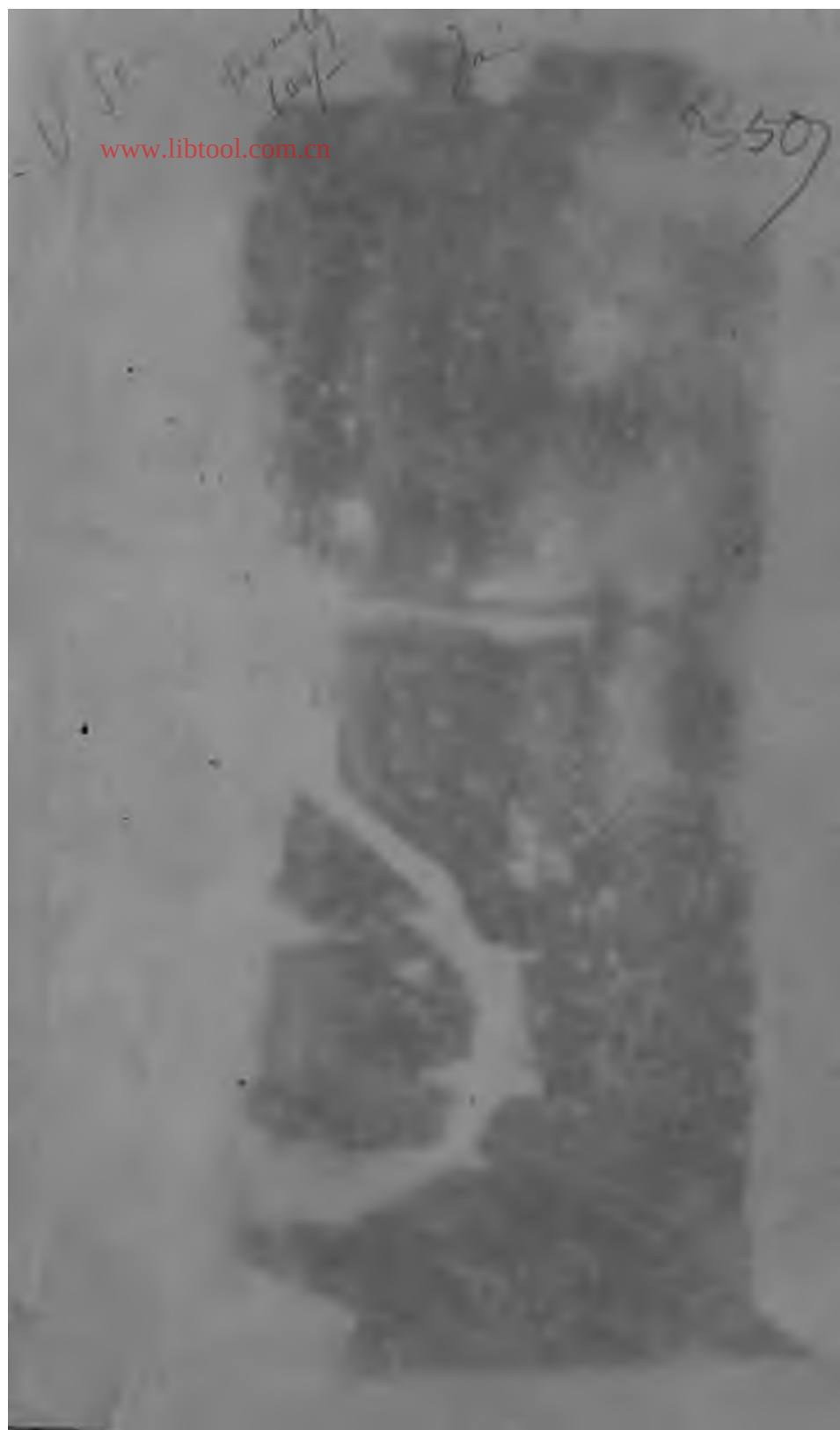


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THE
LAST DAYS IN ENGLAND
OF THE
RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY.

EDITED BY
MARY CARPENTER,
OF BRISTOL.

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TO THE COUNTRYMEN

OF

THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY,

WHO,

EMANCIPATING THEMSELVES FROM THE THRALDOM

OF IDOLATRY AND SUPERSTITION,

HAVE DEVOTED THEMSELVES

TO PROMOTE THE ELEVATION OF THEIR COUNTRY,

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED

WITH HIGH RESPECT AND WARM SYMPATHY,

BY THE EDITOR.

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PREFACE.

THE Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY was, in the land of his birth, a man greatly before his age. He was a light shining in thick darkness,—palpable,—impenetrable by its rays;—its lustre served only to make the surrounding gloom more visible. Hence he was appreciated during his life by very few of his countrymen, and his death appeared at the time to excite but little regret in India. It was to England that he turned for encouragement, sympathy and help, for Englishmen had shown that they comprehended in some degree the greatness of his spirit, and admired the purity and devotedness of his life. From England, therefore, he

sought for help in his efforts to regenerate his country;—he hoped after visiting her shores, and gathering strength from communion with the wise and good among her citizens, to return to India, armed with fresh power, guided by new light, to accomplish the great purpose of his life.

It was otherwise ordered, for the fit time was not come. His earthly warfare was accomplished;—he was permitted to retire from the battle of life, and to lie down to rest where all that was mortal of him would be guarded as a sacred deposit, and where the memorials of his spirit would be honoured and cherished. Long years required to roll by, and many changes to take place in India, before his country should be prepared truly to appreciate the great Reformer.

More than a quarter of a century has now passed, and the name of RAMMOHUN ROY

begins to be revered as it ought to be in his native country. The seed which he sowed was long in germinating, but it never lost its vitality. He who had scattered it with no sparing hand, whether in the high-ways, in stray places, among thorns and brambles, or in good ground, was not permitted even to see it spring up, but having faithfully done his work, left it in charge of the Great Husbandman. The seed has sprung up and grown, man knoweth not how, "for the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." While but a very few rallied around their great Reformer in his unwearied efforts to draw away his countrymen from idolatry and superstition, and but one temple then rose among the Hindoos dedicated to the pure worship of one only God, —now there are thousands, and perhaps even tens of thousands, who have emancipated themselves from the thralldom of idolatry and

superstition, and in many houses of worship is proclaimed "the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

The progress of improvement and the chain of events, linked together by the unerring hand of the Supreme Ruler, has led several of RAMMOHUN ROY's countrymen to follow his example and to visit our shores. Recently four young Hindoos have come to England to become acquainted with English men and women in their private and public work, and in their homes,—to study our laws and our institutions,—and thus to qualify themselves on their return to India to transplant there what they have found most deserving of imitation among us. They have desired to collect while in England all the records that remain of their illustrious countryman, with a view to prepare a complete memoir of him on their return to India. It has seemed best, however, to them to

publish separately all that can be learnt respecting the Rajah's last days, while on the scene of his labours. It is at their request that this volume has been prepared. The privilege of paying such a tribute to the memory of so noble and excellent a man, is highly valued by one who knew him personally, and who has always treasured with reverence the recollection not only of his devoted efforts in the cause of religion and virtue, but of his estimable qualities and purity of life. She regrets that she cannot make this work more worthy of him, from causes which will appear in the course of the narrative; she hopes, however, that this volume will be kindly received both by his countrymen and by those who respect his name in England, and that its very deficiencies may give rise to a more complete memoir of him, and lead to a greater knowledge of his works. For this his countrymen are now prepared. The following words

of one of them express the sentiments of all who know and respect their greatest man, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY:—

‘It is now more than fifty years, that, in Bengal, there arose a genius, like a solitary star in a night of darkness, who, in spite of great opposition and persecution, gave the death blow to gross idolatry and superstition, which had degenerated the great Hindoo nation. When we consider the debased state of religion and society in those days, we find that RAMMOHUN ROY was one of those men who have made their appearance from time to time in this world to be the enlighteners of nations and to protect men from forsaking truth. We can trace the infinite wisdom and mercy of Providence in the fact, that at times, when nations sink in vice and error, individual men are sent, who, by the force of their intellect, the purity of their character, and the earnestness of their motives, succeed in bringing men to

the paths of virtue and righteousness. In order to judge rightly of such men, we should carefully consider the times in which they lived, the state of society in which they were brought up, and the obstacles and difficulties which surrounded them;—thus we find RAMMOHUN ROY to have been, not only a great and good man, but one whom future generations of his countrymen must regard as the FIRST HINDOO REFORMER."

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A
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
OF THE
RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY,

BY THE LATE
REV. DR. LANT CARPENTER,
OF BRISTOL.

NOTICE

THE following brief Memoir of the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY was prepared by Dr. CARPENTER from authentic sources of information chiefly found in the "Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature," Vols. XIII. to XX.; from the Memoir prefixed to the "Precepts of Jesus," by Rev. Dr. T. REES; from communications received from the family with whom the Rajah resided in London, and from the Rajah personally by the writer. It was inserted, after the Rajah's lamented death, in the *Bristol Gazette* and *Bristol Mercury*, and thence copied into other papers. It was afterwards inserted, with some additions in the "Review of the Labours, Opinions, and Character of Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY," by Dr. CARPENTER, from which copious extracts are made in this volume. As this work is now out of print it is here given in full, up to the Rajah's arrival in England, as an introduction to the work.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

RAMMOHUN ROY was the son of RAM KHANT ROY. His grandfather resided at Moorshedabad, and filled some important offices under the Moguls; but being ill-treated by them towards the end of his life, the son took up his abode in the district of Bordouan, where he had landed property. There RAMMOHUN ROY was born, most probably about 1774. Under his father's roof he received the elements of native education, and also acquired the Persian language. He was afterwards sent to Patna to learn Arabic; and lastly to Benares to obtain a knowledge of the Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos. His masters at Patna set him to study Arabic translations of some of the writings of Aristotle and Euclid; and it is probable that the training thus given his mind in acuteness and close reasoning, and the knowledge which he acquired of the Mahomedan religion from Musselmen whom he esteemed, contributed to cause that searching examination of the faith in which he was educated, which led him eventually to the important efforts he made to restore it to its early simplicity.

His family was Brahminical, of high respectability ; and, of course, he was a Brahmin by birth. After his death the thread of his caste was seen round him, passing over his left shoulder and under his right. His father trained him in the doctrine of his sect ; but he very early observed the diversities of opinion existing even among the idolaters ; and that while some exalted Brahma, the Creator, others gave the ascendancy to Vishnu, the Preserver ; and others again to Siva, the Destroyer. It is scarcely possible, too, but that his mind must have been struck by the simplicity of the Mahommedan faith and worship ; and at any rate it early revolted from the frivolous or disgusting rites and ceremonies of Hindoo idolatry. Without disputing the authority of his father, he often sought from him information as to the reasons of his faith. He obtained no satisfaction, and he at last determined, at the early age of fifteen, to leave the paternal home, and sojourn for a time in Thibet, that he might see another form of religious faith. He spent two or three years in that country, and often excited the anger of the worshippers of the Lama by his rejection of their doctrine that this pretended deity—a living man—was the creator and preserver of the world. In these circumstances he experienced the soothing kindness of the female part of the family ; and his gentle, feeling heart lately dwelt, with deep interest, at the distance of more than forty years, on the recollections of that period, which, he said, had made him always feel respect and gratitude towards the female sex, and which doubtless contributed to that unvarying and re-

finer courtesy which marked his intercourse with them in this country.

When he returned to Hindostan, he was met by a deputation from his father, and received by him with great consideration. He appears, from that time, to have devoted himself to the study of Sanscrit and other languages, and of the ancient books of the Hindoos. He had frequent discussions with his father: though awe of him, however, he never avowed the scepticism which he entertained as to the present forms of their religion; but from some indirect reproaches he received, he imagined that he had fallen under his father's suspicions. His father had given him, for that country, a very superior education; but having been brought up himself in the midst of the Mussulman Court, he appears to have thought principally of those qualifications which would recommend his son to the ancient conquerors of India; and till manhood RAMMOHUN ROY knew very little of the English language, and that little he taught himself.

—“At the age of twenty-two,” says the Editor of the English Edition of the Abridgment of the Vedant and the Cena Upanishad, “he commenced the study of the English language, which not pursuing with application, he five years afterwards, when I became acquainted with him, could merely speak it well enough to be understood upon the most common topics of discourse; but could not write it with any degree of correctness. He was afterwards employed as Dewan, or principal native officer,

in the collection of the revenues, in the district of which I was for five years collector in the East India Company's civil service. By perusing all my public correspondence with diligence and attention, as well as by corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen, he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language as to be enabled to write and speak it with considerable accuracy."

The father, RAM KHANT ROY, died about 1804 or 5, having two years previously divided his property among his three sons. It was not long before RAMMOHUN ROY became the only survivor; and he thereby possessed considerable property. From this period he appears to have commenced his plans of reforming the religion of his countrymen; and in the progress of his efforts to enlighten them, he must have expended large sums of money, for he gratuitously distributed most of the works which he published for the purpose. He now quitted Bordouan and removed to Moorshedabad, where he published in Persian, with an Arabic preface, a work entitled "*Against the Idolatry of all Religions.*" No one undertook to refute this book; but it raised up against him a host of enemies, and in 1814 he retired to Calcutta, where he applied himself to the study of the English language both by reading and by conversation; and he also acquired some knowledge of Latin, and paid much attention to the mathematics. At this time he purchased a garden, with a house constructed in the European mode, in the Circular Road, at the eastern extremity of the city; and he gradually gathered round him inquiring

intelligent Hindoos, of rank and opulence, some of whom united as early as 1818 in a species of monotheistic worship.

The body of Hindoo theology is comprised in the Veds, which are writings of very high antiquity, very copious, but obscure in style; and about two thousand years ago, VYAS drew up a compendious abstract of the whole, accompanied with explanations of the more difficult passages. This digest VYAS called the Vedant, or the Resolution of all the Veds. One portion of this respects the ritual, and another the principles, of religion. It is written in the Sanscrit language. RAMMOHUN ROY translated it into the Bengalee and Hindoostanee languages, for the benefit of his countrymen; and afterwards published an abridgment of it, for gratuitous and extensive distribution. Of this abridgment he published an English translation in 1816, the title of which represents the Vedant as "the most celebrated and revered work of Brahminical theology, establishing the unity of the Supreme Being, and that he alone is the object of propitiation and worship." Towards the close of his preface he thus writes—"My constant reflections on the inconvenient, or, rather, injurious rites introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindoo idolatry, which more than any other Pagan worship destroys the texture of society—together with compassion for my countrymen—have compelled me to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error; and by making them acquainted with the [their] scriptures, enable them to contemplate, with true devotion, the unity and omni-

presence of nature's God. By taking the path which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Brahmin, have exposed myself to the complainings and reproaches even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong, and whose temporal advantage depends on the present system. But these, however accumulated, I can tranquilly bear; trusting that a day will arrive when my humble endeavours will be viewed with justice—perhaps acknowledged with gratitude. At any rate, whatever men may say, I cannot be deprived of this consolation—my motives are acceptable to that Being who beholds in secret and compensates openly."

After the publication of the Vedant, RAMMOHUN ROY printed, in Bengalee and in English, some of the principal chapters of the Veds. The first of the series was published in 1816, and is entitled "A Translation of the Cerna Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sama Veda, according to the gloss of the celebrated Shancaracharya; establishing the Unity and Sole Omnipotence of the Supreme Being, and that He alone is the object of Worship." This was prefixed to a reprint of the Abridgment of the Vedant, published in London, in 1817, by some one who had enjoyed personal intimacy with him. The English preface contains a letter from RAMMOHUN ROY to this gentleman, which shows how well he had, even at that time, overcome the difficulties of the English language. "The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth (he says in this letter) has been, that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles,

and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge; and have also found Hindoos in general more superstitious and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites and in their domestic concerns, than the rest of the known nations of the earth." He then proceeds to state what he had done in order to render them "more happy and comfortable both here and hereafter," and adds, "I, however, in the beginning of my pursuits, met with the greatest opposition from their self-interested leaders the Brahmins, and was deserted by my nearest relations; and I consequently felt extremely melancholy. In that critical situation, the only comfort that I had was the consoling and rational conversation of my European friends, especially those of Scotland and England." In that same letter he expresses his full expectation of speedily setting off for England; but says that he had been prevented from proceeding so soon as he could wish, by the spread of his views, and the inclination manifested by many to seek for truth.

—It is not surprising that the interested advocates for heathen worship should endeavour to uphold it by imputations on the character of the Reformer; and some one did publicly charge him with "rashness, self-conceit, arrogance, and impiety." Every member of his own family opposed him; and he experienced even the bitter alienation of his mother through the influence of the interested persons around her. In his early days, his mother was a woman of fine understanding; but, through the influence of superstitious bigotry, she had

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

D'ACOSTA, the editor of a journal at Calcutta, transmitted to the Abbé GREGOIRE, in 1818, the various publications of this extraordinary man, with some account of his history; and through GREGOIRE, RAMMOHUN ROY became extensively known and highly appreciated in France. D'ACOSTA says, that he carefully avoided every thing that could afford a pretext for excluding him from his caste, since, as a Brahmin, it was his acknowledged duty to instruct his countrymen in the sense and real

commands of their sacred books. He speaks of him as distinguished in his controversy more by his logical mode of reasoning than by his general views, though far from deficient in philosophy or information. He says that all his conversation, his actions, and his manners evince a powerful sentiment of individual dignity; while, in general, meanness and feebleness of mind are characteristic of the Hindoo; and that his ingenious conversation often shows, in a strain half serious and half sportive, all that he wished to be able to do for his country. As to his personal exterior at that period, D'ACOSTA says,—“He is tall and robust; his regular features, and habitually grave countenance, assume a most pleasing appearance when he is animated. He appears to have a slight disposition to melancholy.” “The moderation,” adds Abbé GREGOIRE, “with which he repels the attacks on his writings, the force of his arguments, and his profound knowledge of the sacred books of the Hindoos, are proofs of his fitness for the work he has undertaken; and the pecuniary sacrifices he has made, show a disinterestedness which cannot be encouraged or admired too warmly.”

It was about this period that Lieut.-Col. FITZCLARENCE, now the Earl of MUNSTER, became acquainted with RAMMOHUN ROY. He speaks highly of this “most extraordinary” Brahmin, of his talents and learning, his intimate knowledge of our language and eloquence in the use of it, his extensive acquaintance with our literature as well as with the Arabic and Sanscrit, his clear intelligence of the politics of Europe and especially of

England, of his fine person, and most courtly manners. The representations of the Earl indicate the amazing extent, tenaciousness, and accuracy of his memory; and in this and other respects fully accord with what we learn of him from other sources; the Author was, however, mistaken in supposing that he had been "declared to have lost caste." RAMMOHUN ROY recently stated that every effort had been made for the purpose, and that he had had, at an enormous expense, to defend himself against a series of legal proceedings instituted for the purpose of depriving him of caste, and thereby of his patrimonial inheritance. Through his profound acquaintance, however, with the Hindoo law, he baffled the efforts of his interested enemies, and proved in the Courts of justice that he had not forfeited his rights. These legal proceedings must have continued, in different ways, for several years. They appear to have terminated in the Provincial Court no long time before RAMMOHUN ROY set out for England. On leaving Calcutta, he charged his two sons to forget the conduct of their cousins in connection with them.

Besides essentially contributing to the establishment and maintenance of native schools, RAMMOHUN ROY directed his efforts, and with great success, towards the extinction of the practice of burning widows. One of his tracts on this subject he dedicated to the Marchioness of HASTINGS, when the Marquis was Governor General.

It has already been shown that as early as 1817 he had directed his attention to the Christian religion; but he found himself greatly perplexed by the various

doctrines which he saw insisted upon as essential to Christianity, in the writings of Christian authors, and in conversation with those Christian teachers with whom he had communication : he resolved, therefore, to study the original Scriptures for himself ; and for this purpose he acquired the knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages. Becoming strongly impressed with the excellence and importance of the Christian system of morality, he published, in 1820, in English, Sanscrit, and Bengalee, a series of selections, principally from the first three Gospels, which he entitled, "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness." He passed by those portions of the Evangelists which have been made the basis of distinctive doctrines ; and also (except where closely interwoven with the discourses of Christ) the narratives of miracles—believing these to be less fitted to affect the convictions of his countrymen, while the preceptive part he deemed most likely "to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding." "This simple code of religion and morality," he says, at the close of his preface, "is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste, rank or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature ; and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to them-

selves, and to society ; that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form."

This work was published anonymously, but without concealment of the source. It brought upon him some severe and unexpected animadversions in "The Friend of India"; the writer of which uncourteously, as well as most unjustly, spoke of the Compiler as a *heathen*.

Under the designation of "A Friend to Truth," RAMMOHUN ROY published an Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus"; in which he declares, that the expressions employed in the preface should have shown the opponent "that the Compiler believed, not only in one God whose nature and essence is beyond human comprehension, but in the truths revealed in the Christian system." He further maintains that the "Precepts of Jesus" "contain not only the essence of all that is necessary to instruct mankind in their civil duties, but also the best and only means of obtaining the forgiveness of our sins, the favor of God, and strength to overcome our passions and to keep his commandments." He defends the system which the Compiler had adopted to introduce Christianity to the native inhabitants, by appealing to the fact that nearly three-fifths are Hindoos and two-fifths Moosulmans, the latter devoted from their infancy to the belief in one God ; and declares that, from his own experience in religious controversy with them, he is satisfied that he was rendering them most service by making them acquainted with those precepts (by which he appears to have meant, more generally, *instructions*) "the obedience to which he

believed most peculiarly required of a Christian, and such as could by no means tend in doctrine to excite the religious horror of the Mohammedans, or the scoffs of the Hindoos." "Such dogmas or doctrinal and other passages," he afterwards says, "as are not exposed to those objections, and are not unfamiliar to the minds of those for whose benefit the compilation was intended, are generally included, in conformity with the avowed plan of the work; particularly such as seem calculated to direct our love and obedience to the beneficent Author of the universe, and to him whom he graciously sent to deliver those precepts of religion and morality whose tendency is to promote universal peace and harmony." When replying to the objections of the Reviewer, that the precepts of Christ do not shew how to obtain the forgiveness of sins and the favor of God, the Friend of Truth extracts from the compilation "a few passages of that greatest of all prophets who was sent to call sinners to repentance"; and adds, "Numerous passages of the Old and New Testaments to the same effect, which might fill a volume, distinctly promise us that the forgiveness of God, and the favor of his Divine Majesty may be obtained by sincere repentance, as required of sinners by the Redeemer."

On these anonymous publications, Dr. MARSHMAN, of Serampore College, published a series of animadversions which led to a very remarkable reply from RAMMOHUN ROY—the Second Appeal—with his name prefixed, which is distinguished by the closeness of his reasonings, the extent and critical accuracy of his scriptural

knowledge, the comprehensiveness of his investigations, the judiciousness of his arrangement, the lucid statement of his own opinions, and the acuteness and skill with which he controverts the positions of his opponents. All the publications of this controversy were soon reprinted in London; and those who wish to become acquainted with the sentiments of this remarkable man, as to his Christian belief generally, and his own opinions respecting God and Christ, may be referred with confidence, and in an especial manner, to this Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." The doctrine maintained in it respecting God, is thus stated by himself:—"That the Omnipotent God, who is the only proper object of religious veneration, is one and undivided in person"; that "in reliance on numerous promises found in the sacred writings, we ought to entertain every hope of enjoying the blessings of pardon from the merciful Father, through repentance, which is declared the only means of procuring forgiveness for our failures"; and that he leads "such as worship him in spirit to righteous conduct, and ultimately to salvation, through his guiding influence which is called the Holy Spirit," "given as the consequence of their sincere prayer and supplication." And respecting "Jesus of Nazareth" he speaks as the "Christ of God": he says he places "implicit confidence" in his "veracity, candour, and perfection": he represents him as "a Being in whom dwelt all truth, and who was sent with a divine law to guide mankind by his preaching and example"; as receiving from the

Father, "the commission to come into the world for the salvation of mankind"; as judging the world by the wisdom of God; as being "empowered to perform wonderful works"; he speaks of his subordinate nature and receiving all the powers which he manifested from the Father; but also of his being "superior even to the angels in heaven, living from the beginning of the world to eternity"; and of the Father's creating "all things by him and for him"; and he dwells with great satisfaction (pp. 162—167) on the conclusion to which the instructions of Christ had led him, that the "unity existing between the Father and himself," is "a subsisting concord of will and design, such as existed among his Apostles, and not identity of being." "Had not experience (he concludes) too clearly proved that such metaphorical expressions, when taken singly and without attention to their contexts, may be made the foundation of doctrines quite at variance with the tenor of the rest of the Scriptures, I should have had no hesitation in submitting indiscriminately the whole of the doctrines of the New Testament to my countrymen; as I should have felt no apprehension that even the most ignorant of them, if left to the guidance of their own unprejudiced views of the matter, could misconceive the clear and distinct assertions they every where contain of the unity of God and subordinate nature of his messenger Jesus Christ."

The Second Appeal called forth another work from Dr. MARSHMAN; to which RAMMOHUN ROY published a reply in 1823, under the title of the Final Appeal.

His preceding works had been printed at the Baptist Missionary Press; but the acting proprietor declined, "although in the politest manner possible," to print the Final Appeal; and RAMMOHUN ROY purchased type, and commenced an independent printing press for this and other similar publications. The imprint is "Calcutta: printed at the Unitarian Press, Dhurmtollah." He depended chiefly on native aid; and in consequence the original work has many errata. In the Preface he states that this controversy had prevented other publications which he had projected for his countrymen, as well as drawn him for three years from other literary pursuits; and that it had caused much coolness towards him in the demeanour of some whose friendship he held very dear: nevertheless, that he did not wish he had pursued a different course, since, he says, "whatever may be the opinion of the world, my own conscience fully approves of my past endeavours to defend what I esteem the cause of truth."

The Editor of the *Indian Gazette*, in adverting to this discussion, and to the other labours of this distinguished native, thus writes—"We say distinguished, because he is so among his own people, by caste, rank, and respectability; and among all men he must ever be distinguished for his philanthropy, his great learning, and his intellectual ascendancy in general." As to the controversy arising from the Precepts of Jesus, the Editor says that whatever other effects it may have caused, "it still further exhibited the acuteness of his mind, the logical power of his intellect, and the unrivalled

good temper with which he could argue : " it roused up
" a most gigantic combatant in the theological field—a
combatant who, we are constrained to say, has not yet
met with his match here."

To the public testimonies already adduced, may be
added that of the celebrated SISMONDI, who, in an article
in the *Revue Encyclopédique* for 1824, after some
important observations respecting the institution of
castes and the sacrifice of widows, thus proceeds : " A
glorious reform has, however, begun to spread among
the Hindoos. A Brahmin, whom those who know India
agree in representing as one of the most virtuous and
enlightened of men, RAMMOHUN ROY, is exerting himself
to restore his countrymen to the worship of the true
God, and to the union of morality and religion. His
flock is small, but increases continually. He com-
municates to the Hindoos all the progress that thought
has made among the Europeans. He is among them, by
a much juster title than the Missionaries, the Apostle
of Christianity."

CHAPTER. I.

ENGLISH IMPRESSIONS OF RAMMOHUN ROY,

*Derived from documents which reached England
before his visit.*

HALF a century has now elapsed since the attention of the religious public in Great Britain was first drawn to the wonderful man who is the subject of the present volume. Those who are acquainted with India at the present time, when the efforts of the British Government have long been directed to advancing the material resources of that great country, as well as to promote intellectual and moral improvement, and who are aware how gladly these efforts are seconded by the intellectual part of the native population, can hardly realize the difficulties which the first Hindoo Reformer must have had to encounter. This must be borne in mind when tracing the progress of the extraordinary individual, who, for so long a period, stood alone to encounter the hostility of a whole people sunk in the most degrading idolatry.

The first English notice we find of RAMMOHUN ROY occurs in the Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society, Vol. VI., pp. 106—109, of the date of 1816 :—

“RAMA-MOHUNA-RAYA, a very rich Rarhee Brahmun of Calcutta, is a respectable Sungskrita scholar, and so well versed in Persian, that he is called MOULUVEE-RAMA-MOHUNA-RAYA* : he also writes English with correctness, and reads with ease English mathematical and metaphysical works. He has published in Bengalee one or two philosophical works, from the Sungskrita, which he hopes may be useful in leading his countrymen to renounce idolatry. Europeans breakfast at his house, at a separate table, in the English fashion; he has paid us a visit at Serampore, and at a late interview, after relating an anecdote of Krishna, relative to a petty theft by this god, he added, ‘The sweeper of my house would not do such an act, and can I worship a god sunk lower than the man who is a menial servant?’ He is at present a simple theist, admires Jesus Christ, but knows not his *need* of the atonement. He has not renounced his caste, and this enables him to visit the richest families of Hindoos. He is said to be very moral; but is pronounced to be a most wicked man by the strict Hindoos.”

Subjoined to this is a copy of RAMMOHUN ROY’s Preface to his Translation of the Abridgment of the Vedanta. The passage closes as follows:

* In this and in other extracts, the original orthography is preserved.

"Of this man Mr. YATES writes thus, in a letter dated Aug., 1816 :—' I was introduced to him about a year ago : before this, he was not acquainted with any one who cared for his soul. Some time after, I introduced EUSTACE CAREY to him, and we have had repeated conversations with him. When I first knew him he would talk only on metaphysical subjects, such as the eternity of matter, the nature and qualities of evidence, &c., but he has lately become much more humble, and disposed to converse about the gospel. He has many relations, Brahmuns, and has established religious worship among them. He maintains the unity of God, and hates all the heathen idolatries. He visited EUSTACE lately and stayed to family prayer, with which he was quite delighted. EUSTACE gave him Dr. WATTS's Hymns : he said he would treasure them up in his heart. He has been at Serampore once, and has engaged to come and see me in the course of a few weeks. He has offered EUSTACE a piece of ground for a school'."*

A fuller account of RAMMOHUN ROY is found in the Church of England "Missionary Register" for Sept., 1816, p. 370 :—

"We have been favored with a sight of a tract, printed at Calcutta in the present year (1816), with the following title :—' Translation of an Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds ; the most celebrated and revered Work of Brahminical Theology, establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being ; and that he alone is the Object of propitiation and worship. By

* Dr. CARPENTER's "Review," pp. 80—81.

