and Krishna Mohun Banerjee, be appointed to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect ; and that Mr. W. R. Fenwick be requested to officiate as Secretary to the committee.

4th.—Moved by Mr. L. Frazer, and seconded by Mr. J. A. Lorimer—

That any surplus that may be left from the subscriptions raised on account of the monument, be tendered to the family of the late Mr. Derozio.

Subscription books were handed round, and donations to the amount of Rs 900 were entered.

On a letter being read by Mr. Byrn from Mr. Stapleton, offering to publish a lithographic miniature of Mr. Derozio without any remuneration for his labours—

5th.—Moved by Baboo Krishna Mohun Banerjee, and seconded by Mr. R. Dias—

That Mr. Stapleton's proposals be accepted, and a miniature of Mr. Derozio be published with the consent of his family ; and that the thanks of the meeting be presented to Mr. Stapleton for his disinterested offer. Votes of thanks for the use of the Hall and to the Chair closed the meeting."

School, newspaper, and monument all came to nothing ! A person of little moral worth and some pretensions to literary skill obtained the direction

and management of the *East Indian*, and the confidence of Derozio's mother. This person, who has been characterised as little better than a "European loafer," speedily brought the paper to ruin, and, with it, Amelia and her mother. Everything was sold off; and the mother and sister of Derozio at this point disappeared from mortal ken. Amelia appears again once only. Some years afterwards she was accidentally met at Serampore by Krishna Mohun Banerjea: then she was married. Since then the family have disappeared. Are any members yet in existence? Are any of Derozio's books, letters, or manuscripts still available to throw some light on his life and work?

The movement to erect a monument to his memory and worth, inaugurated in the hall of the Doveton College, at which two of his best loved friends,—Krishna Mohun Banerjee and Mohesh Chunder Ghose—spoke in feeling terms of their dead master; and Kirkpatrick and others who, in the merry days of long ago, had sported with him on the green, and Ricketts who had stood side by side with him on the platforms of public meetings, rousing Eurasians to an assertion of their rights, and Fenwick and Crowe, who had supported him in the heavy task of editing and managing the *East Indian*, all paid tributes to his memory,—came to an ignominious ending; Fenwick, the man entrusted with

the money, Rs 900, raised on the day of the meeting, and whatever other sums he afterwards collected from native, Eurasian and European friends, got into deep waters in money matters ; and, probably believing that his embarrassments were only temporary, appropriated the whole of the subscriptions of the Derozio Memorial. Derozio's native friends were disgusted, and the Eurasians made no motion. The keen feelings of regret worked by Derozio's death, died away ; the men that knew him went to join him in another world ; and a generation has arisen that knows him not. It may not yet be too late to place somewhere, either over his grave, or better still, on the walls of the Presidency College library, some simple memorial of his life and work ; and there are surely men of his own race for whom he has done so much, over whom, as we have said, he has cast the glow of his genius, and exhibited in a remarkable manner the heights to which they may aspire and may attain, there are surely native gentlemen, themselves educated at the Hindu College, and who, together with their sons, are reaping the fruits of Derozio's sowing, who will gladly aid in erecting a modest memorial to the lad who, fifty years ago in poetry, philosophy, and journalism, in the school-room, on the platform, and in the social circle, exhibited a genius and a public worth which has too long remained unacknowledged.

In stature Derozio was rather below the middle height, always neatly, if somewhat foppishly, dressed. His colour was nearly as dark as that of the darkest native. A frank, pleasing smile was the usual expression of a face round and chubby as a boy's, out of which shone the great brown, glowing eyes that usually indicate the possession of acute feelings and vivid imagination. His hair was long, black, inclined to curl, and parted in the middle. Mr. Owen Aratoon has a small photograph taken from the lithographic miniature published by Mr. Stapleton, which represents Derozio as dressed in the high-collared dress coat of his day, and his neck swathed in the white neck-cloth fashionable in the days of our grandfathers. We have already noted his singularly winning manner. His frankness and cordiality, and the whole charm of his presence and conversation, drew men to him ; and those who might be inclined, on a first acquaintance, to laugh or sneer at his foppishness and conceit, were speedily won over to admire the brilliant boy, whose vivacity, good humour and acuteness, charmed even strangers. Derozio was conscious of his own powers ; and it is no wonder that an element of conceit was discernible in his character. He had something to be conceited about. The reception which his poems met with from the press of India and England, the crowded audiences that listened to his lectures, the patronage and friendship of such men

as Dr. John Grant, H. M. Parker—a gentleman occupying a high position in the Revenue Department, and moving in the highest circle of European society in Calcutta, a man of culture and no mean poetic order, as evidenced in his "*Draught of Immortality*"—no dinner party given by Mr. Parker was complete without Derozio—and the accomplished principal of the Hindu College, D. L. Richardson, and others who might be mentioned, all these would have turned the head of most boys of twenty ; but to the end of his short life Derozio retained the childlike simplicity of his character. After his death and the abandonment of the contemplated biography by his sister Amelia, Derozio's papers seem to have passed into the hands of Mr. Richardson. Amongst these papers were several short poems since published, notably *Independence* and a second sonnet to the students of the Hindu College, not contained in his collected works, and first published in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine*, 1833. There were also a number of letters, now apparently lost, and an incomplete translation from the French of M. Pierre Louis Moreau De Maupertuis, on Moral Philosophy. This incomplete translation, three chapters of which were printed after his death in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine* for 1833, along with a short notice of his life and poems, is evidence of this much at least, that Derozio knew sufficient French for all the purposes

of a student ; and that his knowledge of Philosophy did not embrace the best known authors only, but extended to those whose very names, either in this generation or their own, were and are, quite unknown to the bulk of students of Philosophy.

The fierce religious excitement which marked Derozio's connexion with the Hindu College, and which distinguished the closing years of his life, has long since passed away. The Brahmo Somaj, now divided into three branches, the Adi Somaj, "presided over by the spirit and genius of the venerable Babu Debendra Nath Tagore," the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, "a commonwealth based on constitutional and representative principles," and the "New Dispensation," the name assumed by those Brahmos who accept the teaching, leavened with the Bible and western culture, of Keshub Chunder Sen, son of Peary Mohun Sen, who died in 1848, Dewan of the Calcutta Mint, a student of the Hindu College, and a grandson of Ram Comul Sen, the most active member of the committee that decreed the dismissal of Derozio, has entered on the work of reformation and regeneration begun so long ago by Rajah Roy, who died in England neither Hindu, Mohamadan, nor Christian.

The schools and colleges of Christian sects are substantially aiding in the great work of educating the people of India. Side by side with the Hare

School, on the land given as a free gift by Hare for the old Hindu College, there stands its lineal descendant, the Presidency College, presided over by a staff of accomplished men, and furnished with a library and apparatus. Adjoining these are the University building and the Medical College Hospital, a group of educational agencies which realize to the full that for which the Indian Rajah and the old-fashioned English clock-maker and others of their day laboured so strenuously. The wheel of time turns round on its axis, and brings its own reparation. The very work which Derozio studied with the students of fifty years ago, and on which was based, in a large measure, the charge of "atheism and the subversion of all religion whatever" unjustly brought against him during his life, and repeated after his death, the Life and Works of David Hume, Historian and Sceptic, by no less a person than Professor Thomas Huxley, a name that has stunk for years in evangelical nostrils, is now one of the text-books set down for examination ; and this has been effected with little more than a mild protest from a few well meaning men. The whole field of mental science is now ably taught by distinguished scholars, and successfully studied by the descendants of the very men who crowded to the lectures of Derozio, and who have now entered on the quiet inheritance of a curriculum which, in

Derozio's day, called down on him the reviling and abuse of the Christian and Hindu bigots of his day.

There are mural tablets, portraits, and busts in the various educational institutions of Calcutta, commemorating the worth and work of men who have laboured for the advancement of the people of India. Amid them all, the visitor looks in vain for any memorial of HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO, the gifted Eurasian Teacher, Philosopher and Poet, who during the short period of his connexion with the Hindu College, did more to arouse, quicken and impel the thought of young India, than any man then living or since dead ; who won the esteem and high loving reverence of his pupils, and who exercised an influence over them on the side of duty, truth and virtue which has never since been equalled. The generation that knew him, and those that have succeeded, have unconsciously allowed to be realized, in part at least, something of his own ideal as embodied in his own lines, *The Poet's Grave*,—although, he sleeps not—

“ Beside the ocean's foamy surge
On an untrodden solitary shore,
Where the wind sings an everlasting dirge,
And the wild wave in its tremendous roar
Sweeps o'er the sod!—There let his ashes lie
Cold and unmourned ; save when the sea-mew's cry
Is wafted on the gale as if 'twere given
For him whose hand is cold, whose lyre is riven !
There all in silence let him sleep his sleep !”

Not there, but in a nameless grave, in a crowded city grave-yard.

“No dream shall flit into that slumber deep,
No wandering mortal thither once shall wend;
There nothing over him but the heavens shall weep,
There never pilgrim at his shrine shall bend,
But holy stars alone their nightly vigils keep.”

CHAPTER XIII.

THE POETRY OF DEROZIO.

“**T**HOSE whom the gods love die young” is a trite saying, more or less verified, in some fashion, in the life experience of most men. The promise of Derozio’s early years might, or might not, have been realised. Those who knew him best and loved him most, believed, that, had life been granted him, he would have achieved for himself the very highest rank as poet and thinker. Notwithstanding all the praise bestowed on his early volumes by the press, and by warm-hearted admirers, Derozio did not, as has been asserted, rest on his oars and seek no higher fame, no more enduring monument of song and thought, than those embodied in boyish verse and speculation. Derozio himself believed that he “had it in him,” to rise to higher flights of thought and to delve deep down into the great heart of humanity; and this self-assurance of conscious power grew in strength, and found expression in conversation with those who came in contact with him during the few months preceding his death.

A good deal has been said regarding the style of Derozio, that it is but an echo of Byron, Moore, and Mrs. McLean (L. E. L.), "exaggerated idealism and pictures of passion." No doubt, the influence of these writers exercised considerable power in moulding the form of much of Derozio's poetry. They were the poets then fashionable, and to depart from their models was, for a young unknown writer, to court defeat. Derozio's idea was, first, to gain the ear of the public by singing to them in the prevailing fashion of the day; and then, having gained a hearing, to strike out in that style in which his own nature would most vigorously drape his song.

Commenting on a review of Derozio's poetry which appeared in the 13th No. of the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine* for December 1829, the *Government Gazette*, of about the same date, then edited by Dr. John Grant, says:—

"When the Reviewer blames him (Derozio) for making the Byronic School too much his model, we must say for our young poet that he himself, at the time of publishing his *Fakeer of Jungheera*, anticipated that an objection against exaggerated passion and sentiment would be made. Why then, it may be asked, did he not adopt a simpler model? This we shall briefly explain. In an article quoted from the *Quarterly Review* it is justly remarked that, 'whoever endeavours to rival the best

models of ancient and modern times, must be sustained by his own inherent love of excellence, without depending on any other support.' He must give place to others whom *fashion* shines on. He (who would be popular) must be new and *striking*, or nothing. The consequence is that books are written, not in the manner that is best fitted to enlighten and amend, or even to instructively amuse the public, but to *flatter* it. Mr. Derozio was in no condition to be sustained by his own inherent love of excellence without depending on any other support. The style adopted in the *Fakeer of Jungheera* is not, we believe, the one most congenial to Mr. Derozio. This is very evident in the first volume he published. To bring out a book was to him, however, a serious undertaking, because one of the first considerations was, that the book should sell. To render this probable, he felt it necessary to give in to what he believed to be the general taste ; and he was therefore obliged to adopt the popular and fashionable model. In process of time, however, when Mr. Derozio may be enabled to depend more upon himself than he was then, we have little doubt that he will prove satisfactorily to the public that he is not irretrievably wedded to exaggerated idealism, or pictures of passion."

For ourselves, we believed with Dr. Grant that, had a few years more of life been possible for Derozio,

he would have demonstrated to the full, what he had already demonstrated in part, that there was something more in him and his power of song, than sweet imitative echo.

The judgment which an impartial world passes on men, and the position assigned them by an unbiased succeeding generation, free from the heats of personal likes and dislikes and bitter controversy, is based, not on what a man might have been, or what at some early period of his life he may have been, but on what he actually was, and what he achieved up to the time of his death. It is on these lines we venture to estimate H. L. V. Derozio.

The Fakeer of Jungheera is a poem of two cantos without a plot and with few incidents. It may be analysed in a sentence or two. A young Hindu widow is about to perform the rite of Sati, when she is rescued by a former lover, the leader of a band of lawless men, whose stronghold is the rock of Jungheerah. In a raid, the last on which he was to lead the band before quitting the lawless life for ever, the robber chief is killed and his band scattered, and Nuleeni is found dead in the arms of her dead lover. Around these few incidents the genius of Derozio has woven some of the finest poetic imaginings; and there are parts of the poem which indicate, if they do not always reach, the true elements which distinguish the genuine poet; there are imagination, music,

sympathy with nature and human nature, and *thought*. The opening of the poem alone contains gems of poetic metaphor which would have furnished almost the whole stock-in-trade of better known singers.

Here is the thought of the opening, without the music. The viewless wind, wandering like young spirits on the wing, over flower bells, waking odours, rustling the grass, breathes like a lover's sigh. The sun-lit stream breaks into dimples like a waking child, smiling in its mother's face. The sun, like heavenly hope set over earthly care, pours blessings on the earth and brings its beauties forth. The butterfly, like a flower plucked by an angel from the fairest bowers of heaven, to which wings had been added, has been sent to earth as an earnest of what beauties bud in heaven. The bee on quivering, melodious wing, like a faithless lover, giddy and wild, sips honey from the floweret's lips. Under the banyan tree, fanned by refreshing winds, the brain circled by fair fancies, and the thought arrayed in robes of song—a beauteous spot would be blessed to minstrelsy ; and there the gifted bard might weave delicious dreams. Then follows a piece of vigorous description, but not by any means the best in the poem.—

The golden God of Day has driven
His chariot to the western gate
Of yonder red resplendent heaven,
Where angels high to hail Him wait ;
But ere his couch he press to-night,
His rays a mournful scene shall light.

The laughing wave that rolls below,
 Gilt with the yellow sunshine's glow,
 Shall hear, ere changed its hue may be,
 A maddening wail of misery.

There are choruses of women, Brahmins and the chief Brahmins, and more descriptive passages. We transcribe the XV. stanza :—

As flits the insect round the flame,
 So wheels the heart round passion's fire.
 Their blindness, madness, still the same,
 Alike in pangs they both expire.
 Where'er the treacherous taper burns,
 Thither the headlong insect turns ;
 And fearless, fluttering near it still,
 Regardless of all pain or ill,
 Until the warmth that round it plays
 Attracts it nearer to the blaze,
 Expiring there, at last it learns
 Though bright the flame, it scathes, it burns.
 So round the torch that Love hath lit,
 Mad as the moth the heart will flit,
 On giddy wing it wildly wheels,
 Th' enlivening glow its spirit feels ;
 And then it fondly fancies, this
 Must be what minstrels picture bliss,
 Until into the fire it flies,
 And then, too late, lamenting, dies !

Stanza XIX., the Hymn to the Sun, though cast in a somewhat hackneyed measure, has a steady flow and majestic ring about it, which ought to make it better known.

HYMN TO THE SUN.

God of this beauteous world ! whom earth and heaven
 Adore in concert, and in concert love,
 Whose praise is hymned by the eternal seven,
 Bright wheeling minstrels of the courts above !

God of this glorious universe !—the sea
Smiles in thy glance, and gladdens in thy ray,
And lifteth up its voice in praise to thee,
Giver of good, Creator of the day !
God of th' immortal mind ! with power to scan
Thoughts that like diamonds in the cavern lie,
Though deeply bedded in the breast of man,
Distinct and naked to thy piercing eye.
God of Eternity ! whose golden throne
Is borne upon the wings of angels bright ;
God of all goodness, thou art God alone,
Circled with glory, diadem'd with light !
Thou look'st from thy pavilion, and each cloud,
Like fear o'ercome by hope triumphant, flies ;
The angry thunder's voice, though raving loud,
At thy bright presence into silence dies.
When all is darkness, like the sad soul's night,
And tempests lower, like grief upon our hearts.
Affrighted nature sees thy forehead bright,
The black storm furls his banner, and departs.
Thou mak'st the rainbow with thy golden beams
Span the blue ocean rolling at thy feet ;
Set in the sky, that arch of promise seems
Like hope still distant, and like hope still sweet.
The flowers, the beauty of the earth, implore
Like woman in distress, thy rays to bring
Their beauty out of nothing, and their store
Of scent and sweeteness from their latent spring.
The forest's green is of thy giving. Thou
Dost fling its emerald mantle o'er the earth.
Prostrate to thee let all creation bow,
For all creation at thy word had birth.
O Sun ! thy herald is the morning star,
Like fame preceding greatness ; but when day
Comes on advancing with thy gilded car
Heaven's hosts of wonder melt like sparks away.
Who shall declare thy glory ?—Unto thee
My heart in fervent adoration kneels ;
Thou know'st whate'er its sufferings may be,
To thee alone it tremblingly appeals.
God of this beauteous world whom earth and heaven
Adore in concert, and in concert love ;
Thy praise is hymned by the perpetual seven,
Bright wheeling minstrels of the courts above.
God of this glorious universe ! the sea
Smiles in thy glance and gladdens in thy ray,
And lifteth up its voice in praise to thee,
Giver of good, Creator of the day !

God of th' immortal mind ! with power to scan
 Thoughts that like diamonds in the cavern lie,
 Though deeply bedded in the breast of man,
 Distinct and naked to thy piercing eye.
 God of Eternity ! whose golden throne
 Is borne upon the wings of angels bright ;
 God of all goodness, thou art God alone,
 Circled with glory, diademed with light !

The repetition at the close, of the opening verses is a feature in the poetry of Derozio which occurs frequently. This repetition of the opening notes of the strain as the closing lines are dying on the ear, and thus carrying the memory and imagination back through the whole effort, and again down the line in thought, is a true poetic instinct which poets and musicians of the first order have frequently handled in a fashion to produce results of the happiest and most powerful description.

The first canto ends with Nuleeni and her lover safe together in the rocky home of Jungheerah.

The second canto opens with a festive scene at Rajmahal interrupted by the advent of Nuleeni's father, and contains, in our estimation, some of the most vigorous verses Derozio ever wrote. The Legend of the Shushan, with all its imperfections, is worth reading. Here is the opening part.

O ! Love is strong, and its hopes will build
 Where nothing beside would dare ;
 O ! Love is bright, and its beams will gild
 The desert dark, and bare.

And youth is the time, the joyful time,
When visions of bliss are before us ;
But alas ! when gone, in our sober prime
We sigh for the days flown o'er us.

For youth and love their hopes will build
Where nothing beside would dare ;
And they both are bright, and their beams will gild
The desert, dark and bare.

The rain fell fast, and the midnight blast
Its horrible chaunt did sing,
And it howled and raved as it madly passed
Like a demon on wildest wing.