RAMMOHUN ROY.' Before we give an account of this curious tract, it may be advantageous to our readers to know something of the author. Of RAMMOHUN ROY we have received reports from several friends. The substance of them is this : he is a Brahmin, about 32 years of age, of extensive landed property, and of great consideration and influence ; shrewd, vigilant, active, ambitious, prepossessing in his manners, versed in various languages, and busily employed in giving lectures to a number of his countrymen on the Unity of the God-head. He is acquainted with the New Testament, and seems disposed to hear any thing which can be enforced by the authority of Christ.

"Another account carries him further as a Christian. It states that he began his studies by learning Persian ; as he considered a knowledge of that language necessary to every native of any distinction. From Persian he was led almost as a matter of course to Arabic and the Koran. His own statement is, that the religion of Mahomed at first made some impression upon him ; but when he found that the prophet carried off the beautiful wife of his slave, and attempted to establish his religion by the sword, he became convinced that it could not be from God. Then he studied our Bible in English ; and in consequence became a Christian. He has spread his doctrine to a considerable extent, and has several Hindoos of high caste and of fortune in league with him, who maintain his opinions. They call themselves a society, and are bound by certain rules, one of which, is, that no man shall be admitted into their number

except with this condition, that he renounce idol worship. Of these rules, however, they do not seem to be very uniform in the observance. One of the society, though he professes to have renounced idolatry, yet keeps in his house a number of gods, as well as two large pagodas : his society has granted him a dispensation on this head, because he possesses a certain quantity of land from the King of Delhi for this purpose, and if he were to destroy his idols, he might lose his land. One account carries the number of RAMMOHUN's followers to nearly five hundred; and states, that they expect soon to be strong enough to enable him publicly to avow his faith, and consequently to lose his caste, which he has hitherto not done, as it would impede his intercourse with many whom he hopes shortly to convince. The Brahmins had twice attempted his life, but he was fully on his guard. It is stated, that after being baptized he intends to embark for England, with many of his friends, in order to pass some years in the acquisition of learning at one or both of our universities.

"RAMMOHUN writes and speaks English correctly. He has published different tracts and translations in our tongue, and in Persian and Bengalee, directed against the Hindoo idolatry and superstitions. The piece, of which we shall give an abstract, discovers little else than a discernment of the folly of the vulgar belief of his country ; and a subtle, but unsuccessful, attempt to put a good meaning on the absurd statements of its more ancient and refined creed. His judgment may possibly be convinced of the truth of Divine revelation,

but one of our correspondents represents him to be as yet but a self-confident Deist;—disgusted with the follies of the pretended revelations from heaven, with which he has been conversant, but not yet bowed in his convictions, and humbled in his heart to the revelation of Divine mercy. We do not mean to say that the heart of RAMMOHUN ROY is not humbled, and that he has not received the gospel as the only remedy for the spiritual diseases under which he labours in common with all men; but we have as yet seen no evidence sufficient to warrant us in this belief. We pray God to give him grace, that he may in penitence and faith embrace with all his heart the Saviour of the world.

“The tract (of which we have given the title) is short, extending to fourteen pages, quarto. It is an abridgment of the Vedant of VYAS, whom RAMMOHUN ROY represents as ‘the greatest of the Indian theologists, philosophers and poets.’ The author professes to give the real sense and meaning of the Vedant and Veds on the most important points of the Hindoo theology, which he asserts to have been misunderstood and forgotten. His various positions are supported by passages from the Vedant or Veds, and those which appear to contradict them are explained. After asserting the necessity for mankind to acquire knowledge respecting the Supreme Being, but that this knowledge is limited to very narrow bounds, the author argues from the Vedant and Veds that creating and governing power cannot be attributed to any of the various objects to which the grosser Hindoo theology attributes it; such as the void space, air, light, nature, atoms, the soul, any

god or goddess of the earth, the sun, or any of the celestial gods. He asserts the unity, spirituality, omnipresence and omnipotence of the Supreme Being;—that he is the sole object of worship;—that the adoration of him is required of mankind, as well as of the celestial gods;—that moral principle is a part of the adoration of God, with reliance on, and self-resignation to, the only true Being, and an aversion to worldly considerations;—and that devotion to the Supreme Being is not limited to any holy place or sacred country.

“The rise of this new sect, the zeal and subtlety displayed by its founder, with its obvious tendency to undermine the fabric of Hindoo superstition, are objects of serious attention to the Christian mind. ‘Who knows,’ asks one of the friends from whom we have received these communications, ‘but this man may be one of the many instruments by which God, in his mysterious providence, may accomplish the overthrow of idolatry?’ ‘What may be the effect of this man’s labours,’ says another correspondent, ‘time will shew. Probably, they may bring the craft of Brahminism and caste into danger; and God may be in this manner shaking the kingdom of Satan. However this may prove, that great work will be done; and though reason and philosophy may not have a voice powerful enough to reach the hearts of these poor captives, yet the Christian missionary whom Christ sends forth will find a mouth and tongue which no man shall be able to gainsay or to resist.’” *

* Extracted from the “Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature,” Vol. xiii., pp. 299—301, 1818.

In this, and in other extracts, the Editor of this volume refrains from expressing an opinion on the sentiments of the writer, and merely presents to the reader the views which were entertained at the time respecting RAMMOHUN ROY, and brought before the English public by the periodical literature of the day.

A notice of the Abridgment of the Vedant occurs in the same volume of the "Monthly Repository," p. 512, which is interesting, as affording from another quarter a view of the position first taken by the Hindoo Reformer:—

"Two literary phenomena, of a singular nature, have very recently been exhibited in India. The first is a Hindu Deist.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, a Bramin, has published a small work, in the present year, at Calcutta, entitled 'An Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds; the most celebrated work of Braminical Theology, establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being, and that he alone is the Object of Worship.' It contains a collection of very remarkable texts from the Vedas, in which the principles of natural religion are delivered, not without dignity; and which treat all worship to inferior beings, together with the observance of rites and seasons, and the distinctions of food, as the aids of an imperfect religion, which may be altogether disregarded by those who have attained to the knowledge and love of the true God. His contemporaries and his ancestors he considers as idolators, notwithstanding the excuse of an allegorical theology which some Europeans

have made for them. This Bramin is made to complain with feeling, in the English version, of the obloquy which he has incurred among his countrymen by the purity of his faith. He alludes no where to any other system of religion; and passes over, in absolute silence, the labours, and indeed the existence of the missionaries."

The records of the next year mark a striking advance in RAMMOHUN ROY'S mind. The following passage is extracted from a letter from Rev. T. BELSHAM, Minister of Essex Street Chapel, London, as an introduction to a letter he had just received from a native convert to Christianity, WILLIAM ROBERTS, of Madras :—

"It is very remarkable that while the great doctrine of the unity and unrivalled supremacy of God is thus gradually working its way among the poorer classes of natives in the vicinity of Madras, it is at the same time making a triumphant progress among the higher castes of Hindoos in the great and populous city of Calcutta. RAMMOHUN ROY, a learned, eloquent, and opulent Brahmun, having, by the proper exercise of his own understanding, discovered the folly and absurdity of the Hindoo mythology and of idol worship, was led by a conscientious sense of duty to proclaim this important discovery to his countrymen, and has publicly taught the doctrine of the divine unity and perfection to the native Hindoos, and has entered his protest against their impious, barbarous and idolatrous rites. Such doctrine from a person of such exalted rank, at first excited great astonishment, and gave infinite offence. But by degrees the courage, eloquence, and perseverance

of this extraordinary man prevailed over all opposition : and it is said that many hundreds of the native Hindoos, and especially of the young people, have embraced his doctrine. He does not profess to be a Christian. He told a worthy clergyman at Calcutta about a year ago, that he preferred Christianity to all other religions, and would certainly embrace it, if it were not for the doctrine of the Trinity. This was an insurmountable obstacle. At the beginning of this year, in January, 1817, he informed the same respectable clergyman, that he was now in the way of ascertaining whether the doctrine of the Trinity is or is not the doctrine of the New Testament : for that he and twenty other learned Brahmuns had determined to sit down and study the Gospel with the greatest possible attention and impartiality, in order to discover their real meaning ; and he did not think it possible that twenty serious and impartial inquirers, who sought after nothing but truth, and who earnestly implored divine illumination and direction, would be suffered to fall into an erroneous conclusion. The result of this inquiry has not yet reached England." *

During the years 1816, 1817, RAMMOHUN ROY issued various pamphlets, of which a list is given in the Appendix, all tending to prove to his countrymen the unity of the deity from their own sacred writings. These were translated into English, and a full review of them is given in the "Monthly Repository" for 1819, Vol. xiv., pp. 561—569. As these works are probably

* "Christian Reformer," Vol. iv., p. 2, 1818.

inaccessible to most readers, some extracts from this review will be interesting as indicating the modes of thought of the author:—

“The ‘Ishopanishad’ is another chapter of the Veds, strongly asserting, as the pious translator says, ‘that the sole regulator of the universe is but one, omnipresent, surpassing our powers of comprehension, above external sense, whose worship is the chief duty of mankind, and the sole cause of eternal beatitude.’ In the Preface is obviated the objection that the *Puranas* &c., admitted expositions of the Hindoo shasters or sacred books, inculcate ‘the worship of the several gods and goddesses.’ ‘They affirm frequently,’ says the Reformer, ‘that the directions to worship any figured beings are only applicable to those who are incapable of elevating their minds to the idea of an invisible Supreme Being, in order that such persons, by fixing their attention on those invented figures, may be able to restrain themselves from vicious temptations, and that those that are competent for the worship of the invisible God should disregard the worship of idols.’

‘Many learned Brahmins are perfectly aware of the absurdity of idolatry, and are well informed of the nature of the purer mode of divine worship. But as in the rites, ceremonies and festivals of idolatry, they find the source of their comforts and fortune, they not only never fail to protect idol worship from all attacks, but even advance and encourage it to the utmost of their power, by keeping the knowledge of their Scriptures concealed from the rest of the people. Their followers, too, confiding in these leaders, feel gratification in the idea of the Divine nature residing in a being resembling themselves in birth, shape and propensities; and are naturally delighted with a mode of worship agreeable to the senses,

though destructive of moral principles, and the fruitful parent of prejudice and superstition.'—*Pref.*, pp. ix. x.

"The zealous writer goes on to controvert the liberal opinion of some Europeans that the Hindoos regard their idols, as the Roman Catholics say they do their crucifixes and pictures, as mere helps to contemplation; an opinion, he says, which very naturally arises out of 'the extreme absurdity of pure, unqualified idolatry,' and under which, 'flimsy and borrowed' as it is, he is glad to see the Hindoos willing to shelter their practices, inasmuch as such a disposition shews that they are beginning to be sensible of their folly. He declares, however, that 'Hindoos of the present age, with a very few exceptions,' are downright and gross idolaters.

'For whatever Hindoo purchases an idol in the market, or constructs one with his own hands, or has one made up under his own superintendence, it is his invariable practice to perform certain ceremonies, called *Prán Pratisht'ha*, or the endowment of animation, by which he believes that its nature is changed from that of the mere materials of which it is formed, and that it acquires not only life but supernatural powers. Shortly afterwards, if the idol be of the masculine gender, he marries it to a feminine one, with no less pomp and magnificence than he celebrates the nuptials of his own children. The mysterious process is now complete, and the god and goddess are esteemed the arbiters of his destiny, and continually receive his most ardent adoration.

'At the same time, the worshipper of images ascribes to them at once the opposite natures of human and of super-human beings. In attention to their supposed wants as living beings, he is seen feeding, or pretending to feed them, every morning and evening; and as in the hot season he is careful to fan them, so in the cold he is equally regardful of their comfort, covering them by day and night with warm clothing, and placing them at night in a snug bed.'—*Pref.*, pp. xiii. xiv.

“The doctrine of the Vedant that ‘God is everywhere and every thing is in God,’ which is, it seems, pleaded in behalf of Hindoo idolatry, amounts to no more, according to RAMMOHUN ROY, than ‘that nothing is absent from God, and nothing bears real existence except by the volition of God, whose existence is the sole support of the conceived existence of the universe, which is acted upon by him in the same manner as a human body is by a soul.’

“Reformers are opposed every where by the same prejudices. Idolatry is defended in Hindoostan by the argument of custom.

‘Let the authors of the Veds, Poorans and Tuntras,’ it is said, ‘assert what they may in favour of devotion to the Supreme Being, but idol worship has been practised for so many centuries that custom renders it proper to continue that worship.’ It is, however, evident to every one possessed of common sense, that custom or fashion is quite different from divine faith; the latter proceeding from spiritual authorities and correct reasoning, and the former being merely the fruit of vulgar caprice. What can justify a man, who believes in the inspiration of his religious books, in neglecting the direct authorities of the same works, and subjecting himself entirely to custom and fashion, which are liable to perpetual changes, and depend upon popular whim?

‘I may conclude this subject with an appeal to the good sense of my countrymen, by asking them whose advice appears the most disinterested and most rational,—that of those who, concealing your Scriptures from you, continually teach you thus: ‘believe whatever we may say—don’t examine or even touch your Scriptures—neglect entirely your reasoning faculties—do not only consider us, whatever may be our principles, as gods on earth, but humbly adore and propitiate us by sacrificing to us the greater part (if not the whole) of your property:’ or that of the man who lays your Scriptures and their comments, as well as their translations, before you, and solicits you to examine their purport,

without neglecting the proper and moderate use of reason ; and to attend strictly to their directions, by the rational performance of your duty to your sole Creator, and to your fellow-creatures, and also to pay true respect to those who think and act righteously ? I hope no one can be so prejudiced as to be unable to discern which advice is most calculated to lead him to the best road to both temporal and eternal happiness.'—*Pref. pp. xxi.—xxiii.*

“After the Preface is an introduction, which we lay before the reader as a whole, on account of the pure moral feeling which it expresses :

‘The physical powers of man are limited ; and when viewed comparatively, sink into insignificance ; while in the same ratio his moral faculties rise in our estimation, as embracing a wide sphere of action, and possessing a capability of almost boundless improvement. If the short duration of human life be contrasted with the great age of the universe, and the limited extent of bodily strength with the many objects to which there is a necessity of applying it, we must necessarily be disposed to entertain but a very humble opinion of our own nature ; and nothing, perhaps, is so well calculated to restore our self-complacency as the contemplation of our more extensive moral powers, together with the highly beneficial objects which the appropriate exercise of them may produce. On the other hand, sorrow and remorse can scarcely fail, sooner or later, to be the portion of him who is conscious of having neglected opportunities of rendering benefit to his fellow-creatures. From considerations like these, it has been that I (although born a *Brahmin*, and instructed in my youth in all the principles of that sect), being thoroughly convinced of the lamentable errors of my countrymen, have been stimulated to employ every means in my power to improve their minds, and lead them to the knowledge of a purer system of morality. Living constantly amongst *Hindoos* of different sects and professions, I have had ample opportunity of observing the superstitious puerilities into which they have been thrown by their self-interested guides ; who, in defiance of the law as well as of common sense, have succeeded but too well in conducting them to the temple of idolatry ;

and while they hid from their view the true substance of morality, have infused into their simple hearts a weak attachment for its mere shadow. For the chief part of the theory and practice of *Hindooism*, I am sorry to say, is made to consist in the adoption of a peculiar mode of diet, the least aberration from which (even though the conduct of the offender may in other respects be pure and blameless) is not only visited with the severest censure, but actually punished by exclusion from the society of his family and friends. In a word, he is doomed to undergo what is commonly called loss of caste. On the contrary, the rigid observance of this grand article of *Hindoo* faith, is considered in so high a light as to compensate for every moral defect. Even the most atrocious crimes weigh little or nothing in the balance against the supposed guilt of its violation. Murder, theft, or perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss of caste, is visited in their society with no peculiar mark of infamy or disgrace. A trifling present to the *Brahmin*, commonly called *Prayaschit*, with the performance of a few idle ceremonies, are held as a sufficient atonement for all those crimes; and the delinquent is at once freed from all temporal inconvenience, as well as all dread of future retribution. My reflections upon these solemn truths have been most painful for many years. I have never ceased to contemplate, with the strongest feelings of regret, the obstinate adherence of my countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry, inducing, for the sake of propitiating their supposed deities, the violation of every humane and social feeling. And this in various instances; but more especially in the dreadful acts of self-destruction, and the immolation of the nearest relations, under the delusion of conforming to sacred religious rites. I have never ceased, I repeat, to contemplate these practices with the strongest feelings of regret, and to view in them the moral debasement of a race who, I cannot help thinking, are capable of better things; whose susceptibility, patience and mildness of character, render them worthy of a better destiny. Under these impressions, therefore, I have been compelled to lay before them genuine translations of parts of their Scripture, which inculcates not only the enlightened worship of one God, but the purest principles of morality, accompanied with such notices as I deemed requisite to

oppose the arguments employed by the *Brahmins* in defence of their beloved system. Most earnestly do I pray that the whole may, sooner or later, prove efficient in producing on the minds of *Hindoos* in general, a conviction of the rationality of believing in and adoring the Supreme Being only; together with a complete perception and practice of that grand and comprehensive moral principle, 'Do unto others as ye would be done by.'

This courageous attack on the long-established and prevailing religion of his countrymen is most remarkable, when we consider that the author of it was brought up in the midst of gross idolatry, and with none around him to guide him to a purer religion, or to open his eyes to its baneful nature, in perverting the moral nature of man, and degrading the whole system of society. Such an instance is probably unparalleled in the history of the world. The Hindoo Reformer had entered on a mighty conflict, single handed. RAMMOHUN ROY was speedily attacked in his own language by an "Apolo-gist for the present system of Hindoo worship," and by an "Advocate for Idolatry, at Madras," who published a letter against him in the *Madras Courier*. Notwithstanding all opposition, however, he succeeded in awakening the attention of many of his countrymen, by the simple force of truth, set forth by his masterly mind. When writing to the Editor of the Translation of the *Cena Upanishad*, he says at the close of a letter from which extracts were made in the Biographical Sketch :

"I now with the greatest pleasure inform you, that several of my countrymen have risen superior to their prejudices ; many are inclined to seek for the truth ;

and a great number of those who dissented from me have now coincided with me in opinion. This engagement has prevented me proceeding to Europe as soon as I could wish ; but you may depend upon my setting off for England within a short period of time, and if you do not return to India before October next, you will most probably receive a letter from me informing you of the exact time of my departure for England, and of the name of the vessel on which I shall embark."

The European reputation of RAMMOHUN ROY as a remarkable man, and a Reformer, was not confined to Great Britain. A French pamphlet respecting him was forwarded to the Editor of the "Monthly Repository," (xv, 1820,) by the Abbé GREGOIRE, formerly Bishop of Blois, and which was afterwards inserted in the "Chronique Religieuse." The biographical part of this pamphlet was derived from communications from the learned M. D'ACOSTA, then the Editor of *The Times*, at Calcutta. The following extract presents several interesting features of the life of RAMMOHUN ROY, as viewed by a foreigner :—

"Whatever be the abstract merit of RAMMOHUN ROY, there is, probably, throughout India no Brahmin who is less a Brahmin and less a Hindoo than he ; and thousands of dupes who have suffered the loss of their caste have been less offenders against the peculiarities of their religion than he.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, considering that youth is the period most adapted to the reception of novelties, either good or bad, has established a school at his own expense,

where fifty children are taught Sanscrit, English and Geography. How slender soever these attempts at reform may appear, they will, probably, more or less rapidly attain their object; aided as they are by European influence, and, above all, by the art of printing. It is against the division of his countrymen into castes that RAMMOHUN ROY's correcting hand is turned, and in that the strength of his judgment is evinced. The distinction of castes may be regarded as the cement of the polytheism and the other errors prevalent in India: let that distinction disappear, and all the Hindoo superstitions will crumble beneath the touch of human reason. It is the division into castes, carried to a frightful excess, which consolidates the Hindoo system, by incorporating it with the daily habits of domestic life. In fact, European institutions themselves are not altogether exempt from the influence of this vicious principle: legitimacy, taken as an absolute rule; hereditary nobility and the privileges of the first-born, are the same thing; or rather, are remnants of it, which cannot without difficulty be destroyed.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, adapting his measures to the place and the times in which he lives, as well as the sort of men he is attempting to enlighten, does not oppose the institution of castes by abstract reasonings (for they would be useless), but by the authority of the Vedant, which he is careful not to bring into disrepute, and of which he professes to be but the commentator. The discretion which regulates his conduct prevents any action revolting to the prejudices of his fellow-sectaries,

or capable of affording an excuse for his exclusion. He has, nevertheless, risen above many littlenesses: he scruples not to seat himself with an European who is eating; sometimes he even invites Europeans to his house, and treats them according to their own taste. Far, however, from wishing to lose his Brahminical dignity, it is upon *that* he founds his enterprise; asserting that it is his duty, as a Brahmin, to instruct his countrymen in the sense and in the real commands of their sacred books. His efforts are directed towards the destruction of that prejudice which prevents the different castes from eating together. He considers that this amelioration is the most essential, and will affect every other, even the *political*, amelioration of his country—and this is an object to which he is not indifferent. Every six months he publishes a little tract, in Bengalee and in English, developing his system of theism; and he is always ready to answer the pamphlets published at Calcutta or Madras in opposition to him. He takes pleasure in this controversy; but although far from deficient in philosophy, or in knowledge, he distinguishes himself more by his logical mode of reasoning than by his general views. He appears to feel the advantage which it gives him with the Methodists, some of whom are endeavouring to convert him. He seems to have prepared himself for his polemical career from the logic of the Arabians, which he regards as superior to every other; he asserts, likewise, that he has found nothing in European books equal to the scholastic philosophy of the Hindoos.

"We may easily imagine that a man who has raised himself so much above the level of his countrymen by his intellectual attainments, cannot exactly resemble them in his conduct. He not only refrains from their superstitious practices (which is not saying much in his favour, since he might do so from various causes not highly laudable), but, what is much more important, all his conversation, his actions and manners, evince a powerful sentiment of individual dignity; whilst, in general, meanness and feebleness of mind are characteristic of the Hindoo. Influenced, like those around him, with the spirit of order, economy and knowledge of the value of money, acquired by their mercantile education, RAMMOHUN ROY does not view the augmentation of property as the most important object: his fortune consists of the wealth he received from his ancestors: he does not give his mind to any kind of commercial speculation. He would consider that mode of life beneath his station and the duties of a Brahmin. He derives no pecuniary advantage from his works; and, in all probability, desirous as he may be of power and distinction, he would not accept of the Government any place that should be merely lucrative; to *solicit* one of any description he would not condescend. It is not likely, however, that the Government will make trial of his inclination: it would not suit the policy of the present masters of his country to give encouragement to a subject whose soul is so lofty, and whose ingenuous conversation often shews, in a strain half serious and half jesting, all that he wishes to be able to

do for his country. He cultivates a friendly connexion with many Europeans, distinguished by their rank or their merit; he appears not to seek connexions of any other kind. Within the last year or two he has been less in society than formerly.

"RAMMOHUN ROY, as has already been shewn, is not yet forty years old; he is tall and robust; his regular features and habitually grave countenance assume a most pleasing appearance when he is animated. He appears to have a slight disposition to melancholy. The whole of his conversation and manners shew, at first sight, that he is above mediocrity. He frequently talks of going into Europe, but apparently considers it desirable first to mollify so far the prejudices of his countrymen that he may not by that voyage, which is regarded as unlawful, expose himself to excommunication. It is very doubtful whether he will succeed in this attempt; the hope, however, which he cherishes, is a decided proof of the character of his mind. * *

"It is singular that this philosophic Indian, who, as has been shewn in this little sketch, has enlarged views respecting the amelioration of the men of his country, has not the least idea of improving the females; of whom he avoids even the mention. We must suppose that this sort of prejudice, inspired by the Shasters, though general amongst the Hindoos, has been perpetuated in so enlightened a mind only by the circumstances of RAMMOHUN ROY's domestic life: it is known that every member of his family verifies the proverb, by opposing with the greatest vehemence all his projects

of reform. None of them, not even his wife, would accompany him to Calcutta; in consequence of which he rarely visits them in Bordouan, where they reside. They have disputed with him even the superintendence of the education of his nephews; and his fanatical mother shews as much ardour in her incessant opposition to him, as he displays in his attempts to destroy the idolatry of the Hindoos.

"CALCUTTA, Nov. 8, 1818." *

A testimony from a different source is not less interesting; it has been already alluded to in the Biographical Sketch. It is taken from p. 106 of a "Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt to England, in the years 1817 and 1818. By Lieut.-Col. FITZCLARENCE." 4to. 1819 :—

"There has never been, to my knowledge, an instance of any Hindoo of condition or caste being converted to our faith. The only conversion of any kind, if it can be called so, that has come within my observation, was that of a high-caste Brahmin, of one of the first families in the country, who is not only perfect master of the Sanscrit, but has gained a thorough acquaintance with the English language and literature, and has openly declared that the Brahminical religion is in its purity a pure Deism, and not the gross polytheism into which it has degenerated. I became well acquainted with him, and admire his talents and acquirements. His eloquence in our language is very great, and I am told he is still more admirable in Arabic and Persian. It is

* "Monthly Repository," Vol. xv., pp. 2—4.

remarkable, that he has studied and thoroughly understands the politics of Europe, but more particularly those of England; and the last time I was in his company he argued forcibly against a standing army in a free country, and quoted all the arguments brought forward by the Members of the Opposition. I think that he is in many respects a most extraordinary person. In the first place, he is a religious reformer, who has, amongst a people more bigoted than those of Europe in the middle ages, dared to think for himself. His learning is most extensive, as he is not only conversant with the best books in English, Arabic, Sanscrit, Bengalee and Hindoostanee, but has even studied rhetoric in Arabic and English, and quotes LOCKE and BACON on all occasions. From the view he thus takes of the religions, manners and customs of so many nations, and from his having observed the number of different modes of addressing and worshipping the Supreme Being, he naturally turned to his own faith with an unprejudiced mind, found it perverted with the religion of the Vedas to a gross idolatry, and was not afraid, though aware of the consequences, to publish to the world in Bengalee and English his feelings and opinions on the subject; of course, he was fully prepared to meet the host of interested enemies who, from sordid motives, wished to keep the lower classes in a state of the darkest ignorance. I have understood that his family have quitted him—that he has been declared to have lost caste—and is for the present, as all religious reformers must be for a time, a mark to be scoffed at. To a man of his senti-

ments and rank this loss of caste must be particularly painful, but at Calcutta he associates with the English: he is, however, cut off from all familiar and domestic intercourse; indeed, from all communication of any kind with his relations and former friends. His name is RAMMOHUN ROY. He is particularly handsome, not of a very dark complexion, of a fine person, and most courtly manners. He professes to have no objection to eat and live as we do, but refrains from it, in order not to expose himself to the imputation of having changed his religion for the good things of this world. He will sit at table with us while the meat is on it, which no other Brahmin will do. He continues his native dress, but keeps a carriage, being a man of some property. He is very desirous to visit England and enter one of our universities, where I shall be most anxious to see him, and to learn his ideas of our country, its manners and customs." *

We have already seen, in the introductory Biographical Sketch, how gradually the mind of the great Hindoo Reformer became attracted to Christianity; how he devoted some of the most important years of his life to the study of Hebrew and Greek, that he may himself judge of the real meaning of the Christian Scriptures; and how, being eventually fully satisfied that they taught nothing inconsistent with pure monotheism, he presented to his countrymen, as their "guide to peace and happiness," his "Precepts of Jesus." We have now learnt what persecution this work drew down

* "Monthly Repository," Vol. xv., p. 7.

on the noble author of it. It may be interesting to know how it was at the time received in England. The following passage is extracted from a review of this work, and of the "Indian Unitarian Controversy," in the "Monthly Repository" for 1821, Vol. xvi., p. 478 :

"It might have been supposed that the work of a learned Brahmin, sent forth amongst his countrymen with a title like this, "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness," would have been hailed by "a Christian Missionary," as most auspicious to his own undertaking. Even if the work had not been in every particular unexceptionable, it might have been expected that this would rather have been kindly suggested, than made a prominent subject of animadversion. An intelligent Hindu who shews himself, at all events, a friend to Christianity, and who makes it his object, at the expense of much obloquy and persecution on the part of his countrymen, to display the excellence and value of Christian precepts, could hardly count upon meeting with rebuke and reprehension from the Christian Missionaries in India. Though he should appear not to estimate sufficiently the historical testimony in favour of Christianity (and do the bulk of Christians enter into any accurate investigation of it?) this is not altogether inexcusable in one who, in all probability, has had few opportunities of verifying the historical records of the New Testament, by a comparison with other histories relating to the same period. If it could be proved, indeed, that he himself rejected the evidence of the miracles of Christ, it would be doing him no

wrong to withhold from him the name of Christian. But of this we think the pamphlets before us do not afford proof; and as he is indignant at the application to himself of the term Heathen, which he describes as a violation of truth, charity and liberality, there appears every reason to believe that he is, in the honest persuasion of his own mind, a Christian, and entertains no doubt of the divine authority of Jesus, and the truth of the Christian revelation. If so, it is to the honour of Christianity that so distinguished an inquirer after truth can for himself discover in the instructions of Christ that which commends itself to his admiration and regard: nor can it fail to gratify Unitarian Christians to find that the doctrines of the New Testament, as understood and received by them, produce conviction in the mind of such a man, and in the degree in which they are known to him, induce him to the cordial reception of Christianity, whilst the doctrines which they reject, and with which he has the best opportunity of becoming acquainted, produce no conviction, and, as far as they operate, impede his persuasion of the truth of Christianity."

In the same number of the "Monthly Repository," p. 515, occurs a copy of a private letter from RAMMOHUN Roy himself, which shews the candid and earnest spirit with which he was entering on his work.

"This letter is dated Calcutta, Sept. 5, 1820. After expressing 'grateful acknowledgments' of his correspondent, Col. B——R's, 'frequent remembrance,' RAMMOHUN thus proceeds:

• “As to the opinion intimated by Sir SAMUEL T——R, respecting the medium course in Christian dogmas, I never have attempted to oppose it. I regret only that the followers of Jesus, in general, should have paid much greater attention to inquiries after his nature than to the observance of his commandments, when we are well aware that no human acquirements can ever discover the nature even of the most common and visible things, and, moreover, that such inquiries are not enjoined by the divine revelation.

• “On this consideration I have compiled several passages of the New Testament which I thought essential to Christianity, and published them under the designation of Precepts of Jesus, at which the Missionaries at Shrainampoor have expressed great displeasure, and called me, in their review of the tract, an injurer of the cause of truth. I was, therefore, under the necessity of defending myself in an ‘Appeal to the Christian Public,’ a few copies of which tracts I have the pleasure to send you, under the care of Captain S——, and intreat your acceptance of them.

• “I return, with my sincere acknowledgments, the work which Sir S. T. was so kind as to lend me. May I request the favour of you to forward it to Sir S. T., as well as a copy of each of the pamphlets, with my best compliments, and to favour me with your and Sir S. T.’s opinion respecting my idea of Christianity, as expressed in those tracts, when an opportunity may occur; as I am always open to conviction and correction?”

The writings of RAMMOHUN ROY and the controversy

which they excited attracted so much notice in British India, that an article appeared on the subject in the "Asiatic Department of the *Calcutta Journal* of Politics and General Literature," No. VIII., for Aug., 1821. Long and very interesting extracts are made from this and other Indian papers in the "Monthly Repository" for 1822, Vol. XVII., pp. 393—400. Though the whole of this might be very important and interesting in an extended memoir, yet space prevents our doing more than copy the following letter, which occurs in the *Journal* of August 1, 1821, pp. 405, 406 :—

"To the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*."

"SIR,—RAM MOHUN ROY may be known by name to most of your readers, and it is probable, that many of them have heard he has forsaken the idolatry and all the superstitions of the Hindoos; but excepting those who are personally acquainted with him, few are likely to be duly informed of his acquirements, his conduct, and his present religious belief. The Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the 'Precepts of Jesus,' a work lately published by him, will make us acquainted with his religious belief, will enable us to form some idea of his acquirements, and cannot fail of producing in every *Christian*, great regard for the author, and a strong interest concerning so illustrious an individual; and the more we learn of his conduct the more will he be raised in our estimation.

"The worthy motives by which RAM MOHUN ROY is actuated, have caused him to print the work in

question, and several previous works, at his own expense, to distribute them among his acquaintance and such other persons as are likely to take an interest in the important subjects on which he has written. His last publication, that above-mentioned, is too large to be reprinted in a newspaper; but its contents are so important, and do the author so much credit, that I hope some competent person will prepare a compendium thereof, and have the same published in the *Calcutta Journal*. In the mean time, you will oblige me by printing the two portions which accompany this letter: the first portion commences in p. 159, and ends in p. 164; the other commences in p. 172, and extends to the end of the work. If such persons as on reading these extracts feel a sufficient interest to desire to peruse the work with attention, apply to the author for copies, it is probable he will readily comply with their request, as far as the number of copies printed will admit.

“Here we observe an individual, born and bred in a country benighted under the most gross idolatry and superstition, who, by a just use of that understanding which our gracious Creator has given to mankind to guide them to all truths, having discovered the falsehood of that system of idolatry and the absurdity of those superstitions, conscientiously abandoned both, and thereby subjected himself to inconveniences and dangers of which persons living in more enlightened societies can hardly form an idea. Next, he directed his attention to the Christian religion; and that same just and honest use of his understanding, which discovered the falsehood

and absurdity of idolatry and superstition, satisfied him that *Jesus* was the Messiah, that he was employed by God to reveal his will to men, and to make known to them the only true religion. He observed the internal and historical evidence of Christianity to be such as demonstrated its truth. Blessed with the light of Christianity, he dedicates his time and his money not only to release his countrymen from the state of degradation in which they exist, but also to diffuse among the European masters of his country, the sole true religion—as it was promulgated by Christ, his apostles and his disciples.

“A FIRM BELIEVER IN CHRIST.

“CALCUTTA, *July* 12, 1821.”

One other testimony to RAMMOHUN ROY we must quote; it is given by an Englishman who had known him in India, and is recorded in the same number of the “*Monthly Repository*,” p. 754. It is from a letter dated January, 1822 :—

“When I was in Calcutta I met the native of whom I wrote to you in some of my letters of last year, and to whom you allude in your letter since received. RAMMOHUN ROY is really a wonderful man; he is not only master of almost every Eastern language (including Hebrew), but is, I may safely say, a perfect master of the English, so far as idiom goes; his pronunciation only is defective. I found him asked one evening by the friend I was living with to meet us at dinner time in a family party, that we might see him at his ease. He

talked freely of the politics of Europe, and especially of England; he seemed perfectly to understand our whole system of parliaments, &c., &c. Talking of some regulations in this country, which appeared oppressive to the natives, especially of their not being eligible to posts of rank in our service, he said readily it was certainly a hardship, but allowed that the majority were not fit for it. * * * Some of the Missionaries attacked his little books in rather a severe style, which led him to write a small pamphlet in reply. It is a perfectly Christian pamphlet, in which he acknowledges himself a convert from conviction, to the general tenets of our Bible. He could not, he says, subscribe to the Trinitarian doctrine, because, he says, he finds no authority for it in the Scripture. He argues the matter very fairly, and quotes with great ease and fluency the passages of both the Old and New Testament, explaining some maltranslations of Hebrew, which Trinitarians sometimes urge in their favour. On the whole, I wish I could send you the pamphlet of both parties: if I can I will; and I think you would find in RAMMOHUN ROY not an unable and not an uneloquent Christian in his expression, though, perhaps, you may not agree with him in all he says."

The Hindoo Reformer having fully satisfied himself of the importance of the Christian Religion, devoted himself earnestly to support it, and entered into communication on the subject not only with England but with the United States. The following interesting letter was addressed by him to a gentleman of Baltimore, and

is dated Calcutta, October 27, 1822 (*vide* "Monthly Repository" for 1823, Vol. xviii., p. 433) :—

"I have now every reason to hope, that the truths of Christianity will not be much longer kept hidden under the veil of heathen doctrines and practices, gradually introduced among the followers of Christ, since many lovers of truth are zealously engaged in rendering the religion of Jesus clear from corruptions.

"I admire the zeal of the Missionaries sent to this country, but disapprove of the means they have adopted. In the performance of their duty, they always begin with such obscure doctrines as are calculated to excite ridicule, instead of respect, towards the religion which they wish to promulgate. The accompanying pamphlets, called 'The Bramunical Magazine,' and published by a Bramun, are a proof of my assertion. The last number of this publication has remained unanswered for twelve months.

"If a body of men attempt to upset a system of doctrines generally established in a country, and to introduce another system, they are, in my humble opinion, in duty bound to prove the truth, or, at least, the superiority of their own.

"It is, however, a great satisfaction to my conscience to find, that the doctrines inculcated by Jesus and his apostles, are quite different from those human inventions, which the Missionaries are persuaded to profess, and entirely consistent with reason, and the revelation delivered by Moses and the prophets. I am, therefore, anxious to support them, even at the risk of my own

life. I rely much on the force of truth, which will, I am sure, ultimately prevail. Our number is comparatively small, but I am glad to inform you, that none of them can be justly charged with the want of zeal and prudence.

"I wish to add, in order that you may set me right, if you find me mistaken,—my view of Christianity is, that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal Father, it enjoins them to love one another, without making any distinction of country, caste, colour, or creed; notwithstanding, they may be justified in the sight of the Creator in manifesting their respect towards each other, according to the propriety of their actions, and the reasonableness of their religious opinions and observances.

"I shall lose no time in sending you my Final Appeal to the Christian Public, as soon as it is printed."

"In a second letter (Dec. 9, 1822) RAMMOHUN ROY. remarks :—

"Although our adversaries are both numerous and zealous, as the adversaries of truth always have been, yet our prospects are by no means discouraging, if we only have the means of following up what has already been done.

"We confidently hope that, through these various means, the period will be accelerated, when the belief in the Divine Unity, and in the mission of Christ, will universally prevail."

We have already seen, in the Biographical Sketch, that RAMMOHUN ROY was not allowed to print his "Final

Appeal" at the Baptist Missionary Press, and, to give it to the public, at his own expense he set up a Unitarian Press at Dhurmtollah.* It was subsequently published in London by the Unitarian Society in a large octavo volume, together with the "First and Second Appeal," and the "Precepts of Jesus," and the prefaces of the author. The final paragraphs of the work are highly characteristic :—

"I tender my humble thanks for the Editor's kind suggestion, in inviting me to adopt the doctrine of the Holy Trinity ; but I am sorry to find that I am unable to benefit by this advice. After I have long relinquished every idea of a plurality of Gods, or of the persons of the Godhead, taught under different systems of modern Hindooism, I cannot conscientiously and consistently embrace one of a similar nature, though greatly refined by the religious reformations of modern times ; since whatever arguments can be adduced against a plurality of Gods strike with equal force against the doctrine of a plurality of persons of the Godhead ; and, on the other hand, whatever excuse may be pleaded in favour of a plurality of persons of the Deity, can be offered with equal propriety in defence of polytheism.

"I now conclude my essay by offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the events of this universe for having unexpectedly delivered this country from the long-continued tyranny of its former rulers, and placed it under the government of the English, a nation who

* An original copy of the first work issued from it is in the possession of the Editor of this work, having been sent by the noble author to her father, the late Rev. Dr. CARPENTER.

not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends.*

The satisfaction which RAMMOHUN ROY received from the mark of appreciation shewn him by the publication of his work in England, is shewn by the following letter from him to Dr. T. REES, of London (*vide* "Monthly Repository," 1824, Vol. XIX., pp. 681, 682):—

"REVEREND SIR,—I received your letter of the 16th June last, accompanied by a parcel of books to my address, with feelings of peculiar gratification. I cannot but be proud of the honour which the Committee have conferred upon me in reprinting my compilation of 'The Precepts of Jesus,' and the two Appeals in its defence. I beg you will oblige me by communicating to the members my warm acknowledgments for so distinguished a mark of their approbation. I also beg you will accept my best thanks for your valuable present of the Racovian Catechism, which I shall not fail to read with due attention.

"I have no language to express the happiness I derive from the idea that so many friends of truth, both in England and America, are engaged in attempting to free the originally pure, simple and practical religion of Christ from the heathenish doctrines and absurd notions gradually introduced under the Roman power; and I sincerely pray that the success of those gentlemen may be as great as (if not greater than) that of LUTHER and

* "Monthly Repository," 1828, Vol. XVIII., p. 479.

others, to whom the religious world is indebted for laying the first stone of religious reformation, and having recommended the system of distinguishing divine authority from human creeds, and the practice of benevolence from ridiculous outward observances.

“But what disappoints, or rather grieves, me much is that our sovereign (whose reign may God crown with peace and prosperity!) whom all parties, either Whigs or Tories, enthusiastic radicals, or political time-servers, are compelled by the force of truth to acknowledge as the most accomplished person of his time, of most enlightened acquirements, and most liberal sentiments, should not use his royal influence to remove from the members of his National Church the fetter of a solemn oath, imposed by the Thirty-nine Articles, naturally liable to doubt, and disputed as these have been, from the beginning of Christianity, and that he has not caused to be discontinued the repetition of that general denunciation found in the concluding part of the Athanasian Creed, to wit, ‘This is the Catholic faith, which except a man *believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*’ The only consolation which I can offer to myself is, that as his Majesty is the best judge of suitable opportunities for the introduction of improvement in the National Church, it is probable that in due time more enlarged principles may receive the Royal sanction.

“As to the state of the Unitarian Society in Calcutta, our Committee have not yet been able to purchase a suitable piece of ground for a chapel and school. They will, I hope, soon succeed in their endeavours. We have collected, partly by purchase, and partly by gift, a great

number of works, and established a pretty respectable library in Calcutta, in which I have placed the books with which you have favoured me, in the same manner as all the books that the Rev. Mr. ADAM, the Unitarian Missionary in Bengal, and myself have received at different times from England. Mr. ADAM is preparing a catalogue of the books belonging to this library, and will, I doubt not, send a few copies for the perusal of the Committee in London, Liverpool, &c.

"In the month of December last, Mr. R., a member of the firm of Messrs. M. and Co., of this place, left Bengal for Europe, and I embraced that opportunity of answering a letter I had the pleasure of receiving from the venerable Mr. BELSHAM, and begged at the same time his acceptance of a parcel of books sent in charge of that gentleman. I also sent a duplicate by the hands of Mr. S. A., a Member of the Unitarian Society in Calcutta, and a particular friend of mine. As subsequent to these despatches I received the books stated in Mr. BELSHAM's letter to have been forwarded to my address, I beg to send a short letter acknowledging the receipt of them; which I shall feel obliged by your transmitting to that gentleman.

"I have the pleasure of sending you for your acceptance a few tracts as a token of regard and respect, and remain,

"Yours most obediently,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"CALCUTTA, *June* 4, 1824.

"P.S.—From the pamphlet, No. 6 and 7, published by a neighbour of mine, and another by a friend, you

will perceive to what a degree of ridicule the Trinitarian preachers have brought the religion they profess among the enlightened natives of India. I hope to God these Missionaries may at length have their eyes opened to see their own errors.

“ R. M. R.”

The Unitarian Chapel he succeeded in establishing, with the coöperation of the Rev. W. ADAM, the Missionary already alluded to, and others.

The effect of this zealous devotion to the cause of truth on his worldly position, both with his countrymen and English residents, may be easily imagined. He bore it all nobly and unflinchingly. The following testimony to him on this point is valuable. It is from Mr. J. S. BUCKINGHAM, who from his arrival in India, in June, 1818, had ample opportunities of knowing him. It is from a letter dated 68, Baker Street, Portman Square, London, Aug. 4, 1823 :—

“ RAMMOHUN ROY might have had abundant opportunities of receiving rewards from the Indian Government, in the shape of offices and appointments, for his mere neutrality ; but being as remarkable for his integrity as he is for his attainments, he has, during the five years that I have known him, and that too most intimately and confidentially, pursued his arduous task of endeavouring to improve his countrymen, to beat down superstition, and to hasten as much as possible those reforms in the religion and government of his native land of which both stand in almost equal need. He has done all this, to the great detriment of his private interests, being rewarded by the coldness and jealousy of all the great

functionaries of Church and State in India, and supporting the Unitarian Chapel—the Unitarian Press—and the expense of his own publications, besides other charitable acts, out of a private fortune, of which he devotes more than one-third to acts of the purest philanthropy and benevolence.

“I am ready to meet any man living and confirm verbally what I here commit to writing for your use ; for nothing will delight me more than to do justice to one whom I honour and esteem as I do this excellent Indian Christian and philosopher.”*

The warm interest which RAMMOHUN ROY took at this early period in the cause of freedom is evidenced by the following note to Mr. BUCKINGHAM :—

“MY DEAR SIR,—A disagreeable circumstance will oblige me to be out the whole of this afternoon, and as I shall probably on my return home feel so much fatigued as to be unfit for your company, I am afraid I must be under the necessity of denying myself the pleasure of your society this evening ; more especially as my mind is depressed by the late news from Europe. I would force myself to wait on you to-night, as I proposed to do, were I not convinced of your willingness to make allowance for unexpected circumstances.

“From the late unhappy news, I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe, and Asiatic nations, especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy.

* “Monthly Repository,” 1823, Vol. xviii., p. 442.

“Under these circumstances I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own, and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been, and never will be, ultimately successful.

“Adieu, and believe me,

“Yours very sincerely,

“RAMMOHUN ROY.

“August 11th, 1821.” *

It is not to be wondered at that warm enthusiasm was excited in the hearts of many by the noble example of the Hindoo Reformer. Multitudes shared the feelings expressed in the following passage, extracted from the “Christian Reformer,” 1823, p. 5 :—

“We look to the East for the rising of the sun. Over the regions, so denominated, there has hung a long and dark night. The western Christians have carried back light thither, as to its source. The messengers have gained more light in their progress. Missionaries begin to reform their own minds, as well as the minds of others. They have found some sparks of truth amidst the heaps of superstition that have been accumulating for ages. One shining light, at least, has been found in a dark place. The rays of traditional truth, enshrined in the heart of the wild and monstrous system of Hindooism, guided RAMMOHUN ROY to Christianity, and to Christianity in its purity; and this virtuous and noble-minded Christian Reformer may be an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence of both awakening his natural Hindoo brethren from the slumber and

* Addressed to JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM when at Calcutta.

incoherent dreams of centuries, and of recalling his adopted Christian brethren to the first principles of truth, the simplicity which is in Christ, and in all the dispensations and works of the Framer of all things. In the Christian Unitarian Church at Calcutta we think we see not merely a society recovered from Polytheistic superstition and Trinitarian error, but the commencement of the reformation of Asia, the breaking in of light upon darkness that envelopes myriads of God's children, the introduction of a principle which in its full development will of necessity recover the human mind from idolatry and error, from every degrading notion and every uncharitable feeling."

The progress made by RAMMOHUN ROY in drawing attention to liberal Christianity attracted considerable attention in the United States, and the Rev. Dr. WARE, Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, addressed a number of questions to him and to Mr. ADAM respecting the best method of promoting the cause of Christianity in India. Replies were made to these at considerable length and published.

The following are extracts from the correspondence. In RAMMOHUN ROY's letter to Dr. WARE, dated Calcutta, Feb. 2, 1824, is the following characteristic passage:—

"I have now prepared such replies to those queries as my knowledge authorizes and my conscience permits; and now submit them to your judgment. There is one question at the concluding part of your letter (to wit, 'Whether it be desirable that the inhabitants of India should be converted to Christianity; in what degree desirable, and for what reasons?') which I pause to

answer, as I am led to believe, from reason, what is set forth in scripture, that 'in every nation he that *feareth* God and worketh *righteousness* is accepted with him,' in whatever form of worship he may have been taught to glorify God. Nevertheless, I presume to think, that Christianity, if properly inculcated, has a greater tendency to improve the moral, social and political state of mankind, than any other religious system." *Corresp.*, pp. 125, 126.

The following passages are from his replies :-

"The chief causes which prevent the natives of India from changing their religion, are the same as are found in the numerous class of Christians who are unable to give an answer to any man that asketh the reason of the hope they profess, viz., their reliance on the sanctity of the books received among them as revealed authorities, and the variety of prejudices planted in their minds in the early part of life. These are strongly supported by the dread of the loss of caste, the consequence of apostacy, which separates a husband from his wife, a father from his son, and a mother from her daughter. Besides, the doctrines which the Missionaries maintain and preach are less conformable with reason than those professed by Moosulmans, and in several points are equally absurd with the popular Hindoo creed. Hence there is no rational inducement for either of these tribes to lay aside their respective doctrines, and adopt those held up by the generality of Christians."—*Corresp.*, p. 134.

"Unitarian Christianity is not exposed to the last-

mentioned objections ; for even those who are inimical to every religion admit that the Unitarian system is more conformable to the human understanding than any other known creed. But the other obstacles above-mentioned must remain unshaken, until the natives are enabled by the diffusion of knowledge to estimate, by comparing one religion with another, their respective merits and advantages, and to relinquish their divisions, as destructive of national union as of social enjoyment." *Corresp.*, p. 134.

The following passage shows in what light the doctrines of the Missionaries appeared to intelligent Hindoos :—

"The natives of Hindoostan, in common with those of other countries, are divided into two classes, the ignorant and the enlightened. The number of the latter is, I am sorry to say, comparatively very few here ; and to these men the idea of a triune-God, a man-God, and also the idea of the appearance of God in the bodily shape of a dove, or that of the blood of God shed for the payment of a debt, seem entirely heathenish and absurd, and consequently their sincere conversion to [Trinitarian] Christianity must be morally impossible. But they would not scruple to embrace, or at least to encourage, the Unitarian system of Christianity, were it inculcated on them in an intelligible manner. The former class, I mean the ignorant, must be enemies to both systems of Christianity, Trinitarianism and Unitarianism. As they feel great reluctance in forsaking the deities worshipped by their fathers for foreign Gods, in substituting the blood of God for the water of the

Ganges as a purifying substance; so the idea of an invisible Being as the sole object of worship, maintained by Unitarians, is foreign to their understanding. Under these circumstances it would be advisable, in my humble opinion, that one or two, if not more gentlemen, well qualified to teach English literature and science, and noted for their moral conduct, should be employed to cultivate the understandings of the present ignorant generation, and thereby improve their hearts, that the cause of truth may triumph over false religion, and the desired comfort and happiness may be enjoyed by men of all classes."—*Corresp.*, pp. 135, 136.

After stating that he expected great advantage from the services of "serious and able teachers of European learning and science, and Christian morality, unmingled with religious doctrines"; and that missionary schools for corresponding purposes would be of great use, being, in his judgment, the only way of improving the understandings of the native children and ultimately meliorating their hearts; RAMMOHUN ROY continues:—

"There are numerous intelligent natives, who thirst after European knowledge and literature, but not many who wish to be made acquainted with the Christian religion and to examine its truth; being chiefly deterred by the difficulty (if not utter impossibility) attached to the acquirement of a correct notion of the tremendous mystical doctrines which the Missionaries ascribe to their religion."—*Corresp.*, p. 137.*

It is probable that many English friends of enlight-

* *Vide* DR. CARPENTER'S "Review," pp. 56—58.

eminent had put themselves into communication with the Hindoo Reformer before his arrival in England. The length of time which has elapsed since his death makes it very difficult to discover traces of the correspondence which doubtless took place between them and him. The following letter to the late J. B. ESTLIN, Esq., of Bristol, for which we are indebted to his daughter, will be read with interest :—

“DEAR SIR,—Mrs. MATTHEW being about to depart for Europe, has kindly offered to take charge of any letter or pamphlet that I may address to you. I embrace this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter and of the books, your excellent father's Lectures on Moral Philosophy, &c., which I had the honor to receive through Mrs. MATTHEW upwards of two years ago, and apologizing to you for the delay which has unavoidably taken place in answering your kind communication. For a period of more than two years, owing to the most affecting circumstances arising from the hostile feelings of some individuals towards my family, I found myself totally unable to pursue any undertaking or carry on correspondence, even with those whom I sincerely loved and revered, either residing in this country or in any other part of the globe. As I intend to lay those circumstances before the public within a short period in the form of a pamphlet, I refrain from detailing them at present. I however trust that in consideration of the accident alluded to you will kindly excuse the apparent neglect of which I confess I am guilty, and for which I have no other apology to offer.

“I rejoice to learn that the friends of the cause of

religious truth have exerted themselves in the promotion of the true system of religion in India, and have remitted about 15,000 rupees to the care of Messrs. ALEXANDER and Co. for religious purposes, and that the Rev. Mr. ADAM hopes to be enabled to resume his missionary pursuits by the latter end of this month. The time of a fair trial is approaching, and truth I doubt not will expose the corruptions and absurd notions which have gradually disfigured genuine Christianity, and have brought it to a level with heathen mythology. I am happy to inform you that the books which you kindly presented me with were deservedly placed in our Library, under the care of the Rev. Mr. ADAM. A few copies of the Improved Version will be of much use to our friends here. The Rev. Mr. Fox has intimated his intention to furnish us with a certain number of that work.

“Should you happen to see Dr. CARPENTER, you will oblige me by presenting my best respects to that gentleman. I shall soon embrace an opportunity of bringing myself in writing to his recollection.”

“I have the pleasure to send you a copy of a pamphlet (a Bengalee Grammar in English) which has lately been published, and beg you will accept of it as a token of the regard and respect I entertain for you. With my fervent wishes for your health and success, I remain,

“Dear Sir,

“Yours most faithfully,

“RAMMOHUN ROY.

“CALCUTTA, Feb. 7th, 1827.”

Such are a few of the English impressions of the Hindoo Reformer, as gathered from the notices of him which reached us previously to his taking up his abode in our own country. We cannot close this chapter better than with the following tribute to him, when his health was proposed from the Chair at the annual anniversary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, in May, 1826 :—

“Mr. ARNOTT said, ‘I hope to be excused for seizing this opportunity of bearing testimony to the inestimable character of the person whose health you have now drunk. His high and exalted talents are already known in Europe by his works ; but it is those only who have known him personally, and who have enjoyed his conversation, that can form a true estimate of his character. It is not his talents only, although they have excited the admiration of every part of the world, but his virtues, his enlightened and benevolent heart, which raise him as much above others in philanthropy as in natural or acquired attainments.’” *

* “Monthly Repository,” 1826, Vol. xxi., p. 809.

CHAPTER II.

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND AND RESIDENCE IN LONDON.

THE arrival of the illustrious Hindoo Reformer to our country was anxiously anticipated by all who had become acquainted with him through the various channels which have been laid before the reader. The nature of his labours, and the distance of the scene, of them, naturally prevented his being an object of popular enthusiasm;—~~how~~ if that had been excited in his favour, would he have desired the public demonstrations of admiration and respect which were recently accorded to the great Italian patriot. But the reception given to him, though of a widely different kind, must have been no less gratifying to him at the time, and to his countrymen since his departure. The highest honours were publicly accorded to him, and a place was awarded to him among the foreign ambassadors at the coronation of the sovereign; persons the most remarkable for their social standing and literary eminence sought his society, and highly esteemed the privilege of intercourse with him;—he was received into our English homes not only as a distinguished guest, but as a friend;—and when he

was prostrated on the bed of sickness and of death in a foreign land, he was surrounded with the most loving attentions, tended with the most anxious solicitude, and finally laid in the grave surrounded with true mourners, who felt him akin to them in spirit, if not connected with him by the ties of earthly relationship.

At this distance of time, however, when thirty-five years have passed, and swept away so large a portion of the generation then existing, it is extremely difficult to collect memorials of this eventful visit, the first of the kind which had ever been paid to our country. The answers to inquiries on the subject have constantly been that some relative or friend was in frequent and highly interesting communication with the celebrated Brahmin, and could have given abundant information,—but that he is dead! The gentlemen at whose house RAMMOHUN ROY resided in London, and who were on terms of intimate friendship with him, could have afforded the most important information respecting his pursuits there; but they have long since passed away. Those that still remain and had the privilege of knowing him were generally too young at the time to have entered sufficiently fully into his general objects, and therefore cannot throw much light on the manner in which he carried them out. From some of these, however, very interesting reminiscences have been received, narrated with an exactness which shews how deep must have been the impression which they made. From these and from such incidental notices as appeared at the period, especially from the work of the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER already alluded to, our materials must be drawn.

We do not find any record of the few years preceding the arrival of RAMMOHUN ROY in England. We have seen that he had contemplated this visit during a long period, and doubtless had been making preparation for its accomplishment. The lawsuit which he had been carrying on for some time in reference to his caste had doubtless a direct bearing on his projected voyage. We understand, that strictly speaking, the mere circumstance of leaving the country is regarded as involving loss of caste; he was probably anxious to establish that this is not necessarily the case, and succeeded;—he retained his rank, and to the very last he was habitually careful while in our country to avoid every thing that could be construed into an act exposing him to loss of caste, and he was constantly attended upon by a Brahmin, who would of course report infringement of regulations. We have already seen that his motive in this, was not any lingering attachment to the superstitions of his country, or to early associations, but a desire to avoid every thing which might impair his usefulness among his countrymen, or diminish the influence of his teachings.

The immense difficulty of the enterprise at that period is proved by the fact, that we do not hear of any other Hindoo of high caste visiting this country since the death of RAMMOHUN ROY, until, in 1841 or 2, his friend, DWARKANATH TAGORE, came to England; and in 1845 four native Indian Medical Students accompanied hither Dr. HENRY GOODEVE, the founder of the Medical College in Calcutta. About eight years ago a young Brahmin priest, having embraced Christianity, and been baptised, accepted the offer of an American gentleman to provide

him with a free passage to the United States, that he might prepare himself to be a Christian Missionary, and he subsequently came to England. The difficulties he had to encounter to escape, were inconceivable. Nothing but the strongest resolution on his part would have enabled him to elude the efforts to retain him; his Mother even followed him in a boat to endeavour to induce him then to go back. On his return to India five years ago, every effort was made by his family to bring him again within the controul of the Brahmins, and he had recently the sorrow of hearing his Mother, on her dying bed, reproach him as the cause of her disgrace and death, and the misery of the family. It is only at the present time, when a number of courageous young men have determined mutually to support each other in casting off the shackles of superstition and caste, and that a few have pioneered the way, rendering the undertaking practicable and comparatively easy, that such an enterprise has been regarded otherwise than with the greatest dread. It is necessary to remember this, fully to realize the courage of the Hindoo Reformer.

The King of Delhi availed himself of the opportunity afforded by RAMMOHUN ROY's visit to England to urge certain claims on the British Government, and conferred upon him the title of Rajah, or Prince, by which he was commonly known in this country, RAMMOHUN ROY being the only Indian Prince known among us.*

* The present spelling of this word is Rājā, but as RAMMOHUN ROY himself spelt it as in the text, the orthography then used is preserved in this volume.

It was on April 8th, 1831, that the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY landed in our country, at Liverpool. He was at once invited by WILLIAM RATHBONE, Esq., to take up his residence at the hospitable abode of Greenbank, which has been honoured by the presence of so many illustrious strangers who have there found a home; he preferred however to be independent, and at Radley's Hotel he was visited by many who desired at once to give him a respectful greeting. There are some who still treasure the remembrance of being among his early visitors. One of these, now a grey headed man, recollected when a young midshipman, on arriving at Calcutta, going to visit the magnificent residence and grounds of the Brahmin, who was even then celebrated; it was in the Circular Road, at the eastern extremity of the town. He did not see the master of the mansion, but he picked up in the large aviary a relic in remembrance of the distinguished man, which he still treasures. The Rajah was pleased to meet on his arrival one even in comparatively humble rank, who had visited his country and his own home. Those who had watched with deep interest his religious progress eagerly welcomed him. The brief narrative of a most interesting interview with the celebrated WILLIAM ROSCOE is happily preserved in the Memoir of that eminent man by his son, HENRY ROSCOE :—

“It will be recollected,” says the biographer, “that at a very early period of his life Mr. ROSCOE had collected the moral precepts of the New Testament into a small volume, to which he gave the title of ‘Christian Morality.’

as contained in the Precepts of the New Testament ; in the Language of Jesus Christ.' In the decline of life this youthful attempt was recalled to his mind by a work of a similar character proceeding from a very unlooked for quarter. This was 'The Precepts of Jesus,' collected, arranged, and published at Calcutta by a learned Brahmin, RAMMOHUN ROY, who, having become a convert to Christianity, endeavoured in this manner to recommend the religion of Christ to his countrymen. The character and history of this extraordinary man excited in the highest degree the interest and the admiration of Mr. ROSCOPÉ. Not only had he emancipated his mind from the dark and cruel superstitions in which he had been educated, but he had cultivated his intellect to a degree which few of the natives of more favoured climes attain. For the purpose of studying the Scriptures he had rendered himself familiar with the Hebrew and the Greek, and had improved his mind by the study of various branches of knowledge. But these were his least merits. The great excellence of his character consisted in his enlarged views with regard to the welfare and improvement of his species, and in the benevolent zeal with which he promoted every project for the extension of education and of useful knowledge amongst the inhabitants of India. Of this zeal he gave a striking proof in the erection of a printing-press at Calcutta, at which his own work, 'The Precepts of Jesus,' and other volumes calculated to extend the influence of Christianity amongst the Hindoos, were printed.