The precipitous lightning beamed all bright,
As it flashed from the dark, dark sky,
Like the beautiful glance (which kills with its light)
Of a woman's large black eye.

It hissed through the air, and it dipped in the wave,
And it madly plunged into earth,
Then pursued the wind to its desolate cave,
And hurried to its home in the north.

Some spirit had charmed each gathered cloud,
Till the mystic spell it broke ;
And then uprising, oft and loud,
The heavens in thunder spoke.

And sooth it seemed as if, save that gleam,
All nature had lost her light—
The moon had concealed her beautiful beam ;
'Twas a fearful, fearful night.

Derozio's note to the Legend of the Shushan we reproduce in its entirety. The wild weirdness of the original, and how far Derozio followed it, will be apparent to the reader :—

“A student of that excellent institution, the Hindu College, once brought me a translation of the Betal Puncheesee, and the following fragment of a tale having struck me for its wildness, I thought of writing a ballad, the subject of which should be strictly Indian. The Shushan is a place to which the dead

are conveyed to be burnt. In conformity with the practice of eastern story-tellers, who frequently repeat the burden or moral of the song, I have introduced the "O Love is strong," &c., wherever an opportunity offered :—

"Thereupon, he took the Jgee aside and said, O Gosayn! you have given me many rubies, but have never even once eaten in my house: I am therefore much ashamed, so pray tell me what it is that you want? 'Great King,' replied the Jgee, 'on the banks of the river Godavurry is a Shushan, where all I wish for will be gained by Muntra. Seven-eighths of what I want have been already obtained; and I now seek at your hands the remaining portion. You must therefore stay with me one whole night.' 'Agreed,' replied the King, 'appoint the day.' On the evening of the fourteenth day of the month Bhader come to me armed. 'Go,' returned the Raja, 'and I promise to be with you on the day you have fixed.' With this promise the Devotee took leave of the King and proceeded to the Shushan. The Raja was lost in meditation, till the time appointed stole upon him, and then, having armed himself, he went alone in the evening to the Jgee.

'Come in and sit down, my son,' said the Devotee; and the Raja complied with his request, while at the same time he, unalarmed, beheld demons, ghosts,

witches, and malignant spirits, dancing around him, and changing their forms. 'Now,' said the Raja what are your commands?' 'Four miles south of this,' replied the Jogee, 'is a Shushan where, on a tree, hangs a corpse; bring me that corpse while I pray.' Having now sent the King away, the Jogee sat himself down and commenced his devotions. The dark night frowned upon him, and such a storm with rain came on as if the heavens would have exhausted themselves and never have rained again, while the demons and evil spirits set up a howl that might have daunted the stoutest heart. But the King held on his way, and though snakes came wreathing round his legs, he got free of them by repeating a charm. At last, overcoming all opposition, he reached the cemetery, where he saw demons beating human beings, witches gnawing the livers of children, and tigers and elephants roaring. As he cast his eyes upon a Serus tree, he saw its roots and branch in flames, and heard these words sounding from all quarters—'Strike, strike ! seize, seize ! take care that none escape.' 'Come what will,' said he then to himself, 'this undoubtedly is the Jogee of whom the Dey made mention to me.' So saying he went up to the tree, where he saw a corpse hanging with its head downwards. 'Now,' cried he, 'my labour is at an end.' Then fearlessly climbing the tree, he made a cut with his sword at the rope that

suspended the corpse, which, as soon as it fell, began to cry. The King, hearing its voice, was pleased at the thought that it must have been a living being; then having descended, 'Who are you?' said he to it. To his great astonishment the corpse only laughed, and without any reply climbed the tree. The King followed it, and, having brought it down in his arms, repeated his question. But receiving no answer, he thought that it might have been the oil-man, who, the Dey had said, had been kept in the cemetery by the Jogee; then, having bound it in his cloak, he began to bring it away.

He who greatly ventures, will greatly win. 'Who are you,' said Betal the corpse, to the Raja, 'and where are you taking me?' 'I am Raja Vicrom,' said the King, 'and I am taking you to the Jogee.' 'Let it be agreed between us,' replied Betal, 'that if you speak while we are on the road, I shall return.' To this the Raja consented, and proceeded with the corpse. While they were on the way, 'O King,' said Betal, 'the learned and the wise spend their time in songs and study, and the indolent and ignorant in frivolity and sleep. It therefore behoves us to make an easy journey of it with pleasant conversation. Hear then what I now tell thee':

* * * * *

But there was a man, and a holy man,
A gifted Sunyasee.

A Sunyasee is a devotee who lives in the desert—

The moss his bed, the cave his humble cell ;
His food the fruits, his drink the crystal well.

The verses from Stanzas X. to XVIII. of the second canto are full of beautiful poetic imagery, dramatic intensity, and that sympathy between nature and human nature which Wordsworth, and above all Burns, in his "Wee modest crimson tippet flower," and "Wee sleekit cow'rin tim'rous beastie," developed to the highest point. We do not mean to assert that Derozio may rank in equality as a poet with either Wordsworth or Burns ; but it seems to us that the poetry of Derozio is steeped in an intensity of feeling and passion, and a wealth of beautiful thought, a little fanciful, no doubt ; and that, in common with all true poets, Derozio has felt and expressed, not only the close affinity of the varying moods and the life of man with the changeful phases of nature, but also the sympathy that links together all created things, and that throws the beams of a warm human love around on all Nature.

The parting between Nuleeni and her lover is, in some respects, one of the finest passages in the "Fakeer of Jungheera." There is in it not much of that deep grip of some of the more abstruse problems of life which age and ripe experience can alone supply ; but there is a freshness and beauty as well as a dramatic force and truthfulness, which

poets of seventeen do not always exhibit, and which may fairly earn for Derozio a modest niche among the minor poets—

* * * *

X.

How beautiful is moonlight on the stream !
 How bright on life is Hope's enchanting beam :
 Life moves inconstant like the rippling rill,
 Hope's and the moon's rays quiver o'er them still !
 How soft upon each flower is fair moonlight
 Making its beauty more serenely bright,
 Bringing sweet sighs of fragrance from its *breast*,
 Where all its odours are, like thoughts, at rest.
 How sweet to sit upon a bank and mark
 The soft moon looking on a little bark,
 As if she watched it from her azure sphere,
 The guardian spirit of its blest career ;
 Flinging her melted pearls upon its sail,
 That swells with infant pride before the gale,—
 How speeds the shallop with its fleecy wing,
 Like bliss or fancy—quite a fragile thing !
 Thus shone the moon upon the hallowed wave,
 Bright as the wish for freedom, in a slave ;
 Thus shone the moon upon Jungheera's flower,
 Nuleeni, rosebud of the rocky bower ;
 And thus soft beams upon the shallop lay,
 Which soon must bear her Robber-love away.

XI.

Alas ! that fate should come 'twixt heart and heart,
 And like a tyrant force the loved to part !
 Breaking the dream which comes but once to bless
 Existence with a ray of happiness—
 That golden vision which, in mercy given,
 Seems as 'twere brought by seraphim from heaven ;
 And when 'tis gone we wish that life were o'er,
 To dream in Heaven that dream for evermore.
 Alas ! that warm celestial Love should know
 The blights of earth, the agonies of woe—
 The killing poison creeping through each vein,
 The feelings crushed, and the bewildered brain ;
 The scorpion stinging every hope to death,
 And life bereft of all but tears and breath.
 'Tis well these pangs it never twicecan feel,
 For hearts impassioned, wounded, never heal

Like broken pearls, no power of mortal art
Can mend the gems or join the riven heart !
When to some spirit we have linked our lot,
One who, through life, can never be forgot ;
One whom with fond affection we have placed
To light and warm the bosom's dismal waste.
O ! if that spirit from the breast be torn,
Where like a precious jewel it was worn,
What, when 'tis gone, may memory hope to find ?
A blank—a void—a dreariness of mind !
It is as if upon a gloomy night,
When one soft star alone is twinkling bright,
An angry, lowering cloud of blackest hue
Should gather o'er and quench that lingerer too.

XII.

'Tis sweet upon the midnight moon to gaze,
As o'er the waters shoot her trembling rays ;
'Tis sweet at star-lit hour to hear the breeze
Waking o'er pebbles its rich melodies,
Like a young minstrel with his tuneful art
Singing to soften the unfeeling heart.
But oh ! to gaze upon the love lit eye,
To feel its warmth, and all its witchery ;
To hear the melting music of that voice
Which bids the bosom madden or rejoice ;
To know that every glance, and thought, and tone
Of one devoted spirit is our own—
O ! this is joy, like that to angels given,
Filled to the brim, the heavenliest cup of heaven.
Her kobber-love and young Nuleeni share
Each bliss as perfect as the heart may bear,
All those soft dreams th' impassioned spirit knows,
Those wild emotions Love alone bestows—
Ecstatic fancies which but once can be,
Making us quite forget Mortality !
He looked upon her eye as 'twere the star
Of life and death to him—no gem afar
That sparkled o'er them in the clear blue sky
Foretold so truly of his destiny,—
There was a softened sadness on his brow,
But seldom there, though too apparent now ;
The savage sternness from his face was gone,
Where but that beam of Melancholy siuone,
As 'twere prophetic of the grief that soon
Must fling its shadow on their blissful moon—
Or like a herald onward sent to tell,
That all within his bosom was not well.

“Thee, sweet ! to-night for one short hour I leave—
 “A daring conquest must my hand achieve ;
 “And 'tis my promise, ere another chief
 “Shall be selected for thy love's relief,
 “Once more to lead them to their prey alone,
 “Then quit for ever, and be all thine own.
 “Quench not the light of that life-giving eye,
 “Swift on the wings of Love to thee I'll fly ;
 “But one short hour—and I demand no more—
 “For ever thine, when that short hour is o'er.”

XIII.

How dreadful is the storm, with flag unfurled !
 And sheathless lightning warring with the world,
 Lost is of light the last remaining ray,
 As if the stars had burnt themselves away,
 Or as the wind, by furious demons driven,
 Had quenched for ever those small lamps of heaven !
 Hark ! how it rushes like a maniac by,
 Raving and singing as it cuts the sky ;
 Hark ! how it hissing o'er the river flies—
 Chafing the waves and moaning till it dies !
 As though the spirits of the storm, unblest,
 Had been sent down to trouble all at rest.
 Snatched is the moon from heaven, as she had been
 Too fair a witness for so dark a scene :
 As though her delicate and gentle form
 Might ne'er abide the gathering of the storm :
 But, like the beautiful on earth, be still
 Bowed or destroyed beneath the blasts of ill.
 The heavens their flood-gates all at once unbar,
 The waters wildly hurry to the war,
 Madly to earth the rain in torrents gushed,
 As from its dismal prison-clouds it rushed
 Against Jungheera's rocks and shelving shore ;
 Loud howls the tempest wild—the breakers roar,—
 Thus, as the tempest dimmed the moon-light scene
 Upon Nuleeni's soul, where all had been
 At peace, those words of parting quenched the light
 Which made existence most divinely bright.
 Farewell !—alas ! that melancholy word
 Comes spell-like on the heart whene'er 'tis heard,
 As if the spirit from that moment were
 Bound with a curse to be dissevered ne'er.
 It lingers on the ear, as if 'twould be
 Still sounding, until slow Eternity
 Came stealing o'er existence ; and there seems
 An omen in its echo, as in dreams

The trusting maiden fondly seeks a sign
Her hope's mysterious history to divine.
Ah ! there's a mournful, a prophetic spell
In the faint fall of early love's farewell.

We close our extracts from the "Fakeer of Jungheera" with a description of the night in which Nuleeni goes forth to search the battle-plain for her lover.

High from her cloud pavillion, fleecy white,
The moon rains down her showers of icy light.
And worlds in multitudes, resplendent, throng
Around her throne like minstrels with their song,
Loosening sweet music on the fragrant breeze,
That silent listens to their melodies.
The earth sleeps listless ;—she will wake again
When morning breaks her dream ; but shall the slain,
Whom now upon her bosom cold she bears,
Yet find a land unreach'd by mortal cares—
A morning blushing in a brighter sky
Than that above which seems for bliss too nigh ?
Mysterious sleep ! whate'er of nothingness
Man learns, it is from thee :—but thou canst bless
The heart to whom Hope's joy-inspiring name
Has long been but a sound ; whose being's flame
Is almost quenched into the latest spark
That gleams to show how all around is dark ;
Though dread thine influence, the soul of grief
Woos thee alone, for thou canst yield relief,
Such as the dreams of waking life may ne'er
Bestow on human suffering, and despair.

Now all around is tranquil as the sea
When hushed it seems as in a reverie ;
So still, so silent, you might hear the beat
Of your own heart, or seraph's viewless feet ;
Or deem your mind's imagining had found
Some spell to form itself into a sound—
One of those thin ethereal tones that we
Oft hear at night —the heart's best minstrelsy.
Too pure for mortal ear and earthly pain—
But lo ! alone upon the battle-plain,
Pale as embodied moonlight, glides a form,
Like a soft breeze when silenced is the storm !

Is it a spirit from a happier sphere
 Come down to mourn o'er wreck'd enjoyment here ?
 Or learn that earth has lost its paradise ?
 Or bear a tale of suffering to the skies.
 'Tis poor Nuleeni ! * * *

That the “Fakeer of Jungheera” is not better known to the students of English literature, and that it seems to be totally unknown to this generation of fairly cultured men and women, is due, in some measure, to the fact, that, as a rule, things Indian have a weak vitality. There is probably no society in the world which experiences more frequent changes in so short a period as the society which forms the brain and heart of India. One race of officials and merchants succeeds another ; and a man toiling in the plains of India for half a century may see set succeed set in ever vanishing trains ; and he himself, though known well perhaps to the men who formed society at his first coming, may, unless he is in some prominent position, be all but unknown to later comers. On the other hand, men who have made for themselves a fair reputation in India, return to Britain and experience something of the spirit, at least, of the lines—

..... “no one, now,
 Dwells in the Hall of Ivor ;
 Men, dogs and horses all are dead,
 He is the sole survivor.”

The cultured and literary circle of which Derozio formed not the least ornament, fifty years ago, in

Calcutta :—Grant, Richardson, Parker, Calder Campbell, John Silk Buckingham, R. Haldane Rattray, and other men of brilliant parts, have all but faded out from the memory of India and her people ; and if the memory of Derozio, the brilliant Eurasian lad who gave such solid evidence of wide capacity and genius, has shared the same fate, it is because the community to which he belonged, for which he laboured, and over which he threw the radiance of his genius, are so apathetic, so indifferent to their own interests, and apparently so ashamed of their origin, as to be deserted by the men who ought to organize and lead them on the path of progress and self-helpfulness, and inspire in them a love for the country which is their native land, instead of talking of England as "home," claiming to be Englishmen, and learning to despise the race of their mothers.

Of Derozio's minor pieces, "The Enchantress of the Cave," is the longest. It is cast in the same dramatic mould that characterises some portions of his "Fakeer of Jungheera," and it exhibits a minuteness of detail, and a fidelity to nature, which mark some of his best productions. Like the "Fakeer of Jungheera," the "Enchantress of the Cave" is strung on but a slender thread of narrative. The story may be briefly summarised in a line or two : and even then the tale, with the exception of the interview in the cave, is rather hinted at than detailed.

The night before a decisive battle is to be fought between Muhammadans and Hindus for the mastery of India, Nazim seeks the enchantress of the cave to learn "whether all is well" with his wife Jumeeli, whom he has left behind. He finds that the youth who had accompanied him to battle has deserted him, and he proceeds alone to the cave. In the "Enchantress" he discovers Jumeeli, his wife, who had accompanied him to battle, disguised in male attire, and again assumed the guise of an enchantress. This is the whole story. The ride to the cave is thus described :—

O'er many a hill he urged his horse,
 Unchecked his speed, uncrossed his course,
 The rowel of his spur was red ;
 Away like lightning-shaft he sped,
 The hills rung with his clattering tread ;
 Yet gallantly he urged him on,
 For the cave must be gained ere rise of sun ;
 His course like a mountaineer's arrow he kept.
 Full forward he went—the ravine is leapt :
 That milk white barb now neighed aloud,
 And toss'd on high his crest so proud ;
 The white foam blanched his bridle rein,
 As wildly streamed his flowing mane ;
 He champed the bit that galled him much,
 Then sprung to Nazim's spurring touch ;
 Away he bounds—his speed might cope
 With flight of fleetest antelope ;
 Now down the vale he wends, and now
 Has almost reached the lofty brow
 Of yonder hill—and when 'tis past,
 He'll win the wished-for cave at last.
 'Tis won—he's gone—no more I hear
 His charger's tramp ring on my ear,
 Its very echo now is still,
 And silent are the vale and hill !

Here is a picture of the cave and the enchantress which recalls some of the weird effects of the "Legend of the Shushan":—

His steed is tied to a withered tree,
And now the caverns enters he ;
And who is the hag so wan and grim
That sits there, all regardless of him ?
Her yellow skin is shrivelled and shrunk,
Her locks are grey, and her eyes are sunk ;
And time has set on her brow, it appears,
Perchance the seal of a hundred years.

A hundred years of sorrow and care—
Look, look on that brow—what paleness is there !
And there's an unearthly flash in her eye
When first it is fixed on a passer-by ;
Her lips are parched, her jaws are lank,
The cave that shields her is dreary and dank ;
A cauldron is seething in that lone cave,
Which yawns like a desolate, loathsome grave ;
And she, the tenant who makes it her home,
Looks like an Afrit* escaped from the tomb !

Here in its entirety is the "Song of the Enchantress." The notes A to F, appended to this poem, show an amount of out-of-the-way reading, and an acquaintance with legendary lore, which exhibits, in some fashion, one side, at least, of the wide reading of Derozio :—

Oh ! Chuhulmenart is far from me,
But there the treasure of ages be ;
There wilt thou find great Jemshid's gem,†
And Gian Ben Gian's bright diadem.
And the wealth of the Seventy-two is there—
But, creature of clay !
They're far away—

* "These were a kind of Medusæ or Lamiæ supposed to be the most terrible and cruel of all the orders of the Dives."—*Vide Vathek and d' Herbelot.*

† *Vide* note A.

‡ *Vide* note B.

Then why dost thou come to claim my care ?
 The Seal* of the fifth king can controul
 Genius and Giant, and Ogre and Ghoul ;
 By its power the tides of the sea are confined.
 It quenches the fire, and it hushes the wind—
 Say, dost thou seek this talisman true ?
 In its search there is many a peril to rue,
 And ere it is won thou must wander far,
 For buried it lies in Chuhulmenar.

To-morrow the leaguering cohorts assail
 The Hindu, and well know I who will prevail ;
 I ween by thy pistols, and sabre, and shield,
 That thou art just come from the tented field ;
 But there is no charm, save the strength of thine arm,
 To vanquish thy foeman, and keep thee from harm.

The friendly Simurgh† through th' ethereal path,
 It was once said, bore Tahamurath ;
 The wonderful bird o'er the dark desert bore him,
 Till all from Kaf to Kaff‡ was before him ;
 He took from its bosom the plumes for his helm,
 Then where was the power that he could not o'erwhelm ?
 But fled's the Simurgh to the mountain that stands
 On the stone§ that ne'er moves but when Alla commands.