"It is not surprising that with a man of this high and

enlightened character Mr. ROSCOE should be desirous of communicating; and accordingly he took advantage of the opportunity of one of his friends (the late Mr. THOMAS HODGSON FLETCHER of Liverpool) proceeding to India, to transmit to RAMMOHUN ROY a small collection of his works, which he accompanied with the following letter:—

“ Although I have not the honour of being known to you, I am no stranger to your writings, nor to the uniform and noble manner in which you have asserted the cause of true and genuine Christianity, against the sophisms and absurdities of those who would persuade us that they are the only objects of the benevolence of the great Creator and common Father of all His offspring. It seems strange even to myself that so long a time has elapsed, in which I have been aware how nearly my opinions on religious subjects have agreed with your own, without introducing myself to your acquaintance. The fact is, that within the first twenty years of a life which is now verging on its seventy-eighth year, I had devoted myself to the task of forming, as far as possible, a complete code of moral conduct from the precepts of Jesus Christ as given in the New Testament, in his own words; in which I had made a considerable progress; and although circumstances prevented my completing it, yet the impression which the attempt made on my own mind convinced me, that true Christianity consists alone in doing the will of our Father which is in heaven, which will is not only sufficiently, but most powerfully and beautifully enforced in that sacred volume.

“In my riper years, as the affairs of the world engaged my attention, I have been employed on most of the great subjects of human interest; and have written and published on politics, jurisprudence, history, criticism, science, and literature, according to the measure of my abilities, and with the consciousness, in whatever department I have been engaged, of having promoted, to the best of my power, the improvement and happiness of my fellow-creatures.

“Some of these works I would even flatter myself may, perhaps, have occurred to your notice; but at all events, that I may not suffer the little that remains to me of this life to pass away without being better known to you, and having at present a favourable opportunity of sending you a few volumes on various subjects that may give you a tolerable idea how I have been employed, I have made up a specimen of my writings, which I have to desire you will accept as the gift of one friend to another; in order that, if they should be received in the same spirit in which they are sent, they may in fact diminish the barrier which Providence has placed between us, and introduce us to the society of each other, to be united, during our future lives, as true and faithful followers of our common Master.

“The opportunity to which I have above alluded is that of a young friend who is about to depart from hence on a voyage to Calcutta, where it is his intention to take up his residence in a mercantile capacity, and who is desirous of an introduction to you, for the freedom of which I must trust myself to your indulgence.

* * * * *

"We have, for some time past, been flattered with hopes of seeing you in this kingdom, but I fear I am not destined to have that pleasure. At all events, it will be a great gratification to me if I should survive the attacks of the paralytic complaint, under which I have now laboured for some years, till I hear that you have received this very sincere mark of the deep respect and attachment which I have so long entertained for you, and which I hope to renew in a happier state of being.

"I am, my dear Sir,

"Your assured friend and fellow-christian,

"W. R.

"To the celebrated and learned

RAMMOHUN ROY, Calcutta.'

"Before this letter could reach its destination Mr. ROSCOE had the unexpected gratification of hearing that the extraordinary person to whom it was addressed was already on his voyage to Europe. This intelligence was quickly followed by his arrival at Liverpool, where his character and striking appearance excited much curiosity and interest. The interview between him and Mr. ROSCOE will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. After the usual gesture of eastern salutation, and with a mixture of oriental expression, RAMMOHUN ROY said, 'Happy and proud am I—proud and happy to behold a man whose fame has extended not only over Europe, but over every part of the world.' 'I bless God,' replied Mr. ROSCOE, 'that I have been permitted to live to see this day.' Their conversation chiefly turned

upon the objects which had led RAMMOHUN ROY to this country, and in the course of it he displayed an intimate acquaintance with the political and commercial state of England."

"The visit of the Rajah to Liverpool was a very short one, from his anxiety to be present at the third reading of the Reform Bill, and at the debates on the subject of India; and on his departure for London he carried with him the following letter from Mr. ROSCOE to Lord BROUGHAM:—

"I have the great honour and very singular pleasure of introducing to your Lordship's kind notice and attention the bearer of this, the celebrated and learned RAMMOHUN ROY, who is just arrived here from Calcutta, and of whom you must already have frequently heard as the illustrious convert from Hindooism to Christianity, and the author of the selections from the New Testament of 'The Precepts of Jesus'; by the publication and diffusion of which amongst the natives of the East reasonable hopes are now entertained, that, in a short time, the shocking system and cruel practices of Paganism will be abolished, and the people of those populous regions be restored to the pure and simple precepts of morality and brotherly love. Amongst the many and important motives which have induced him to leave his country and connections, and visit this island, I understand he is induced to hope he may be of some assistance in promoting the cause of the natives of India in the great debates which must ere long take place here, respecting the Charter of the East India Company; but

I have yet seen so little of him, from his numerous engagements here, that I must leave your Lordship to learn his intentions from himself, which you will find him very capable of explaining in his own strong and appropriate English idiom. One great reason, as I understand, for his haste to leave this for London, is to be present to witness the great measures that will be taken by your Lordship and your illustrious colleagues for promoting the long wished-for reform of his native country. On the present occasion, I will not trouble you further than to request, that, if it should not be inconsistent with your Lordship's station and convenience, you would obtain for our distinguished visitor the benefit of a seat under the gallery in the House of Commons, on the debate on the third reading of the Reform Bill ; which favour I am anxious he should owe rather to your Lordship (if you have no objection to it) than to other individuals, to whom, I understand, he has letters of introduction." *

The Rajah had the pleasure of social intercourse in Liverpool both with Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe and with the friends at Greenbank and the Dingle, where he gave the impression which has often been referred to, "of a great man,—of power and grace in his frame,—and the same in his countenance and manner."

On going to London arrangements were made to

* Life of WILLIAM ROSCOE, Vol. II., pp. 413—420.

[The venerable Mr. Roscoe, then in his seventy-eighth year, did not long survive this interview, but after a short illness breathed his last on the 30th of June following.]

gratify his wish to be present at a reading of the Reform Bill, in which he took so earnest an interest, but through driving on his arrival to the wrong Hotel he was too late. His views on the subject may be gathered from the following letter to WILLIAM RATHBONE, Esq., which he has kindly given permission to insert :—

“ 48, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON,

“ *July 31st, 1832.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I am *now* happy to find myself fully justified in congratulating you and my other friends at Liverpool on the *complete* success of the Reform Bills, notwithstanding the violent opposition and want of political principle on the part of the aristocrats. The nation can no longer be a prey of the few who used to fill their purses at the expense, nay, to the ruin of the people, for a period of upwards of fifty years. The Ministers have honestly and firmly discharged their duty, and provided the people with means of securing their rights. I hope and pray that the people, the mighty people of England, may now in like manner do theirs, cherishing public spirit and liberal principles, at the same time banishing bribery, corruption and selfish interests, from public proceedings.

“ As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated I would renounce my connection with this country, I refrained from writing to you or any other friend in Liverpool until I knew the result. Thank heaven I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow subjects, and heartily rejoice that I

have had the infinite happiness of witnessing the salvation of the nation, nay of the whole world.

"Pray remember me kindly to Mr. CROPPER and Mr. BENSON, and present my best respects to Mrs. RATHBONE and love to the children; believe me,

"My dear Sir,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"P.S.—If the German philosopher is still at Liverpool, be good enough to remember me kindly to him, and inform him that we have succeeded in the reform question without having recourse to the principles of phrenology.

"R. R."

We must now refer to Dr. CARPENTER's "Review" for information respecting his visit to London.

"On the 8th of April, 1831, the Rajah arrived at Liverpool, accompanied by his youngest son, Rajah RAM ROY, and two native servants, one of them a Brahmin; and soon after proceeded to London. He arrived among us at a period when the whole nation was in a state of intense excitement, in connexion with Parliamentary Reform; and being well versed in our national history, and intimately acquainted with our political institutions and parties, he saw at once the bearings of the great measure which, he wrote, would 'in its consequences promote the welfare of England and her dependencies, nay, of the whole world.' Among those consequences, he lived to see a most important series of changes commenced, in the connexion of this country

with his own; in the preparation of which, there is reason to believe, our Government employed, and duly appreciated, the advantages which all would expect might be derived from the presence of a man so eminently qualified for the object by his knowledge, judiciousness, moderation, and patriotism.

“The fame of RAMMOHUN ROY had preceded him; but the official character in which he came, together with the state of public affairs, necessarily brought him forward to public notice even more than might otherwise have been expected. The native Princes of Delhi, conceiving that they had a claim upon the East India Company to a very considerable amount, commissioned RAMMOHUN ROY as their Envoy to represent and urge it; and they gave him, by firman, the title of Rajah. His official relation and title were recognized by the British Government; but the East India Company have never acknowledged either, though they always treated him with great consideration as a highly-distinguished individual. He was, however, presented to his Majesty by the President of the Board of Control; and had a place assigned to him at the Coronation among the Ambassadors. He appears, indeed, to have had no reason for dissatisfaction with our Government, either in his individual or in his official capacity.

“MR. DAVID HARE, an Englishman of Calcutta, of well-known and great respectability, from his earnest attachment to the Rajah, had urged his brothers in Bedford Square to do every thing in their power for him; and especially to render him those services which

he was sure to need in a land so different from his own, and to protect him from those evils and inconveniences to which his unsuspecting nature and ignorance of our customs might expose him. With great difficulty they at last prevailed upon him, some months after his arrival, to accept a home in their house; and when he went to France, for a few weeks, one of them accompanied him to Paris, where he was more than once at the table of LOUIS PHILIPPE."

"My own opportunities," says Dr. CARPENTER, "of direct communication with this eminent person, while he remained in India, were not frequent. Each had very close engagements and many interruptions of purpose. One of his communications, at least, on which I rested much, was lost. I had no official reason for intruding upon his time; nor had I—it would have been presumptuous if I had had—any desire to attempt to direct his views, except by information as to the state of things among our religious community in Britain. It always seemed to me that his was a mind which, while looking to higher guidance, was to shape its own course; and which must be decided in its choice by the requirements of circumstances over which the residents in this country could have no controul, and of which, indeed, we had no certain knowledge. I was enabled, however, to keep myself in his recollection; and when he arrived in Britain, the first letter which I received from him assured me that I possessed his friendly regard, and that as soon as his public duties permitted, he would visit us. I was his companion in his first attendance

on Unitarian worship in London, and in the evening I conducted him to the crowded meeting of our Association, at which the father of my colleague, Rev. ROBERT ASPLAND, presided; where the enlightened Brahmin was welcomed as a fellow-labourer, and received with every mark of deep and heartfelt respect; and where he himself, though weakened by accident and indisposition, expressed, in simple but correct language—the remembrance of which, and of his appearance, presses vividly on my heart as I commit the thought to writing—his humble appreciation of himself, and his desires to promote whatever appeared to him the cause of truth and duty.”

A full record of this most interesting occasion is happily preserved in the “Monthly Repository” of June, 1831 (Vol. v., N.S., pp. 417—420). The arrival of the “Apostle of the East” had been eagerly anticipated. After the proceedings had commenced, we read :—

“Just at this period the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY made his appearance on the platform, and was greeted with the cordial applause of the meeting.

“The Rev. CHAIRMAN.—Our illustrious friend (for such I trust he will allow me to call him) will permit me to state that his presence creates among us a sensation which he perhaps will hardly understand. It does so, because in his person and example we see an instance of the power of the human mind in recovering itself from the errors of ages; and because we conceive that we see in him, with his intelligence and character, one of the best and most disinterested judges of the claims of Unitarianism to be the original Christian doctrine.

* * * * *

“Dr. BOWRING (now Sir JOHN BOWRING),—I feel it as a very signal honour to have entrusted to my care a resolution, the object

of which is to welcome our illustrious oriental friend, and to communicate all we feel and hope towards him. I ought not to say all we feel and hope, for I am sure that it is impossible to give expression to those sentiments of interest and anticipation with which his advent here is associated in all our minds. I recollect some writers have indulged themselves with inquiring what they should feel if any of those time-honoured men whose names have lived through the vicissitudes of ages, should appear among them. They have endeavoured to imagine what would be their sensations if a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton or a Newton, were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence. I recollect that a poet, who has well been called divine, has drawn a beautiful picture of the feelings of those who first visited the southern hemisphere, and there saw, for the first time, that beautiful constellation, the Golden Cross. It was with feelings such as they underwent that I was overwhelmed when I stretched out in your name the hand of welcome to the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. In my mind the effect of distance is very like the effect of time; and he who comes among us from a country thousands of miles off, must be looked upon with the same interest as those illustrious men who lived thousands of years ago. But in the case of our friend, his coming may be deemed an act of heroism of which the European cannot form a just estimate. When Peter the Great went forth to instruct himself in the civilization of the South,—when he left the barbarous honours of his own court to perfect himself in ship-building at Saardam, he presented himself to the public eye in a more illustrious manner than after any of his most glorious victories. But Peter had to overcome no prejudices—he had to break down no embarrassments; for he knew that he had left those who were behind him with an enthusiasm equal to his own, and he knew that he would be received by them, when he should return, with the same display of enthusiasm. Our illustrious friend, however, has made a more severe experiment: he has ventured to accomplish that which perhaps none other connected, as he is, with the highest honours of the Brahminical race ever attempted: he has ventured to do that which would have been regarded with incredulity ten years ago, and which hereafter will crown his name with the highest honour. He will go back to his friends in the East and tell them how interested we are in them, and how delighted we are to

communicate to them through him all our desires to do everything in our power to advance their improvement and felicity. Time would fail me if I were to attempt to go over the history of our illustrious guest,—if I were to tell how eminently and constantly he has exerted himself for the removal of misery and the promotion of happiness. If at this moment Hindoo piles are not burning for the reception of widows, it is owing to his interference, to his exhortations, to his arguments. Can we look on such benefits as these without considering him as our brother? Can he come here without hearing our enthusiastic voices telling him how we have marked his progress, and without our proffering to him, if not our note of triumph, at least our accents of gratitude? It was to us a delightful dream that we might, on some occasion, welcome him here; but though it was a hope, it was but a trembling one, of which we scarcely dared to anticipate the fruition. But its accomplishment has produced recollections so interesting, that this day will be an epoch in our history, and no one will forget the occasion when the Brahmin stood among us to receive our welcome, and the assurance of the interest we take in all he does and in all he shall do; to which I may add that our delight will be too great if we can in any way advance those great plans, the progress of which is the grand object of his exertions. Sir, I move with great pleasure, 'That the members of this Association feel a deep interest in the amelioration of the condition of the natives of British India; that we trust their welfare and improvement will never be lost sight of by the Legislature and Government of our country; that we have especial pleasure in the hope that juster notions and purer forms of religion are gradually advancing amongst them; and that our illustrious visitor from that distant region, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, be hereby certified of our sympathy in his arduous and philanthropic labours, of our admiration of his character, of our delight at his presence amongst us, and of our conviction that the magnanimous and beneficent course which he has marked out for himself and hitherto consistently pursued, will entitle him to the blessings of his countrymen and of mankind, as it will assuredly receive those of future generations.'

"Dr. KIRKLAND (late President of Harvard University, United States).—In the absence of the Hon. HENRY WHEATON, who was to have seconded this motion, but is prevented by indisposition, I

have great pleasure in seconding the motion. It is well known that the Rajah is an object of lively interest in America; and he is expected there with the greatest anxiety.

"The Rev. CHAIRMAN.—In proposing this resolution I beg to suggest that the assembly should rise in unanimous approbation of its object.

"The meeting accordingly rose, and carried the resolution by acclamation.

"RAMMOHUN ROY.—I am too unwell and too much exhausted to take any active part in this meeting; but I am much indebted to Dr. KIRKLAND and to Dr. BOWRING for the honour they have conferred on me by calling me their fellow-labourer, and to you for admitting me to this Society as a brother and one of your fellow-labourers. I am not sensible that I have done any thing to deserve being called a promoter of this cause; but with respect to your faith I may observe, that I too believe in the one God, and that I believe in almost all the doctrines that you do: but I do this for my own salvation and for my own peace. For the objects of your Society I must confess that I have done very little to entitle me to your gratitude or such admiration of my conduct. What have I done?—I do not know what I have done!—If I have ever rendered you any services they must be very trifling—very trifling I am sure. I laboured under many disadvantages. In the first instance, the Hindoos and the Brahmins, to whom I am related, are all hostile to the cause; and even many Christians there are more hostile to our common cause than the Hindoos and the Brahmins. I have honour for the appellation of Christian; but they always tried to throw difficulties and obstacles in the way of the principles of Unitarian Christianity. I have found some of these here; but more there. They abhor the notion of simple precepts. They always lay a stress on mystery and mystical points, which serve to delude their followers; and the consequence is, that we meet with such opposition in India that our progress is very slight; and I feel ashamed on my side that I have not made any progress that might have placed me on a footing with my fellow-labourers in this part of the globe. However, if this is the true system of Christianity, it will prevail, notwithstanding all the opposition that may be made to it. Scripture seconds your system of religion, common sense is always on your side; while power and prejudice are on

the side of your opponents. There is a battle going on between reason, scripture, and common sense; and wealth, power, and prejudice. These three have been struggling with the other three; but I am convinced that your success, sooner or later, is certain. I feel over-exhausted, and therefore conclude with an expression of my heartfelt thanks for the honour that from time to time you have conferred on me, and which I shall never forget to the last moment of my existence.

"The CHAIRMAN.—The Rajah will now allow me, as the representative of this assembly, to take him once more by the hand, and to repeat in your name our deep and heartfelt thanks for his presence on this occasion."

The Rev. W. J. Fox made the following beautiful allusion to the Rajah in his speech :

"And when our oriental friend shall return, if return he must, (long be it delayed!) to his native regions, may he have to report that Europe is not only as supreme as he esteems it in sciences, arts, and arms, but is beginning to aspire to a supremacy in benevolence which shall annihilate all other supremacies, and even in the end its own, by assimilating and exalting human feeling and human character in all the regions of the world. The Rajah remarked to me the other day, with somewhat of an indignant feeling, that he had been shown a painting of Jesus Christ, and that the painter was false, for he had given him the pale European countenance, not remembering that Jesus Christ was an oriental. The criticism was just. Those theologians have painted falsely too who have portrayed Christianity as a cold and intellectual religion, and not given it that rich oriental colouring of fancy and of feeling with which the Scriptures glow, and by which they possess themselves not only of the mind, but the heart and soul of man. Oh, thus may our religion appear, creating the whole human race anew in the image of the Creator!"

"While in London," says Dr. CARPENTER, "he repeatedly attended the worship of the Unitarians, at their different Chapels in or near the metropolis; and he twice attended their anniversary meetings: but it was his system to avoid so far identifying himself with

any religious body, as to make himself answerable for their acts and opinions; and he also wished to hear preachers of other denominations who had acquired a just celebrity. He appears to have most frequented the Church of the Rev. Dr. KENNEY (St. Olave's, Southwark), who peculiarly interested him by the Christian spirit and influence of his discourses."

Religious sympathy must have been truly refreshing to the spirit of the Hindoo Reformer, after the long persecutions he had endured in his own country; but every thing which related to his personal gratification was always regarded by him as secondary to the welfare of his country.

It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the Rajah's time and labours while in England were specially directed to the accomplishment of the great objects to which he had consecrated his life.

"The promotion of human welfare," says Dr. C., "and especially the improvement of his own countrymen, was the habit of his life. This rested, without a doubt, on the consciousness of power to aid in the great work; and it was influenced by a strong conviction of responsibility for the use of that power. No selfish narrow purposes influenced him; and if he sometimes yielded too much to the kindly dispositions of his nature, and if he always pursued his course with cautious prudence, he ever manifested fortitude and unyielding firmness when any great and benevolent object required exertion, and exposed him to calumny and persecution.

"Such was the course he pursued for abolishing the

horrid and too frequent practice of burning the living widow of a Brahmin with the corpse of her husband. This he laboured in various ways to accomplish ; and in this he had a great and acknowledged influence, which should make him regarded as the friend of his country, of the female sex, and of the human race.

"There is no doubt that it was greatly through his firmness, his enlightened reasonings, and his persevering efforts, that the Government of Bengal at last thought themselves enabled to interdict the immolation of widows. His arguments, and his appeals to ancient authorities held sacred by the Brahmins, enlightened the minds of many of them ; and made the merciful interposition of Lord WM. BENTINCK and his Council, no longer regarded by them, and by persons connected with the East India Company at home, as an interference with the religion of the Hindoos. When the interested and superstitious, as their last effort, appealed against the edict of the Government of India to the King in Council, RAMMOHUN ROY was here to oppose the appeal ; and his unwearied efforts were given in aid of that result which finally annihilated the dreadful sacrifice of the living widow, and filled his heart, and the hearts of number of his countrymen, with joy and gratitude."

To enable us to comprehend the immense difficulties which the Reformer had to contend with in effecting this great object, it will be well here to refer to his previous writings on the subject.

"The conferences," says Dr. C., "between an advocate for, and an opponent of, the practice of burning widows

alive, of which a translation is subjoined to the Veds, give us an opportunity of observing, not only the tenaciousness with which the superstitious Brahmins clung to this horrid sacrifice, and the grounds on which it was defended, but also the acuteness of the Reformer's mind, and the logical adroitness with which he reasoned from common admissions : still more, they display his views of the character and circumstances of the female sex, the diffusion of which in Hindoostan must tend to elevate them to their due rank in society.

“The faults which you have imputed to women,” wrote the Rajah, ‘are not planted in their constitution by nature ; it would be, therefore, grossly criminal to condemn that sex to death merely from precaution. By ascribing to them all sorts of improper conduct, you have indeed successfully persuaded the Hindoo community to look down upon them as contemptible and mischievous creatures, whence they have been subjected to constant miseries. I have, therefore, to offer a few remarks on this head.

“Women are in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy ; consequently the male part of the community, taking advantage of their corporeal weakness, have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. But if we give the subject consideration, we may easily ascertain whether or not your accusation against them is consistent with justice. As to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did

you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority. On the contrary, Leelavutee, Bhanoomutee (the wife of the prince of Kurnat), and that of Kalidas, are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the Shastrus: moreover in the Vrihudaranyuk Opunished of the Ujoor Ved it is clearly stated, that Yagnuvulkyu imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife Mūtreeye, who was able to follow and completely attain it!

“Secondly. You charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprised: for we constantly perceive, in a country where the name of death makes the male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband; and yet you accuse those women of deficiency in point of resolution.’—*Transl.*, pp. 251, 252.

“The Hindoo Sage then proceeds to defend the female sex (3dly) in reference to trustworthiness, and (4thly) to the subjection of the passions, in comparison with men; and in the close of the discussion he gives a picture of the degradation to which the women of Hindoostan are exposed.”

The description which RAMMOHUN ROY here gives of the degradation of women in India, and the extreme

cruelties practised towards them, we will not copy, hoping that they are now matters of history only. Then, we learn from him,—

“These are facts occurring every day, and not to be denied. What I lament is, that, seeing the women thus dependent and exposed to every misery, you feel for them no compassion that might exempt them from being tied down and burnt to death.”—*Transl.* pp. 253—255.

“This horrid practice he speaks of repeatedly as murder, whenever any force was employed; and all engaged in it as then guilty of murder. It is easy to see what inalignant hatred such expressions were likely to excite.

“In the ‘Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance,’ 1822, subjoined to the Translations, RAMMOHUN ROY delineates (p. 270), ‘the interest and care which their ancient Legislators took in the promotion of the comfort of the female part of the community,’ and shows the extreme evils that the Hindoo women incurred by the changes which afterwards took place in the law of inheritance. In the course of this statement he says (pp. 274, 275), ‘It is not from religious prejudices and early impressions only that Hindoo widows burn themselves on the piles of their deceased husbands, but also from their witnessing the distress in which widows of the same rank in life are involved, and the insults and slights to which they are daily subjected, that they become in a great measure regardless of existence after the death of their husbands; and

this indifference, accompanied with the hope of future reward held out to them, leads them to the horrible act of suicide. These restraints on female inheritance encourage, in a great degree, polygamy, a frequent source of the greatest misery in native families."

"His labours for his country," continues Dr. CARPENTER, "had, however, a much wider scope. He took an intense interest in whatever contributed, or appeared to him likely to contribute, to its welfare; and his communications to our Legislature shew with what closeness of observation, soundness of judgment, and comprehensiveness of views, he had considered the various circumstances which interfered with its improvement, or which, on the other hand, tended to promote it. They shew him to be at once the philosopher and the patriot. They are full of practical wisdom; and there is reason to believe that they were highly valued by our Government, and that they aided in the formation of the new system, by which the well-being of our vast dependencies in India must be so greatly affected for good or for ill;—a system which it requires little acquaintance with the causes of the welfare of nations to perceive, must, after the transition is fully made, essentially promote all the sources of prosperity to that immense population whom our nation is bound by every consideration of justice, as well as of philanthropy and wise policy, to raise and enlighten. Long, however, before the means were presented to him of thus publicly aiding in the political amelioration of his country, he was promoting by example and coöperation,

and by the decided expression of his convictions, that means of improvement which is essential to the permanent efficacy of all others, and from which the greatest benefits may be expected in relation to social welfare, and to the reception of the Gospel—the judicious education of the young. He saw that the communication of the knowledge contained in our language, and the training to our modes of thought and reasoning, was the only sure and general way ‘of improving the understandings of his countrymen, and of ultimately ameliorating their hearts’; and with the assistance of two or three friends, he himself supported a school for this purpose from about the year 1822, in which sixty Hindoo children receive instruction.”

The spirit and object of the Rajah’s work while in London, are thus eloquently delineated by the Rev. W. J. Fox in his discourse on the death of the Hindoo Reformer :—

“The benefits which, besides that great testimony which it was the business of his life to bear, he achieved or contemplated, for his native country, have this beautiful quality of all pure and good ends realized by pure and good means, that however local and temporary the immediate advantages, they expand themselves into the universal and enduring, and a blessing on any spot of earth tends to become a benediction on the great globe itself. The Hindoo patriot and reformer was, by the purity with which he sustained those characters, a benefactor to mankind. • The good which he attempted for his countrymen is reflected and re-acts upon us. In

leading them back, as he endeavoured by numerous publications, through the superstitions and corruptions of ages, to the primeval simplicity of their religion, does he not show us, and may we not profit by the lesson, that a pure theism, the original religion of mankind, is the true basis of all religion? In endeavouring to improve the manners and condition, the laws and institutions of that numerous people, was he not working good for us, who have injured ourselves, in so far as we have despised them, or been accessory to their oppression and debasement? The tyrant and the corruptor must themselves feed at last on the fruits of corruption and tyranny; while upon those who enlighten and emancipate, their own blessing returns in light and freedom.

“In the establishment of native schools, for providing the advantages of English education, which he supported at considerable expense,—in his connexion with the Indian Press,—and his able and honourable exertions to prolong its existence, by obtaining for it some degree of freedom, he was coöperating with those who in this or any country strive after the enlightenment of the human mind as the most efficient means of advancing to the possession of political freedom and of social happiness.

“In his work on the right of Hindoos to dispose of their ancestral property, and in other legal arguments, he struggled against decisions in the courts of Bengal, which he regarded as a departure from the best and highest Hindoo authorities; and which, as they tended to establish in that country the European principle or custom

of primogeniture, could not but be offensive to his acute mind which so distinctly saw, and his benevolent heart which so strongly deprecated, its pernicious operation. Property, like superstition, may perpetuate a distinction of caste. This is one of the evils which make the worship of mammon not less degrading and pernicious to society than other idolatries.

“The noble exertions of RAMMOHUN ROY to stop the prevalent atrocity of sacrificing widows on the funeral pile, no doubt contributed to the abolition of that practice. His struggle with the interests of the Brahmins and the prejudices of society would not have been so long, had the British authorities more decidedly and promptly espoused the claims of humanity. In one of his tracts on this subject, there is a noble and eloquent passage, in which, from reprobating the particular instance of oppression of the female sex, he rises to the advocacy of such amelioration of their education and condition as would give the amplest scope and highest direction to their influence on the mind, the morals, and the happiness of the whole human race. And thus, also, his desire to visit Europe and America, had its source in that pure patriotism which not merely agrees with, but is philanthropy. He had long wished to observe society under the influence of liberal institutions. He wished the sea to become the same broad highway for his countrymen that it is for the merchants, the travellers, and the literati of free and civilized nations. He wished, in the spirit of that Gospel which destroyed the partition wall betwixt Jew and Gentile, to break the barriers

which divide the Eastern and the Western world. He had other and more immediate purposes. It was his hope that he might benefit his countrymen by his presence, and, if opportunity favoured, his interference, during the discussions which were about to take place on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter. An appeal had also been made to the King in Council, by the idolatrous Brahmins and their partizans, against the decree of the local authorities for the abolition of Suttees. And the Emperor of Delhi had constituted him his representative, with the title of Rajah, for the purpose of procuring reparation of certain encroachments on his rights by the East India Company. These purposes are all happily accomplished. His evidence on Indian affairs, which no doubt had its weight with the legislature, is before the public. He was present when the Privy Council gave its final decision against the Brahminical application for the renewal of the Suttee atrocities; and his negotiations on behalf of the Emperor of Delhi were conducted to a satisfactory and honourable termination. During his residence here he was the deeply-interested spectator of the most important struggle for popular right which has taken place in this country. And, in social intercourse, he endeared himself to natives of many countries, and to persons of all parties, ranks, and ages; attracting a regard which no celebrity could have conciliated, but which flowed spontaneously towards that goodness which was in him the soul of greatness."

His visit to England was at a period peculiarly im-

portant. In 1831, 1832, a Committee of the House of Commons was sitting on the affairs of India, and in 1833 a Bill on that subject was introduced into Parliament. Hence his time and thoughts were continually occupied with the proceedings of the Government, and affording information and advice whenever they were required. Every thing else was made subservient to this great object. Frequently was the noble form of the illustrious stranger seen within the precincts of our Houses of Parliament, as those still remember who were there thirty-five years ago.

In the Appendix to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs in 1831, 1832, are papers by RAMMOHUN ROY, communicated by the Board of Control. These papers occupy seventeen folio pages full of interesting and important observations. The queries are searching and comprehensive, and respect the position of the Government relating to the farmer and land cultivators,—the judicial system,—and the policy of the Government in reference to the promotion of natives. The opinions of such a man, who could regard the question at the same time with the patriotic feeling of a native of India, with the philosophic and enlarged mind of a sage and a religious man, and with a full knowledge and appreciation of the views and objects of the British Government, must deserve to be fully known and considered. We cannot here do more, however, than mention where this evidence is to be found, and give a few extracts from it :—

“In the Appendix to the Report from the Select

Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, published in 1831, Vol. v., pp. 716—741, several papers are contained which were written by RAMMOHUN ROY.

"1. Revenue System of India,—pp. 716—723. Copy of communication between RAMMOHUN ROY and the Board of Control relative to the Revenue and Judicial System of India.—54 questions proposed to RAMMOHUN ROY, and his answers, dated 19th August, 1831. Subjects :—Revenue System of India, Tenure of Land, Rate of Rent, Title to Land, Improvement of the State of the Cultivators and Inhabitants at large."

"2. Pages 723—726, Appendix A. Paper on the Revenue System of India, by RAMMOHUN ROY, dated London, August 19th, 1831.

"RAMMOHUN ROY concludes this paper (p. 726) 'with beseeching any and every authority to devise some mode of alleviating the present miseries of the agricultural peasantry of India, and thus discharge their duty to their fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects.'"

"3. Questions and Answers on the Judicial System of India, pp. 726—739.—78 questions and answers, dated Sept. 19th, 1831.

"In pp. 729, 730, is the following answer of RAMMOHUN ROY to question 30,—'Can you suggest any mode of removing the several defects you have pointed out in the judicial system?'

"Answer of RAMMOHUN ROY.—'As European Judges in India are not generally expected to discharge judicial duties satisfactorily, independent of native assistance,

from not possessing a thorough knowledge of the languages, manners, customs, habits, and practices of the people, and as the natives who possess this knowledge have long been accustomed to subordination and indifferent treatment, and, consequently, have not the power of commanding respect from others, unless joined by Europeans, the only remedy which exists is to combine the knowledge and experience of the native with the dignity and firmness of the European.

“This principle has been virtually acted upon and reduced to practice since 1793, though in an imperfect manner, in the constitution of Courts of Circuit, in which the Mufti (native assessor) has a voice with the Judge in the decision of every cause, having a seat with him on the Bench.

“This arrangement has tolerably well answered the purposes of government, which has not been able to devise a better system in a matter of such importance as the decision of questions of life and death during the space of 40 years, though it has been continually altering the systems in other branches.

“It is my humble opinion, therefore, that the appointment of such native assessors should be reduced to a regular system in the Civil Courts. They should be appointed by Government for life, at the recommendation of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlat,* which should select them carefully, with a view to their character and

* This court is now amalgamated with Her Majesty's Supreme Court of Calcutta, and is called the High Court of Judicature in Bengal.

qualifications, and allow them to hold their situations during life and good behaviour, on a salary of from 300 to 400 rupees per mensem. They should be responsible to the Government as well as to the public for their decisions, in the same manner as the European Judges, and correspond directly with the Judicial Secretary. A casting voice should be allowed to the European Judge in appointing the native officers, in case of difference of opinion; the native assessor, however, having the right to record his dissent. These assessors should be selected out of those natives who have been already employed for a period of not less than five years as assessors (mufti), lawyers (zillah court maulavis), or as the head native officers in the judicial department.*

"4. Additional queries respecting the condition of India, pp. 739—741.—13 queries and answers, dated London, Sept. 28th, 1831.

"In Vol. v., 1831, p. 741, in his answer to one of these additional queries, RAMMOHUN ROY thus describes the intelligent native Indians:—'Men of aspiring character, and members of such ancient families as are very much reduced by the present system, consider it derogatory to accept of the trifling public situations which natives are allowed to hold under the British Government, and are decidedly disaffected to it. Many of those, however, who engage prosperously in commerce, and of those who are secured in the peaceful possession

* The native judicial officers are generally versed in Persian, and, therefore, the proceedings hitherto generally held in that language would be familiar to them.

of their estates by the permanent settlement, and such as have sufficient intelligence to foresee the probability of future improvement which presents itself under the British rule, are not only reconciled to it, but really view it as a blessing to the country.

“‘But I have no hesitation in stating, with reference to the general feeling of the more intelligent part of the native community, that the only course of policy which can ensure their attachment to any form of government would be that of making them eligible to gradual promotion, according to their respective abilities and merits, to situations of trust and respectability in the State.’—RAMMOHUN ROY, London, Sept. 28, 1831.”

“In Vol. VIII., 1831-2, in the General Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, Section v., pp. 341—343.—Remarks by RAMMOHUN ROY are given on the settlement of Europeans in India, dated 14th July, 1832.

“In p. 348, the following extract is given in this Appendix from a speech by RAMMOHUN ROY, who is described as an illustrious native, ‘On the advantages of intercourse between the natives of India and European gentlemen’ :—‘From personal experience I am impressed with this conviction, that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social, and political affairs ; a fact which can easily be proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage, with that of those who have unfortunately

not had that opportunity.' The speech had been delivered at a public meeting of the native inhabitants of Calcutta."

"The evidence of RAMMOHUN ROY, in 1831, is referred to in the Appendix to the Report of 1833, p. 366, respecting the condition of the ryots in India."

"A side note for reference, p. 366, opposite to this mention of RAMMOHUN ROY, has these words, 'Evidence before Committee of 1831. Evidence before this Committee, A to G, 35, p. 5, min.,' which seems to shew that the Rajah had been examined before a Committee of the House of Commons."

The literary labours of the Rajah were continued even in the midst of his political action, and the objects of interest in our great metropolis which are usually so engrossing to a stranger. We find these announcements in the "Christian Reformer" for February, 1832, Vol. xviii., p. 95 :—

"The following publications are announced from the pen of Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY : 'An Essay on the Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property, according to the Law of Bengal, with an Appendix, containing Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance'; and 'Remarks on East, India Affairs; comprising the Evidence to the Committee of the House of Commons on the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India, with a Dissertation on its Ancient Boundaries; also, Suggestions for the Future Government of the Country, illustrated by a Map, and farther enriched with Notes.'"

In June of the same year, p. 287, we find :—

“The Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY has published his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed with a view to the question of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, in an 8vo. volume entitled ‘Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India.’ There is little interesting to the general reader in this work, though it will, we doubt not, have some weight with the legislature in the forthcoming discussion of the Company's Charter. We are pleased to find the following announcement at the close of some ‘Preliminary Remarks:’ the Rajah had just stated that he sailed from Calcutta, Nov. 19, 1830, and arrived in England, April 8, 1831—‘The particulars of my voyage and travels will be found in a journal which I intend to publish, together with whatever has appeared to me most worthy of remark and record in regard to the intelligence, riches and power, manners, customs, and especially the female virtue and excellence existing in this country.’”

In the “Monthly Repository” for September, of the same year (N.S., Vol. vi., p. 609), occurs a review of the two following works:—

“1. Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India. By Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1832.

“2. Translation of several principal books, passages and texts of the Veds, and of some controversial works on Brahmunical Theology. By the same. London: Parbury, Allen and Co., 1832.”

•The following are extracts from the review :—

“It is by a remarkable sequence of circumstances that a native of this region, fully informed respecting the capabilities and the woes of its people, has been brought into the presence of the authorities with whom it rests to correct Indian abuses. No less remarkable are his qualifications to give evidence, to make it understood by all the parties concerned, and to offer it in a form which may conciliate prejudice. The method and coolness with which the Rajah arranges and states his facts, in contrast with the rousing nature of those facts, are as remarkable as anything in the whole affair; and the courtesy with which he accounts, where he can, for the rise and growth of abuses, will not impede, but hasten the rectification of those abuses. The Rajah appreciates too well the nature and operation of free institutions, not to have felt many a throb of indignation, many a pang of grief, when witnessing the oppressed condition of the ryots of his country, and the various kinds and degrees of guilt among his countrymen, which have been originated by British misgovernment; but when the cause can best be served by a plain statement of facts, he can adduce them with all the calmness of a mere observer. That which it makes our spirits sink to read, he states unaccompanied by reproach or entreaty. Suggestions on which we would stake our lives, and which we should be apt to thrust in the face of friend and foe, he offers in their due connection, and with a moderation most likely to ensure them a hearing * * * * *

“We will not say that other such friends as the author of the work before us may arise throughout India; for the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY is a man of a thousand years; but many of his countrymen may soon follow his lead in investigating the sources of Indian grievances, and candidly referring them to their real origin; in appreciating whatever is valuable in us as a nation; in learning from us where we are qualified to teach; and in offering us the noblest lesson of forbearance wherever repentance would beseech us better than triumph. If one Hindoo, under whatever circumstances, has magnanimously honoured us with his respect and friendship, why should not all his nation enter in time into our fellowship? The brotherly intercourse has begun between the most enlightened; let it go on among those who have a mutual

interest, whether it be of a mere temporal or of a higher character, and it will in time include all who were not, whatever they may now think, born enemies, and who may therefore live to be friends.

* * * * *

"Since the foregoing remarks were written, we have received the other volume, the title of which is given at the commencement. It contains a reprint of thirteen publications, of which the first six are translations from the Veds, tending to prove the unity of the Supreme Being; the next three are controversial, occasioned by the publication of the former; three more relating to the burning of widows; and the last, which has the same humane object, is on the ancient rights of females according to the Hindoo law of inheritance. The fact that Suttees are now abolished will not diminish the interest with which our readers will contemplate these philanthropic efforts. There can be no doubt of their having contributed largely to that result. The Rajah was present at, and must have enjoyed with a pure triumph, the failure of the attempt to induce the Privy Council to rescind the order of the Governor-General. Some of the theological tracts are not wholly unknown in this country, though no reprint or complete collection of them has before appeared. A singularly blessed lot is that of this extraordinary man in that, besides being an efficient agent in a great work of philanthropy, and contributing towards a political and commercial reform, he has laboured, and that not unsuccessfully, for the restoration of two religions from a corrupt state to one of simplicity and purity, first showing the Divine unity to have been the primeval doctrine of Hindooism, and since, of the Gospel. In both cases it is interesting to mark the spirituality and benevolence of his mind, its superiority to the common tone of controversy, and its direction to the glory of God in the good of man."

It is to be regretted that works which must have contained information so valuable and views so important should be at present but little known. We may hope that they will not be allowed to remain much longer in obscurity, but will be collected and republished.

• Having thus considered the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY during his residence in London in his religious, political and literary aspect, we may now observe him in his social relations.

We frequently remark in great reformers, and those who have been obliged, in the execution of important works for their fellow creatures, to tax their energies to the utmost, a deficiency in the more delicate and graceful parts of the character. The contrary was the case in the Hindoo patriot and reformer. The extraordinary courteousness and suavity of his general demeanour, and his habitual care to avoid giving unnecessary pain, would have made those who enjoyed his society think of him only as a most delightful and intellectual companion, did not some observation incidentally reveal what were the ever present subjects of his thoughts. To this those can testify who have the privilege of recollecting him personally.

How much the Hindoo Reformer attracted the attention of society, and won the respect of the intellectual portion of it, is shown by the following extracts from Miss LUCY AIKIN's letters to Dr. CHANNING (*Memoirs, Miscellanies and Letters, of the late LUCY AIKIN.* London: Longman). The first is from a letter to Dr. CHANNING, dated Hampstead, June 28, 1831:—

“In the intervals of politics we talk of the Christian Brahmin, RAMMOHUN ROY. All accounts agree in representing him as a person of extraordinary merit. With very great intelligence and ability, he unites a modesty and simplicity which win all hearts. He has a very

great command of the language, and seems perfectly well versed in the political state of Europe, and an ardent well-wisher to the cause of freedom and improvement everywhere. To his faith he has been more than a martyr. On his conversion to Christianity his mother cursed him, and his wife (or wives) and children all forsook him. He had grievous oppressions to endure from the Church party on turning Unitarian. This was at Calcutta; here it is determined to court him. Two bishops have noticed him, and the East India Company show him all civilities. But his heart is with his brethren in opinion, with whom chiefly he spends his time. I hear of him this remarkable saying,—that the three countries in Europe which appear even less prepared than Asia for a liberal system of religion, are Spain, Portugal and England.”

The next is dated Hampstead, Sept. 6th, 1831:—

“Just now my feelings are more cosmopolite than usual; I take a personal concern in a *third* quarter of the globe, since I have seen the excellent RAMMOHUN ROY. I rejoice in the hope that you will see him some time, as he speaks of visiting your country, and to know you would be one of his first objects. He is indeed a glorious being,—a true sage, as it appears, with the genuine humility of the character, and with more fervour, more sensibility, a more engaging tenderness of heart than any *class* of character can justly claim. He came to my house, at the suggestion of Dr. BOOTT, who accompanied him partly for the purpose of meeting MRS. JOANNA BAILLIE, and discussing with her the Arian tenets of her book. He mentions the Sanscrit as the

mother language of the Greek, and said that the expressions of the New Testament most perplexing to an European, were familiar to an Oriental acquainted with this language and its derivations, and that to such a person the texts which are thought to support the doctrine for the præexistence, bear quite another sense. She was a little alarmed at the erudition of her antagonist, and slipped out at last by telling him that his interpretations were too subtle for an unlearned person like herself. We then got him upon subjects more interesting to me—Hindoo laws, especially those affecting women. He spoke of polygamy as a crime, said it was punishable by their law, except for certain causes, by a great fine; but the Mussulmans did not enforce the fine, and their example had corrupted Hindoos; *they* were cruel to women, the Hindoos were forbidden all cruelty. Speaking of the abolition of widow-burning by Lord W. BENTINCK, he fervently exclaimed, 'May God load him with blessings!' His feeling for women in general, still more than the admiration he expressed of the mental accomplishments of English ladies, won our hearts. He mentioned his own mother, and in terms which convinced us of the falsehood of the shocking tale that she burned herself for his apostacy. It is his business here to ask two boons for his countrymen—trial by jury, and freedom for British capitalists to colonise amongst them. Should he fail in obtaining these, he speaks of ending his days in America."

Miss AIKIN again refers to the Rajah, as follows, in a letter dated Oct. 15th, 1832 :—

"I wonder whether you have seen a small book

published by RAMMOHUN ROY containing translations of several of the Hindoo Veds? I have found a good deal of interest in this view of theology and metaphysics of a nation so remote in every respect from us and our ways of thinking. The great point which the true friend of his country and his race has had in view in his various controversies with his own countrymen, has been to show that, although some idolatrous rites are sanctioned by their sacred books, yet it has always been the doctrine of the most authentic of these, that the highest future happiness was only attainable by a pure and austere life, and the worship of the invisible, universal Spirit—that idolatry was for the gross and ignorant, rites and observances for them only. Thus he shows that eternal felicity—that is, absorption into the supreme spirit, is promised to women who after the death of their husbands lead devout and holy lives; and only a poor lease of thirty-five millions of years of happiness with their husbands to such as burn with them, after the expiration of which their souls are to transmigrate into different animals. This you will say is mighty puerile, but it is at least meeting his antagonists on their own ground. Afterwards he details the many cruelties and oppressions to which females in his country are subjected by the injustice and barbarity of the stronger sex, and pleads for pity towards them with such powerful, heartfelt eloquence as no woman, I think, can peruse without tears and fervent invocations of blessings on his head. The Rajah is now at Paris, where I doubt if he will find much gratification, as he is

not well versed in the French language ; he will return to us, however, soon after the meeting of parliament. I dread the effects of another English winter on his constitution ; and yet it almost seems as if a life like his must be under the peculiar guardianship of Providence."

The Rajah alludes to his visit to France in the following interesting letters, addressed to Mrs. WOODFORD, of Brighton, and her late husband, which have been kindly furnished by her :—

"JANUARY 31st, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I had on the 27th the pleasure of receiving you obliging communication, and beg to offer you and Mrs. W. my best thanks for this mark of attention towards me. I rejoice to observe that the translation of the Veds, &c., which I presented to Mrs. W. before my departure for the continent of Europe, has proved interesting to her and to yourself. I am now confirmed in the opinion, that her good sense and her *rational* devotion to religion will not induce her to reject any reasonable sentiments on the ground that they are not found in this book, or in that volume.

"I was detained in France too late to proceed to Italy last year ; besides, without a knowledge of French, I found myself totally unable to carry on communication with foreigners, with any degree of facility. Hence I thought I would not avail myself of my travels through Italy and Austria to my own satisfaction. I have been studying French with a French gentleman, who accompanied me to London, and now is living with me.

"I shall be most happy to receive your nephew, Mr. KINGLAKE, as I doubt not his company and conversation as your relative, and a firm friend of liberal principles, will be a source of delight to me. I thank you for the mention you made of Sir HENRY STRACHEY. His talents, acquirements and manners, have rendered his name valuable to those who know him and can appreciate his merits. To the best of my belief and recollection, I declare that I do not know a native of Persia or India who could repeat Persian with greater accuracy than this British-born gentleman.

"RAMMOHUN ROY."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"April 27th, 1832."

"MY DEAR MADAM,—I now have the pleasure of begging your acceptance of the accompanying copy of my remarks on India, and of another copy of a pamphlet on the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoo widows alive. You will, I am sure, be highly gratified to learn that the present Governor-General of India has sufficient moral courage to afford them protection against their selfish relations, who cruelly used to take advantage of their tender feelings in the name and under the cloak of religion. It must have afforded Mr. WOODFORD and yourself much gratification to learn by the first conveyance the division on the second reading of the Reform Bill. The struggles are not merely between the reformers and anti-reformers, but between

liberty and tyranny throughout the world ; between justice and injustice, and between right and wrong. But from a reflection on the past events of history, we clearly perceive that liberal principles in politics and religion have been long gradually, but steadily, gaining ground, notwithstanding the opposition and obstinacy of despots and bigots. I am still unable to determine the period of my departure from London, and my visits to you in the country. I may perhaps do myself that pleasure.

“ RAMMOHUN ROY.”

“ 48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

“ *August 22nd, 1833.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,—I was glad to hear from Mr. CAREY some time ago that you and Mrs. W. were in good health when he saw you last; and Sir HENRY STRACHEY, whom I had the pleasure of seeing about three weeks ago, has confirmed the same information. He is indeed an extraordinary man; and I feel delighted whenever I have an opportunity of conversing with that philosopher. I have been rather poorly for some days past; I am now getting better, and entertain a hope of proceeding to the country in a few days, when I will endeavour to pay you a visit in Taunton. The reformed Parliament has disappointed the people of England; the ministers may perhaps redeem their pledge during next session. The failure of several mercantile houses in Calcutta has produced much distrust both in India and England.

The news from Portugal is highly gratifying, though another struggle is still expected. I hope you will oblige me by presenting to Mrs. W., with my best respects, the accompanying copy of a translation, giving an account of the system of religion which prevailed in Central India at the time of the invasion of that country by Alexander the Great.

“RAMMOHUN ROY.”

Many interesting anecdotes might have been collected soon after the Rajah's death illustrating his character in social intercourse, but at this distance of time only a few can be gleaned. The first is from the pen of Mr. Recorder HILL :—

“I only met the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY once in my life. It was at a dinner party given by Dr. ARNOTT. One of the guests was ROBERT OWEN, who evinced a strong desire to bring over the Rajah to his socialistic opinions. He persevered with great earnestness ; but the Rajah, who seemed well acquainted with the subject, and who spoke our language in marvellous perfection, answered his arguments with consummate skill, until ROBERT somewhat lost his temper, a very rare occurrence which I never witnessed before. The defeat of the kind-hearted philanthropist was accomplished with great suavity on the part of his opponent.”

The next is from an estimable lady who had the privilege of his acquaintance, and who was herself called from this world but a few weeks after she had penned the following note :—

• “Few things could give me more pleasure than to assist you (in my humble way) in doing honour to our venerated friend Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, but I am so miserably enfeebled by illness as to be incapable of looking over books and papers in research. I can, however, trust my memory for a little anecdote, to which yours will readily supply his courteous graceful manner.

“At a small evening party at my house in Grenville Street, principally to meet the Rajah, he referred to the doctrine of original sin in a way that startled a lady of the low church, a very charming and amiable woman, who had brought her daughter. ‘But surely, Sir,’ she exclaimed, ‘you do believe in original sin?’ He looked at her, and she blushed deeply. After a minute, he seemed to comprehend the whole, and very gently inclining he said, ‘I believe it is a doctrine which in many well-regulated minds has tended to promote humility, the first of Christian virtues; for my own part, I have never been able to see the evidence of it.’

“The next morning my sweet friend called to apologise for what she had said, and added that she had never seen or heard any thing so beautiful as this in society.”

During this residence in London, the Rajah placed his son under the care of the late Rev. D. DAVISON, M.A., and frequently communicated with that gentleman respecting the progress of the youth. He won the high esteem of the family by his most kind and courteous manners. His kindly sympathy was manifested by his being present at the christening of an infant born at

that period, and bestowing on him his own name, "Rammohun Roy." In this child he took a warm interest :—

"His visits to me," writes Mrs. DAVISON, "were generally paid to me in my *nursery*, as he insisted on coming up, so as to visit his *namesake* at the same time and not to interrupt me. For surely never was there a man of so much modesty and humility! I used to feel quite ashamed of the reverential manner in which he behaved to me. Had I been our Queen I could not have been approached and taken leave of with more respect. I was greatly struck with one thing which occurred. He called, and as he could not see me nor the boy for a little while, he waited, saying 'He would like to see the child once more.' This was just before leaving town for Miss CASTLE's, where he died."

Very shortly after the arrival of the Rajah in England, it was arranged that when he paid his visit to Bristol he should be the guest of Miss KIDDELL and Miss CASTLE, at Stapleton Grove, an agreeable residence in the immediate vicinity. The latter of these was a young heiress,—the ward of Dr. CARPENTER,—the former her maternal aunt and also her guardian. These ladies were introduced to the Rajah by Dr. C. in London, and the following letters respecting his intended visit, excepting the first, were addressed to them. Though they may not contain anything which adds to our knowledge of the Rajah's views, yet they give so pleasing a picture of the social and domestic side of his character, and have in them so many characteristic and incidental touches, that we will present them all to the reader :—

"125, REGENT STREET, LONDON,

"*May 10th*, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am now sufficiently recovered to answer your letter of the 28th ultimo. It will afford me much pleasure to spend some time in your city of which from your and other accounts I have formed very favourable opinion. I cannot but enjoy a high gratification in passing much of my time while there, the house of so warm a friend as yourself, for who proffered hospitality I cannot return sufficient acknowledgments. I fear, however, that were I to take up an entire residence under your hospitable roof, it would occasion you too much inconvenience. As I may be accompanied by a European friend and some servants, will lodge at some hotel in your immediate neighbourhood; by which I shall be enabled to frequent your house nearly as much as if I resided in it, as well as benefit myself to the company of the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER, to whom I beg you will present my respects and be good enough to inform him that two days ago I answered his kind communication.

"I remain, with gratitude,

"Yours most obediently,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"J. B. ESTLIN, Esq., Bristol."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*March 31st*, 1832.

"MADAM,—I had lately the pleasure of seeing the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER, and hearing from that truly venerable

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Rajah Rammo KumbRoy presents
his compliments to Miss Carpenter
& in reply to her note he has
only to say that he will be very
happy to see Miss Carpenter
on Monday next between
the hours of 2 & 4, - having been
engaged to a friend before
2 o'clock that morning. He is
happy to observe from the communi-
cations of his sons & his friends at
Bristol that Dr. Carpenter
is perfectly well & has been
discharging his duty as a faithful
minister of Christ with his
usual zeal & purity
July 27th 1833.

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minister that Miss CASTLE and yourself were perfectly well, and deeply interested in the cause of reform, on the success of which the welfare of England, nay of the whole world depends. I should have long ere this visited Bristol and done myself the honour of paying you my long-promised visit, but I have been impatiently waiting in London to know the result of the Bill. I feel very much obliged by your kind offers of attention to my comforts while I am in that part of the country, of which I hope to be able to avail myself as soon as my mind is relieved on this subject. You will oblige me by remembering me kindly to the Rev. gentleman, and presenting my best compliments to Miss CASTLE.

"I have the honour to be, Madam,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss KIDDELL,

"Stapleton Grove, Bristol."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"February 7th, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—I had last night great pleasure in receiving your letter of the 28th ultimo, and offer you and Miss CASTLE my cordial thanks for your kind remembrance of me. I beg to assure you that I am fully sensible of the kind attention you have shewn me, and feel indeed grateful for it. I intended to pay you both a visit while residing in Dover, but I was informed that

it was necessary to pass London on my way to Bristol. My health is, thank God, thoroughly reestablished. I therefore embrace the opportunity of paying you a visit in the latter end of the month, or any rate by the beginning of next. I will endeavour to bring Mr. RUTT with me, though I am sorry to say that in consequence of my ill health I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing him. Pray remember me kindly to Miss CAROLINE RUTT, and present my best respects to Dr. CARPENTER, who truly stands very high in my estimation. I now conclude this with my best regards for you and for Miss CASTLE, and remain, dear Madam,

"Yours most faithfully,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"To Miss KIDDELL,

"Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

"BEDFORD SQUARE,

"May 14th, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—During last week I more than once intended to proceed to Bristol to avail myself of your kind invitation. But *important* matters passing here daily have detained me, and may perhaps detain me longer than I expect. I however lose no time in informing you that the influenza has already lost its influence in London, a circumstance which justifies my entertaining a hope of seeing you and your friends in the metropolis within a short time, perhaps by the 25th instant. In the anticipation of the pleasure of being

soon introduced to you and your friends, I remain, with my best compliments to Miss CASTLE and Miss RUTT,

"Dear Madam,

"Yours most faithfully,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"P.S.—I sincerely hope that you *all* have escaped the complaint. "R. R.

"Miss KIDDELL,

• "Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

To Miss KIDDELL.

"June 12th, 1833.

"DEAR MADAM,—As Astley's Theatre commences at a-quarter past six o'clock p.m., I propose doing myself the pleasure of calling upon you at a little after half-past five to accompany you and your friends to the Theatre. In the meantime, I remain, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY."

To Miss CASTLE.

"June 22nd, 1833.

"MA CHERE DEMOISELLE,—I hope you will excuse my boldness when I take upon myself to remind you of your promise to read the publication of a certain learned Brahmin which I have brought to your notice. You may begin with page 4, and afterwards with the

preceding part. I trust our truly esteemed Miss KIDDELL is now restored to health, and remain,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY."

This note does not request an answer.

To Miss KIDDELL.

"DEAR MADAM,—I hope you and your friends are not worse from keeping late hours. I beg your acceptance of the accompanying volume containing a series of sermons preached by Dr. CHANNING, which I prize very highly.

"I also beg you will oblige me by rendering the same pamphlet, published by a friend, acceptable to Miss CASTLE. Being averse to induce her to write a letter of thanks for such a trifling present, I have refrained from sending it directly to Miss CASTLE. Had I not been engaged to a dinner party to-day, I would have made another trial of Miss RUTT's generosity this afternoon. I will endeavour to pay you a short visit between the hours of ten and twelve, should you be at home.

"I remain,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*July 9th, 1833.*

"DEAR MADAM,—I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 6th, and rejoice to learn

that you find my son peaceable and well-behaved. I however entreat you will not stand on ceremony with him. Be pleased to correct him whenever he deserves correction. My observation on, and confidence in, your excellent mode of educating young persons, have fully encouraged me to leave my youngster under your sole guidance. I at the same time cannot help feeling uneasy now and then at the chance of his proving disrespectful or troublesome to you or to Miss CASTLE.

"Miss DANIEL is not going to Bristol to-day. She will probably leave us on Friday next, when I intend to send a parcel of books, &c., in her charge. I hope I shall be able to have the pleasure of visiting you at your country residence next week, and not before, a circumstance which I fear will prevent us from joining the meeting in your neighbourhood. Dr. CARPENTER (I think) left London on Saturday last. I doubt not you will take my youngster every Sunday to hear that pious and true minister of the Gospel.

"I will write again by Friday next. In the meantime I remain, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss KIDDELL,

"Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

On the same sheet as the foregoing :—

"MA CHERE DEMOISELLE,—With delight I read the few lines with which you have favoured me, and offer you my warm acknowledgements for them. They indi-

cate that I still retain a place in your memory. I hope I shall be able to receive from you next week marks of personal civility. I also hope to be able to send you a small volume on Friday next for your acceptance, with a short letter, and will earnestly expect for a few lines in reply. Pray remember me kindly to my son and Miss RUTT, and believe me always, with the kindest regard,

"Yours most sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Pray excuse haste, as dinner is getting cold.

"R. M. R.

"Miss CATHERINE CASTLE."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*July 19th, 1833.*

"DEAR MADAM,—I know not how to express the eager desire I feel to proceed to Bristol to experience your further marks of attention and kindness, and Miss CASTLE's civil reception and polite conversation. But the sense of my duty to the natives of India has hitherto prevented me from fixing a day for my journey to that town, and has thus overpowered my feeling and inclination. It is generally believed that the main point respecting India will be settled by Wednesday next, and I therefore entertain a strong hope of visiting you by Friday next. I shall not fail to write to you on Wednesday or perhaps on Tuesday next. I feel gratified at the idea that you find my youngster worthy of your company. Nevertheless I entreat you will exercise your

authority over him, that he may benefit himself by your instructions. If you find him refractory, pray send him back to London. If not, you may allow him to stay there till I supply his place. With my best wishes for your uninterrupted health and happiness,

"I remain, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss ANN KIDDELL.

"P.S. All the active members of the East India Company having been incessantly occupied by the Charter question, I have not yet brought the subject relative to your young nephew to the notice of any of them.

"R. R."

The following letter is on the same sheet :—

"Friday, dispatched on Saturday.

"MA CHERE DEMOISELLE,—Many thanks for your obliging and polite communication, which, by mistake, bears no date. I am glad to observe that you are pleased with your late journey, and with your visit to Windsor. The account which Miss KIDDELL and yourself have given of my son, gratifies me very much. Miss HARE received a letter from him this morning (which she read to me), expressing his utmost joy and satisfaction with his present situation. I beg you will accept my best thanks for your kind treatment of him. Instead of thanking me for the little tract I had the pleasure to send you last week, I wish you had said only that you would pay attention to it.