'Mid noxious winds, and vapours damp
 Love seldom flies to the warrior's camp ;
 Once Rustum and Zal loved well, 'tis true,
 Since then such faith has been proved by few.
 O ! com'st thou here like the nightingale
 That hath no young rose to list his tale ?
 Or does the Sultana of thy lone heart,
 Forgetting thy pain, play the tyrant's part ?
 Or is she faithless, and hath she fled
 To share with another her shame and bed ?
 There once was a charm in the opal stone
 To make the false heart all thine own ;
 But the Peri-King came and stole the gem
 And placed it in his own diadem ;
 Since then, it has lost the potent spell
 To bind the frail and the faithless well.
 In the cygnet's down there once was power
 To blight the woe of an evil hour ;

* The Seal of Soliman Jared.—*Vide* note C.

† A fabulous bird.—*Vide* note D.

‡ From one extremity of the earth to the other.—*Vide* note E.

§ Sukhrat.—*Vide* note F.

But ah ! the swan with her crest of pride
Spurns the purple Jumna's tide ;
They say 'twas told to seers of old
That the faintest heart waxed warm and bold

If it could obtain,
Regardless of pain,

And reckless of all that it counted loss,
A plume from the wing of the albatross—
But that bird has poised him high in air,
And, alas ! his resting-place is there ! *
Every mystic spell and charm
That yielded bliss, or kept from harm,
Is fled, is fled like a dream of the night,
Save *one* that I must not bring to light,
Save *one* that to name I must not dare—

Then say, Oh ! say

Why, creature of clay,
Hither thou com'st to claim my care ?
What to me is Jemshid's gem,
Or the King of the Peri's diadem ?
Chuhulmenar is a city fair,
But what to me is the wealth that's there ?
The fifth King's seal on the wretch bestow
Whom slaves of Eblist[†] have wrung with woe ;
No victim am I of spectre foul,
And why should I shrink from a hell-hound's howl
I seek not to curb the chainless sea,
And what are the winds and the waves to me ?
Cold, cold on the sod at dawn I may lie,
But somewhat I seek to know ere I die—
'Tis not my doom—perchance that's sealed,
And now too late to be repealed,
Whate'er it be, to heaven and it
With faith and patience I submit ;
But yet I could not brave the strife
Without the fears which now I feel,
Fears—not, alas ! for mine own life,
From me that scarce a thought could steal.
Thou may'st have seen the tendril twine
Around the green bough of the vine,—
How fresh and fair, how sweet and young
It looked, as to the branch it clung !
But when the bough was riven away
It ne'er survived the wreck a day !
Thou may'st have seen in many a grove
The queen of spring, the Bulbul's love !

* It is said that this bird sleeps *while flying*.

† The Muhammadan Pluto.

How fair she smiled ! her every leaf
 Might give a glow to the cheek of grief,
 And every odour that she shed
 Imparted sweetness ere it fled.
 Thou then perchance didst rudely tear
 The flowret from its stalk, and wear
 That fragile emblem of the fair
 Upon thy breast—but it perished there !
 So, like the tendril to its vine
 Jumeeli's heart has clung to mine ;
 And as the rose from its own tree
 Too soon she'd fade, if torn from me,
 And oh ! I could not calmly die
 Until I knew that all was well
 With her, who claims my latest sigh—
 If thou thus much to me canst tell,
 If this, thy dark, prophetic eye
 Can see—I seek nor sign nor spell."

* * * * *

There is a red streak in the east
 Of coming light it gives them warning
 To glorious brightness now increased,
 It shines upon the dews of morning,
 But where is Nazim, where his bride ?
 To battle's red field, side by side
 They're gone.

N O T E S.

(A) *Oh ! Chuhulmenar is far from me.*

Chuhulmenar is the modern name of Istakhar. It signifies "forty pillars," so called (as Mrs. Ramsbottom would say) because forty pillars were built in it by Soliman Ben Daoud. It was known to the Greeks by the name of Persepolis, so famous in the history of "Macedonia's Madman." Here, it is said, are deposited the treasures of the seventy-two *pre-Adamite* Sultans (about whom Mussulmans only pretend to know anything,) and the diadem of Gian Ben Gian, the chief of the Genii, to whom the building of the pyramids of Egypt, as well as the temple of Soliman, has been ascribed. Gian Ben Gian is said to have reigned two thousand years over the Peris.

(B) *There wilt thou find great Jemshid's gem.*

Jemshid's gem has given birth to many oriental similes, and most of the Hindoo-stanee poets have made allusions to it. I hope to be forgiven for having made mention of it here, as I have nowhere read of

the gem of Jemshid being in Istakhar, although that sultan built that city. The story of this gem, like that of many wonderful things, seems enveloped in a cloud of mystery, so that it *may* be all a fable, or I *may* be right.

(C) *The Seal of the fifth king can controul Genius and Giant, and Ogre and Ghoul.*

The most famous talisman of the east was the seal of Soliman Jared, fifth monarch of the world, after Adam. It not only controuled Genii and demons of all kinds, but the possessor of it had the entire command of the elements.—*Vathek*, Richardson, *D'Herbelot*.

(D) *The friendly Simurgh.*

“*Rara avis in terris*,” and wonderful stories are told concerning it. For a more particular account of it I beg to refer the reader to Calif *Vathek*.

(E) *Till all from Kaf to Kaf was before him.*

This mountain, which is no other than Caucasus, was supposed to surround the world like a wall; and the sun, it was believed, rose from one of its eminences, and set on the opposite—hence “*from Kaf to Kaf*” signified *from one extremity of the earth to the other*. It was to this mountain that the Simurgh bore Tahamurath through the air, and over the desert. From the breast of this bird he took the plumes for his helmet, and they have been since worn by the most renowned warriors of the east, who consequently have never wanted success.—*Vathek*.

(F) *To the mountain that stands On the stone that ne'er moves but when Alla commands.*

This stone is called *Sukhrat*, and resembles, or is thought to be, an emerald. On it stands mount *Kaf*; and when *Alla* commands it, or any of its fibres to move, an earthquake is produced.

In this abrupt fashion the tale ends, and the imagination is left to conceive what follows.

The rare merit of some of Sir Philip Sidney's sonnets is too well known to require that their excellence should be dilated on here. The XXXIst of *Astrophel and Stella* beginning

With how sad steps O ! moon thou climb'st the skies,
How silently, and with how wan a face,

And the XXXIXth,

Come sleep, O ! sleep ! the certain knot of peace,
 The baiting place of wit, the balm of woe,
 The poor man's wealth, the prisoner's release,
 The indifferent judge between the high and low.

are probably two of the most exquisite of the whole one hundred sonnets and songs of Astrophel and Stella ; nevertheless we hazard the opinion that, with the exception of the XXXIXth, there are a few of Derozio's sonnets that come little, if anything, short in merit of some of the best productions of Sir Philip Sidney. The sonnets of the Eurasian lad whose *Alma Mater* was a Dhurrumtollah Adventure School, who never travelled beyond the limits of Bengal, and whose chivalry, charity and purity in some respects resembled Sidney's, the idol of Elizabethan England, may be read with interest side by side with those of the representative of the "unstained young manhood" of England's sixteenth century.

Here are some of Derozio's sonnets :—

TO THE RISING MOON.

Why art thou blushing Lady? Art thou ashamed
 To show thy full fair face ? Behind yon screen
 Of trees which Nature has enrobed with green,
 Thou stand'st as one whose hidden sins are named,
 Peeping the leafy crevices between
 Like memory looking through the chinks of years
 For some fair island spot unsoiled by tears.
 Now thou'rt ascending, melancholy queen !
 But the red rose has sickened on thy cheek,
 And there thou wanderest, sorrowful and weak,

And heedless where thou'rt straying, sad and pale,
Like grief-struck maiden, who has heard revealed
To all the world that which she wished concealed,
Her trusting loves and hapless frailty's tale.

TO THE MOON.

Lonely thou wanderest through wide heaven, like one
That has some fearful deed of darkness done,
With grief upon thy cheek ; while sad despair
Coldly refuseth thee a shelter, where
Repose might give thee welcome. Or hast thou
Washed with pale light thy melancholy brow,
Because the dreams hope brought thee once have fled
And left the thoughts of sadness in their stead ?
Ah, no ! it is that thou art too near earth
Ever to witness rosy pleasure's birth ;
And ceaseless gazing on the thousand showers
Of ill that inundate this world of ours
Has touched thy heart, and bid thine aspect be,
For our misfortunes, pale with sympathy.

NIGHT.

Like our young dreams of fame, and hope, and love,
Bright, beautiful, but far above our reach,
Night's jewels sparkle in her coronet ;
So dead a stillness fills the voiceless air,
That, if an angel should pass by the while,
Well would we hear the waving of his wing :
And feel the dew he scattered. The soft breeze
Which walks forth at this hour from grave to grave,
To fan the forest blossoms to repose,
Still slumbers in his cavern ; and the moon,
Pallid, and weary, wandering slowly on,
Comes, like a widow, sorrowing for her lord.

These sonnets will probably recall to the reader's mind the lines "To the Moon" of P. B. Shelley—

Art thou pale for weariness
Of climbing heaven, and gazing on the earth,
Wandering companionless
Among the stars, that have a different birth,
And ever changing, like a joyless eye
That finds no object worth its constancy ?

Derozio's power of linking with and transferring to inanimate nature the living passions, hopes, and fears of human nature is well exemplified in his sonnets.

There are several other of Derozio's minor pieces that will well repay the reading. Here is one—

ON THE ABOLITION OF SATTEE.

“The practice of Sattee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos, is hereby declared illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts.”—Regulation XVII., 1829.

Red from his chambers came the morning sun
 And frowned dark Ganges, on thy fatal shore,
 Journeying on high ; but when the day was done
 He set in smiles, to rise in blood no more,
 Hark ! heard ye not ? the widow's wail is over ;
 No more the flames from impious pyres ascend,
 See Mercy now primeval peace restore,
 While peans glad the arch ethereal rend,
 For India hails at last, her father and her friend.

Back to its cavern ebbs the tide of crime,
 There fettered, locked, and powerless it sleeps,
 And history bending o'er the page of time,
 Where many a mournful record still she keeps,
 The widowed Hindoo's fate no longer weeps ;
 The priestly tyrant's cruel charm is broken,
 And to his den alarmed the monster creeps ;
 The charm that mars his mystic spell is broken,
 O'er all the land 'tis spread : he trembles at the token.

Bentinck, be thine the everlasting mead !
 The heart's full homage, still is virtue's claim,
 And 'tis the good man's ever honoured deed
 Which gives an immortality to fame :
 Transient and fierce, though dazzling is the flame
 That glory lights upon the wastes of War :
 Nations unborn shall venerate thy name,
 A triumph than the conqueror's mightier far,
 Thy memory shall be blessed as is the morning star.

He is the friend of man who breaks the seal
That despot custom sets on deed and thought,
He labours generously for human weal
Who holds the omnipotence of fear as naught ;
The winged mind will not to earth be brought,
'Twill sink to clay if it imprisoned be ;
For 'tis with high immortal longings fraught,
And these are dimmed or quenched eternally,
Until it feels the hand that sets its pinions free.

And woman hath endured, and still endures,
Wrong, which her weakness and her woes should shield,
The slave and victim of the treacherous lures
Which wily arts, to man, the tyrant yield :
And *here* the sight of star, or flower, or field ;
Or bird that journeys through the sunny air,
Or social bliss from woman has been sealed,
To her, the sky is dark the earth is bare,
And Heaven's most hallowed breath pronounced forbidden fare.

Nurtured in darkness, born to many woes
Words, the mind's instrument but ill supplied,
Delight, even as a name she scarcely knows,
And while an infant sold to be a bride,
To be a mother her exalted pride,
And yet not her's, a mother's sigh or smile
Oft doomed in youth to stem the icy tide
Of rude neglect, caused by some wanton's wile
And forced at last to grace her lord's funereal pile.

Daughters of Europe ! by our Ganges side,
Which wept and murmured as it flowed along,
Have wives, yet virgins, nay, yet infants, died,
While priestly fiends have yelled a dismal song
'Mid deafening clamours of the drum and gong :
And mothers on their pyres have seen the hands
Which clung around them when those hands were young.
Lighting around them such unholy brands
As demons kindle when they rave through hell in bands.

But with prophetic ken, dispelling fears
Which haunt the mind that dwells on nature's plan,
The Bard beholds through mists of coming years
A rising spirit speaking peace to man.
The storm is passing, and the rainbow's span
Stretcheth from North to South : the ebon car
Of darkness rolls away : the breezes fan
The infant dawn, and morning's herald star
Comes trembling into day : O ! can the Sun be far ?

This is probably one of the noblest odes ever written by Derozio ; and there are ideas and aspirations in it which, we doubt not, will wake a ready response in all who read it.

There is scarcely anything he ever wrote, which does not bear the impress of his strong fertile imagination and his culture. The "Poet's Habitation," the "New Atlantis," "Ada," "Address to the Greeks," "Poetic Haunts," the "Golden Vase." The translation from Hafiz and several of his sonnets are all productions of great merit, and certainly give evidence of considerable powers.

The "Golden Vase" is a subject which has been handled by poets since the days of Boccaccio. Keats dealt with it in his own melodious, sumptuous way, in his "Isabella or the Pot of Basil." Derozio has woven round the theme a simple thread of burning love and woman's constancy : and his independent, natural treatment of the topic ought to have earned for him a warmer recognition of his genuine capacity.

Derozio may only claim to rank among the minor poets of his day. His was the first glad song of conscious power, poured forth, steeped in the feeling, passion, and imagination of his simple, boyish nature. Should this memoir in any way help to call attention to the brilliant lad, and his short life of promise, rather than of fulfilment it will have served its purpose, if it vindicates for him an humble place in

..... “ the choir invisible,
“ Of those immortal dead who live again
“ In minds made better by their presence : live
“ In pulses stirred to generosity,
“ In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
“ For miserable aims, that end with self,
“ In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
“ And, with their mild persistence, urge men’s search
“ To vaster issues.”

APPENDIX.

The Petition of 1830.

The following is the full text of the East Indian Petition :—

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the petition of the undersigned Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, and the provinces comprised within the presidency of Fort William,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,—

1. That your petitioners are members of a numerous increasing and widely-dispersed class of subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, living within the territories at present governed by the United Company of merchants trading to the East Indies, in the province of Bengal, and in the town of Calcutta.

2. That the body of which they compose a part, forms a distinct class of society in British India, which dates its existence more remotely from the time when the East India Company first formed permanent establishments on the continent of India, but chiefly from the more recent period, when the acquisition of immense territories required the presence of an increased number of Europeans to maintain and govern them.

3. That they are descended, in most instances, on the father's side, from the European subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and on the mother's side, from the natives of India; and that in other instances they are the children of intermarriages between the offsprings of such connexions; but that, although thus closely allied to the European and Native races, they are excluded from almost all those advantages which each respectively enjoys, and are subject to peculiar grievances from which both are exempt.

4. The first grievance which your petitioners beg leave to bring to the notice of your Honourable House is, that a very large majority of the class to which they belong are entirely destitute of any rule of civil law, to which they can refer as a standard that is to regulate their conduct in the various relations of society. Those of your petitioners who live in Calcutta within the limited jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, are guided in their civil relations by the Laws of England; but the moment they pass beyond that jurisdiction, to reside either temporarily or permanently in the interior, they are thereby placed beyond the pale of all civil law, whether British, Hindu, or Muhamedan. By the rigid interpretation, which successive Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Fort William, have given to

the phrase “British subjects” in the various acts of Parliament relating to India, your petitioners are excluded from coming under that denomination, and are consequently prevented from enjoying the benefits of the Laws of England, and, by their profession of the Christian religion, they are equally debarred from the adoption of the Hindu or Mahomedan civil law; while there is no other civil code to which they can have recourse as their guide in the various transactions and relations of life. However extraordinary the fact may appear, your petitioners affirm, without fear of contradiction, that there is no law which regulates their marriages and makes them lawful,—there is no law which shows the rule that is to define the legitimacy or illegitimacy of their issue, there is no law which prescribes the succession to their property,—there is no law which points out whether they possess the right of bequeathing by will, and, if so, to what extent,—there is no law that declares which of their children, or whether one or all, shall succeed in case of intestacy. In these and other equally important particulars, they have no law to direct or control them; and they are thus treated as utterly unworthy of any one of those rights, which it is the express object of a code of civil law to define and the primary design of society and Government to protect. Your petitioners thus literally compose a great body of out-laws, not made so by any crimes of their own, and on that very account feeling the more deeply the legalized wrongs that have been inflicted on them, and the contemptuous indifference and neglect with which their anomalous civil condition has been regarded. It is not, however, the invidious judicial construction of the doubtful languages of the Acts of Parliaments that has alone tended to degrade their civil condition; nor have they ever been permitted to enjoy the full advantage that would have arisen to them from the absolute and total neglect of that condition by their immediate rulers. A Rule and Regulation* of the Government of the East India Company has, by clear and express definition, included your petitioners in the class of “native subjects of the British Government,” and has thereby subjected them to the numerous disabilities of their Hindu and Muhamedan fellow-subjects; while, by another enactment† of the local Government they have, as belonging to the above-mentioned class, been deprived in a body of the protection of the Act of Habeas Corpus; having been made liable to be taken up on suspicion by any of the local authorities, and confined as State prisoners, without the legal possibility of ever obtaining their release, since the only appeal they could have would be to the local Government. Thus they are not virtually and by implication but directly and immediately denuded of the first and most important of all civil rights—personal security; and they may, therefore, be justly considered as holding their property, their liberty, and even their lives at the discretion of every powerful public functionary.

* Regulation VIII of 1818.

| † Regulation III of 1818.

5. The second grievance under which your petitioners labour is, that they are amenable in the interior to Muhammadan criminal law,—a law in itself barbarous and imperfect, founded on the most intolerant principles, and intimately interwoven with a system of religion and a state of society wholly opposed to their opinions and habits. The law of Muhammad was promulgated only for believers in the Koran, and towards all who are considered infidels, it bears a most oppressive aspect. Many of the punishments, when specific, are of a sanguinary description, and, in others, an almost unlimited discretion is given to the judge. It is arbitrarily administered, and though a right of appeal is in many cases allowed to the Superior Court of Criminal Jurisdiction of the East India Company, called the Nizamut Adawlut, yet that tribunal possesses the extraordinary power, on such appeal, of increasing the punishment which is awarded at their discretion, and without hearing fresh evidence. The only modifications which the Muhammadan criminal code has received, in its application to your petitioners, have been produced by the supplementary Regulations of the East India Company, which, instead of softening and mitigating its inflictions, have, in some instances, even increased the harshness of its character. In proof of this statement your petitioners beg to cite the third Regulation of the year 1821, by the express provisions of which they are made liable, in all cases, to be dealt with as Hindu and Muhammadan natives of the lowest rank, and to be fined, imprisoned, and corporally punished, not merely at the discretion of the European Judges or Magistrates of the East Indian Company, but even of the Hindu and Muhammadan officers of justice; while from the operation of this Regulation, not only British subjects, in the restricted application which has been given to that appellation, but also European and American foreigners resident in the interior are exempted. Thus the law recognizes the existence of your petitioners, only for the purpose of punishment, and never for that of protection; while the criminal code, to which they have been made amenable, is distinguished by the intolerance of its spirit, by the aggravated severity of its provisions, by its total incongruity with their religious belief and social condition, and by the deep-felt degradation to which, in its actual administration, your petitioners are subjected.