• “You will perceive from my letter to Miss KIDDELL that I am to be detained here a week longer at the sacrifice of my feelings. I however cannot help reflecting that to entertain a hope of enjoying the society of friends (though for a short time, say one month) is more pleasant than bringing it to a termination by the completion of it. Adieu for the present.

“I remain,

“Yours very sincerely and obliged,

“RAMMOHUN ROY.

“Miss CATHERINE CASTLE.”

“48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

“*July 24th*, 1833.

“DEAR MADAM,—From my anxiety to proceed to Bristol heavy duties appeared to me light, and difficult tasks had seemed easily manageable. The consequence was that I met with disappointments from time to time, which I felt severely. To-day is the third reading of the India Bill in the House of Commons, after long vexatious debates in the Committee, impeding its progress under different pretensions. After the Bill has passed the Lower House, I will lose no time in ascertaining how it will stand in the Upper Branch, and will immediately leave London without waiting for the final result. I will proceed direct to Bristol next week, and on my way to [from ?] London I will endeavour to visit my acquaintances at Bath and its vicinity. I deeply regret that I should have been prevented from fulfilling my intention this week, by circumstances over which I had no control.

"I feel very much obliged by your kind suggestions contained in my son's letter. You may depend on my adhering to them. I intend to leave this place a little before ten a.m., that I may arrive there on the morning of the following day. Before I leave London I hope to be able to procure the situation for your young relative. Pray present my kindest regards to Miss CASTLE, and believe me, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"Miss ANN KIDDELL."

"48, BEDFORD SQUARE,

"*August 16th, 1833.*

"DEAR MADAM,—I have now the pleasure of informing you that I feel relieved, and will proceed to Stapleton Grove on Thursday next. I beg you will excuse this short letter as I am incessantly engaged in making preparations, particularly in writing letters to India and in different parts of this country. Pray give my love to my son and my kind regards to Miss CASTLE, and believe me, dear Madam,

"Yours very sincerely,

"RAMMOHUN ROY.

"P.S.—Miss HARE presents her compliments to yourself and Miss CASTLE.

"R. R.

"Miss KIDDELL,

"Stapleton Grove, near Bristol."

Alas ! The happiness of the meeting in Bristol with friends so much esteemed,—the interchange of thought with congenial minds so long anticipated, was destined by the Supreme Disposer of all to be but of short duration. No visit most delightful, but too short, remained to be treasured in the memory of the noble guest with affectionate regret at its termination !—Before the letters reached India the hand that traced them was cold in death !—And we who had rejoiced in his presence were mourning his departure !

Thou orderest all things well, O Father, and we will trust where we cannot trace !

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CHAPTER 104 GROVE

CHAPTER III.

VISIT TO BRISTOL.

THE RAJAH'S DEATH, AND INTERMENT.

EARLY in the month of September, 1833, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY arrived at Stapleton Grove, near Bristol, accompanied by Miss HARE, the daughter of his late esteemed friend, Mr. DAVID HARE, of Calcutta, who then resided with her uncles in Bedford Square; he was attended by his two Hindoo servants, RAMHURRY DOSS and RAMROTUN MUKERJAH. His son, RAJAH RAM ROY, was already at Stapleton Grove, as we learnt from the letters in the preceding chapter.

The annexed sketch gives a view of the house from the garden side. A grove of fine old trees leads by a carriage drive from the Porter's Lodge to the front entrance.

Stapleton Grove is an agreeable and commodious mansion, which might well be selected as an example of an English gentleman's country residence. It had belonged to Mr. MICHAEL CASTLE, a highly esteemed

Bristol merchant, and one of Dr. CARPENTER's congregation. On the death of that gentleman, and shortly after that of his wife, Mrs. CASTLE, Dr. CARPENTER undertook the charge which they had requested him to fulfil of being one of the guardians of their only child, a young lady of great promise, confiding unreservedly in his excellent influence, and good judgment in directing her.

As neither Dr. CARPENTER's professional engagements, nor the nature of his own establishment, authorised his seeking the privilege he would so greatly have valued of receiving his distinguished friend in his own house, it had been arranged soon after the Rajah's arrival in England, that whenever he was able to visit Bristol he should take up his abode at Stapleton Grove, where Miss KIDDELL and Miss CASTLE esteemed it a high honour to receive him, and would do all in their power to render agreeable his stay in the neighbourhood.

After his exciting life in London, the Rajah was doubtless glad of the quiet of a country life, and we do not hear of his having made any public appearance, or sought for gaiety or places of amusement, during his too brief abode near Bristol. But almost every day, if not daily, he and Dr. CARPENTER had friendly intercourse, either at Stapleton Grove or at Dr. C.'s residence in Great George Street, and it is needless to say that increased acquaintance with the illustrious stranger tended only to increase the affection, admiration and respect, already felt for him.

In the House of Prayer where Dr. CARPENTER offici-

ated, Lewin's Mead Chapel, the Rajah worshipped on two successive Sundays, the last he was to spend on earth in the public services of religion.

"On the first," says Dr. CARPENTER, "I addressed this congregation from words in the 18th chapter of the First Book of Kings; where, after the solemn sacrifice on Mount Carmel, and the proof from heaven that Jehovah is God alone, the Prophet of the Lord, after sending for six times in vain, received at the seventh, the report of his servant, 'There ariseth a little cloud out of the sea like a man's hand.' In that discourse I adverted, with earnest respect, to the recent death of Mr. WILBERFORCE, who had lived to see the seal put to the accomplishment of purposes to which the greatest labours of his life had been directed; and it was my intention, when I again preached in the morning, to continue the subject, by adverting to various other facts in the divine government, where great and effectual and lasting good was begun in circumstances which called for the faith as well as the hopefulness of the servants of God; in some of which it seemed as if nothing were achieved or even effectually commenced;—all contributing to cheer the wearied disappointed heart under difficulties and opposition, and affording abundant encouragement to 'the patience of hope and the labour of love.'"

On the next Sunday, Dr. C.'s colleague, Rev. R. B. ASPLAND, officiated; he says in reference to it, "I had to speak in behalf of Manchester New College. The

* This sermon, "The Prophet's Cloud," is in the volume of Dr. CARPENTER's printed discourses.

appeal interested him, and he sent me by Mr. ESTLE a kind message, intimating his purpose of seeing me, and sending through me a contribution to the College. He did not live to fulfil his purpose."

The work of the Hindoo Reformer had long been known in Bristol, and about eight years before, his services in the cause of philanthropy and religion were in an especial manner brought forward to this congregation, when an appeal was made to it, answered with even more than its wonted liberality, to assist in the establishment of Unitarian worship in the capital of British India.

His appearance, then, in Lewin's Mead Chapel was warmly welcomed, and is recollected by many with deep interest. He intended visiting other places of worship as he had done in London, his spirit being truly catholic.

It will be remembered that seventeen years before, the Rajah had first worshipped with Christians in the family of EUSTACE CAREY, and received from him a copy of Watts's Hymns; little did that gentleman know how that volume would be treasured. "It was a common practice with the Rajah," says Dr. C., "as he went to public worship, to read some of Dr. WATTS'S Hymns for Children; and he frequently dwelt with great and earnest interest on the verse,

"Lord! how delightful 'tis to see
A whole assembly worship thee:
At once they sing, at once they pray;
They hear of heaven and learn the way."

Several persons well known in the literary world had

the opportunity of conversing with the Rajah. The celebrated essayist, Rev. JOHN FOSTER, occupied a house adjoining, which he rented from Miss CASTLE. Mention is made of his interviews with the distinguished stranger in the life and correspondence of that eminent man.

Even in cases where there had been a prejudice against the Rajah, though we cannot suppose that there could have been many of these, his personal influence soon removed it; this is remarkably shewn in a letter of Mr. FOSTER's to a friend, dated October 8, 1883 :—

“I had entertained a strong prepossession against him (the Rajah), had no wish to see him, but could not avoid it, when he was come to the house of our young landlady, Miss CASTLE. My prejudice could not hold out half-an-hour after being in his company. He was a very pleasing and interesting man; intelligent and largely informed, I need not say—but unaffected, friendly, and, in the best sense of the word, polite. I passed two evenings in his company, only, however, as a unit in large parties; the latter time, however, in particular and direct conversation with him, concerning some of the doctrines of the Indian philosophers, the political, civil, and moral state of the Hindoos.” *

A large party was invited to meet the Rajah at Stapleton Grove, on the 11th of September. Of this Dr. CARPENTER says,—

“In the conversation at Stapleton Grove were men fully competent to judge of intellectual power: and one and all admired and were delighted by the clearness, the

* *Vide FOSTER's Life and Correspondence, Vol. II., p. 94.*

closeness, and the acuteness of his arguments, and the beautiful tone of his mind. In the second of the two conversations at which Mr. FOSTER was present, the Rajah continued for three hours, standing the whole time replying to all the inquiries and observations that were made by a number of gentlemen who surrounded him 'on the moral and political state and prospects of India and on an elucidation at great length of certain dogmas of the Indian philosophers.' Admiring respect was, may say, the sentiment of all present."

Among those present on that occasion was JO SHEPPARD, Esq., of Frome, the author of many valuable devotional works. He afterwards addressed a letter to the Rajah, on one of the subjects of the conversation which had taken place. It never received an answer, he to whom it was addressed was on the bed of sickness when it reached him; but as it possesses interest for indicating the nature of some of the discussions which then occurred, it may be here transcribed:—

"5, RICHMOND TERRACE, CLIFTON,

"September 17th, 1833.

"RESPECTED RAJAH,—I feel in common with others who were present, much indebted for the valuable information which you gave last evening, and for the obliging and affable manner in which it was communicated. One subject on which we troubled you with many queries—the doctrine of Absorption—is in itself so abstruse, and our language may perhaps be so imperfectly adapted to state ideas which are so entire

foreign (especially when it is extemporaneously used in a way so unfamiliar), that I doubt whether even the questions and statements of my learned and very acute friend Mr. FOSTER (though I know no one so competent) fully indicated to your apprehension the precise object of our inquiry. Suffer me to attempt expressing what we wished to learn with regard to the real opinions of those philosophic Hindus, who seek 'absorption' as the chief good. I conceive it may be briefly put thus:—Do they believe that there may be consciousnesses, or a *plurality* of consciousness (indivisibly) in the One Total of happy Being?—*or*—Do they believe that there can be but *one* consciousness in that One Total of happy Being?

"Only the former of these suppositions seems to require being illustrated. If *that* be the tenet, it appears to me to imply that the Absorbed, though no longer properly an *I* or *human* person, may still somehow *soliloquize*; or rather think or utter its undivided strain in the Divine *Omniloquy*. As thus—'That which was *I*, but is rejoicingly not *I*, exists but also fully in-exists and has its undivided being, or in-being in the Universal Mind. It meditates with the whole, *is* of the whole, is blest with and in the whole. The interposed and dissoluble, which parted the unity and continuity of the Divine *Substance*, is gloriously removed. The substance which was *I* is now not *itself* (though it exists), for it is continuous with the whole Divine Self. It has no will, but a mode of the universal will, no thought but a mode of the whole thought of the 'I am.'

• "If such be the tenet, however inconceivable or dis-
conceivable (by us at least) such a sort or modification
of consciousness may be, it is nevertheless not *unc-*
conscious being to which those philosophers aspire, but
mode of conscious inexistence or in-being.

"It is remarkable that a notion or hope akin to that
of these teachers in whose doctrine you are so deeply
versed, has been intimated, though with a very obscure
vagueness, by one of our modern poets (an anti-religious
and, I fear, anti-theistical but very gifted mind), in a
beautiful elegy called 'Adonais.' I do not mention that
at all to insinuate such a tendency in the Hindu specu-
lation, but only as a specimen of curious coincidence
in mental views the most remote. I ventured to suggest
last evening a point of indirect resemblance between the
Hindu doctrine of Absorption (so understood), and the
doctrine of the Divine Trinity in Unity (which you
know is so strenuously held, under somewhat diverse
explications, by many of us, and impugned by others,
and I still think on reflection, that our view of the
Trinity does involve the principle of *In-Existence*, or
plurality of consciousnesses in The One Being, together
perhaps with, what is not necessarily involved in the
view of Absorption, an *interconsciousness*, or intercom-
munication of the consciousnesses which are in the
Perfect *Being*. Nor does this appear to me an impos-
sible supposition; but rather a supposition tending to
enhance our thoughts of the *Omnimodous* perfection of
Deity. (Pardon my using or inventing terms which the
abstruseness of the topic seems to demand). I must

also run the hazard of being found to think darkly or weakly on a subject so high, and on which I have not read very much of the thoughts of others.

"It is in itself so interesting a question, whether a large and lettered portion of our race are expecting and desiring some *mode of conscious* being after death, or a merely unconscious being (which in our view is no more than not being), that I hope you will forgive my trying thus to put the query. It will be clearly seen that I do not ask what *you* think, but what *they* think. But I by no means wish to give you the trouble of a lengthened answer. If my query be intelligible, you would much gratify me (and my friends) by simply writing either 'they desire a *conscious in-being*,' or 'they desire a wholly *unconscious in-being*.'

"Excuse my unacquaintance with the proper terms of politeness in addressing you, and

"Believe me, Rajah,

"Yours with respect,

"JOHN SHEPPARD."

There was also on that occasion much conversation on religious topics, and as those last statements of the Rajah's views possessed peculiar interest, as well as much importance, after his lamented death, Dr. CARPENTER requested a written statement respecting their recollection of them from two gentlemen who were present, Rev. JOHN FOSTER and Dr. JERRARD. These are inserted in his "Review":—

“To the Rev. JOHN FOSTER, Stapleton.

“GREAT GEORGE STREET, 12th Oct., 1835

“DEAR SIR,—You cannot have forgotten the remarkable conversation at Stapleton Grove on the 11th principally between Dr. JERRARD and the Rajah, on subject of the extent and reasons of the Christian belief of the latter. May I solicit your opinion as to correctness of the following position—that the Rajah's declarations at that time authorize the conviction that he believed in the divine authority of Christ, though he rested this belief on internal evidence; and that he believed in the resurrection of Christ.

“May I further ask, if any thing that passed elsewhere in your hearing threw any doubt into your mind whether he believed in the divine authority of Christ?

“If you deem the position correct, and answer inquiry in the negative, may I, to that extent, speak of you as among others at the conversation to which I refer?

“I am, &c.,

“LANT CARPENTER

“To this I received the following reply, which I set the question at rest. For the fullness of its statement, and for the permission to employ it, I feel greatly obliged to Mr. FOSTER, as will also many other friends of the Rajah.

“STAPLETON, Oct. 14

“DEAR SIR,—My memory is so very defective that I have no doubt your own, and that of each of the gentlemen

men of the party at Stapleton Grove, will have more faithfully retained many particulars of the conversation with that most interesting person, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. I cannot recollect whether, in replying, with promptitude and the utmost apparent frankness, to the respectful inquiries concerning his religious opinions, he expressed in so many exact words his 'belief in the divine authority of Christ.' But it was virtually such a declaration when he avowed, as he did unequivocally, his belief in the resurrection of Christ, and in the Christian miracles generally. At the same time he said that the *internal* evidence of Christianity had been the most decisive of his conviction. And he gave his opinion, with some reasons for it, that the miracles are not the part of the Christian evidence the best adapted to the conviction of sceptics.

"This led one of the gentlemen to observe, that surely the sceptics must admit, that if the miracles recorded were real facts, they must be irrefragable proof of the truth of what they were wrought to attest; and that in so serious an affair the sceptics are under a solemn obligation to examine faithfully the evidence that they were actually wrought, which if they did, they would find that evidence decisive.

"The Rajah instantly assented to this; but I thought I perceived by his manner that he had a slight surmise that the observation might possibly be meant to bear on *himself*, with some implication of a doubt, in consequence of what he had said of the inferior efficacy of the proof from miracles, whether *he* had an *entire* conviction of the reality of those recorded miracles; for he said, very

pointedly, that any argument on that subject was quite superfluous as to *him*, for that he did believe in the reality.

“‘It was of sceptics generally that he spoke; but thought it probable (from recollection of something one of his writings), that he had especially in his mind the *Hindoo* sceptics, whose imaginations have been familiarized with the enormous prodigies of the Bra minical Mythology, that, in spite of their rejecting the as monstrous fables, they retain an exaggeration of ideas an incapacity of apprehending the true proportions of things, which will not allow them to see any thing great and impressive in the far less prodigious wonders the Jewish and Christian Scriptures: besides that they revolt from the belief of the fabulous miracles created in them a tendency, unchecked by any due strength and discrimination of reason, to reject all others.

“‘In the conversation with the Rajah in a party who had the gratification of meeting him in a few days later there was not any distinct reference to his religious opinions. It turned on the moral and political state and prospects of India; and on an elucidation, at great length, of certain dogmas of the Indian philosophers.

“‘If these few sentences can be of the smallest use to you, in any statement you may have to make maintain respecting the Rajah’s professions on the subject of religion, they are quite at your service for that purpose.

“‘I am, &c,

“‘J. FOSTER.

“‘To the Rev. Dr. CARPENTER.’

"I addressed inquiries, in the same terms with the first series in the note to Mr. FOSTER, to Dr. JERRARD, the able and intelligent Principal of Bristol College. Very pressing claims on his time and attention obliged him repeatedly to postpone the execution of his purpose to give me a full reply ; which I knew would be to the same effect with that of Mr. FOSTER ; and at last he found it necessary to satisfy himself with sending me the following brief answer to my questions, which he has authorized me to employ in any way I judged proper.

"'1. The Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY expressed his belief in the divine authority of Jesus Christ, as an inspired teacher of righteousness, and an accredited messenger from God.

"'2. He explicitly declared that he believed in the miracles of Christ generally, and particularly in his resurrection, which he said was the foundation of the Christian faith, and the great fact on which he rested his own hopes of a resurrection'."

These few days at Stapleton Grove left, then, very deep traces. "Those," says Dr. CARPENTER, "whom he had long honoured with his friendship, had opportunities of unreserved communication with him, on which they now dwell with deep interest and satisfaction. Several others who could appreciate his eminent qualities had friendly intercourse with him; and arrangements were making to enable more to know him personally, who had learnt to regard him with high respect. But ten days had scarcely elapsed before the fatal disorder began its ravages ; and in less than ten

days more the event arrived which has filled man heart with dismay and sorrow."

Here our records of the Rajah's visit to Bristol brought to a mournful close.

"It was the next morning," (the 17th) says Dr. "that I saw him for the last time during his life. He came down late to breakfast. I perceived that he was much exhausted with the excitement and fatigue of the preceding evening; and I felt anxious that he should that day have rest. His complete rest was nearer to any heart, but his own perhaps, foreboded: yet he showed no indications of loss of mental power; and the evening of that day, he conversed for several hours with his friends of Stapleton Grove, and the intelligent mother of Mr. ESTLIN, who regards it as a great privilege to have shared in this last most interesting interview.

"I was myself kept at home by indisposition; and was unable to go to see him till my presence was likely to prove injurious. From the morning preceding his illness, therefore, I saw him no more, till the rest of his death had ended all suffering, and, as respects personal intercourse, all earthly hope; but then, with his most privileged friends who had attended him to the last, I witnessed the benignant expression, still surviving which had so often given a charm to his noble countenance, and which those who shared his intimacy could never have effaced from their recollection."

The account of the last scenes we copy from the private journal of Mr. ESTLIN, by the kind permission of his daughter. Though it is mournful and distressing

to retrace in these records the gradual decay of nature in so noble a being, yet it will be soothing to the feelings of those who sorrow for his death in a foreign land to perceive that he had every alleviation that devoted friendship could minister, or that medical skill could afford.

“BRISTOL, MONDAY, *September 9th*, 1833.—I went to Stapleton to call on RAMMOHUN ROY. I had much interesting conversation with him; he distinctly asserted his belief in the divine mission of Christ; the internal evidence of Christianity he considers stronger than the historical evidence of the New Testament. He gave me a little pamphlet translated from the Hindostanee. I mentioned to him Professor LEE's assertion that he (RAMMOHUN ROY) denied the divine origin of Christianity. He said he had denied the divinity of Christ, but not of his commission.

“WEDNESDAY, 11TH.—Went with Dr. CARPENTER to Stapleton to dine. Met there Drs. JERRARD and SYMONDS, Messrs. FOSTER, BRUCE, WORSLEY, ASPLAND, &c., &c. The conversation at dinner was very interesting, the Rajah giving us an account of the process, mental and spiritual, which he went through in arriving at his present religious conclusions. His belief in the resurrection of Christ, and as the foundation of his faith in the general resurrection, he firmly declared.

“THURSDAY, 12TH.—I slept here. We had much interesting conversation at breakfast. I gave RAMMOHUN ROY some account of the West Indian negroes. He was not prepared for the statements I made, his know-

ledge being derived from the Missionaries chiefly. Miss KIDDELL, Miss CASTLE, the Rajah, and I, came in Bristol in their carriage. They called at 47, Pall Mall Street, for the Rajah to see my bees, with which I was much pleased.

"FRIDAY, 13TH.—Saw patients at two, and at four went to Frenchay; there was a dinner party; the Raja, Miss KIDDELL, Miss CASTLE, Dr. JERRARD, Mr. CURE of Dublin, Mr. BRUCE, J. COATES, &c. &c. Conversation on politics. RAMMOHUN ROY attacked the Whig party for their mode of carrying the reform question.

"SATURDAY, 14TH.—I went to Stapleton Grove, and there met Dr. CARPENTER. We had pleasant conversation with the Rajah, and dined there.

"SUNDAY, 15TH.—Miss KIDDELL's carriage, with the Rajah, took MARY and me up on our way to Chapel. He gave him Dr. PRICHARD's work (on "The Physical History of Man"), which I had borrowed of the Doctor for RAMMOHUN ROY's perusal.

"TUESDAY, 17TH.—My mother went in the evening to spend a day or two at Stapleton Grove, to meet RAMMOHUN ROY.

"THURSDAY, 19TH.—I rode over to Stapleton to see my mother, &c. Found the Rajah ill in fever; he saw me very willingly, and I prescribed for him. Called on Mr. BRIGHT's counting-house to put off going to Haslemere Green; and at eight the Rajah's carriage came for us. I found him a little better, but still feverish. Mr. JOHN HARE and Miss HARE, with whom RAMMOHUN ROY lived, were there. I slept there.

"FRIDAY, 20TH.—The Rajah no better. I came home by two in the Rajah's carriage; went out again to dinner. The Rajah had headache coming on, but it subsided on the effect of medicine. He slept in the evening, but with his eyes much open. On awaking about eleven, I found his extremities very cold and his pulse 130 and weak, with the appearance of collapse. Warm liquids and a little wine, and external warmth, relieved him, but his restlessness, changing from the bed to the sofa on the ground, was very great. I begged to-day he would allow Miss HARE to attend him constantly. He said it would be very improper. I assured him the customs in this country rendered it quite proper, and she was admitted. I had her called up after she had gone to bed, to stay up with the Rajah. He seems much gratified with my services, and glad for me to sleep here. I felt very anxious about him to-night, and told my mother I should propose PRICHARD's seeing him to-morrow, if he were not better.

"SATURDAY, 21ST.—Miss HARE sat up with the Rajah, and informed me in the night how he went on. I saw him early; his pulse was better, and himself altogether improved; tongue no better. Miss KIDDELL proposed Dr. PRICHARD should see him, to which I cheerfully assented. Went into Bristol; saw some patients at two, and went out to Stapleton with PRICHARD to dine at five. I did not tell the Rajah of PRICHARD's visit until he was in the house. The Rajah expressed his satisfaction, and told me after how much PRICHARD's countenance indicated talent. Mr. HARE met us here,

and highly approved of PRICHARD's coming. I went to bed at eleven. Miss HARE sat up again.

"SUNDAY, 22ND.—The Rajah was very restless till towards morning, when he slept with his eyes much open. PRICHARD came at half-past eleven; I went in with him, but returned at three. Mr. HARE came out also. In the evening the Rajah was better, and I was in more spirits about him. He said while PRICHARD, Mr. HARE, and I were with him, that if he were to die, he had the satisfaction of knowing he had the best advice in Bristol. MARY and my mother went into meeting in Miss CASTLE's carriage and returned. Miss HARE's attention to the Rajah is most watchful and unwearied; she has great influence with him, making him take his medicine much better than I could. He is evidently much attached to her, and her regard for him seems quite filial.

"MONDAY, 23RD.—I rose a little before five. The Rajah had passed a restless night, having only interrupted sleep with his eyes open. He was much oppressed all day, taking but little notice as usually, and yet perfectly collected when roused. I became more apprehensive of the event, but still am inclined to regard his recovery as probable as his death. Miss HARE spoke in the morning of more advice. I urged it also; Mr. HARE, though on his own account he did not wish it, considered it proper in the case of so well known and distinguished an individual; and principally on his suggestion Dr. CARRICK was called in. He came with PRICHARD in the evening. The head appearing the

organ most affected, leeches were applied. The Rajah was rather better at night. He has expressed to me his gratitude for my attentions, looks at me with great kindness, and constantly presses my hand. I assisted him into a warm bath in the earlier part of the day; he seemed somewhat relieved at night.

"TUESDAY, 24TH.—Mr. and Miss HARE and young RAJAH RAM sat up last night. I left them at eleven; returned to the sick chamber at five a.m. The Rajah's pulse was a little better than it was last night, and altogether he was not worse. CARRICK and PRICHARD came at twelve. During the day more composed and more quiet sleep, but with his eyes open. Towards evening and the night he is always worse.

"WEDNESDAY, 25TH.—The Rajah slept a good deal, and was quieter than during any preceding night; pulse 120 and weak; Mr. HARE staid up. When he reported to me, between three and four a.m., the patient's state, he expressed alarm at the frequent weakness of the pulse; extremities disposed to be very cold, but easily becoming warm when covered; he spoke very little, but is sensible when roused. I came into Bristol about twelve; went to Stapleton to dinner. The Rajah is still very poorly and weak. A mattress has been placed on the ground for him, where he now lies without changing his situation. He seldom speaks.

"THURSDAY, 26TH.—Mr. HARE sat up during most of last night; he reported to me between three and four a.m. that the Rajah's pulse had sometimes been very weak and rapid, so as to make him feel very solicitous.

He was in an imperfect sleep, with the eyes open most of the night. Dr. CARRICK came at eleven, and before PRICHARD arrived we were summoned to the room by Miss HARE, and found him with an attack of spasm, with convulsive twitchings of the mouth. These went on more or less for an hour or two, and he seemed not sensible of our visit, though in the morning when I went to him, he smiled at me and squeezed my hand in an affectionate manner. We had his hair cut off, and cold water applied to the head. After the spasms subsided, he appeared to sleep, the eyes still open, pupils small; the left arm and leg appeared paralysed. We settled to have Dr. BERNARD in the evening. I staid here all day, and am getting very apprehensive about the event. In the afternoon he became much warmer, and the pulse a little stronger, but spasms came on again about half-past six. He has swallowed with too great difficulty for many hours to allow of any quantity of nourishment, and he has been but little sensible since the morning, when he gave me his last look of recognition and thankfulness. Dr. BERNARD could not come—it was useless. PRICHARD and CARRICK left the Rajah in a dying state. Nobody went to bed before twelve. Miss KIDDELL was much with the Rajah; Miss CASTLE occasionally; Miss HARE, Mr. JOHN HARE and RAJAH RAM, seldom out of the room; my mother looked in now and then.

“FRIDAY, 27TH.—The Rajah became worse every few minutes, his breathing more rattling and impeded, his pulse imperceptible. He moved about his right arm

constantly, and his left a little a few hours before his death. It was a beautiful moonlight night; on one side of the window, as Mr. HARE, Miss KIDDELL and I, looked out of it, was the calm rural midnight scene; on the other, this extraordinary man *dying*. I shall never forget the moment. Miss HARE, now hopeless and overcome, could not summon courage to hang over the dying Rajah, as she did while soothing or feeding him ere hope had left her, and remained sobbing in a chair near; young RAJAH was generally holding his hand. I doubt if he knew any since morn yesterday. About half-past one, to please Miss KIDDELL, as life was fast ebbing from our admired friend, and nothing but watching the last breath remained for those around, I lay down on my bed with my clothes on. At half-past two Mr. HARE came into my room, and told me it was all over; RAM ROTUN was holding the Rajah's chin, kneeling by him; Miss HARE, young RAJAH, Miss KIDDELL, Mr. HARE, my Mother, Miss CASTLE, RAM HURRY, and one or two servants were there also; his last breath had been drawn at twenty-five minutes past two a.m. During his last few moments RAM ROTUN, who is a Brahmin, on Mr. HARE desiring him to observe any custom usual among the Brahmins, said some prayer in Hindostanee. When the ladies had retired, we laid the body straight on the mattress, and conversed with the Hindoo servants. About half-past three or four we all left the room, some of the servants sitting up in the adjoining room. I went to bed, but not to much sleep, the event of the night being too distressing. •Our break-

fast party was a melancholy one. Miss HARE remained in bed. PUGH, marble mason, came out with an Italian and took a cast of the Rajah's head and face.* Mr. J. HARE and I went into Bristol, and made arrangements about the examination to-morrow. Dr. CARPENTER came out to us in the morning.† We were all of us much in the room to-day with the body, which had a beautiful majestic look. The event is a stunning one to us."

"The Rajah repeatedly acknowledged, during his illness, his sense of the kindness of all around him, and in strong language expressed the confidence he felt in his medical advisers. It was a source of gratification to the friends with whom he resided in London, to find that, distressing as the event was to the family he was visiting, he had every comfort and accommodation that a large house, a quiet and healthy situation, and attached and affluent friends could bestow.

"He conversed very little during his illness, but was observed to be often engaged in prayer. He told his son and those around him that he should not recover.

"An examination of the body took place on Saturday, when the brain was found to be inflamed, containing some fluid and covered with a kind of purulent effusion: its membrane also adhered to the skull, the result, probably, of previously existing disease: the thoracic and abdominal viscera were healthy. The case appeared

* The cast is in the possession of Miss ESTLIN, Durdham Down, Bristol.

† Dr. CARPENTER was prevented by his own illness from seeing the Rajah before his death.

to be one of fever, producing great prostration of the vital powers, and accompanied by inflammation of the brain, which did not exhibit, in their usual degree, the symptoms of that affection."