6. The third grievance, to which your petitioners are subject, is that they are excluded from all superior and covenanted offices in the Civil and Military services, and from all sworn offices in the Marine service of the East India Company. The invariable preamble to the appointment of an individual to any of these services runs thus:—“Provided A. B. (the person receiving the appointment) be not the son of a native Indian,”—a restriction which was first adopted by the Directors of the East India Company on the 9th November 1791, and which is always republished in the *Gazette of Government*, on the notification of the appointment of any one who may be then residing in India. Your petitioners do not dispute the right of the Court of Directors to give the appointments in their service to those

whom they may deem most worthy, but they humbly submit that no wise, just, or beneficent Government will ever impose any other general condition on candidates for employment than fitness for the offices they may seek ; still less will it exclude any class of men, on the ground of birth or colour, when it does not possess the power of limiting their increase, or of diminishing their number ; and, least of all, will it wantonly add insult to injury, and to proscription a load of public and gratuitous contumely.

7. The fourth grievance of your petitioners is that they are not only expressly excluded from all those offices of trust and emolument in the Civil, Military and Marine services of the East India Company's Government, which are open to "British subjects," but that they are also treated as ineligible to most of those subordinate employments in the Judicial, Revenue and Police Departments, and even in the Military service, which are open without reserve to the Hindu and Muhammadan natives of the country. Your petitioners are prohibited from being appointed to the situations of Munsiff, Sheristadar, and almost all other inferior Judicial offices ; they are prevented from practising as Vakeels or Pleaders in every one of the courts of justice of the East India Company, from the highest to the lowest ; they are shut out from all the subordinate offices in the departments of General, Revenue and Police ; and in the Army they are not permitted to fill the posts of native commissioned or non-commissioned officers, nor even that of a naick or corporal in a native regiment, although leave is given to them to shed their blood in the ranks as privates, and to officiate in the regimental band as drummers and musicians. Thus, of the many thousand subordinate employments under the local Government, there are few from which they are not excluded except on condition of abjuring the Christian faith, in which case, their eligibility as natives of India would be at once restored.

8. The fifth grievance, of which your petitioners complain, is, that they are expressly declared to be disqualified from holding His Majesty's commission in the British Indian army. The Commander-in-Chief for the time being of His Majesty's Forces in India, on the 27th of February 1808, issued a general order, still in force, by which no person can be recommended in India for any vacant commission in His Majesty's service, who belongs to the class of which your petitioners compose a part. Your petitioners humbly trust that His Majesty, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, will see fit to rescind this invidious order, and though they are aware that it does not belong to your Honorable House to free them from the galling disability to which it has subjected them, yet they have deemed it important to be mentioned in this place, as an additional proof of that system of cruel proscriptions, of which they have been made the unoffending victims.

9. The sixth grievance imposed upon your petitioners is that, by stipulations in treaties with all the powers in India, which still preserve a shadow of independence, they are debarred from employing

your petitioners in any capacity without the permission of the Supreme Government of India. It is true that, in those treaties, only "Europeans and Americans" are expressly prohibited from being so employed; yet, although these are denominations under which your petitioners cannot be classed, the restriction is practically applied to them also. Thus, by the limited signification which has been given to the phrase "British subjects" so as to exclude your petitioners, who are subjects of the British Crown, they are exposed to intolerable grievances; and by the extended meaning which has been given to the terms "Europeans and Americans," so as to include your petitioners, who are natives of Asia, they are prevented, except under special license seldom given, and always liable to be recalled, from employing their talents and industry in the service of any of the Native Princes. In both cases, but by contrary means, alike cruel and unjust to your petitioners, the one great object of exclusion is effected; and thus whatever step they take in life, and to whatever quarter they look, exclusion, disability and proscription meet them at every turn.

10. The last grievance to which your petitioner will advert is that every plan proposed by others, or adopted by themselves, for the improvement of the class to which they belong instead of receiving the fostering countenance of the paternal Government has met with positive disapproval, or cold neglect, strongly contrasted with the active and liberal encouragement that has been laudably given by the local authorities to various institutions formed for the benefit of other classes of the population. In support of this statement your petitioners beg to refer to the benevolent plan proposed by the late Colonel Kirkpatrick, in 1782, having for its objects to secure a provision for the sons of European officers by native mothers by educating them in England, and obtaining cadetships for them in the Indian army. This scheme, which received the approbation of the whole military service, and was not opposed by the local Government, was rejected in the most unqualified manner by the Court of Directors, the residence of such children in Europe for education being that part of it which especially called forth their reprobation. In the same manner, at a more recent period, two institutions were commenced by the exertions of your petitioners, and devoted to the education of their children, called the Parental Academic Institution (now the Doveton College) and the Calcutta Grammar School, amidst severe pecuniary difficulties, and with the certain prospect of great advantage resulting from even a slight measure of assistance from Government, have been refused a participation with other similar institutions in those funds, which the East India Company is required, by Act of Parliament, to apply to the moral and intellectual improvement of the Natives of India. Thus their European parents are frowned upon for endeavouring to send them to England for education. Your petitioners themselves are discouraged in their humble attempts to extend the blessings of education among their own class in India,

Every avenue of honorable ambition and of social improvement is shut up against them ; and it is with a keen and long cherished conviction of the wrongs they have suffered from the race of their fathers that they now bring themselves to the notice of your Honorable House, and respectfully ask for that equality of rights and privileges to which, in common with every other class of His Majesty's subjects, they are unquestionably entitled.

11. Your petitioners have now briefly enumerated the principal grievances for which they seek redress from your Honorable House ; but the statements they have made are very far from expressing the depth and the extent of the degradation which has been entailed upon them, and the numerous ramifications of the evils which they suffer. What they have styled their grievances are not individual cases of grievances peculiar to one person, one time, and one occasion ; but they are classes of grievances, each class extending to the whole body to which your petitioners belong, and all of them spread over the entire period of existence, pervading every transaction and relation of life, and doubly left, first, in their own persons and fortune, and, secondly, in the condition and prospects of their rising offspring.

12. However diversified and pervading the particular effects of the grievances your petitioners suffer, there is one unvarying general result which they produce : there is one point to which they are all made to tend, and that is, to place your petitioners in the situation of a proscribed class, to prevent their amalgamation with the European population, and to create and perpetuate against them the most mortifying and injurious prejudices. Your petitioners are aware that the abolition of those social prejudices, of which they are made the object, cannot be brought within the scope of legislative enactments, and it is with no such view that they seek for the interposition of your Honorable House. They trust to the loyalty and rectitude of their own conduct for that place and consideration in society which belong to them ; but they think they have a right to complain when the acts of the legislative and governing powers, instead of having a tendency to neutralize and destroy the prejudices that exist against your petitioners, have had the direct and certain effect of calling them into existence. Your petitioners neither ask nor expect any special interference in their behalf, but they warmly protest against those invidious distinctions which mark them, in the land of their birth, as outcasts and aliens, bereft of all privileges, and strangers alike to the rights of society, and to the feelings of humanity. It is surely not the characteristic of a paternal and an enlightened Government, which should be the common and equal protector of all its subjects, to scatter with its own hands the seeds of discord and to array the different classes of society against each other in bitter contempt and implacable hatred. Yet such is the undeniable tendency of the exclusive and contumelious system of misgovernment, under which your petitioners have long suffered, and which, if continued, must produce in the class to which they belong, hitherto free from the slightest reproach

of disloyalty or disaffection, permanent dissatisfaction, and even entire alienation of mind from the British authority in India.

13. Your petitioners disclaim every invidious or unfriendly feeling in the contrast, which they have had occasion to present of their own depressed condition, with the superior advantages and privileges enjoyed by other parts of the population. There are numerous and weighty grievances which they suffer, in common with British-born subjects on the one hand, and with Hindus and Muhammadans on the other, but which, as organs of a distinct class, your petitioners have not considered it proper on the present condition to detail. These common grounds of complaint have produced in their minds a sympathy with those classes ; and in those instances, in which your petitioners labour under peculiar disadvantages, they are far from wishing to bring their fellow-subjects to the same level with themselves or to claim any exclusive countervailing privilege. Although professing the Christian religion, speaking the English language, and assimilated in dress, manners and education to their paternal ancestors, they do not, on these or other grounds, ask for any favours or immunities which they would not equally solicit for their fellow-subjects of the Hindu and Muhammadan religions. But being Christians and descendants of Englishmen, your petitioners humbly submit that it is cruel and unjust to make their belief and descent the grounds of civil outlawry, of degrading disqualification, and of a uniform and persevering course of contumelious and insulting treatment ; and that it is especially inconsistent and impolitic in a Christian and British Government to adopt and reduce to practice such an odious system of exclusion, and thus to fix marks of deep contempt and degradation on the partakers of their own blood, and the professors of a common-faith.

14. Your petitioners may be permitted to observe that, however strong the language they have deemed it requisite to employ in the exposition of their grievances, and however acute the feelings of which that language is the feeble and imperfect expression, they have never lost sight of the obedience and respect which have been claimed by their immediate rulers. From them, indeed, the condition of your petitioners has not received the consideration which they had a right to expect, and which they earnestly hope your Honorable House will bestow. Their complaints when presented in the most respectful terms, through the proper channels, have been treated as futile and unfounded ; nor has any disposition been shown to alleviate the acknowledged extreme hardships under which they suffer. To the East India Company, therefore, in its own character, or to its local Government, your petitioners, as a body, feel that they owe nothing. They have received from it no sympathy or redress, nothing but studied insult, contemptuous indifference, or at best, empty profession. But in that Company and its servants, your petitioners see the legally-constituted representatives of British power and authority in India, and they have therefore conscientiously discharged the duties of peaceable and obedient subjects, in the fond, although hitherto vain,

expectation that their peculiar grievances would attract the attention of those who have the ability, and, they trust, the will to remedy them.

15. Your petitioners hope that it is only necessary to bring to the notice of your Honorable House the evils which have been entailed upon their body, to produce at once the disposition to remove them. With regard to such matters as may appear fit for the direct interference of Parliament, your petitioners cannot doubt that an immediate remedy will be applied, and, with regard to such as seem to reside, during the existence of the present charter of the East India Company, within the province of that body and their local Government, your petitioners pray that to them their rights and interests may no longer be committed, without appeal; and that, in any new charter which the Legislature may grant, a clause may be inserted, expressly prohibiting, in all its parts, that system of exclusion directed against your petitioners which has hitherto formed a distinguishing feature in the policy of the Company's Government. They pray to be delivered that from state of neglect and abandonment in which they have hitherto been allowed to remain, beyond the pale of civil law, ignominiously driven from all community of rights and privileges with any of the denominations of the society in which they reside. They pray your Honorable House to admit them to the fellowship of their fathers, to rescue them from subjection to institutions the most degrading and despotic, and to treat them as subjects of the British Crown, to which alone they recognize their allegiance to be due, and to which they desire to bind themselves and their posterity by the indissoluble ties of justice and of gratitude.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray,

The following is a report of the debate in the House of Lords on the occasion of the presentation of the petition. The notes are those made by Mr. J. W. Ricketts:—

HOUSE OF LORDS, 29TH MARCH 1830.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE.—I rise to present a petition from the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta and the provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William, praying for the revision of the laws affecting the native Christian population of India.* I can only say, my Lords, that I have a most earnest desire that relief should be afforded to the petitioners who labor under great hardships.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.—This is far from being a favorable opportunity for entering into a discussion upon the statements of the petition. I must, however, assure the Noble Earl that I feel, as every person of the slightest humanity must do, the greatest compassion for the unfortunate situation of the class to which the petitioners belong.

* These are the descendants of Europeans by native mothers, and the offspring of intermarriages.

I am fully conscious, too, that it is of great importance to alleviate the evils of their condition ; and no man will rejoice more at such a circumstance than myself, if a way can be found of doing so, without a violation of the principles essential to the conservation of the British empire in India.* There are some grievances stated in that petition, which, if they practically exist, I think might be redressed without danger, and that at no distant period. If, for example, they lie under inconveniences with respect to the law of marriage or of succession, I see no reason why a remedy should not be applied. What, however, is really asked by the petitioners, is not an equality of civil rights, but an admission to privileges from which the great body of the native population of India are excluded. They are the illegitimate offspring of European fathers and native mothers †, and they wish to be placed in a situation such as is filled by illegitimate children in no part of the world.‡ Nevertheless, since the arrival of the petition in this country, it has received the greatest consideration both from the Board of Control and the Directors of the East India Company. I am not prepared to state the result of that consideration at the present moment ; but will say that there is every disposition to ameliorate the condition of the petitioners and grant their prayers, as far as may be consistent with the two great objects we must always bear in mind when legislating for India, namely, the conservation of our empire and the well-being of the great body of the people.

THE EARL OF CARLISLE.—What difference is there between the children of half-castes, and the half-castes themselves ?

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.—As regards the privileges of Europeans,

* Here is an apprehension of danger altogether without foundation, and is only calculated to mislead the English public. It is the same as saying, "If we do wrong, we are safe ; but if we do right, we are surrounded with danger." Danger and insecurity may certainly spring from the wrongs and grievances of a discontented people ; but if the petitioners have been uniformly loyal in their conduct under all the load of degrading disabilities heretofore systematically heaped upon them, is it to be supposed that the abolition of these disabilities would lead them all at once to abandon their loyalty for rebellion ?

† The petitioners are persons born both in and out of wedlock who labour alike under the same disabilities.

‡ Quite the reverse. In England, for instance, no enquiry is ever made into legitimacy or illegitimacy of birth, either to qualify or disqualify for office ; and, if it were not thought invidious to mention names, many individuals might be pointed out as coming under the latter class, who nevertheless fill responsible and important offices in the State. On this very subject too, speaking of the legal incapacity of an illegitimate child, Blackstone says—"And really any other distinction but that of not inheriting which civil policy renders necessary would, with regard to the innocent offspring of his parent's, crimes be odious, unjust, and cruel to the last degree." Nor, indeed, is the political disability, as applicable to East Indians, the sons of the European fathers and native mothers, really grounded upon the fact of illegitimacy of birth ; since there are instances of persons, the illegitimate sons of European parents on both sides, who have been unscrupulously admitted into the East India Company's service, both civil and military. The objection then is merely *skin-deep*, and destitute of all reason and justice ; applying as it does exclusively to persons descended from Indian mothers ; but shall such an objection alike absurd and unjust, continue to operate as a libel upon the British administration in India in this liberal and enlightened age ?

the children of half-castes are in the same situation as the half-castes themselves, but not so as regards offices under the Company, for as natives they may be appointed to any military situation in the Company's service to which natives are eligible.

Ricketts' note to the last statement is: "Not so, they are ineligible to the posts of Subadars, Jemadars, Havildars and Naiks in the Native Army in India."

The following letters passed between Lord Carlisle and Mr. Ricketts regarding his Lordship's statement in the House of Lords:—

GROSVENOR PLACE,
9th June 1830.

Lord Carlisle presents his compliments to Mr. Ricketts, and begs leave to acknowledge the receipt of the copies (of report of the debate from the "Mirror of Parliament") which have just reached him.

He is aware that the observations he made upon presenting the petition to the House of Lords were very imperfectly, if at all, reported. He must, however, be allowed to say that he did state the various grievances which were enumerated by the petitioners, and concluded with professing that he was actuated by no unfriendly feeling to the Government of India or to the noble Lord at the head of the Board of Control, and that he was disposed to believe that the noble Lord was sincerely desirous of correcting the anomalies detailed in the petition, and of remedying the grievances, and ameliorating the condition of what must be considered an unfortunate portion of the population of British India. If Lord Carlisle had been apprised of the intention of publishing the debates upon presenting the petitions in the two Houses, he could have easily furnished the short account of what he did say. As the statement appears at present, it omits what he did say, and put words into his mouth he never used.

Lord Carlisle must also observe, that he was aware that it was the intention of the Committee of the Lords to examine Mr. Ricketts, and imagined that his evidence would afford more information than a discussion in the House.

J. W. RICKETTS,
6, Cloudsley Terrace, Liverpool Road.

Although in this note Lord Carlisle declares that he is reported to have used words he never uttered, and that the account omits what he did say, his Lordship's short speech appears in Hansard as we have quoted it without any note to the effect that this is not what Lord Carlisle did say. It might be interesting to learn in how many instances speeches quoted in the early days of Parliamentary reporting are really in every respect what they purport to be.

Mr. Ricketts's reply is as follows :—

CLOUDSLEY TERRACE, LIVERPOOL.
10th June 1830.

Mr. J. W. Ricketts presents his compliments to Lord Carlisle and is extremely sorry to find that the report of his Lordship's speech, as given in the Parliamentary debates on the East Indians' petition, is so very imperfect.

Mr. Ricketts was of course very anxious to obtain a correct report of the debates, and not relying on what appeared in the newspapers, he had recourse to the "Mirror of Parliament" Office for their version of them, but he regrets to be still disappointed. Mr. Ricketts unfortunately reached the House of Lords a little too late to hear what took place on the occasion, as he was misinformed as to the usual hour for the commencement of business. Mr. Ricketts begs to apologize to Lord Carlisle for his apparent want of attention in not making his Lordship acquainted with his intention to publish the debates, which was formed only since the presentation of the Petition in the Commons.

RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CARLISLE,
12, Grosvenor Place.

With regard to the incorrection of the reported debates in the Lords, Mr. Ricketts wrote as follows :—I can only account for it in this way : When his Lordship rose to present the Lords' petition, having commenced with stating that it was one from a certain class of the Christian population in India, it is likely enough that this circumstance alone was quite sufficient to produce a sort of narcotic effect on the mind of the reporter, who must have treated the matter as one of subordinate interest, relating to scenes separated by the distance of half the globe, and hence a mere hurried guess, as I must now call it, at Lord Carlisle's speech on the occasion as given in the "Mirror of Parliament." Quite otherwise, however, with the Lower House. When Mr. Wynn rose to present the Commons' petition, the cry of "Order, order" resounded more than once from the speaker, and Mr. Wynn himself, experiencing some little inconvenience from the prevailing buzz in the house, very courteously turned round and requested the Honorable Members to desist for a few moments. Perfect silence and order being now restored, Mr. Wynn proceeded without interruption; and was attentively listened to, and the whole of the debate growing out of the matter became strikingly spirited and interesting.

Before finally quitting this branch of the subject, I must be allowed to express my sense of gratitude to Lord Carlisle, for the kind share of interest he took in presenting our petition in the House of Lords, and in examining me before the Lords' Committee; and though he had but a simple part to act in the matter, and abstained, for the reason assigned in his letter, from enlarging on our case while presenting

the petition, yet our obligations to his Lordship remain uneffected by that circumstance.

Mr. Ricketts wrote of the debate in the House of Commons as follows:—

After the Easter recess our petition was presented by Mr. Wynn in the House of Commons on the 4th of May. Never before, since my arrival in England, did I witness a more interesting spectacle than the one presented to my sight on this occasion; and Mr. Wynn very kindly secured a seat for me in the House below the gallery, where I truly enjoyed a rich mental feast, afforded by the warm debate arising from the subject,— one which was now, for the first time, fairly and tangibly brought before the Legislature. Without exception, it was decidedly the best thing in the way of a debate in the House that evening, as was also acknowledged by others; and Mr. Crawford, who was likewise present, came up to congratulate me on the peculiar warmth of interest shown to be felt by the different speakers, and on the happy issue of the business so far as it went.

To Mr. Wynn, therefore, and also to Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Charles Forbes, to Mr. J. Stewart and Mr. Wolryche Whitmore, are the East Indian public pre-eminently indebted for the highly beneficial results accruing from their parliamentary exertions in an affair which concerns a politically degraded and proscribed class of Christian population, subject to the rule of a British Christian Government, at half the distance of the globe. Nor are our obligations, in this respect, the less due to Dr. S. Lushington and Mr. J. Hume, who, but for the lateness of their arrival on the particular evening referred to, would have taken their full share in the debate.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 4TH MAY 1830.

MR. WILLIAMS WYNN.—I regret, Sir, that the duty of presenting the petition which I now hold in my hand, has devolved upon me, in consequence of the indisposition of my Noble Friend, the Member for Woodstock (Lord Ashley). I regret that it is not in the power of that Noble Lord to present the petition, because I am sure that it would have made a greater impression upon the House if it had come from his hands, instead of from mine; and that, not merely on account of his official character as one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, but also on account of the great diligence and attention which he has been in the habit of bestowing upon all subjects connected with that country. This petition is very numerously, and I may also add very respectfully, signed by the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta and the provinces comprised within the Presidency of Fort William, descended on the one side from European subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, and on the other, from natives of India, who may, therefore, be denominated Indo-Britons, though they are more generally known by the title of half-castes. The grievances of which the petitioners complain are numerous; but may, I believe, be com-

prised under two heads. Whilst they live in Calcutta, within the limited jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, they are guided in their civil relations by the laws of England : but the moment they pass from that jurisdiction, they complain that they are placed beyond the pale of all civil law, whether British, Hindu or Muhammadan. They likewise complain that they are excluded from all superior offices in the civil and military services of the East India Company. To this subject I alluded last year, when I had the honour of presenting a petition from the natives of India, complaining that they were excluded from all offices of trust and emolument in the land of their fathers. For my own part I cannot separate the cases of these two different classes of petitioners. This, however, I must say, that whatever arguments applied to the case of the natives of India, apply with infinitely stronger force to those unfortunate individuals who compose the subscribers to this petition. They, at least, are of our blood and of our religion ; many of them have been educated in this country, and are possessed of capacity and acquirements of the first description. Though they profess themselves to be, and actually are, Christians, they are, when in the interior, amenable to the Muhammadan criminal law. They are thus deprived of all the advantages of trial by jury ; and, when accused of offences, are liable to be fined and imprisoned, and corporally punished, not merely by Europeans but also by Muhammadan officers of justice. Questions may arise as to the validity of their marriages ; and all such questions must be decided not according to the principles of Christians, but according to those of Muhammadan law. How great the disadvantages are, which arise from this system, have been made apparent in the inquiries that have been recently instituted into this subject by the Committee of both Houses now sitting on the East India Company's Charter. It happens that a great many females, the daughters of European fathers by native mothers, are married to European officers, high in the service of the Company, at Calcutta. I have been told that, among the officers who hold the highest situation on the staff in the Company's service at Calcutta, there is not at present one who is not married to a female of Indian descent. Supposing that an offence should be charged against any of these married couples, whilst residing in the interior, the husband would be sent to Calcutta to be tried by Europeans according to the principles of British law ; but the wife might be tried and condemned before any Muhammadan magistrate. This is not merely a grievance in itself, but it gives rise to a feeling among the half-castes, that they stand in a different situation from their European relations, with whom they would otherwise mix upon terms of equality, and to whom they are, in point of fact, equal in this country.

There is nothing in the law or constitution of this country to prevent any half-caste from being elected a Member of Parliament, or from taking his seat in this House. They are frequently sent over to this country for education, and, in many instances, receive one equal to that received by any gentleman whom I am now addressing

and they are, consequently, equally competent to discharge the duties of any situation however important. The grievance which the petitioners feel the most severely, is their exclusion, by the East India Company, from all employments in their service,—civil and military. Within these few years this injustice, glaring as it originally was, has received considerable mitigation ; for the exclusion has been confined to the sons of parents either of whom were of unmixed Indian blood. Formerly, any one who had a tinge of colour in his skin, was certain to meet with obstruction in his road to preferment ; indeed, it was impossible for him to advance at all. It came within my own knowledge that, on one occasion, the son of an English officer, by a lady whom he had married in England, was darker than suited the taste of our military critics ; and there was, in consequence, a refusal to admit him, though regularly nominated, into the Company's service. I know that there are those who talk of the inherent unfitness of persons of Indian descent to fill offices of trust and importance in India. I should be ashamed to argue with those who uphold such doctrines. I should blush if I were compelled to go through the names of those who, in spite of these regulations, have worked out their way to greatness by the commanding force of their talents.

I last year adverted to a distinguished instance in the case of Colonel Skinner, who, though he was excluded, owing to his descent from a native mother, from serving in the East India Company's regular army, raised a corps of 8,000 men, and distinguished himself in an eminent manner during the late wars. For his intrepid disinterested conduct, although rejected by the Company's service, he earned for himself the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the King's service, and obtained the Cross of a Commander of the Bath. I have seen evidence* within the last two days, which proves Colonel Skinner's influence in India to be so great as to enable him to raise 10,000 men at any time. That officer is a gallant man, and as loyally attached to his Sovereign as man can be ; but is it wise, I would ask, to make such a man, with such influence, the object of proscription ? If such policy is to be permanently adopted, individuals in his circumstances will soon be animated with feelings of hostility to our Indian Government. If the career of honor is shut against them, those talents which cannot be used in favor of the Government, will be used for its destruction. Others hold it to be politic that these men should be systematically degraded,—and why ? “Because (say they) the natives of India look upon these half-castes in a very different manner from that in which they look upon Europeans.” This mode of argument is really monstrous. The governors of India first place these individuals in a state of degradation, and then urge that degradation as a reason for continuing it.

Upon this subject, I will only refer to what had been so well stated by Sir Thomas Munro. That excellent officer, in a minute upon this

* See the evidence of R. D. Mangles, Esq., before the Lords' Committee.

subject, dated 31st December 1824, says :—“With what grace can you talk of your paternal government of India, if you exclude descendants of European fathers by native mothers from all offices ; and if, over a population of 50,000,000, you enact that no one but an European shall order any punishment ? Such an interdiction is a sentence of degradation on a whole people, from which no good can arise. How can we expect that the Hindu population will be good subjects, unless we hold out to them inducements to become so ? If superior acquirements cannot open the road to distinction, how can you expect individuals to take the trouble of acquiring them ? When obtained, they can answer no other purpose than that of showing their possessor the fallen condition of the caste to which he belongs. This is true of every nation, and of every country—it is true of our own. Let England be subjugated by a foreign force,—let the natives of it be excluded from all offices of trust and emolument,—and then all their knowledge, and all their literature, both foreign and domestic, will not save them from being, in a few generations, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race.”

This is the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, and I think it applies most forcibly to the present subject. The whole of the minute, indeed, from which it is selected, appears to me well worthy the attention of the House ; and, as it has not been published in the very valuable Life of Sir Thomas Munro, which has lately appeared, I shall, when this petition is disposed of, move that it be laid before the House, and I only wish that every gentleman may take the trouble of reading it through, since I am convinced that every one must be no less delighted than benefited by the sentiments of enlightened humanity, and by the high-minded and liberal views which it contains.

Before I sit down, I cannot help observing that the effect of this system of exclusion are not merely confined to their legal operation, but are also productive of great moral and personal degradation. I found that to be the case during the period in which I myself superintended the affairs of India. I discovered that, in a charitable institution founded by Lord Clive for the benefit of the widows and children of his companions in arms, and without any intention on the part of that great man of establishing any system of an exclusive nature, it had since been directed that, before any widow could receive the benefit of it, an *affidavit* must be made that she was not of native blood. This restriction I was enabled to abolish, but by the regulations of the Military Fund, established both at Madras and Bombay, the one in the year 1808, the other in the year 1816, it is still provided that it shall be an indispensable qualification to any child who seeks relief from it, that both the parent and the child should be European and of unmixed blood ; and it is likewise added that four removes from African or Asiatic blood should be considered as restoring the blood to purity. I thought, then, and I am still of the same opinion, that a state of society in which such regulations were publicly avowed and acted upon was one which required revision and reformation. I trust,

therefore, that, whatever may be the issue of the inquiry now proceeding up-stairs, the House will take into its consideration the situation both of these petitioners and of the natives, and will admit them to every office which their education and acquirements render them qualified to discharge. I may, perhaps, be asked, "Would you wish the whole government of India to find its way into the hands of Asiatics?" To that question I would merely answer, that it is my belief that such a permission as that which I now seek to obtain as a matter of right for the half-castes, would never be too extensively granted to them in practice. No matter in what hands the patronage of India may be hereafter vested, whether it be in those of the East India Company, or of the British Government, we may be sure that, under any European administration, sufficient favour will be shown to Europeans, and that nothing but decided merit will place an Asiatic on the same level with them. It is unwise to let men in the situation of these petitioners feel that the career of honour is shut against them; and in a House of Commons which has removed the exclusion which for so many years operated upon a large class of its Catholic fellow-subjects—an exclusion which was only justified on political grounds, even by those who advocated its continuance—in a House of Commons which has also taken the first step to emancipate the Jews from the state of degradation to which they have been so long consigned by the law of this country—in such a House of Commons, I say, I do not expect to find any opposition made to so reasonable a prayer as this, that men should not be shut out from all offices of trust in the country of their birth, simply because they derived their origin from its original inhabitants. I beg leave to move, Sir, that this petition be brought up.

The petition was then brought up, and on the question that the petition be now read,

Mr. STUART WORTLEY said:—As the whole subject of the government of India is now undergoing the consideration of a committee above stairs, I am sensible that the present would be an unfit opportunity to enter into a discussion upon the situation of that class of persons from whom this petition has been presented by my honorable friend. Yet, after what has passed, I should not feel myself justified if I suffered the petition to be brought up without offering a few observations to the attention of the House. The principal object that I have in view, in rising at this time to address the House, is to assure the Right Honorable Gentleman, the House, and the petitioners themselves, that the half-castes are not looked upon with any of that contemptuous feeling which they are disposed to attribute to the Government of India. I believe it to be the disposition of the local Government, and I am sure it is the disposition of the Government at home, to give every consideration to the state and condition of the people of India. They are very far, indeed, from being insensible to their condition, and are always ready to consider in what way relief can be afforded

to them, consistently with the principles that must regulate the Government of a country so situated. Amongst the grievances stated in the petition, there appear some to which a remedy may be applied, namely, those relating to marriages and successions. These are points affecting the relations of social life, and remedies might, I think, be easily discovered ; but though I admit this, yet, when I am called upon to go beyond these grievances, and into the consideration of others, I then am certainly unable to decide whether these can be remedied, and for this reason, that they involve very great and important considerations respecting political government.* I beg also to say that I am obliged to consider that it would be highly inconvenient to enter into such an explanation as the subject necessarily requires, on the question of the bringing up or reading of a petition ; for, Sir, the question is one of a most extensive nature, and must, of necessity, be brought under the consideration of the Body now delegated by the House to inquire into the subject of India. This I conceive to be the most proper course to be pursued on this subject, and I must also say, I am sure that whoever will carefully, and in detail, inquire into it, will see how exceedingly difficult it will be at once to find a remedy for what is complained of. I shall also take leave to add, as the Right Honorable Gentleman has taken this opportunity of adverting to the evidence given before the Committee, that although what he has mentioned is quite to the purpose, and well illustrates his views, yet there is one point on which the evidence has not reached the bottom. In the course of that evidence the number of persons situated like the petitioners in the provinces of Bengal was inquired into. One of the complaints made is, that they are excluded from all government and other situations ; and let us consider the answer which does not prove their condition to be so very bad, though I will not assert that a very extensive field lies open to their ambition. The fact is, that the witness, whose petition I believe this to be, was examined before the Committee. On being asked what is the number of this class of persons in Bengal and its dependencies, he says he believes about 2,000.† He is then asked what proportion of this is fit for the holding of offices, and he says 1,500. Then the question is put to him, what number of them are actually employed ? and his answer is, that there are two-thirds of that number, or about 1,000 persons in actual employment. I do not mean to say that this is an answer to the petition ; but it is at

*This is the old bugbear again ; or, in other words, a pretence to do wrong under a colouring of danger in the attempt to do right.

† In the evidence here referred to the number is estimated at 20,000, not at 2,000 as stated by Mr. Worley. Of this number 1,000 or more are supposed to be employed in public and private offices, and about 500 are deemed to be qualified for offices of trust and responsibility ; but, instead of their being so employed, they are just tantalized with a sight of these offices, to decipher the harsh and unjust prohibition inscribed upon them,—" Touch not, taste not, handle not ;" while they are permitted to hold inferior situations, the highest salaries of which fall below the level of what is enjoyed by every beardless youth in the Civil Service at the very threshold of his public career.

least a palliation of the case ; and it is, at all events, clear proof that there is not such a number of them destitute of employment as it is wished that we should believe. Unless I were to enter fully upon the whole subject of the law, and of the distinctions which have resulted from peculiar circumstances, I could not with propriety now go farther ; and in, conclusion, I will beg to repeat what I said at the commencement—that I should be one of the last persons who would throw any obstacle in the way of allowing these petitioners to forward their interests—that it is by no means from any prejudice against either caste or colour that the Government excludes these individuals from the higher offices, but that the question involves other points of the greatest magnitude, and that it remains for the Parliament alone to consider and decide on the course that ought to be pursued.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.—Sir, I confess I have been anxious to deliver my sentiments on this subject, and the causes of that anxiety are, I trust, of such a nature as may excuse it. I have had an opportunity of observing the persons and characters of the men whose petition is now before us, and I have made them the subject of as much inquiry and reflection as I was capable of. I need not say that I will not condescend to urge anything against the pretended inferiority of national character, or against the notion of there being one class created to rule, and another merely to obey. I have ever accounted such doctrines as the common phrases of the advocates of oppression ; and sure I am that there is no reason, and not a shadow of foundation, for them in any part of the character of the natives of India. I shall not follow my Right Honorable Friend in giving the example of a single person of high attainments, which might not be admitted as an argument, from the singularity of the circumstance ; but I will say, that I made minute inquiry in the places of education, in counting-houses, and in the offices of Government,—where, it is true, some of these unfortunate beings are admitted to inferior offices, and in which they have just liberty enough to enable them to get a sight of what would be the object of their ambition, and are tantalized with the view of what it is impossible for them to attain. My main reason for rising has been the impulse of my conscience, and that obliges me to declare that there is no class of individuals not in actual slavery, throughout the dominions of the Crown in these realms, that is used with so much needless harshness and oppression as this race.

I do not agree with the Honorable Secretary to the Board of Control, that this is not a proper opportunity to enter upon this subject, because the whole must come before the Committee now examining into the state of India. I am quite sure, and on this I think even he will agree with me, that this Committee cannot go into all the branches of so vast an inquiry as the government of one hundred millions of men ; and I am equally convinced that, unless we take frequent opportunities of preliminary discussion in this House, we shall never be ripe for the proper consideration of this great and extensive subject. I confess I feel surprised at the idea implied in what the Honorable Secretary to the Board

of Control has said, namely, that the petitioners have brought forward overcharged statements; and I am sure that if he will reflect and consider for a moment on the grievances they have laboured under the patience with which they have endured them, and the profound silence observed for many years by the petitioners, and then compare those with the negligence and the progressive insults of the Government, he will entertain no feeling but one of surprise at the forbearance they have manifested. The stigma, however, remains as deep as ever—the brand still burns; they are disgraced and degraded because they are deprived of all those honors that ought to be the reward of their exertions; and it is of this disgrace and degradation, brought upon them needlessly and unwisely, that they now complain. The Honorable Secretary also left out of consideration one or two of the chief exclusions they suffer from. He talked of their marriages, and of rules respecting them. I confess I do not know by what regulations marriages are governed in the provinces—it certainly cannot be the law of England; but this at least appears, that these unfortunate people are in what may be, without any exaggeration, designated a state of outlawry. Although the regulation only extends to exclude them from the higher offices of the Company, yet the fact is, that under pretence of this they are also excluded from all the lower offices—even those which may be held by natives. If because Muhammadans may fill many offices, which they actually do in the collection of the revenue and in the courts of the provinces, and from which the petitioners are in point of fact excluded, then it may be, and it is said, that there is no law to this effect. I know that is true: know there is no such law; but, since the fact is so, they are still in a state of outlawry, and the disgrace and the stigma still remain; for no sooner are they excluded by regulation from the higher offices, then by practice they are shut out from the others. Nothing is more deplorable than the way in which we see tyrannical laws followed up by still more tyrannical practices.

I am surprised that gentlemen have not taken into consideration this question, whether the exclusion from offices of a particular class of natives on account of their professing the doctrines of Christianity, is not an argument against the line of policy we pursue. It is nothing to say that this result from usage, and not from law: this usage is only the tyrannical child of a tyrannical parent. I say, that when we take into consideration the events of the last forty years, and that the class, whose grievances are now the subject of complaint, have become as respectable a body as any in India, this result will be made clear, that as soon as it is declared that any one class is inferior to the others—no matter what the character of the community may be when this declaration is made—from that moment the class thus branded will be visited by evils of a deeper dye. No man who knows me will doubt the high esteem and the warm regard I entertain for all those with whom I had the happiness to be acquainted in India. I say, I believe that there is greater generosity, and a higher point of honor to be found amongst the British population in India, than in most other

parts of the world ; but if I am called upon to point out the most odious light in which the exclusions that are sanctioned there, are to be regarded I almost hesitate to state it ; but still I will avow that these exclusions of the half-castes do assume the odious appearance of exclusions made by fathers against their children. I do not believe that those who made these regulations ever could have contemplated their subsequent effects ; and I am sure that many of those who, from motives of State policy, are induced thus to act, put their hands to what they would have recoiled from with horror in a private station. But I am still sure that, if the signatures to these regulations prove that they are the disfranchisement of children by their parents, and such as the parties would be incapable of, if they had considered for a moment, these regulations are such as ought not to be allowed to continue.