"The knowledge that the Rajah," says Dr. CARPENTER, "had, in various ways, manifested solicitude to preserve his caste, with a view both to his usefulness and to the security of his property, and the belief that it might be endangered if he were buried among other dead, or with Christian rites, operated to prevent the interment of his remains in any of the usual cemeteries. Besides this, the Rajah had repeatedly expressed the wish that, in case of his dying in England, a small piece of freehold ground might be purchased for his burying place, and a cottage be built on it for the gratuitous residence of some respectable poor person, to take charge of it. Every difficulty, however, was removed by the offer of Miss CASTLE, in which she had the warm accordance of all her intimate friends, to appropriate to the object a beautifully adapted spot, in a shrubbery near her lawn, and under some fine elms. There this revered and beloved person was interred, on the 18th of October, about 2 p.m. The coffin was borne on men's shoulders, without a pall, and deposited in the grave, without any ritual, and in silence. Every thing conspired to give an impressive and affecting solemnity to his obsequies. Those who followed him to the grave, and sorrowed there, were his son and his two native servants, the members of the families of Stapleton Grove and Bedford Square, the guardians of Miss CASTLE and two of

her nearest relatives, Mr. ESTLIN, Mr. FOSTER, and Dr. JERRARD, together with several ladies connected with those already enumerated: and as there could be no regular entry of the interment in any official registers, those who witnessed it have signed several copies of a record drawn up for the purpose, in case such a document should be needed for any legal purposes."

A fac-simile of this record is here given.

The venerable mother of Mr. ESTLIN thus recorded at the time her recollections of the events following the Rajah's death:—

"Soon after the Rajah's decease, it became a subject of deep interest *how* and *where* he should be interred. Miss CASTLE, and her aunt, Miss KIDDELL, wished to have him deposited in their family vault in Brunswick Square burying ground. But this Mr. HARE, his brother, and niece declared would be quite contrary to the Rajah's positive injunction, which was *to be buried apart from all others, not in a usual place of interment, nor with Christian observances*, fearing that if this injunction were not strictly complied with, he should lose caste, and thereby deprive his sons of their inheritance, and lessen his own influence in India. In these circumstances Miss CASTLE at once offered a place in her grounds well suited to the solemn purpose, which was gratefully accepted by the Mr. HARES, and thoroughly approved by her guardians and relatives.

"STAPLETON GROVE, FRIDAY, *October 18th*, 1833.—I attended, with a select number of mourning friends (perhaps twenty), the interment of the lamented Rajah.

Mary Carpenter & Great Grandfather & Grandfather
Elizabeth Dawson Chapman Good
Mary Anne Estlin 44 Park Street
Pamrotum Mukerjee
Ramkrishna Das
G. W. R. D. S. D.

Mr. Harris. Mr. H. Castle, Rev. J. Foster, Miss Foster: Mrs. D.
Smith, & Mr. Hiddell were also present, but their signatures were not
affixed.



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The scene was truly affecting and impressive. We all followed the coffin along the broad gravel walk, and through a winding path between the trees, which led to the beautiful spot selected, and consecrated indeed by being his resting place! Here we all stood around the open grave, in solemn silence, and watched with intense interest his sacred remains deposited in their last abode. We remained fixed to the spot for a considerable time, our minds filled with such thoughts as the awful scene could not but suggest, and I felt that no words were wanting to increase the proper feeling of our hearts. When at length an intention of retiring was manifested, a burst of grief was observed from those most nearly connected. The two Hindoo attendants who closed the funeral procession, stood leaning against the trees and sobbed aloud, as they took their last look at the grave of their late kind master. The sacred spot is in a recess surrounded by shrubs and trees, a beautiful seclusion near the lawn."

Mrs. ESTLIN described as follows the departure of the Hindoo servants :—

"OCTOBER 29TH, 1833.—Mr. HARE having fixed the next day for the departure of the late Rajah's Hindoo attendants from Stapleton Grove, requested that they might be permitted to take leave of the ladies, and to express their grateful thanks. Accordingly they entered the drawing-room, bowing very low several times, returning their thanks for the many favours they had received. Miss KIDDELL then said, 'RAM ROTUN, you have, I understand, visited Mr. D. at his request.' 'Yes,

I have.' 'Well, Mr. D. declares that you told him that when the Rajah was dying he prayed to 364 gods!' RAM ROTUN exclaimed, 'It is a great lie.' 'What then did you say?' said Miss KIDDELL. The Hindoo lifted his eyes and hands to heaven, and pointing in a most energetic manner upward, exclaimed, 'The Rajah prayed to Him—to that God who is here—who is there—who is all over—everywhere; to that God—the one God!'

"When they took their final leave they were extremely desirous to touch the ladies' hands. We all presented our hands in succession; to each they made a profound obeisance, bowing almost to the ground, and when they quitted the room they said, 'Oh! it is hard to go without our master.'"

The following account of the interment is derived from Mr. ESTLIN's diary:—

*FRIDAY, 18th Oct., 1833. * * * The party assembled at Stapleton were young RAJAH and Miss HARE, Miss KIDDELL and Mr. JOSEPH HARE, Mr. JOHN HARE and Miss CARPENTER, Miss CASTLE and Dr. CARPENTER, my Mother and myself, HINTON CASTLE and Mrs. B. SMITH, MARY, Miss E. DAWSON and Miss FOSTER, Dr. JERRARD, Messrs. HARRIS, FOSTER, KIDDELL and G. SANDERS, RAM ROTUN and RAM HURRY, nearly in which order we followed the body in fours; it was brought out at about half-past one, without any pall; the attendants were merely in common mourning dress, and followed the body along the centre gravel walk, turning to the left over the lawn to the shrubbery, where it was to rest. It was then let down into the brick grave. The most

perfect silence was observed, save when broken by the sobs of those who attended. RAM HUKRY was particularly distressed. It was a most solemn and affecting ceremony. After a long silence Dr. CARPENTER said (there were servants and bearers, &c., about) that the departure from usual customs on this occasion was in compliance with what was known to be the Rajah's desire, and Mr. JOHN HARE desired RAM ROTUN to explain to the Rajah's friends and family in India that he lay in a spot by himself, and that no religious service was performed at his interment. We saw the lid of the shell screwed down over the coffin, and returned to the house. Dr. CARPENTER read a copy of verses written for the occasion."

The following reminiscences of these affecting scenes were written by the present editor two years ago for the Hindoo gentlemen who then visited the Rajah's grave. As they faithfully record the vivid impressions of the time, she may be excused in introducing them here.

THE RESTING PLACE
OF THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY.

"We mournfully and in solemn silence laid the sacred remains of the revered Rajah in the peaceful, beautiful spot we had chosen, on the 18th of October, 1833.

"How, but a few weeks before, we had rejoiced at his long-expected visit to us! We had for many years watched his Star in the East, rising in calm solitary grandeur, the herald, we hoped, of a glorious morn to benighted India. We had seen it pass steadfastly on its heavenly way through the midst of dark clouds, and

even through fierce storms of persecution, and finally rise above them. My beloved Father, the devoted minister of pure Christianity, had viewed with intense thankfulness the efforts of this noble Hindoo to present to his countrymen the 'truth as it is in Jesus' free from all the corruptions with which ages had laden it, from all the creeds and articles of man's device, that they may be led by Christ, the beloved Son, to the Heavenly Father. It would be vain to attempt to describe our emotions on finding that this Champion of Truth had burst through all the fetters of prejudice and conventionality,—had crossed the ocean,—had come to our England,—had desired above all to embrace my Father, to whom he had long felt united in the bonds of Christianity,—had seen him,—had come to our city to be in daily intercourse with him! At the distance of thirty long years all this rises before me in its early freshness.

"My Father would have rejoiced to receive the Rajah into his own house, had he possessed fitting accommodation for so illustrious a guest. But his ward Miss CASTLE, a young lady of remarkable loveliness and maturity of mind, who resided with her aunt in a commodious mansion in beautiful grounds near Stapleton, felt highly honoured by the privilege of placing her house at his disposal. There he came; there gathered round him the wise and good who were able to obtain access to him; there JOHN FOSTER, of world wide celebrity for his unique and original writings, was a frequent domestic visitor; and there, or in his own house, my Father saw him daily. How did he win the admiration

and respect of all by his noble, princely bearing, and his gracious manners! How did I rejoice when it was my privilege to be in his company!

"On one Sunday only did he join with us in worship in our Lewin's Mead Chapel. We were very happy to have him there among us. My Father had selected for his subject, "The cloud no bigger than a man's hand," in reference to the progress of negro emancipation, of which the devoted advocate, Mr. WILBERFORCE, had just been summoned from his labours; and he felt the text and the tenor of his sermon equally applicable to the hopes we had for India. The occasion was deeply interesting. The melancholy privilege had been given him of following to the grave the champion of the oppressed; little did he imagine that in a few short weeks he should be called on to offer a similar mark of respect and affection to his illustrious hearer.

"It was on the 17th of September, after the Rajah had been about ten days in Bristol, that my Father went over to breakfast with him at Stapleton Grove, and that day being my sister's birthday, she was allowed the special pleasure of accompanying him. The Rajah appeared in his usual health and spirits, and on their departure, with his accustomed courtesy, attended them to the garden gate. This was the last time they were ever so to see him. Mrs. ESTLIN, the venerable mother of our medical attendant, was staying at the house, and enjoyed his society that evening, doubtless delighting him also by going back to the last century, and telling him what she had seen at Paris, when, on her wedding

excursion, she and her husband were at Versailles the last time the Court was held here, and found themselves in the midst of the great French Revolution; or how the Polish patriot, KOSCIUSKO, visited Bristol, and received hospitality from them. This was his last evening of social intercourse. The next morning he was somewhat indisposed; then we heard to our grief that the Rajah was ill; then that he was worse; the best medical practitioners did all that human skill could do for him, but unavailingly; the fever gained ground rapidly, and soon the awful news arrived that he was dead! It was like a thunder-clap to us! We had seen him in the full strength and prime of manhood; his noble majestic frame seemed likely to last to a ripe old age; we thought that a long career lay before him. The Heavenly Father knew best how His great work should be accomplished, and summoned this, His faithful labourer, to his rest, that others might enter into his labours.

“It were useless now to dwell on the grief and perplexity which filled all our hearts; on the darkness which seemed to brood over the future of India. Nor will I attempt to record my solemn thoughts, when I entered the death chamber, and, placed near those windows whence the living Rajah had so often looked out on our lovely English scenery, I stood by the coffin which contained his mortal remains.

“The Rajah's illness had been so sudden, and such perfect quiet and freedom from exciting topics had been enjoined, as the only chance for recovery, that he had given no directions as to his last wishes. It was known,

however, that he adhered to all Brahminical customs, which, in his opinion, did not savour of idolatry ; this was not from any value which he attached to them, so much as to avoid all unnecessary cause of offence to his countrymen, which might lessen with them the influence of his writings. Two Brahmin servants continually attended on him, and after his death they found upon him the thread indicating his caste. The attached friends whose advice and assistance he had often sought in London, gave it as their opinion that with these known feelings of his, it would not be right to inter him in an ordinary burying ground ; indeed, he had been heard to express the wish that if he died in England, a spot of ground should be purchased for him where he might lie in peace, and a cottage erected near to protect his resting place from intrusion. They thought, likewise, that there must be no religious worship or rite performed at his interment.

“In accordance with these views, it was considered best to select a secluded spot in the shrubbery shaded with beautiful trees, and there preparations were made for the last mournful rites. But these arrangements and necessary consultations occupied considerable time, and as much public interest had been excited by the visit of the illustrious stranger and his mournful death, my Father decided on paying the respect due to him of a funeral sermon in his Chapel, without further delay, and it was announced that on the evening of Sunday, October 7th, he would preach on the mournful subject. The Chapel-yard was thronged some time before the

service commenced, and not only was every pew in the edifice densely crowded, but seats in the aisles were speedily filled, and the whole vacant space was closely occupied by people standing. Never, before nor since, have I beheld such a crowd in that or in any other place of worship. All who knew my Father, or who had ever heard him preach, will imagine what feeling, what depth of spirituality, was infused into every part of the service. The grand fortieth chapter of Isaiah which he read, had to me a high significance which it had never had before, and to this day I seldom hear it or read it without thinking of the Rajah. The sermon need not be described, as it was printed. The conclusion of it was deeply impressive. Who would have thought that on the sixth anniversary of that solemn time, the voice that uttered those words would no longer be heard in that sacred place; that the farewell he then gave to his illustrious friend would be uttered to himself; that even a deeper grief would fill that House of God?

"At length all the preparations were made. The Messrs. HARE had come from London, and those only were invited to assemble at Stapleton Grove who had been personally connected with the Rajah; Miss CASTLE's guardians and immediate connections, the Messrs. HARE and their niece, who had attended on him in this last illness like a daughter, and young RAJAH RAM, his adopted son, with the Brahmin servants; the medical attendants, including Mr. ESTLIN with his venerable mother and young daughter; Dr. JERRARD, the celebrated JOHN FOSTER, my father and myself. Soon after

noon was the shrine containing the mortal remains of that glorious spirit, slowly and solemnly, in the deepest silence, borne down the broad gravel walk, followed by us his mourning friends, who had but lately known him in earth, but who hoped to meet him in the Father's Mansions above. The bearers wound along a shady walk, which his foot had doubtless often trodden, and there deposited their sacred burden in the appointed resting place! No voice ventured to express the deep thoughts which must have filled every breast! 'Who could have spoken over such a grave?' afterwards said JOHN FOSTER.

"On returning to the breakfast room, my Father expressed a wish to read to all present what he felt to be in harmony with the occasion, and to my surprise and confusion he read these sonnets, in which I had endeavoured to express my feelings, however inadequately. Then we separated to our homes."

The following sonnets are those composed after the death of the Rajah, and read by Dr. CARPENTER on that solemn occasion :—

SONNETS
ON THE INTERMENT
OF THE
RAJAH, RAMMOHUN ROY,
AT STAPLETON GROVE,
FRIDAY, the 18th of October, 1833.

I.

Thy Nation sat in darkness ; for the night
Of pagan gloom was o'er it :—Thou wast born
Midst superstition's ignorance forlorn :
Yet in thy breast there glow'd a heavenly light
Of purest truth and love ; and to thy sight
Appear'd the day-star of approaching morn.
What ardent zeal did then thy life adorn,
From deep degrading guilt to lead aright
Thy fallen people ; to direct their view
To that bless'd Sun of Righteousness, whence beams
Guidance to all that seek it—faithful—true ;
To call them to the Saviour's living streams.
The cities of the East have heard thy voice—
“ Nations behold your God ! rejoice—rejoice.”

II.

Exil'd from home, e'en in thy earliest youth,
The healing balm of woman's love was pour'd
Into thy troubled breast: and thence were stor'd
Deep springs of gratitude and pitying ruth.—
To lead thy race to that primeval truth
Which, bright and pure, on all alike bestow'd,
Points heavenward; and to guide them on the road
Of Christian faith—was thine: but yet to soothe
Neglected woman; to assert her right
To drink of wells of everlasting life;
To snatch her, trembling midst the dismal night
Of pagan horrors, from the fiery strife
Of dark-soul'd zealots—*this* must wake our love,
This fervent raise our thanks for thee above.

III.

Far from thy native clime, a sea-girt land
Sits thron'd among the nations;—in the breasts
Of all her sons immortal Freedom rests;
And of her patriots many a holy band
Have sought to rouse the world from the command
Of that debasing Tyrant who detests
The reign of truth and love. At their behests
The slave is free; and Superstition's hand
Sinks powerless.—Hitherward thy steps were bent
To seek free commune with each kindred soul,
Whose highest powers are ever willing lent
To free their race from folly's dark controul.
To our blest Isle thou didst with transport come:
Here hast thou found thy last, thy silent home.

IV.

Thy work thou didst fulfil while yet 'twas day ;
And still right-onward towards thy beacon tend
With faith and zeal. And now thy footsteps bend
Where Christian friendship offers thee the stay
Of sympathy and love. But who shall say
What joy was ours, the eager ear to lend
To all thy accents, and thy steps attend ?—
The Angel of the Lord hath call'd away
His faithful servant, at the evening hour,
While glowing tints still gild the western sky.
Yet though around our hearts dark sorrows lour,
And tears of sad regret must dim the eye,
We mourn not without hope. Thy race is run,
Enter thy rest ! Servant of God—" Well done" !

V.

Bright hopes of immortality were given
To guide thy dubious footsteps, and to cheer
Thine earthly pilgrimage. How firm and clear
Arose thy faith, that as the Lord hath risen,
So all his followers shall meet in heaven !—
Thou art gone from us ; but thy memory, dear
To all that knew thee, fades not : still we hear
And see thee yet as with us :—ne'er are riven
The bands of Christian love !—Thy mortal frame
With us is laid in holy silent rest :
Thy spirit is immortal ; and thy name
Shall by thy countrymen be ever blest.
E'en from the tomb thy words with power shall rise,
Shall touch their hearts, and bear them to the skies.

CHAPTER IV.

TRIBUTES TO THE RAJAH'S MEMORY.

It was indeed an appalling event,—a deeply affecting dispensation of Providence, which so unexpectedly deprived India of her noble son, and the world of one of the most remarkable men which the century has produced.

The hopes of all who loved mankind, and who felt an especial interest in that great country which had become so closely connected with our own, had been raised to very high expectation by the steady unwavering progress of the great Hindoo Reformer. Having watched him at a distance with high admiration, we had the privilege of receiving him into our homes and our social circles;—we had seen him in the midst of the attractions of our capital, steadily keeping in view his great object of promoting the welfare of his country, and making the gratification of any private wishes yield to this. We had witnessed his intense interest in the general diffusion of free principles, especially in England, a country whose destiny must so materially influence the

East. Those who had any acquaintance with the less public proceedings of the Government, had observed how ready and able he was to afford all needed information;—how courteous, humble and respectful in giving it;—how firm and persevering in adhering to the course of duty;—how patient and assiduous in waiting for and seeking the proper opportunities.

We trusted that he was now to rest awhile in the enjoyment of the intercourses of friendship, thus preparing to return with renewed strength to carry to his countrymen new light, and the assurances of help and sympathy from their brethren in England.

But it was not so ordered. The sun of India went down with tropical suddenness, and left us in the deepest gloom. We were bewildered and cast down. The noble form of him in whom we had seen the embodiment of all that was good and noble and lovable, and which had appeared likely to last for many long years, was laid low in death, even while the thought of him in apparent health and strength was fresh in our remembrance. He passed away without one message to his countrymen,—without one last testimony to the truths which he had laboured to establish,—without one expressed wish as to the future of his family, and especially of his adopted son, left thus in the land of strangers! He believed from the commencement of his illness that the hand of death was upon him, but, though his spirit was frequently in prayer, and though while consciousness remained he could give a loving, grateful look, and an affectionate pressure of the hand to those who were tenderly caring for him, disease checked all utterance of

his wishes. Thus, too, was it ordered. In that solemn hour his faith in the Eternal Spirit resigned the labours of his life to higher keeping than his own, and his confidence in his friends left all else to them without distrust or anxiety. His faith had a sure foundation,—for it was based on that revelation of the Father of our spirits which was made by his well-beloved Son.

At this distance of time we can perceive some of the reasons of that appointment which appeared at the time so mysterious. India was not at that period prepared fully to appreciate its great reformer. Had he returned to his own country he might have received even greater opposition and persecution than he had before experienced ; had he died there, it is not likely that the event would have excited any special interest at the time, judging from the remarkable want of it which was there manifested at the period of his decease. But now that thirty years have witnessed great changes in his native land,—that some of his views have made much progress among his countrymen,—that important alterations have taken place in the position of our Government in reference to India, tending to remove the feeling of separation between the two nations,—it is now that the fact of the sacred remains of the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY being laid in our country forms a kind of tie of relationship between us, while the reverence and love with which we treasure the memory of our distinguished guest are a token to them of our sympathy with themselves, and may give to his writings an added claim on their attention.

The death of the Hindoo Reformer attracted much attention in the journals of the day, and drew public notice to his life and labours. In all that we have met with, however, the sources of information were the same only as have already been laid before the reader in this volume, and it would be unnecessary to repeat them. We shall present therefore in this chapter such private testimonies of respect as have been preserved to us, and in the next such portions of the Funeral Sermons which were preached on occasion of his death, as show the estimate formed of his character by ministers of piety and intellectual attainments.

The testimony of the family of the Mr. HARES, with whom the Rajah resided in London, has been given to us by Dr. CARPENTER. He says,—

“From this family I have received every advantage I could desire, in forming or confirming my opinions as to the Rajah’s habits and character; and to the several members of it, his other personal friends must feel grateful for the numerous sources of comfort which he enjoyed among them. Mr. ARNOTT (in the ‘Athenæum’) says, with perfect justice, that they ‘discharged the duties of hospitality towards him, ever since his arrival in England, with a kindness, delicacy, and entire disinterestedness, which are honourable to the English character.’

“Possessed of the Rajah’s unbounded confidence, acquainted with all his movements, and enabled to judge with complete accuracy of his habits and dispositions, the unhesitating and unequivocal testimony of this family, one and all, to the unvarying purity of his conduct and

the refined delicacy of his sentiments, is as decisive as it is valuable. I had, myself, repeated opportunities of observing with what earnest respect he appreciated true delicacy in the female character : and I learn that, while he always maintained his habitual politeness to the sex, and may therefore have misled the superficial observer, he manifested a very prompt and clear discrimination as to individuals ; and that he commonly expressed strong dislike, and even disgust, where they seemed to him to depart from that true modesty which is essential to its excellence.

“Mr. JOSEPH HARE—his brother fully agreeing with him—assures me, that the Rajah was constantly in the habit of dictating, to those who were for the time acting as amanuenses, in phraseology requiring no improvement, whether for the press or for the formation of official documents—such verbal amendments only excepted, as his own careful revision supplied before the final completion of the manuscript : that he often had recourse to friends to write from his dictation ; among others to himself and the members of his family : that it is his full conviction, that, from the day of the Rajah’s arrival in this country, he stood in no need of any assistance except that of a mere *mechanical* hand to write : and that he has often been struck—and recollects that he was particularly so at the time the Rajah was writing his ‘Answers to the Queries on the Judicial and Revenue Departments’—with his quick and correct diction, and his immediate perception of occasional errors when he came to revise the matter. These facts I and others have repeatedly heard from the Mr. HARES ; and I rest

with conviction upon them. It is happy for the Rajah's memory that he lived in the closest intimacy and confidence with friends who are able and willing to defend it, wherever truth and justice require."

Mrs. ESTLIN recorded at the time some interesting particulars which she learnt from Miss HARE. "The Rajah read the Scriptures daily in Hebrew and Greek. Miss HARE often read them to him also;—this was never omitted at night. He was also in a constant habit of prayer, and was not interrupted in this by her presence;—whether sitting or riding he was frequently in prayer. He told Miss H. that whenever an evil thought entered into his mind he prayed. She said, 'I do not believe you ever have an evil thought.' He answered, 'O yes, we are all liable to evil thoughts.'"

A touching mark of respect to the memory of her illustrious guest was given by Miss CASTLE.* A fine painting of the Rajah by BRIGGS, R.A., was brought to Bristol for exhibition; Miss CASTLE purchased it and presented it to the Bristol Philosophical Institution, that all who visit the place of his death may there see his living likeness. It is from this beautiful picture that the frontispiece is taken. The Rajah's personal appearance, which is well represented in this picture, is thus described in the *Asiatic Journal*, as quoted by Dr. CARPENTER in the appendix to his sermon:—

"The person of RAMMOHUN ROY was a very fine one.

* This estimable young lady did not long survive the Rajah. After a tedious and wearing illness she died December 13, 1835, aged 22.

He was nearly six feet high; his limbs were robust and well-proportioned, though latterly, either through age or increase of bulk, he appeared rather unwieldy and inactive. His face was beautiful; the features large and manly, the forehead lofty and expanded, the eyes dark and animated, the nose finely curved and of due proportion, the lips full, and the general expression of the countenance that of intelligence and benignity. The best portrait of him extant, is a full-sized one by BRIGGS. It is a good picture, as well as an admirable likeness. This portrait is now exhibiting in the Bristol Institution. I fully concur," Dr. C. continues, "in the *Journal's* praise of it. It gives, indeed, the impression of a less bulky person than the Rajah's was, in at least the later part of life; and the mouth does not satisfy me in its form or its expression: but the rest of the countenance, the attitude of the figure, and the hands—beautifully significant, as well as masterly painted—give that expression to the whole which those who contemplate RAMMOHUN ROY as the Hindoo Sage and Reformer would most desire. It is the expression of devout, reflecting, benignant philanthropy; hopeful, yet with a tinge of pensive solicitude; looking onward, and upward, and contemplating the gleams of truth and righteousness breaking forth to enlighten and to bless his country."

Miss AIKIN thus writes of the Rajah to Dr. CHANNING, in a letter dated Hampstead, Oct. 23, 1833 :—

"I have had your line, by Dr. TUCKERMAN. I was in Kent when he called here, and therefore only saw him last week, but I am exceedingly struck and delighted with him, and impatient to hear him speak

more of his noble exertions and designs. On Thursday next I hope he and Mr. PHILLIPS will meet over my breakfast table my friend Mr. LE BRETON and dear JOANNA BAILLIE. You will be with us in spirit, for many associations will bring you to the minds of all of us. When I have the privilege to be present at a meeting like this, of the gifted and the excellent from the far ends of the earth, it seems to me a foretaste of the happiness reserved for the world of spirits. Alas for one who gave me this feeling beyond all others—the admirable RAMMOHUN ROY! He has been frustrated of one of his cherished hopes, that of seeing you face to face, either in this or the other hemisphere—but you were no strangers to each other. Scarcely any description can do justice to his admirable qualities, and the charms of his society, his extended knowledge, his comprehension of mind, his universal philanthropy, his tender humanity, his genuine dignity mixed with perfect courtesy, and the most touching humility. His memory I shall cherish with affectionate reverence on many accounts, but the character in which I best love to contemplate him is that of the friend and champion of woman. It is impossible to forget his righteous zeal against polygamy, his warm approval of the freedom allowed to women in Europe, his joy and pious gratitude for the abolition of *suttee*. Considering the prejudices of birth and education with which he had to contend, his constant advocacy of the rights and interests of the weaker sex seems to me the very strongest proof of his moral and intellectual greatness."

The following letter from Dr. BOOTT, an American

physician of London, to Mr. ESTLIN, is a most valuable testimony to the Rajah's religious character :—

“24, GOWER STREET, BEDFORD SQUARE,

“*November 27th, 1833.*

“MY DEAR SIR,—Your kind, most kind letter of yesterday, has this moment reached me, and I have shed tears over it, at the fresh recollection of the sorrow that has thrown a deep shadow over the future hopes and happiness of my life. I feel the most sincere gratitude to you for your valuable services, and your devotion and tenderness over the sick bed of our late beloved friend. God knows I have deeply sympathised with you in the painful responsibility of your situation, and I am well assured that everything which the soundest medical judgment, and the deepest solicitude could suggest, was done. In the feelings of all around me here, who dearly loved him, you and Dr. PRICHARD are spoken of with sincere and grateful respect, and the blessing of a just man made perfect now rests upon you.

“Your account of the change in your feelings towards the Rajah, from the influence of the reports that had reached you, has very deeply affected me; for, knowing the Rajah so well, it is the most striking evidence of the force of human prejudice that I have hitherto met with,—I mean on the part of those who misrepresented him to you; for your yielding to those representations arose from the same sensibility that led you first to admire him in his works. I thank God that you had an opportunity of tearing yourself the veil from your eyes, and that the primitive love and admiration you cherished

for him, was confirmed by your personal intercourse with him; confirmed to be rendered immutable by the seal of Death!

“To me he stood alone in the single majesty of, I had almost said, perfect humanity. No one in past history, or in present time, ever came before my judgment clothed in such wisdom, grace and humility. I knew of no tendency even to error. To say he was not the disciple of Christ, that he even smiled in approbation of infidelity, and joined those thoughtless and weak and ignorant men who set themselves up against the testimonies of the human heart, which asserts the truth of religion against the wit and the follies of the vainest and the cleverest head, is to belie his whole life. I have often talked with him on religious subjects, and have seen him amid sceptics. He was never more free and unembarrassed and cheerful, than when arguing with those who had a logical and acute mind. He often told me that he always introduced the subject when he met the historian of India, and that his object in the argument was to show the insufficiency of human reason for the production of the highest moral worth, and the highest happiness. He even contended that ‘the Spirit that was in Christ Jesus,’ and unknown and unrevealed till his mission, directed the human mind to more elevated, purer, and more disinterested thoughts, motives and actions, than the noblest philosophy of antiquity did or could do; that the Christian precepts left nothing to desire or to hope for through futurity; that, as a system of morality, it was alone able to lead to purity and happiness here, and to form the

mind for any conceivable state of advancement hereafter. He often beautifully said, 'I can never hope in my day to find mankind of one faith, and it is my duty to exercise the charities of life with all men.' He did not go about with the spirit of proselytism. He argued only for the sense of religious obligation, and emphatically assured us that all his experience of life had exhibited to him virtue and self respect and happiness in its true elements, ever in proportion to the intensity of that sense. He was the humblest of human beings, and ardent as he was in the faith of his selection, he was sensibly disturbed if religion was spoken lightly of, or argued but reverentially before woman. He would often smile and speak jocosely when the turn of the discussion made him uneasy from his sensibilities towards woman being awakened; and those who knew him, saw by his manner and looks that he adopted this lightness of manner in hopes that the subject would be dropped.