I shall not longer delay the House ; but I have this day read an account of a meeting held at Calcutta on the 15th of December, and I read speeches delivered in the English language by two Hindus of rank and learning, and containing sentiments which would do honor to the members of any assembly. One of them, Rammohun Roy, has embraced your religion, notwithstanding the degradations you impose upon those who profess Christianity. He says, he is convinced that the more the natives of India come in contact and associate with English gentlemen, the more will they improve in every light,—whether political, commercial, or moral. I cannot but agree with him in this view ; and, thinking that the abolition of distinctions is the best course to be pursued, I most heartily concur in the prayer of this Petition.

MR. R. C. FERGUSSON.—I cannot help offering my opinion to the House upon this very important subject. Shortly after I had the honor of a seat in this House, I did state my opinion upon it, and called the attention of the Right Honorable Gentleman then at the head of the Board of Control to its consideration, and his answer was similar to his statement of this day,—that the question was one which required the deepest and most serious deliberation. I never was the advocate of exclusion ; and I said, then, and I say now, that it will be the policy of the Government of England to draw more upon the talents and the acquirements of the natives of India, than they now do. I say, also, that some of the statements in this petition are of a very questionable description ; but I, at the same time, admit that the petitioners are placed in a very painful situation. In the first place, it is difficult to say what law they are under. They are not Muhammedans, but it is a subject of consideration whether it be policy that Muhammedans should have the benefit of laws which they have not, or whether they should be excluded from the law which applies to other Christians. They are, at present, subject to the laws which are administered by natives ; and although no injury may, in fact, accrue, yet it is hard to subject them to the verdict of a Muhammedan or a Hindu tribunal. The interest I have taken in them they have long known. I felt it

long before I had the honor of a seat in this House. If this class wish for all the advantages and privileges of British subjects, I think they ought to have them ; but at the same time, I do not know that much real advantage would result to them, for then they would be subject to all the regulations and all the restrictions that British residents are now governed by. If they wish to be considered as natives, and as British subjects, too, then they will have greater privileges than British subjects enjoy ; and if the matter be left to their own choice, I think they will pause a long while before they will choose to be considered merely as British subjects.

When, however, we enter upon the consideration of this subject, we ought not, in my opinion, to confine ourselves to the case merely of half-caste Christians, as distinguished from that of the Hindus and the Muhammedans ; nor ought we to make any difference in their favor, notwithstanding their being partly of European blood. The petitioners are not, as they would wish to have it believed, excluded from all offices. They certainly are not in a situation to fill the highest offices ; but there are vast numbers of places of emolument filled by this class. I say this to their credit, for they owe it to their intelligence and their industry, and in these qualities they are not excelled by any other class of men. They are not, however, practically oppressed. If, as is true, they are excluded from the higher employments, they do not suffer more than other classes, and there is no greater injury inflicted by the exclusion of a Christian than of a Hindu. My Right Honorable and Learned Friend has spoken of the case of Rammohun Roy ; and of him I can also speak from acquaintance as one than whom there is no man of more intelligence. I wish I could say with my Right Honorable Friend that he is a Christian, but I do not believe he is. He has certainly shaken off his prejudices, and believes that there is but one God and not a thousand, as some persons believe to be the faith of other Hindus ; but he is so far advanced that his faith would not disable him from the enjoyment of any office that his talents would entitle him to. I think we ought to examine how far the talents of all the natives may be used for the benefit of our Government ; but this, in fact, may be considered as in progress ; for now, in point of fact, more and more confidence is daily placed in them, both as respects their admission to offices, and to the administration of justice. The present question then, I am of opinion, ought to be considered with reference to every class of natives, at the same time that I desire to be known as one friendly to the petitioners ; and I shall be their friend, and be always ready to render them every service in my power. In conclusion, I will observe that not only is this a subject for serious consideration, but that it is a state of things the remedy for which cannot be afforded at once, but must be given by degrees.

MR. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE.—After the discussion that has taken place, I will not detain the House ; but I should not discharge my duty if I did not offer one or two observations. I congratulate, then,

both the House and the natives of India on this discussion—the House, because we perform a sacred duty in showing that we extend our care and our protection over every portion of the dominions under the British Crown ; and not only that, but that we are ever ready to do our duty. I congratulate the natives of India, and especially the class to which the petitioners belong, on the effect of this Petition, because I am sure that it is only necessary for their interests to have the subject publicly discussed in order to their progress and advancement. I feel also that we should not confine ourselves, in our consideration of this subject, merely to the half-caste ; but I cannot concur with the Honorable Gentleman in thinking that the exclusion of that particular class is not an injustice. It is a subject that must occupy the attention of the Committee, and I think it quite as important as the question whether Englishmen shall be restrained from holding land ; and my opinion is, that natives ought to be allowed to fill every situation accessible to other subjects, except, perhaps, some very few, in which their admission might be accompanied with the idea of danger or insecurity.

SIR CHARLES FORBES.—Sir, I rise to support this petition, and to give my testimony in favor of all that has been said of the high character of the natives of India. I shall not go further into the subject at present, but will conclude by saying that, after an experience of twenty-two years in India and seventeen years here, the more I see of my own countrymen, the more I like the natives of India.

MR. WILLIAMS WYNN.—I shall make but one or two observations. In the first place, with respect to the situations of emolument held by this class, the highest office possessed by any of them does not yield more than £600 or £760 a year. They are excluded from all military offices, and from civil stations under the Government. I can see no reason why this exclusion should always be enforced in the instructions sent out by the Court of Directors, in which, when an appointment is bestowed, it is always accompanied with these words—“provided he be not the son of a native of India.” Now, there is no reason why this should be continued, or why a person should be continued, or why a person should be excluded from all commissions in the Army, as well as all civil employments, because he may happen to be the son of a native mother. Neither can I see why native Christians should be on a worse footing than any other class, and excluded expressly by the regulations of the Madras Government from the offices of district munsifs, which are open to other natives, whether Hindus or Muhammedans.*

MR. STUART WORTLEY.—As to the statement of the Right Honorable Gentleman, I confess I was not aware of the continuance of the exceptions in instructions sent out ; nor did I imagine that there was the distinction he alluded to in his last observation.

MR. JOHN STEWART.—I rise to bear testimony to the respectability of the class to which the petitioners belong ; and my wish is, that all the disabilities of which they complain should be removed. I do not agree

* See Bishop Heber's correspondence, and Madras Regulations, 1816.

with the Honorable Secretary to the Board of Control that the present is an unfit opportunity for the discussion of this subject ; on the contrary, I concur with the Right Honorable and Learned Gentleman opposite, that the oftener we discuss the affairs of India, the better prepared we shall be to legislate for the natives of that country. I fully agree in the account given of the grievances suffered by the petitioners, one consequence of which is, in a great measure, that they are excluded from mixing in European society ; and the native Indians are thence induced to look upon them with a degree of distrust and contempt. These are the very painful effects that result from these regulations ; and I have thought it right to state them, in the hope that Government may take the subject into their serious consideration.

The petition was then read, and laid upon the table.

MR. WILLIAMS WYNN.—In moving that this petition be printed, I merely wish to accompany the motion with a desire that it should be referred to the East India Committee.

MR. STUART WORTLEY.—As my observations have been commented on by the Right Honorable Members for Knaresborough, as well as by the Honorable Member for Beverley, I beg to observe that I neither had, nor have any objection to discussion upon this subject ; and that the only reason why I did not think it convenient to enter upon it was, that at this moment another branch of the subject was under consideration, I do confess I am still of opinion that such a course is inconvenient on the presentation of a petition, because, were we to go fully into the question, it would necessarily occupy the attention of the House for a long period. I beg at the same time to say that, so far from wishing to decry discussion, I am sure that it will be productive of the best effect ; and that I shall, on every proper occasion, forward it as much as lies in my power.

The petition was then ordered to be printed.

MR. WILLIAMS WYNN.—I beg now to move for the copy of a Minute by the late Sir Thomas Munro, on the state of the country and condition of the people under the Presidency of Fort St. George, dated 31st December 1824.

Mr. Ricketts's evidence before both Houses of Parliament contains a mass of valuable information relating to Eurasians, to Calcutta institutions, means of education, and other interesting matters which at the present day will, we are sure, be read with interest. We have ventured to summarise it, prefixing the following note of Mr. Ricketts :—

On the 31st of March, in obedience to a summons from the House of Lords, I attended to give evidence before their Select Committee on the affairs of India.

The Committee Meeting was well attended, and the Duke of

Wellington was also present on the occasion. Most of the Peers showed an inclination to draw out to public view, by the fair drift of their questions, the aggravated evils of our civil and political condition ; while Lord Ellenborough was the only one among them who, assuming a sort of *ex-officio* position in the affair, endeavoured, by the ordinary process of cross-examination, to palliate and soften down, as much as possible, the otherwise glaringly self-evident hardship of our case.

I am a native of Calcutta, the bearer of a petition from a portion of the inhabitants of that town and of the presidency of Fort William, which has been presented to the House of Lords. The petition is signed by between six and seven hundred, mostly persons immediately descended from European fathers and native mothers, as well as of intermarriages between these descendants. Our first grievance is, that we are destitute of civil law. We are not recognised as British subjects by the Supreme Court of Calcutta if residing in the mofussil ; we are thrown upon the jurisdiction of the mofussil courts which are regulated by the Muhammadan law. As Christians, we cannot avail ourselves of the Muhammadan civil law, though we are subject to the Criminal Code. In all that regards marriages and succession to property, we are without any definite rule of civil law by which our affairs can be regulated. The provisions of the Muhammadan Criminal Code are barbarous as applicable to a Christian population, even though the Code is modified by the Company's Regulations. We may appeal to the Sudder Dewany Adawlat in Calcutta ; but in the year 1821, when the question of appeal was tried, it was the opinion of the Judge that we could not claim a right of appeal to the Supreme Court, even though the Sudder Dewany Adawlat Court possessed the power of increasing the punishment without fresh evidence being adduced. We are excluded from all superior covenanted offices, either by the positive Regulations of the Company or by the established usage of the service. It is provided by Regulation that the son of a native Indian shall not be appointed to the regular service of the Company, or to the Military service of the Company. Even the descendants

of intermarriages are not eligible, but there has been some modification of this within the last two years by order of the Court of Directors, though there is no law on the subject. I know instances in which persons, not immediately descended from native mothers, have been refused appointments under the Company simply on account of their parentage ; and if there has been an alteration of the phraseology of the Company's Regulations since 1827, the fact of refusal of appointments remains unchanged. We are not allowed to act as pleaders in any of the Courts. We can hold no commissions in the Company's or the King's service. We may be drummers and fifers, but I am not aware of any instance in which a number of the community has been advanced to the rank of corporal ; the order withholding commissions was passed in the year 1888 by the Commander-in-Chief, and it has never been repealed. There are instances of deviation from this rule. Some of our class were admitted into both the civil and military services prior to the prohibition. The Quarter-master-General of the Army is an East Indian, admitted before 1791, and Mr. Achmuty, of the civil service. Colonel Skinner is an officer who has served with great distinction. He is the son of a native mother. I have never heard of any objection on the part of the natives of India to serve under him, or any objection on account of his mother having lost caste. Members of our class who take service under Native States are required to return to the Company's territories on the outbreak of war. The Mahratta officers who were employed in the year 1801 and 1802 were invited back to the Company's territories under promise of being pensioned. Some availed themselves of the pension, others were barbarously murdered by the native princes the moment they were aware of their intention to leave the State. Treaties with native States prevent Europeans from taking service, but we are, in this instance, recognised sometimes as Europeans, and sometimes as natives, as it serves the purposes of the Government. We are recognised as natives except

within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court,—and yet the officers who were employed by the Mahratta States of Scindia and Holkar were threatened to be dealt with as traitors if they did not return to the Company's territories. The public and private schools for the education of children of East Indians have never received assistance from Government in any shape whatever. We are excluded from participating in the grant for the education of the natives of India. The number of East Indians would not, I think, be overrated, were they estimated at 20,000 more or less in Calcutta and all the province. There was a police report made in the year 1822, and the Christian population in Calcutta alone was estimated at 13,138, of which there were 2,254 Europeans; consequently we were included in the remainder, that is, 10,884. Since 1822 the number must have considerably increased. We outnumber the Europeans very considerably, and our number is on the increase owing to the increased number of Europeans and of intermarriages..... We are principally employed in subordinate capacities in the public offices of Government, chiefly as clerks. During Nepal war East Indians were employed in the Irregular corps; but the corps was disbanded. I say, with perfect confidence, that there are many persons of half-blood qualified to hold high positions. I dare say we might collect about 500 so qualified. Many are employed in trade of various kinds in the Calcutta and China trade, as officers and captains of ships, and as merchants. Baretto's house was considered one of the wealthiest in India; there are also Lackersteen's, Brightman and Bruce, and Allan's houses. The educational establishments for the education of East Indians in Calcutta are: the Military Orphan School, Parental Academic Institution (now Doveton College), and the Calcutta Grammar School. In the Military Orphan schools, Upper and Lower, there are perhaps 800, including both sexes. There are from 130 to 140 in the Parental Academic Institution, and about 40 or 50 in the Grammar School. Besides these there are private schools. Pupils continue

in school till the age of 17 or 18, and there is no collegiate education in Calcutta, unless it be in the Bishop's College, which is confined to Missionary purposes. The Parental Academic Institution has succeeded to a happy extent in raising the tone of education in the country. There are other persons of half-blood who have no education, and are in a state of great destitution; their children are educated at the Free School and the Benevolent Institution. The children of European soldiers by native mothers are brought up at the Lower Orphan School and sent out as drummers, fifers or apprenticed to tradesmen. Three different applications were made to the Government,—one for medicines for the Parental Academic Institution, and two for pecuniary assistance. All were refused, although the assistance sought for would have been as valuable for the sanction it would have afforded the school as from the amount of pecuniary aid. East Indians have been employed as preachers, missionaries and teachers,—and in these positions have never subjected themselves to any degree of censure or reproach. The influence they possess in such occupations would be very much increased by the removal of the restrictions to which they are at present subject. It is a thing for which the natives themselves cannot account, that the Government should reject, as it does, their own Christian offspring, and treat them with marked neglect and proscription. My opinion of education in Calcutta is such that, having brought two of my own sons to England for education, and not being satisfied with what I have seen in the country, it is my intention to take them back to Calcutta. As natives of the country and as fixtures of the soil, the East Indians might be rendered instruments of great good to the country. If the real interests of India be sought, they cannot be more effectually promoted than through the instrumentality of those who have been born, educated, and are destined to spend their lives in the country. Dr. Marshman made an application for pecuniary assistance for the Benevolent Institution, which the Government complied with. Mr. Thomason

made an application for the Female Asylum, this was also granted ; and grants have been made to other institutions in consequence of applications from Europeans in their behalf, such as the Free School and others. My father was an Ensign in the Engineers, and died at the Siege of Seringapatam, in 1792. I was educated in the school supported by the army, the Military Orphan School, and never went to another. Many of my countrymen, who have been educated in England, Scotland, and Ireland, have, on their going back to India, been so much disappointed at the state of things that they have, in many instances, returned to Europe to seek a living, finding that the door was completely shut against them in their native land : I mean men of first rate education. There was a son of a General officer who returned in 1825 ; he had obtained the diploma of a doctor of medicine, but he found that the state of society was such as to compel him to return to Europe ; and I believe he is now practising in England. There have been some other instances of this kind.

The following is Mr. Ricketts's account of his attendance before the House of Commons :—

I attended in the House of Commons on Monday, the 21st of June, for the purpose of giving my evidence. The interrogatories put to me on this occasion happily discovered much of a feeling of deep interest in the details of our case. Hence the eliciting of many fresh points in my examination before the Committee in the Lower House which was left untouched before that of the Upper. The Committee adjourned about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and resumed my examination at their next sitting on Thursday, the 24th. My bodily health had, since my first arrival in England, now begun to decline sensibly from a perpetual struggle with the extreme fickleness of the climate ; and on this occasion I proceeded to the House under a violent irritation of fever, which becoming known, I was advised to go home. This, however, I declined doing, from my great anxiety to despatch the business, lest a total cessation might take place from the approaching event of the King's death, which occurred, as it turned out, but two days after, and my adjourned examination was accordingly gone through.

Upon now taking a cool and deliberate retrospect of the whole matter, I have only to regret my failure in repulsing, with a due regard to justice and in the strongest terms compatible with a sense of proper decorum, certain antiquated notions of an illiberal stamp, hatched in a particular quarter connected with the India House, as embodied in the questions put to me in the course of my examination. For this

self-conscious failure on my part, I hope not to stand chargeable with a deficiency of right feeling suited to the case, since, in my own defence, I can truly plead a weak state of health very sensibly affecting my spirits, doubtless superinduced by the benumbing influence of a desperately severe and changeable climate. What I here allude to regards questions relative to "colour, caste of mothers, want of mental qualifications," and so forth; the two former being indeed of so grave a magnitude as to prop up a system of aristocracy, based on the flimsy texture of the skin, to the utter overthrow of every principle of sound moral philosophy.

So far as regards any silly prejudice arising from "colour and caste of mothers," these are distortions of the fact too puerile and unfounded to deserve a serious thought in the mind of a reasonable being; but, with regard to the matter of "mental qualifications," the question seems to claim a little sober treatment. And here, I would ask, what are the qualifications necessary to fit men for the public service in India? Are they human, angelic, or divine? If the two latter, cold and hopeless despair belongs to our case, until the millennium shall have done its perfect work amongst us; but I rather think that the qualifications so much insisted on are merely human; and what are they? Embracing the circle of moral qualities, they consist in principles of uniform probity and rectitude, which lead to correctness of public character and conduct through life; and with regard to mental qualities, they are made up of such ingredients as common sense, a sound understanding, combined with a competent knowledge of English and the vernacular dialects of the country, and a practical aptitude for the despatch of public business. With these qualifications (taken on the lowest scale, for the mere sake of argument, but which may of course be carried to a still higher pitch if desirable,) superadded to an honest regard for the public good of India, it must require the presence of a monstrous political anomaly to bar the door against candidates for public employments, such an anomaly as has, I must say it to the shame of England, already too long been allowed to exist in India.

The leading points in Mr. Ricketts's examination before the House of Commons are as follows:—

"I am the agent of certain parties in the town of Calcutta who have presented a petition to the House of Commons. They have been called by various names, such as Eurasians, Anglo-Indians, Indo-Britons, Half-castes, &c., but they have latterly selected the name of East Indians for themselves. The class of persons included in that designation are the descendants of European British subjects and European foreigners by native

mothers, legitimate and illegitimate, as well as their offspring. The religion or caste of the native mothers of most of the East Indians within the province of Bengal are Mohammedans of respectable families, but reduced circumstances; they are in many instances Moghals and Pathans. There are a large proportion of the officers in the Company's service married to East Indian ladies.

"The disadvantages we labour under are set forth in the petition, of which I am the bearer. We are liable to be fined, imprisoned, and corporally punished at the discretion of the Judge, or to trial for capital crime; and in none of these instances can we claim the intervention of a jury. We are excluded from the regular service of the Company, civil and military; and none but the subordinate situations of clerks are open to us. Before 1791 the Company's service, civil and military, was open to us, and the Bombay army was commanded by General Jones, an East Indian, during the campaigns of 1803 and 1805. The present Quarter-master-General of the Army, Colonel Stevenson, is also an East Indian. There are also members of the community in the King's army, such as Major Deare, Captain Rutledge, Lieutenant Mullins, and others. Colonel Skinner is in the Irregular service; he has commanded from 8,000 to 10,000 troops. In the medical profession there have been Drs. Lumsdain, Breton and Lycke; the latter practiced in Calcutta and retired to England with a fortune; there have also been Drs. Frith, Gordon, Clarke, Imlach, Dick, Free, and Casey, all East Indians, and more or less eminent in their profession. Besides these professions, there are East Indians engaged as Indigo-planters, Schoolmasters, Architects, Carvers and Gilders, Undertakers, &c.; and the East Indian commercial houses in Calcutta are the firms of Lackersteen, Vrignon, Mendes, Baretto and Brightman, and Mr. Kid is the Master Ship-Builder of the Company in Calcutta. The sons of private soldiers by native women are employed as drummers and fifers in the army, and apprenticed to trades at the expense of the Lower Orphan School, which was founded for the reception and education, along

with the Upper Military Orphan School, of between 800 and 900 children. The Upper Orphan School is intended for the sons of officers by native women. Both schools have been established by the army, not by the Company, and the legitimate children are sent to that branch of the institution which is in England. A large proportion of the lower class of East Indians used to be much neglected, but the European Asylum, the Benevolent Institution, the Free School, the Parental Academy (now Doveton College), the Calcutta Grammar School, and other schools have spread education much more extensively than formerly. The usual salary of an East Indian employed as a clerk is between Rs. 50 and 100 a month. I think that an East Indian might perform the duties of Judge or Collector for one-third the salary of a European with comfort to himself and advantage to the public service. An East Indian being a native of the soil, his views and prospects are confined to India, and he has no idea of amassing a large fortune to return to a distant land, where he would be subject to expenses from which he is exempt in India. East Indians who have been in the Company's services in various capacities, in the professions, and in mercantile pursuits, have been as much respected as Europeans have been in these positions. There is no distinction made by the natives between East Indians and Europeans, the distinction emanates from the authorities of this country. They first originated the distinction, and then used it as an argument for keeping us where we are. The prejudices against us have diminished of late. A much more liberal policy has been adopted towards the descendants of European fathers by native mothers by the Dutch, French, Spaniards and Portuguese in all their settlements. Two-thirds of the council of Ceylon are composed of gentlemen born on the island. Sir Alexander Johnston found them the most efficient instruments in the public service, and with their assistance he was enabled to carry the measure of slave emancipation, and bring into operation trial by jury. I was educated entirely in the Upper Military Orphan School of Calcutta, and

was taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, the use of the globes, English grammar, &c., but neither Latin nor Greek.

Up to the year 1827 East Indians were excluded from sitting upon grand or petty juries ; since then, they are admissible by law to sit on juries, and have been summoned and served in common with Europeans. We are held in equal respect by the natives of India with Europeans. I could instance the case of Indigo-planters and merchants who are scattered in different parts of the country, who are visited by Princes and Nabobs as Europeans are, and treated with equal respect. Rammohun Roy, "a learned and respectable native in Calcutta," associates with us as he does with Europeans, and so would any other respectable native.

The native mothers of East Indians are chiefly Muhammadans ; there are some Hindus. The natives identify us with our fathers, and make no inquiry regarding our mothers. It would be an improvement of our class ; it would tend to the general improvement of society, if we were placed exactly upon a footing with British-born subjects not in the King's or the Company's services. The odious distinction now made strikes at the root of all civil and social improvement in India."

The result of the Eurasian Movement of 1829-30 was the passing in the year 1832, when a new Charter was granted to the Company, of what is known as the *Lexi Loc* Act, and the insertion in the Charter of the clause that no one should be excluded from any office because of his creed or colour. This in some measure freed East Indians from the anomalous position they occupied in the eye of the law

EURASIANS AND POOR EUROPEANS IN INDIA.

That has happened in India which has occurred in most lands and in all times, wherever and whenever two races at different stages of civilization have met. The races have mingled, and an amalgam has been produced possessing qualities akin to both. The question—and it is a most momentous one to men of English descent in India, and one that is only as yet in process of solution—is what part men of European extraction, born in India, and more or less completely educated there, shall take in the industrial and commercial development of India's future, and in the civil, military, medical, and other great State departments of the empire? That they are weighted with many and grave retarding conditions in the struggle for a higher and a brighter future for their sons—conditions inherited, acquired, and, it may be, imposed—no one who knows Eurasian, will, we should think, be prepared to deny; and it is the influence these conditions may exercise in hindering Eurasians from acquiring for themselves, and transmitting to succeeding generations, a lot in life less hampered with difficulties, a character more stable and tenacious of purpose, and a determination to be, to do and dare, all that men may, which, it seems to us, all who have the interests of India at heart, and who labour for the well-being of Eurasians and poor Europeans, much more the community who suffer under them in the race of life, should employ every means in the training and education of the rising race to eradicate or minimise.

Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English adventurers and settlers left behind them a race of men which,—because of the less desirable qualities inherited from their mothers, their uninterrupted contact and intercourse with

natives,—low class, natives in many cases, as servants,—during that period of life when the future character is formed and crystallized, and the want of that healthy rivalry and fellowship with the hardy race of their fathers, which their isolated position entailed—grew up and transmitted to their children qualities which weighted them in no ordinary fashion in their struggle to acquire a living and keep their footing with the hardier native races of India and the descendants of their fathers' race. The lax morality in which many were cradled, the enervating effects of the climate of the country on races of European extraction, and other causes, such as the tendency, which has manifested itself more or less markedly wherever a mixed race has been produced, for the pure race of the fathers to repudiate the equality of the mixed one, in many instances to treat its members with indignity or scant courtesy—all these causes, and such as these, tended still further to burden Eurasians, and hedge them round with a mass of retarding conditions in their life's progress, which in the case of many individuals, required an effort short of heroic to overcome, and which in the case of many more will require a force little short of the marvellous to triumph over.

This is not the age, nor is this either the occasion or the place, to draw aside the curtain of India's past—a past that comes so very near our own day—and disclose in all its hideousness the depravity, the concubinage, and something worse that characterised the lives of not a few Europeans during the existence of the Honorable East India Company. In the year 1814 this is the state of affairs testified to as existing “the state of concubinage in which so many native females live corrupts all morality and decency. Nearly every European private soldier has a family of half-castes; and there have been officers of rank and civilians in the country not contented without seraglios, like other Nabobs whom they learned to exceed in debauchery.” Thus arose the worst and the lowest section of the community, and its creative source is not altogether dried up to this day. The large majority of Eurasians, however, have intermarried with Europeans, and are gentlemen in manners, tastes, and education. They

have characteristics of their own as every mixed race have, and it is in the development of what is desirable, and the modification or erasure of the deterrent conditions they have inherited that their future lies.

Since the beginning of this century the Eurasian community has advanced considerably in self-reliance, education and social status. The picture we have of Eurasians, as the century opens, drawn by the hand of a warm-hearted English gentleman, is that of a large class of British subjects, with tastes, educations, traditions and religion in close sympathy with Englishmen, and hearts pulsating with a loyalty as devoted to English rules as those of natives of Britain themselves, who, nevertheless, were debarred from occupying many positions in the service of India, the very land of their birth, which their intimate knowledge of the native races and the vernaculars eminently qualified them to attain.

No doubt their birth and training tended in some measure to rob their character of some of those higher qualities which characterise the race of their fathers ; and to foster in them some of those less desirable attributes which a life-long contact with the lower class of natives is likely to produce in the descendants even of the most robust races ; inordinate conceit, an excessive self-confidence, not always well grounded, love of finery and display, a disinclination to do for themselves even in the commonest details of every-day-life the slightest service that dependants could be got to perform, and an aversion to engage in any pursuit, or take up any calling, which was supposed beneath the dignity of gentlemen and the descendants of a conquering race to follow. It should be borne in mind, however, that from the very earliest days of the East India Company down even to within thirty years of the date when the Empire of India passed from the hands of a company of traders to the Imperial rule of the Crown of England, no one—not even Englishmen—was allowed to settle in India, and follow even the most peaceful calling without the special permission of the Court of Directors ; and when, for any reason, an individual became obnoxious or troublesome, the permission was withdrawn and the offender deported. Even Alexander

Duff, before he sailed from Britain in the year 1829, had to furnish himself with the Company's permission to settle in India, and permission for a lady to accompany him as his wife was refused until the veritable Mrs. Duff was produced. The Company's servants all over India formed an exclusive circle, and enjoyed a monopoly of office and emolument which no outsiders—*interlopers* they were called—could ever attain; and there will readily occur to our readers the names of families who for three generations have been represented in India by some of their members. When by family influence and other interest brought to bear on those who had the guidance of the Company's affairs, it was alone possible to obtain an entrance on an Indian career, it is not at all to be wondered at either that the land swarmed with European adventurers ready to barter, to intrigue, or to fight for their own hand, or sell their services to the highest bidder as occasion offered, or that Eurasians, notwithstanding their parentage, or rather because of their parentage, which placed them under a social ban, should have failed to secure for their community a worthy position in any of the services.

There fell on the field of Seringapatam, with many other gallant men, a brave and gallant soldier, Ensign Ricketts of the Engineers, whose orphan boy found a home in the Upper Orphan School of Kidderpore. J. W. Ricketts, the ward of Kidderpore Orphan School, was one of the earliest and ablest members of the Eurasian community, who lived and laboured here in India for their well-being, and who advocated, and advocated successfully, the claims of Eurasians to be freed from civil and political disabilities, and to have some share in the civil and military services of India. It was largely due to the agitation which he and others originated, and to the mission which he undertook in 1830 to plead their cause in England, that, in the year 1833, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord W. Bentinck, the Indian service was thrown open to all persons, whatever their birth or colour.

How little the rulers of India have found it needful to regard, either in spirit or letter, the great charter of Indian

freedom and right, is apparent from the fact that it was only in the year 1853 that the Indian Civil Service was thrown open to competition ; and that now, in 1884, it is impossible out of England to obtain any appointment in any great Indian department except in its very lowest ranks, or under very exceptional circumstances, without undergoing a residence and training in England, which practically closes the way to high office to all but the comparatively wealthy. Besides this one by one every door of entrance to Government service is being deliberately closed against the Domiciled community, and a recent Secretary of State for India declared that the descendants of Englishmen shall not be allowed to compete on equal terms with Asiatics. Even in the lower grades of the departments there are fairly educated Eurasian lads, as fairly educated as the sons of the lower middle ranks in England, who owe their education—small thanks to the Indian Legislature—to adventure schools and missionary colleges and individual philanthropy, and who are competing side by side with highly educated, *State* educated, Hindus and Muhammadans. What chance can lads of European extraction with the traditions and tastes and aspirations of their fathers, and for whom the State does so little either to educate them or fit them in any way to serve India, have with the sons of native races whose habits of life and modes of living render it possible for them to live in comparative comfort on a sum which would inevitably starve to death even the mythical Scottish student who is supposed to cultivate literature on a little oatmeal ? In this matter of education, Eurasian lads must compete with natives at a disadvantage, and the conditions of equality in the struggle will be more equally distributed when Eurasians avail themselves of the education provided in State-aided colleges, or enjoy the same advantages in this respect as natives. The cost per head to India for educating the sons of natives, Hindus and Muhammadans, many of them belonging to the higher classes and perfectly able to pay handsomely for their own education, ranged during 1880, in the Presidency of Bengal, from Rs. 193 in the Presidency

College to Rs. 605 in the Berhampore College, while missionary and independent colleges, whose students rank as high in the examinations of the Calcutta University, are able to produce their results at a cost to the State of Rs. 18 in the General Assembly's College ; Rs. 63 in the Free Church College ; Rs. 86 in the now defunct Cathedral Mission ; Rs. 51 in St. Xavier's College ; Rs. 60 in the London Mission Institution ; and Rs. 176 in the Doveton College. Amongst all the educational institutions in existence in India the only distinctively Eurasian College is the Doveton. The kindred Madras Doveton College owes its existence to the same generous founder, and was organised by Morgan, the first and ablest of the Principals of the Doveton College, Calcutta.

The Doveton College, which has played a most important part in the educational and intellectual progress of the Eurasian community, owes its origin to the son of the English ensign who left his boy a ward of the Orphan School of Kidderpore, and its most liberal donor, whose name it bears, was a member of the same community, abandoned by his nearest relatives, picked out of a charity school in Madras, and educated by his uncle to serve with distinction in the Nizam's dominions. The story of the Doveton and its vicissitudes, from the Saturday evening of 1st March 1823, when John William Ricketts gathered in his house in South Colinga Street a few members and friends of the community, and thus laid the foundation of what is now the Doveton College, was ably told 25 years ago in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* (see Vol. XXIV, page 288) by Dr. George Smith, who succeeded Morgan in the Principalship, and has been rehearsed at greater length in the fiftieth report of that institution by Mr. Henry Andrews, one of the men yet alive, who fifty years ago laboured to secure for Eurasians a legal and political status, and a share in the various offices of State. From first to last, down even to the present day, the history of this Eurasian Institution, notwithstanding the Doveton and DeSouza bequests, has been the history of a struggle against chronic indebtedness, and against the indifference of the very community for

whom it has done so much, and in whose hands lies so much of its future usefulness.

Whatever the Doveton may have effected in the past, when it stood almost alone in India, it owes largely to its own community. While Hindoo and Muhammadan colleges were founded and endowed at State expense, Government, though again and again solicited, refused its aid, although there is scarcely a Governor-General, or Member of Council, or Chief-Justice, or Judge, from the days of Lord Hastings, that did not subscribe liberally to its funds. It was not till 1864, ten years after the passing of the "Educational Despatch" of 1854, that Government were induced to give a grant of Rs. 380 to promote the higher education of Doveton students. Six years afterwards this grant was withdrawn owing to unfavourable results at the University examinations. In 1872, Rs. 250 was again granted, and had it not been for the very favourable results attained by Doveton students at the University examinations of 1880, in all probability there would have been a withdrawal of the grant for the second time.

The position which, in the main, the Eurasian community has taken up, is this, that, as a Christian community whose traditions and feelings are wholly English, they have declined to have their sons educated along with those of the non-Christian natives of India.

In the effort to educate their children separately, they were totally unaided by State grants, as we have said, until 1864, while large sums of public money were and are lavishly expended in providing higher class education for the non-Christian subjects of India. Eurasians have laboured for more than half a century to provide a Christian high class education for their sons and daughters; and more than once in the history of the effort, disaster and defeat has confronted them. If the effort is ever to be crowned with success, it can only be by some wealthy member of the community bequeathing a sufficiently large endowment to make it possible to employ the best staff that money can procure. Until some such event as this occurs, the idea for the embodiment of which Eurasians have struggled so

long, an educational establishment complete in all its parts from an infant school to the full curriculum of an English college, can so far at least, as a thoroughly equipped college department is concerned, only be a dream fitfully realised. It appears to us that, however desirable in some respects the full realization of this complete scheme may be, there are no valid reasons why the sons of Eurasians should not sit side by side with those of Hindus and Muhammadans in the class-rooms of the Government colleges. By the time Eurasian lads are ready to enter on the study of the subjects implied in the curriculum of a college, the teachings of the family, the social circle, and their own educational establishments will have already done much to form the character and rendered it highly improbable that either their faith or their morals will be injuriously affected by such an arrangement. It seems to us that there has been far too much made by ecclesiastics of the moral and religious difficulties of the educating together of Eurasians and natives, and by the very community who have no other choice than to trust their children from their very earliest years largely in the hands of native ayahs and bearers, drawn from the very lowest social and moral stratum of native society. Had their children from their birth been tended by Christian English-speaking servants, drawn from the lower ranks of their own community, free from the grosser vices of lower class natives, then it might have been intelligible that to consort with low class Hindu and Muhammadan lads in school work and school sports would have been a process to which few parents would have cared to subject their children. We are bound to say that many Eurasian lads are in possession of an amount of vernacular abuse and nastiness acquired from native servants which it would be difficult, if not impossible, for them to acquire either in the upper classes of a well regulated school, or still less in the class-rooms of an efficient college, even though educated side by side with lads of purely native birth.

India is the home, the native land, of Eurasians in as true a sense as it is of men of pure Indian blood. It is to

India, and in India that Eurasians have to look for a career ; and India is the only future of their children. In this struggle for existence they have as competitors and fellow-subjects purely native races, who, whatever defects of character they may labour under, are many of them indued with a tenacity of purpose and a splendid power of endurance which some sections of the Eurasian community would do well to emulate, and which all sections of Eurasian society will do well not to underrate. The natives of India are largely availing themselves of the high class education provided for them in State-aided schools and colleges, and are now crowding the subordinate grades of departments, and occupying some of the higher, which, even twenty years ago, were filled by men of European extraction or of purely English birth. It is clearly imperative that, if Eurasians are to compete with natives for posts in Government departments with any fair measure of success, they must be as well equipped as possible with a high class liberal education to fit them for the contest ; and those of their number who are not sufficiently wealthy to train and educate their lads in England, should avail themselves of the education offered in the Government high class schools and colleges. The supply of educated natives and Eurasians is yearly increasing, and however much in past years the Government of India may have been induced to impart to their dealings with Eurasians and natives occasional strokes of philanthropy, these will become rarer and more rare as the debt of India accumulates and the power of taxation approaches its limits, and the purely utilitarian principles that dominate the transactions of the bulk of States and men will impell the rulers of India to choose, on sound business principles, from amongst candidates equally fitted to serve the State in any capacity those that can be had cheapest. It is here, it seems to us, that purely native races will have the advantage because of their simpler and less expensive mode of living, unless Eurasians can claim and demonstrate the possession and exercise of such higher traits of character and capacity as will render their services to the State comparable in value with those of the highly-paid English "competition-wallah."

That the Eurasian community are alive in some degree to the grave crisis approaching in their position, is indicated by the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Associations which have recently sprung up in the Bengal and Madras presidencies. These have brought the weight of public opinion to bear on Indian officials, and agitated and discussed many topics of great interest to the community. The possession, for some time, of an organ of their own to advocate and agitate the claims of their community, and the existence of an association with many branches, which claims that it "practically represents the whole domiciled Anglo-Indian and Eurasian community," marks a stage in their history and a power of asserting themselves something akin to the movement of 1829 under the guidance of J. W. Ricketts. The present movement, which bears with it so many high hopes, will be closely watched both in India and in England, and if the enthusiastic Madras meetings of a few years ago, which preceded the formation of a Eurasian society with multifarious schemes for the advantage of the community, the Calcutta Society, and the various mofussil branches, end in wrangling and windy talk, there will sink below the social horizon, of this generation at least, some of the highest hopes that have been formed by it of the power of Eurasians to organize their own community, and to do that for themselves in the direction of education, the provision of a future career for their children, and general self-helpfulness, which hitherto neither State nor charity has done, nor is imminently likely to do. The result of this movement is in their own hands, and its success or failure will be a test of their own choosing, to mark their fitness or unfitness for taking a self-reliant independent part in the service of India and the development of its resources.

There is a law in life as clearly distinguishable in the history of races and nationalities, as in the life history of the animal and vegetable creations of the geologic past, and the infinite modifications and adaptations of form and colour and function of the present. It is this, that through the whole myriad linked web and woof of life, from its lowest microscopic form to its highest development, there is a

never-ceasing struggle for existence resulting in a survival of the fittest. Whole species and genera of plants and animals have again and again disappeared from the earth in the long pre-historic past, and given place, in succession, to others, with forms and functions suited to the new conditions. The Turanian races of primæval Europe were swept out before the advance of the early Aryans, and Teutons and Slaves followed in the wake of Celts, to renew the same struggle, a struggle continued to our own day over wider areas of the earth's surface, and which will continue with more or less intensity of waxing or waning, producing fresh combination and results that may not be foretold, "till suns shall rise and set no more." Eurasians are the outcome of one of these many struggles for existence; and no amount of sentiment, or poetry, or patriotism, or philanthropy, however much they may mitigate, can exempt them from the conditions to which all races of men, all life, are subject. If they can acquire and develope habits, capacities, and conditions of life, that will render it possible for them to co-exist with older and purer native races, or that will maintain the ascendancy of the race from whence they sprung, then their future is secure; and it is a future weighted with responsibility and it may be with glory and renown. If not, they will as surely go under in the struggle of life as race after race has already disappeared, or is disappearing, before others with more enduring qualities. This may be, and is, very sad, very lamentable; and the question may well arise, whether there is no room in this world of ours for anything but the play and rule of remorseless law. The answer to this seems to be, whether men will believe it or not, that the laws which dominate the moral and spiritual nature of man are as certain and resistless, though but faintly known and barely realized, as those which regulate and circumscribe what is material. Violation or disregard, deliberate or unconscious, of these laws, known or unknown, physical, moral or spiritual, brings its own consequences, proximate and remote, so remote that no human calculus may forecast the future hopeless lot, the misery and the woe and the wretched death,

that lie waiting, like avenging furies, men and races of man who in any way make for themselves, or have inherited, conditions and surroundings and consequences which render it inevitable, either that they should sink to the lowest level in the social scale, or die out of sheer inanition, or be slain by the vices that eat out their manhood and vitality.

It is in view of consequences such as these, consequences with which, here in India, the progeny of the earlier Dutch and Portuguese settlers are already face to face; and which seem at no distant date likely to overtake the lower class of Eurasians and poor Europeans, that the law of human brotherhood, the law of Christian charity, may and ought to find a wide and a fertile field of usefulness. The islands of the Pacific are strewn with the missionary evangelists of every Christian sect. Round the fringes of the "Dark" African Continent Christian pioneers are working their way inland among hordes of savage men. In America and in Asia the missionary follows the footsteps of the merchant. In all the wide world fabulous wealth is expended to evangelise and to Christianise; is there to be no mission to the poor Eurasian and the poor Indo-European? Will the men of "The Oxford Mission" who are labouring here under the auspices of the "Right Reverend Father in God," Bishop Johnson of Calcutta, with all the wealth of the rank and fashion of England at their back, and the other missionary agencies who are doing so much for pure asiatics, lay aside for a little their classics and their mathematics and their metaphysics, and the interesting legacy of dogmatic theology which has been inherited from the fathers of their Church, and gather together the "gutter children" of European extraction in Calcutta and elsewhere, and train them up in clean, self-reliant lives, and apprentice them to trades, that they may grow up with some hope of leading useful lives rather than develop into pests of society and a standing reproach to Indian statecraft and the Christian Church? The pietism that would hunger and thirst for the conversion of heathen lands, that would talk itself into a frenzy of enthusiasm over the evangelization of the higher class of Brahmins, that can build ornate cathedrals and found churches, and spend splendid sums

of money in printing Bibles, and raising rival preaching houses, within sound of the "jangle" of each other's bells, that can talk and meditate on the goodness and love, and infinite pity, of the "All Father," and the brotherhood of all men, and yet leave their own flesh and blood, the sons and daughters of their own fathers, to grow up in hunger, and ignorance, and vice, consorting with, and sinking to the level of, the veriest scum of Indian society, is not Christianity as its great Founder taught it by both precept and example, a cant, contemptible cant, which will do more irreparable mischief to the cause of true Christ-like teaching in India and the world than all the accumulated wrong-doing and immorality that have been perpetrated in India since the rule of England first began.

Twenty years ago Lord Canning placed it on record, that "If measures for educating these children are not promptly and vigorously encouraged and aided by the Government, we shall soon find ourselves embarrassed in all large towns and stations with a floating population of Indianized English loosely brought up, and exhibiting most of the worst qualities of both races, whilst the Eurasian population, already so numerous that the means of education offered to it are quite inadequate, will increase more rapidly than ever. I can hardly imagine a more profitless, unmanageable community than one so composed. It might be long before it would grow to what would be called a class dangerous to the State, but very few years will make it, if neglected, a glaring reproach to the Government and to the faith which it will, however ignorant and vicious, nominally profess. On the other hand, if cared for betimes, it will become a source of strength and usefulness to British rule in India."

In the March of 1879, Lord Lytton, in a minute on the education and employment of natives and poor Europeans, which will probably render his name one of the landmarks in their history, declared that "Lord Canning's warning has unhappily been justified by the event. We were told officially, two years ago, that there were between eleven and twelve thousand European and Eurasian

children in India growing up without any education at all—a scandal to the English name and the English Government."

Lord Canning's minute called into existence about a dozen schools, hill schools, half the cost of which the State provided, and to which a grant-in-aid is still continued. The charges at these schools are necessarily so high, we are told, that the wealthy alone can take advantage of them. So that down to the present day neither State nor Church has touched even the fringe of what is a yearly increasing incubus, a peril to the State, and a scandal to the Church; the minute of Lord Lytton has produced as yet nothing but a crop of suggestions, two reports and some wrangling.

The lengthy preliminary report of Archdeacon Baly appeared towards the close of 1880, and amid a mass of details neither new nor, in our opinion, necessary at so early a stage of the enquiry, the Archdeacon recommended the establishment of hill schools and the subordination of the Training Colleges to the Episcopal Church in India. These in effect were the two proposals contained in the "Preliminary Report," which occupied about 59 pages of the *Gazette* of December 13th, 1879. It seems to us that, however creditable these proposals may be, as evidencing the philanthropic desires of the Archdeacon and his loyalty to his own Church, they are both of them utterly impracticable as solutions of the problem he has undertaken in some fashion to solve. We doubt if there be any body of sane legislators, either in or out of India, who would saddle the people of this country with the up-keep of a circle of hill schools, in which would be gathered together the children of poor Eurasians and "Poor Whites" all over India. The idea is so completely Utopian that the kindly feelings of the proposer must have obscured his more robust common sense; while the suggestion that the Training College for Indian teachers should be under the control of the clergy of the Church to which the Archdeacon belongs, will, in our estimation, rouse the religious animosity of every religious sect in India; and if persisted in, will embitter the whole question and sink it from one of imperial importance.

to the white heat of a profitless religious struggle. If it is imperative, as the advocates of hill-boarding-schools maintain, that the children of European extraction in India should pass the adolescent period of their lives under the most favourable conditions which are likely to secure healthy bodies and vigorous minds, is not this a truism which will be universally admitted? Is not this as true of England and the world as it is of India? But when these advocates go on to argue that this in India should be effected at partly Government expense, because we are told the parents are too poor so to educate and train their children, then we say, that if a scheme of this sort is launched and not strictly confined to the orphans and waifs of Indian society, the State will raise up a race of State paupers from whom all feelings of shame at receiving State alms will be eliminated, and who will marry and give in marriage, and produce children, to enter on much the same pauper life, and in turn look more to the State and less to their own exertions for the means of living. If the State wishes to pauperise the less wealthy Europeans and Eurasians, no better method could probably be employed than this. A race of men, whether Europeans, Asiatics, or denizens of other parts of the earth's surface, who cannot suitably educate and provide for their children (beyond mere elementary education which the State may and ought to compel all its subjects to acquire), have no claim to pose as martyrs and benefactors to humanity, if, in view of their own and their descendant's future, they continue to bring children into the world to live a pauper's life, or to suffer, to agonize, and to die. A race nurtured under conditions such as these would be a thorn in the body politic, and the moment State aid for their nurture was withdrawn, as inevitably it would be, they would sink into utter insignificance, or be trodden under foot in the social struggle, and annihilated by the men of a sturdier race. Men of European birth and extraction domiciled permanently in India are already beginning to feel bitterly some of the penalties incident to their lot. They at least can at the worst suffer and die, leaving no race behind them, with weaker bodies and less elastic minds, to grill and sweat and

suffer beneath an Indian sun ; and if puny creatures of the race have been already produced, who can only exist by periodic sojourns on breezy hill-tops, then their expiring effort should be to enable them to effect this sojourn ; and the philanthropic and the charitable may well aid them in their resolves. If the Government of India are themselves bringing out skilled artizans and others from England to work on their railways and public works and elsewhere, and paying them such wretched sums that they are unable to educate and provide for their children in a manner suitable to the needs of the climate of India, and are allowing mercantile houses, trading firms and others to perpetrate the same injustice, then the sooner this iniquity is exposed, and the cruel facts are made public, the better it will be for England and for India. If it is the need of India that men of this sort should be brought to her shores to labour for the State, then the State should see to it, that they may return to the land of their birth and not remain here a disgrace to Englishmen and a cancer in her rule ; or, if remaining, they should be a strength and bulwark, and not a race of sickly paupers. The Government seems to us to have committed a grave mistake in appointing the committee at all ; and would have acted with greater wisdom had it handed the whole subject over to the educational department of the Presidency. The department has officers all over the Presidency, who, we are bound to say, would have supplied facts and suggestions from the yearly round of their duties and experience, certainly not less authentic than those supplied by Archdeacon Baly, and as certainly more varied and valuable, because coming from those the business of whose life it is to labour for the educational advancement of the people. No doubt, the Venerable Archdeacon Baly, in an enquiry of this sort, would prove a valuable witness, but it seems to us that it is to the educational department the Government ought to look for a clear and succinct digest of the facts on which it is proposed to legislate, and for a practical working scheme for the attainment of the subject legislated for. It is no disparagement to the Archdeacon to say that there are in the

educational departments of India gentlemen of not less wide culture, and quite as varied and lengthy Indian experience, whose acquaintance with the condition of European and Eurasian education and employment is much more real and varied than any thing to which Archdeacon Baly can aspire. His appointment to the position he held on the committee was probably due to the fact that he has evinced his interest in the subject by the publication of a pamphlet distinguished by earnestness and thoughtfulness.

It seems to us that elementary schools for Eurasians and poor Europeans should be established,—ought long ago to have been established—under Government control and support in all the large Presidency towns and stations. It is in these towns and stations that Eurasians, wealthy and indigent alike, are gathered together in the largest numbers, and a local rate for educational purposes, if such a rate were deemed needful, would press with least hardship on the population of European extraction. If the Government are really bent on vigorous action in the matter, and will remit it to the educational departments of each Presidency, a very few years may see a network of efficient schools all over India affiliated with the already established higher class schools and colleges with an undenominational Training College, or its equivalent, in the capital of each Presidency, and a large proportion of children of school-going age in a fair way to wipe out some of the reproach which, as long as this remains undone, will lie on the rulers of India.

We have no faith whatever that, were the Government to establish all over the country technical schools, such as that which now occupies the premises of Bishop's College at Seebpore, these alone would train up a band of skilled tradesmen of European extraction which would render it unnecessary to import skilled European labour as largely as at present, or would in the end vindicate the wisdom of Government in incurring so large an expense for what after all is but an experiment with but a problematical outcome. Technical schools can never create an

industry, however valuable they may be in diffusing sound knowledge. Technical schools have their uses—highly important uses, especially in countries where the population has already mastered and developed a practical knowledge of handicrafts and a moderate degree of skill in these pursuits; but this is not the position which the Eurasian community occupies. It is only the merest fraction of the whole number who have followed, or whose parents have followed, engineering or mechanical pursuits. If it is contended that they have never had opportunities for doing so, and that it is the duty of the State to provide facilities for acquiring knowledge of this sort, then it appears to us that such a position is untenable, for it amounts to a declaration that the State ought to provide facilities for learning trades which neither the individual nor the community have found it to their advantage to follow. The supremacy of Britain in the mechanical arts and manufactures was not acquired in technical schools, and would probably never have been attained had it been sought for there. That supremacy and the skill acquired by other nationalities in kindred arts and professions, are due mainly to individual enterprise; and where a paternal Government has thought proper to intervene, unless in the way of supplying skilled theoretical knowledge based on practice, and that but sparingly, the result has generally been disastrous. To set up technical schools all over India, is to begin at the wrong end, and to foster the growth of a class of men who, after the course of technical instruction had been ended, would look to the Government to supply them with fairly-paid posts in which the heaviest tools they would be required to use would be the pen, the pencil, and the compass.

A trade or handicraft is only to be learned effectually by the learner doing for himself, under the supervision of a skilled journeyman, every process implied in a correct practical knowledge of the branch sought to be acquired. A more or less lengthy apprenticeship has proved itself in all time and in all countries the best school for rearing up a band of skilled, intelligent workmen; and, until Eurasians

show a much more marked tendency to undergo this, the best of all practical trainings, the less said about technical schools the better, as one of the panaceas for their ills.

The same objection, in our opinion, applies to the establishment of large hill farms under Government control. Agricultural colleges and lectureships are in our estimation imperatively needed in every large Presidency town in India, where the most advanced theory and practice of agriculturists all over the world would be taught and exhibited in field work to lads who have already taken part in, and mastered more or less the practical details of farm work, and who mean to follow it in the same practical fashion in after-life. But it is a grave error to suppose that lads, Eurasian lads, who all their days have been sitting on school benches and cramming for College and University examinations, and who have shown no aptitude and no desire for the profession of agriculture by submitting to the only process by which its practical details can be learned, will condescend to twist the tail of a bullock, or handle a farm implement unless by proxy.

The question of Eurasian regiments has been discussed with more or less intermission since the mutiny and before it. On the one hand, it is maintained that a splendid body of men of European extraction could be secured to the country, and a new outlet for Eurasian youths attained, by the enrolling of distinctive Eurasian regiments, which would cost less to the State, and would largely undertake the duties which highly paid Europeans at present perform. On the other hand, it is held by officers and others who probably draw largely from their own experience of the very lowest class of Eurasians as bandsmen and drummers, that an experiment of this sort would be a very lively one for the officers commanding and a doubtful one for the State. Indeed, so warm a friend to the community as Archdeacon Baly classes colonisation of lands out of India, or of the hill tracts of the peninsula, and Eurasian regiments, in the same category, as equally hopeless—(see *The Employment of Europeans in India*, page 26).

If there is a sufficiently large number of Eurasian lads in each Presidency, who are ready to adopt soldiering as a

profession, and who are prepared to submit themselves to all the hardships and subordinate routine duties implied in a soldier's life in India, then it seems to us it is only a question of training and discipline ; and the Government may safely enrol one regiment at least in each Presidency as a trial. In view of the practicability of Eurasian regiments it might not be inappropriate for the Government to utilise the Lawrence Asylum, and the Hill and other schools of a more or less eleemosynary character all over India, wherever Eurasian boys are educated, so that the training of a portion of them at least should have in view their entering the army.

The very lowest class of Eurasians who may, for various causes, be entering on a life of loafership and vice, should be brought together in industrial schools, somewhat after the model of those in Britain, and taught trades, or, after a preliminary training, be drafted into the Army, the Navy, the Merchant service, or wherever else they can serve India and make a living. At Madras, Bombay, and in the Hooghly, training-ships for Eurasian lads, such as those now to be found in almost all the large seaports of Great Britain and Ireland, would rescue many from a life of vagabondage and, it may be, crime, and fit them for earning a living as able seamen.

The Eurasian community, it appears to us, while availing themselves of every legitimate channel to ventilate their grievances, to memorialize State departments, to petition Government, to interview statesmen and legislators with deputations and to bring the weight of public opinion to bear on every hindrance which stands in the way of their advancement, should continually bear in mind, that their future lies largely in their own hands, and that they need not hope that either the high officials of India or England, or the Government of either, will do for their community what they will not do for themselves. It is not by scathing attacks on parties or Government, or by bitter and acrimonious comments on public men and public measures, or by virulent onslaughts on departments and functions, aries,—however useful these attacks may be in certain

stages of public mendacity, peculation, nepotism, and general wrong-doing—that any race or any community ever vindicated, or ever will vindicate, its own fitness for positions of trust and responsibility, where judicial calmness of judgment, moderation of speech, fertility of resource, and sterling integrity are eminently needful. It is in the daily exhibition of those higher qualities and characteristics which mark off a race fit to fight the battle of life manfully, and help to mould the future of a great people, that Eurasians will find the shortest method of solving the problem of their own future and demonstrate their capacity to fill the highest offices in the Indian Empire. Whenever and wherever these qualities manifest themselves, the rulers of India and the friends of the Indian people will not be slow to acknowledge them, to honor them, and to glory in them. Whether or not these qualities will be developed and exhibited more largely in the future than they have been in the past, depends greatly on Eurasians themselves, and not on any power lying outside their own will and resolve. The laws that govern existence in some of its aspects, are without pity and destitute of remorse; the fittest are the sole survivors, and the struggle of life goes on. It is chiefly in adversity, though not seldom in prosperity, that men and races show the sterling powers and capacities inherent in their natures; and if this crisis in their history through which they are about to pass, and on which they have already entered, brings to the surface, in the Eurasian community, qualities which otherwise would have lain dormant, then, indeed, to them, "sweet are the uses of adversity." Throughout this long struggle for a higher, a more varied, and a more useful position in India, Eurasians have been followed by the anxious hopes, and the best wishes of some of the noblest Englishmen who have ever served India; and there are now in England and in India numerous sympathisers who will be the first to grieve if, by violence of speech, unreasonableness in their demands, over-statement of their claims, or deficiency in self-helpfulness, they should injure, or cast to the ground the promising hopes cherished of their future. As we have already noted, the

conditions inherited, acquired, and it may be imposed, which act as hindrances in their efforts towards a brighter future, are such as require, in many instances, no ordinary effort to overcome. Every inch on their road to success must be gained for themselves and by themselves, amidst healthy rivalry, the play of interests, and the force of character. In the view of such a contest, big with their future fate, through which, as through the valley of the shadow of racial and social death, their way lies to a higher and a nobler life, the hearts of those in whose veins flow their fathers' blood may well pulse with the excitement born of high hope and manly warfare ; and there may well linger in the years, and quicken the impulse, of all fighting this fight of social life or death, imperial usefulness or uselessness, some such words as these :—

“ Courage, brother, do not stumble,
 “ Though thy path be dark as night,
 “ There's a star to guide the humble,
 “ Trust in God and do the right.

“ Let the road be long and dreary,
 “ And its ending out of sight,
 “ Foot it bravely, strong or weary,
 “ Trust in God and do the right.

“ Trust no party, Church or faction,
 “ Trust no leader in the fight,
 “ But in every word and action
 “ Trust in God and do the right.”



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