"I was once in his presence where a father was expressing doubts of Christianity before two of his daughters, who were near forty, and before three other ladies. He expressed himself most forcibly in defence of the immutable truth of the religion, and when the conversation was resumed by the sceptic, he touched lightly and with levity on the diction and expressions of the other, and often in the interval sat as if he were abstracted and unconcerned in what was said; and when appealed to, he in the same careless manner criticised the language of his opponent, without touching the sense. A lady whom he loved sat by me, and said in

an under tone to me, 'The Rajah appears to smile at everything.' I replied, 'Your words import more than you mean, and you mistake his present feelings; he is visibly distressed, and wishes the subject to be dropped.' She observed him closely, and said I was right, as he took an early opportunity of calling his attention to something else. He soon after left the party. I had an engagement with him the next morning, and the first subject he spoke of was the conversation the night before, and he expressed himself highly offended that a father should, before his own daughters, confess his infidelity, and so far forget himself as to say anything to shake the faith of a female. He added, 'it is more painful to me to argue with sceptics before women, for there is no hope of its leading to good, and there must be pain where it is our duty to give pleasure always; I never permitted religion to be discussed before my daughters or wife.' I can only say that at every visit my admiration of him grew with my intimacy with his mind and actions. He was the most liberal, the most amiable, and the most candid of men. His generosity was unbounded; his most touching politeness was an instinct of his nature; it never left him to his most familiar associates; while he paid just deference to rank, in obedience to the conventional etiquette of society, he honoured above all men the poor gardener whom he met with in some rich establishment in India, who had, uninfluenced by the authority of his superiors, examined the Scriptures, and adopted the faith of the Unity of God. He went to the garden every day to talk with him, and he often said to us, 'I could have

taken him in my arms as a brother.' I called with him on Dr. TUCKERMAN, Mr. DEWEY, and Mr. PHILLIPS, of America, and when he had shaken hands with them he said, with his countenance lighted up with animation, 'I am so happy to be with Unitarians.' He did not mix in the sect as some expected, and reflections were often passed upon him. Mr. Fox has touched this with admirable force in his sermon. The object of the Rajah was to mix with and know all sects. One of his greatest desires was to see Catholicism at Rome. He admired the obedience to duties in the Catholics, and always spoke of them in this light with admiration. Whatever faults were mixed with their faith, he recognised in their attention to the poor and sick, the noblest spirit of Christianity. One of the last arguments I heard from him was his defence of them, against one who urged their acting under an artificial stimulus. He contended that what they did was enforced on all, by the very example of Christ; and that the stimulus was their faith in the force and truth of that example.

"But I must stop. When I think that I shall see him no more; that the beauty of his countenance, the picturesqueness of his eastern costume, the kind reception, the noble example of virtues I never felt, at least so powerfully, in others, the hope I had entertained of his future usefulness, the certainty I had of his present happiness, and all his enlarged affections,—when I think that these have passed away for the forever of my brief existence, I feel a sorrow such as I never felt before, and one which can only find consolation in that pure religion of which he was so able a defender. His loss

has given tenfold value in my mind to his writings, and I have studied them with a subdued feeling since his death, and risen from their perusal with a more confirmed conviction of his having been unequalled in past or present time. Peace to his sacred memory !

“Present my best respects to Miss ACLAND and Dr. CARPENTER, and believe me,

“My dear Sir,

“Sincerely and gratefully yours,

“T. BOOTT.”

Dr. BOOTT speaks of accompanying the Rajah to visit Dr. TUCKERMAN, the originator of Domestic Missions, whose devotion to his work had exhausted his physical strength, and led him to seek restoration in our country; Dr. TUCKERMAN was an intimate friend of Dr. CHANNING, with whose spirit he had so long held valued communion. This meeting with one of the most devoted followers of the Saviour, and one who had deeply imbibed his spirit, was afterwards spoken of by the Rajah with deep interest. Its effect on Dr. TUCKERMAN himself was thus described by him in a letter to Dr. CARPENTER :—

“I had interchanged a few letters with that great and excellent man while he was in Calcutta; and had looked with the highest interest to the hour when I should see him in England. And devoutly do I thank our heavenly Father that I was permitted to see him. Before I met him here, he was, however, comparatively only an object to me of exalted admiration. But I had not been an hour with him, before that revelation was made to me, of his heart, which called forth the far higher and more

delightful sentiment of *love*. Yes, in the acquaintance of an hour he became to me an object of very high and strong affection ; for I saw in him the most unequivocal evidences of an advancement in Christian piety and virtue,—which I have seen in few, very few, of those who have been born and reared under the strongest lights, and best influences of our religion.”

The following poetical tributes to the Rajah's memory evidence the deep feeling which his character and death excited :—

THE INTERMENT
OF
THE RAJAH, RAMMOHUN ROY,
AT STAPLETON GROVE.

BY MISS DALE.

No voice, no whisper broke the deep repose,
When to the earth that sacred dust was given ;
All silently the sacrifice arose
From kindling hearts, in one pure flame, to Heaven.
Pure from the sun of righteousness it came
Upon those hearts. Language, to common thought
Interpreter, had dimmed that holy flame ;
Or, with the prism's power, to sight had brought
The varying hues which human frailty throws
O'er things divine. Oh ! never more misplaced,
Than at that grave where narrow bounds inclose
Him, whose diffusive love had all mankind embraced.

THE RAJAH'S TOMB.

BY MISS ACLAND.

THIS is the spot! There needs no sculptured line;
No column marks the Rajah's lonely tomb;
But shadowing elms their drooping boughs incline,
And shroud his cold remains in sacred gloom.

Yes; far from Ganges' consecrated wave,
Beneath our pallid groves, and northern skies,
A stranger's hand hath laid thee in thy grave,
And strangers' tears have wept thine obsequies.

A stranger? No; thy "caste" was human kind;
Thy home—wherever Freedom's beacon shone;
And England's noblest hearts exulting shrined
The turbaned offspring of a burning zone.

Pure generous mind! all that was just and true,—
All that was lovely, holiest, brightest, best—
Kindled thy soul of eloquence anew,
And woke responsive chords in every breast.

Sons of the western main around thee hung,
While Indian lips unfolded Freedom's laws,
And grateful woman heard the Brahmin's tongue
Proclaim her worth, and plead her widowed cause.

Ah! why did Fortune dash, with bitter doom,
That cup of high communion from thine hand,
And scatter, darkly withering o'er the tomb,
The blessings gathered for thy native land?

Be hushed our murmurs ! He whose voice had won
 Thee, heav'n bound trav'ler, forth from Pagan night,
 In mercy called the trusting spirit on,
 • And bade it dwell with Uncreated Light.

Perchance when o'er thy loved paternal bower,
 The Sun of Righteousness shall healing rise,—
 • When India's children feel his noon-day power,
 And mingle all in Christian sympathies,—

Hither their pilgrim footsteps duly bound,
 With fervent zeal, these hallowed haunts shall trace,
 And sweetly solemn tears bedew the ground
 Where sleeps the friend and prophet of their race !

—:o:—

THE PRAYER OF RAMMOHUN ROY.

BY MRS. THOMAS WOODFORDE.

In a Park where bounds the fallow deer
 As he scents the fragrant thyme,
 There is a spot where weeping trees
 Lowly to Earth incline.

Stranger ! 'tis not a hermit's cell,
 Or grot, or mimic toy ;—
 It is a grave, where sleepeth well,
 The Brahmin—RAMMOHUN ROY.

A Hindoo brother resteth there,
Far from his caste and home ;
No mausoleum riseth near,
No overshadowing dome !

Alone, his form evenisheth
Into the dust around !—
The faithful soul, that loved so well,
Companionship hath found !

To him dark Superstition's wand
Could not its hate impart ;
It had no power to fuse his brain,
Or petrify his heart.

The mystic Shaster's ancient page
He learned,—and stood dismayed ;
He turned his prayer within his breast,
And thus the Brahmin prayed :—

“ Oh, God ! thou know'st—for from thine eye
No thought can be concealed—
The cumbrous book, on which I look
Still leaves Thee unrevealed !

“ My God above, yea ! far above,
Whate'er Thy creature sees,
My heart must hope thy voice ne'er spoke
Such fearful threats as these !

"Forgive me if I dare not think
To scan Infinity ;
Though trembling, driven from Thee in Heaven,
In earth I worship Thee !

"My human heart all tenderly
With earthly love o'erflows ;—
Hence come my fears, my hopes, joys, tears,
And hence my crimes and woes !

"A breathing atom of Thine earth,
Me Nature's laws oppress ;—
My spirit weak doth ever seek
Its kindred earthiness.

"But thou ! oh ! lovely, living Earth,
And I, a part of thee,
In boundless space have destined place
For dread Eternity !

"Yes, God doth love his own fair Earth,—
Blest Hope ! I cling to thee ;
And the soul He hath sent from Heav'n is lent
That His Earth may perfect be.

"O ! Light Divine, that invests my clay,
Radiance from Him above,
So burn thy fire that my one desire
And mission on Earth be—Love !"

Taunton.

A H Y M N,

SUNG AT FINSBURY CHAPEL, MOORFIELDS, AFTER A FUNERAL SERMON

BY THE REV. W. J. FOX,

By HARRIET MARTINEAU.

Music by Miss Flower.

No faithless tears, O God! we shed
For him who, to Thine altars led,
A swallow from a distant clime,
Found rest beneath the cherubim;
In Thee he rests from toil and pain,
O Father! hear our true Amen.

No faithless tears! Led forth by Thee,
Meek pilgrim to the sepulchre,
For him Thy truth from day to day,
Sprang up and blossomed by the way;
Shalt Thou not claim Thine own again?
O bend to hear our deep Amen!

No faithless tears! Though many dream
To see his face by Ganges' stream;
Though thousands wait on many a shore,
The voice that shall be heard no more;
O, breathe Thy peace amid their pain,
And hear Thy children's loud Amen!

SONNET

ON THE MEMORY

OF

THE RAJAH, RAMMOHUN ROY.

WHEN from afar we saw thy burning light
Rise gloriously o'er India's darkened shore,
In spirit we rejoiced ; and then still more
Rose high our admiration and delight,
When, steadfast to pursue thy course aright,
We saw thee brave fierce persecution's power.—
As yet we knew thee not,—but that blest hour
Which first disclosed thee to our longing sight,
Awakened in us deepest Christian love,
And told us thou hadst sat at Jesus' feet.
But now a glowing halo from above
Circles our thoughts of thee, when to the seat
Of mercy, rapt in ardent prayer, we come,
“ Our Father ! lead Thy wandering children home ! ”

M. C.

BRISTOL,

SUNDAY, *October 27th*, 1833.

One other tribute remained to be paid to the remains of this great man. Sacred as was the spot where he was laid, and requiring to those who knew and loved him no stone to mark the spot, beneath the overhanging trees, which their hearts revered,—yet it was right that the public should have access to his grave, and should see a befitting monument erected over it. This could not be done at Stapleton Grove, which had now passed out of the CASTLE family. The Rajah's friend, the celebrated DWARKANATH TAGORE, desired to pay this mark of respect to his memory, and it was therefore arranged that the case containing the coffin should be removed to the beautiful cemetery of Arno's Vale, near Bristol. This was suitably accomplished on the 29th of May, 1843, and a handsome monument was erected in the spring of the year following by his friend, the enlightened and celebrated DWARKANATH TAGORE.* A visit was afterwards paid by him to the spot, and recently by his grandson, SATYENDRA NATH TAGORE.†

DWARKANATH TAGORE died also in a strange land, but he lies in a gloomy cemetery in London, Kensal Green, and no tomb befitting his rank has been erected to mark the spot. Surely his remains will be transferred to the spot where rests his noble friend!

Many of the countrymen of the illustrious Brahmin have already visited the spot where reposes all of him

* It is well represented in the accompanying engraving, and attracts considerable attention.

† This gentleman was the first Hindoo who passed the Civil Service Examination, and he now holds office in India.



TOMB OF RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY, AT ARNO'S VALE CEMETERY.

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that is mortal, and doubtless all will feel what is beautifully expressed by one of them,—“The place where lies the funeral temple of Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY is a sacred place for Hindoo Pilgrims!” May such a pilgrimage rouse and stimulate those who undertake it to fresh exertions for their country. “The memory of such a man,” writes another, whose words have been already quoted in the preface, “must ever be dear to the Hindoos; and it is the duty of those of our countrymen who can afford to visit England, not to return without paying their tribute of respect to the spot where rest the remains of that illustrious man. To perform this duty we have visited this famous city, which has the honour of possessing the mortal remains of RAMMOHUN ROY. It was the good name of your revered and pious father which brought the Rájá here, and it is that of the latter again which has attracted us here; you can therefore imagine how greatly we must feel the satisfaction of having performed this pilgrimage (if I may so call it), with your kind assistance. We hope that the performance of this duty will stimulate our exertions, and help us on in following the paths of truth and righteousness. My great ambition in life is to be useful to my country, and to do good to others; it is this strong desire that has brought me to this part of the world, in order to seek knowledge, and the acquaintance of the great and the good. Our prayer is that God may give us the power, ability and knowledge, which we may devote to the service of our country. The performance of duty is its own reward, and though our exertions may not

bear any fruit in our lifetime, the thought of having done our *duty* will be the greatest happiness to us. May God hasten the day when all strifes and party feelings will subside,—when sects and castes will merge into *one*, that of *humanity*,—when we shall cease to regard the English, the Hindoo, and the Jew, as belonging to different nations,—and when we shall all sing, the

“FATHERHOOD OF GOD AND BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.”

CHAPTER V.

FUNERAL SERMONS FOR THE RAJAH, RAMMOHUN ROY,

BY

REV. DR. CARPENTER, REV. ROBERT ASPLAND,
REV. DR. DRUMMOND,
REV. J. SCOTT PORTER AND REV. W. J. FOX.

It is probable that in many pulpits there were notices of the mournful event of the Rajah's death. The Rev. Dr. KENNEY, of St. Olave's, Southwark, whose ministry RAMMOHUN ROY had frequently attended, preached a funeral sermon for him at the request of his parishioners; he also wrote a letter to Mr. J. HARE expressive of his warm attachment to the Rajah and high appreciation of his character. Five sermons were printed, and though now out of print, copies are before us; from these we now proceed to give such extracts as will illustrate the character of the Rajah, and show the estimation in which he was held.

The first is from DR. CARPENTER, preached in Lewin's Mead Chapel, Bristol, Oct. the 6th, 1833. It contains a

full review of the labours, opinions and character of the Rajah, and was printed with a number of extracts from his writings, and with the Biographical Memoir at the commencement of this volume. From this pamphlet large extracts have been already made.

Daniel VII., 13, 14.

I SAW IN THE NIGHT VISIONS, AND, BEHOLD, ONE LIKE THE SON OF MAN CAME WITH THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN, AND CAME TO THE ANCIENT OF DAYS; AND THEY BROUGHT HIM NEAR BEFORE HIM: AND THERE WAS GIVEN HIM DOMINION, AND GLORY, AND A KINGDOM, THAT ALL PEOPLE, NATIONS AND LANGUAGES, SHOULD SERVE HIM: HIS DOMINION IS AN EVERLASTING DOMINION, WHICH SHALL NOT PASS AWAY; AND HIS KINGDOM THAT WHICH SHALL NOT BE DESTROYED.

“This sublime declaration of the prophetic spirit cannot be fulfilled till all the nations of the earth shall form a part of the kingdom of the Messiah; and it will be fulfilled in its completest extent, for it proceeded from HIM who is almighty, eternal, and unchangeable. The Christian believer who has cordial faith in this and other related prophecies, must have the settled unwavering conviction, that the day will come when the knowledge which is ‘life eternal’ shall be diffused into every region, and received into the heart of every rational being, on the face of the earth.

“No one who has a just sense of the value of the Gospel, can be indifferent to the spread of its divine truths, or to the increase of their influence where they are already received. Let the question be fairly put to any who have imbibed its sacred principles; who have seen how it communicates light and guidance, how it raises and refines the

purposes and desires, strengthens in weakness, supports in sorrow, heals the contrite heart, cherishes the best affections, is continually expanding, invigorating, and elevating the understanding, and directing the soul heavenward;—whether they can conceive a more inestimable treasure, or can think it a matter of no moment whether or not others share it with them. He who prays that the kingdom of God may come, and his will be done on earth as it is done in heaven, must, if he pray with the spirit and with the understanding, be solicitous to promote the practical reception of the Gospel; and if, in any good degree, he bear the image of his Lord, he will decline no exertion, nor shun any difficulty or sacrifice, where he has a reasonable prospect that he may thereby promote the great end of God's moral government, the virtue and happiness of his rational offspring. From him whom he views with gratitude as his benefactor, and reverences as his sovereign and judge, he has learnt, that to know, with the knowledge of the heart, 'the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent' 'is life eternal': and if he have himself, as a sinful, dying, accountable creature, experienced, in godly sorrow, its precious promises of divine mercy, its strength in temptation, its guidance in spiritual perplexity, its consolations, its warnings, and its hopes—hopes full of immortality—he will love much; and grateful to him who suffered and died to extend and assure the gracious blessings of the Gospel, and to Him from whose tender mercy they sprang, he will deem it an imperative duty to do what in him lies to enable others to share in those privileges and blessings, and to become faithful subjects of the Messiah's kingdom.

* * * * *

"There can be no doubt in the mind of him who has

duly considered the declarations of prophecy and the genius of the Christian religion, that it is designed to be universal, both in extent and in duration. Men of the highest intellect have perceived its disclosures expanding as they have themselves advanced in comprehension of mind. As they have ascended the heights of human intelligence, they have discerned more and more of the glories of 'the light of the world'. And it is not conceivable that any period shall arrive, in this state of being, when the Gospel can be regarded, by those who possess and understand its principles and its hopes, as other than 'the pearl of great price', beyond all other gifts of our Heavenly Father of inestimable value.

"In proportion, too, as the minds of men are cultivated with sound knowledge, Christian truth is more readily discernible, and its influences are more effective. Ignorance suits not the spirit of the Gospel, which is 'the spirit of power, and love, and of a sound mind'; and where to ignorance is added the debasing influences of sordid selfishness and pollution, scarcely any thing can raise above the mire of earth. On the other hand, where the understanding is exercised, truth is found to be its best nourishment; and sound knowledge, the healthy food of the soul. The mind is thus prepared for light from heaven; and that light 'shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'

"Many parts of the prophecies are still obscure. To the eye which can only partially discern even the present, that which respects things to come must commonly have something of the darkness or the dimness of futurity. Even those portions which respect things long past, seem full of mystery to those who are little acquainted with the ancient periods of the world, and have not considered the appro-

priate language of prophecy. But if there is any thing clear, explicit, and certain in prophecy, it is, that the time shall come 'when the knowledge of Jehovah shall cover the earth as the waters do the channels of the deep'; when, 'from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, his name shall be exalted among the Gentiles'; when, 'in every place shall be offered to him incense and a pure offering'—the offering of the heart, the sacrifice of the life. The anticipation of this great and glorious result was one of the habitual sentiments of our Lord's prophetic spirit. • He looked through darkness, and through evil, towards good unbounded, and in its influences eternal. And this anticipation can scarcely fail to be fixed in the Christian's heart. His Lord 'must reign till all enemies are brought under his feet'. The 'Heathen have been given him for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession'. The words of the prophet in my text are singularly impressive and decisive; and they are the more important, because whenever our Saviour applies to himself the appellation 'the Son of Man', we may reasonably understand a tacit reference to them.

* * * * *

"While many of our Christian brethren were contemplating with intense earnestness, and costfully promoting, the efforts made by Missionaries of their own denomination to spread the Gospel among the Hindoos—as it appeared to us with little success, or, on the system they adopted, well-grounded hope,—the attention of the Unitarians in England and America began to be arrested by the information which came to us from various quarters, that in the British capital of Hindostan a highly-gifted Brahmin had been, for some time, with little knowledge of the Gospel,

preparing the way for its divine light by dispersing the debasing darkness of heathen idolatry; and that he had been endeavouring, with much success, to lead his more intelligent countrymen to the ancient and purer forms of their religion. This was RAMMOHUN ROY. We learnt that long before he had attended to the instructions of Christ, he had attained the faith of Abraham, and worshipped and served the 'one living and true God', without any mixture of idolatry; and that it appeared likely to be his honour to contribute effectually, even if indirectly, to the diffusion of faith in Christ, partly by his personal labours, and partly by his coöperation with others—his countenance and his aid in their exertions. These labours were directed to the exposure of the evils of the prevalent faith of his countrymen; and particularly to the extension of that knowledge respecting the Supreme and Eternal Creator, which their most ancient 'scriptures' taught, in language that is not surpassed, in sublimity and truth, even by that of Moses and the Prophets;—often blended, however, with much that is mystical; and with much also that was calculated to lead away from the truth, or, at least, to furnish a pretext to the grovelling soul—in process of time abundantly and banefully employed—to direct its adorations to the manifestations of the attributes of the Supreme Being, and to worship HIM who is the invisible, eternal, universal, and ever-present Spirit, under numberless forms of created intelligences, or of the beasts of the earth, or of things without intelligence or life.

"Several of the Brahmin's productions, with this object in view, principally designed for his own countrymen, came into my hands, now twelve years ago: but at least six or eight years before that period, he had made and exten-

sively circulated translations of the Hindoo sacred writings, and afterwards abridgments of them; and there is no doubt that great and important benefits have arisen from these publications among the cultivated and inquiring part of his countrymen, whose minds, trained by their native learning and knowledge to a great degree of acuteness and refinement, had become disgusted with the degrading nature and influences of the ceremonies and worship of their own people, yet were impressed with strong repugnance at the prevailing representations of Christian doctrine, which was increased, there is reason to believe, by the extreme absence, at that period, in British society in general, of the ordinary indications of any deep sense of religion. These publications contain numerous passages which are well fitted to elevate the sentiments, and to attract those whose hearts were already elevated; while, in their mode of expression, and in the reverence with which the Hindoos are accustomed to regard these writings, as proceeding from the Deity and themselves in part possessed of deity, they are more fitted than our scriptures, as a whole, for the earliest periods of departure from the popular opinions of the Hindoos.

* * * * *

"The absolute unity, unrivalled supremacy, sole worship, and essential mercy of the only true God, are too strongly asserted in RAMMOHUN ROY's writings, and were too unequivocally maintained by him in conversation, to leave any doubt as to his doctrinal opinions on those points. He repeatedly told me and others that he never introduced his opinions unnecessarily; but that when the subject was introduced he never hesitated to avow them: and of his entire

disbelief in the doctrine of the trinity, of the incarnation, &c., we have abundant assurance. In his replies to the Missionaries who attacked his selections from the instructions of Christ, he also developes his views respecting the person of our Lord. That he regarded him as entirely subordinate to the Supreme Being, and dependent upon HIM, for all his high powers and authority, must be obvious to every one who peruses that remarkable controversy. He dwells, with peculiar earnestness and satisfaction, on the conclusion he had attained respecting the nature of that unity which subsisted between Christ and his heavenly Father—the unity of design, of affection, of operation—such as existed between his disciples and himself. On all these points, which alone are essential to Unitarianism, he agrees with the Unitarian. In those treatises, however, he also speaks of our Saviour as præexistent, and as employed in the creation of the natural world; in which he differs from the great bulk of contemporary Unitarians, more nearly approaching to the sentiments of the excellent Dr. PRICE. From the conversations which I had with him in the later part of his life, I believe that he was more disposed to regard that præexistence as only in the divine purposes; and the creating logos, not as Christ himself, but as that divine power which wrought in and by him. But however this may be, he was undoubtedly a Unitarian; and he has repeatedly said, when not among members of the Unitarian sect, 'My heart is with the Unitarians'.

"As to his Christian belief—the only ground for uncertainty arose from the assertions, on the one hand, of those who will not allow the claims of the Unitarian to the appellation Christian, because he does not receive those doctrines which he firmly believes to be without foundation

in the instructions of Christ and his Apostles; or, on the other, of those who have misunderstood the nature of the ground on which the Brahmin's convictions most rested, the manner in which he spoke of doctrines which they themselves always associated with Christian belief and deemed essential to it, and the caution with which he habitually avoided all public expression of the adoption of Christianity by those personal acts which would have been regarded by Christians in general as a renunciation of his ancient faith, and probably employed by his enemies in India to lessen his influence and to injure his interests. He never was baptized, though applied to for the purpose by the direction of some of the highest dignitaries of the Established Church: he could not have been baptized into the Trinitarian faith. He might have been baptized into Unitarian Christianity, without renouncing what he regarded as the pure doctrine of Hindooism respecting the Supreme Being; but his system prevented him from engaging in the positive rites of any sect of Christians. While he maintained his caste as a Brahmin, he had an acknowledged right to instruct his countrymen in the doctrines of their religion, which he maintained to have been, in its purest and most ancient form, monotheism in faith and in worship, and to which he laboured, in many cases effectually, to lead his fellow-Brahmins. The acknowledgement of the divine authority of Christ is, in itself, in no way inconsistent with the maintenance of their ancient faith; for as Moses and the Prophets had done, Christ and his Apostles taught the same. We have in his controversy with the Baptist Missionaries (before the attempt made to deprive him of his caste,) the clear declarations of his belief that 'Jesus of Nazareth' was 'the

Christ of God', that 'he was sent with a divine law to guide mankind by his preaching and example', that he received from the Supreme Being 'a commission to come into the world for the salvation of mankind', and that he was, by him, 'empowered to perform wonderful works.' This belief, however, he rested, as we have learned from himself, less on those wonderful works, than on the internal proofs derived from the excellence of our Saviour's instructions respecting the character of God and the duty and welfare of man, and from the circumstances attending the first promulgation of the Gospel; and he laid little stress upon miracles as a means of converting his countrymen, from their being so much accustomed to miraculous relations in reference to those deities whom they were called upon to renounce. But though the elements of his faith, or the grounds on which he held it, might not agree with those of Christians in general, I am, in the recollection of several residents in this city or its neighbourhood, of the first respectability for character and intellectual attainments, and of various religious persuasions, correct when I say, that, less than a week before his last illness began, he expressed his belief in the divine origin of our Lord's instructions, in his miracles, and in his resurrection from the dead. On this great fact, indeed, he declared that his own expectation of a resurrection rested. 'If I did not believe in the resurrection of Christ', were his emphatic words, 'I should not believe in my own'. Believing as he certainly did in this essential fundamental fact of Christianity, you may term him what you please—I have no hesitation in saying that he was a Christian.

* * * * *

“As to his more direct services to Christianity, I view them as of vastly more importance than has yet, perhaps, been developed. It is no slight service, that he has rendered a large portion of the recorded teachings of Christ accessible to his countrymen, in their sacred language, the Sanscrit, and in the ordinary language of Bengal. Perplexed himself with the various doctrines insisted upon by the teachers of Christianity, he sought for the essential characteristics of this religion—its moral system, its sanctions, and its promises—in the words of Christ himself; and these he presented to the Hindoo public in the way which he deemed most ‘likely to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men, of different persuasions and degrees of understanding.’ ‘This simple code of religion and morality (he says at the end of his Introduction) is so admirably calculated to elevate men’s ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste, rank, or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain, and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature; and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society; that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form.’

“One would have thought that the Christian Missionaries would have hailed the learned and excellent Brahmin as their fellow-labourer, and as at least preparing the way for that knowledge of Christ which they thought essential to his Gospel. True it is that he did not introduce into the ‘Precepts of Jesus’ the narration of our Lord’s miracles:

but the purpose of the miracles was answered if any were led without them to the same end—the reception of Jesus Christ as a heaven-sent teacher, and the disposition to receive his words as the words of truth, and the guide of heart and life; and the Brahmin thought such narrations less likely to affect the minds of his countrymen, than the simple records of Christ's instructions. He knew that the Saviour hath declared that he that doeth the will of his Heavenly Father, was to him as a brother, or sister, or mother: and he expressed his conviction that the sayings of Christ which he had presented to his countrymen, are those 'the obedience to which is so absolutely commanded as indispensable and all-sufficient to those who desire eternal life'; that they 'include every duty of man and all that is necessary to salvation', while 'they expressly exclude mere profession or belief from those circumstances which God graciously admits as giving a title to eternal happiness'; and that there is not, in the New Testament, any commandment 'similarly enjoining a knowledge of the mysteries or historical relations contained in those books'. But it is an immense advance when any are led from the degrading forms and disgusting and cruel practices of heathen idolatry to the reception of the only true God, and to seek for the words of eternal life in the instructions of Jesus Christ. Even if they were only brought near to the kingdom of God, he who presented the means of this progress, and in a way that he deemed more likely than others to affect their minds, should surely have been received with conciliatory encouragement; and perceiving—as his previous writings showed—that he had a mind open to truth, it would have been wise calmly to present to him the means

of greater light, and to await its effects, without attempting to thwart or to oppose his progress. But his reception by the Missionaries 'surprised and disappointed' him; and he appears to have had some reason to complain of a want of candour and liberality towards him. The attack had, however, a highly beneficial effect: it led him to mature his views of Christian truth; and to discern, by close examination of the Scriptures, what are the real doctrines of Christ and his Apostles. His First and Second Appeals especially (and also, though more directly critical, and more influenced by English controversial works, his Final Appeal,) present the extraordinary efforts, and most important researches, of a mind faithfully seeking for light, and coming to the Scriptures with no other prepossessions than those which arose from views respecting the Supreme Being which Christianity had only to extend and establish. In addition to a remarkable critical skill, they display the sagacity of a clear and acute understanding, guided by the love of truth and duty, and illuminated by devotion, and by sentiments respecting the character and dispensations of the supreme and universal Parent which perfectly harmonized with all the spontaneous dictates of his pious and benevolent spirit. I persuade myself that the reasonings and representations of the Brahmin will yet lead many Christians to review their own conclusions; and assist them to discern that the faith required for the benefits of the Gospel, is perfectly accordant with the dictates of a sound understanding: while, at the same time, the beautiful manifestations of his charity, humility, and benevolence, may contribute to improve them in the spirit which the Gospel requires.

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“His enlarged and benignant spirit, the tenderness and purity of his own heart, the maternal love which he had experienced, and the influences of that soothing kindness which he had received from the women of Thibet when he was separated from the endearments of home, aided (I repeat it) to produce in his mind those sentiments of respect for woman in her domestic and social and moral relations, which entirely raised him above the narrow and degrading views entertained of the female sex by his countrymen in general; and which led him to contribute, in various ways, to the just appreciation of them, and to their protection from the sordid purposes and superstitious zeal of those who degraded them by debasing rites and practices, and condemned them to self-immolation. He regarded woman, whether considered as an intellectual or as a spiritual being, as fitted, by natural powers and capabilities, to be the companion, the friend, and the helper of man. In all this his sentiments admirably coincided with the genius of the Gospel, and with the spirit and conduct of its benevolent Author; and it is no unreasonable supposition, that the perception of this characteristic of the Christian system contributed to his interest in our Scriptures, which record the most affecting instances of the reverential attachment of devout women to the Saviour, and their devoted faithfulness when even his disciples deserted him; and which present various indications of the readiness of the female sex to receive his heavenly truths, and to labour for the diffusion of them among mankind.

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“Such was the illustrious person whose removal from an extensive field of usefulness we feel to be a call for trust and submission; and such the nature and extent of

his labours in it. Premature we might be tempted to think his summons from life, while the powers of his mind were in their vigour, and while his sources of enjoyment and of self-improvement were so great, in the intercourses of friendship and affection, in the honour and attachment of wise and good men of all ranks and of all persuasions, in the engagements of kindness and benevolence, in the perception of the effects of his labours of patriotism and philanthropy, in the pursuit of truth, the study of scripture, and the exercise of piety: but the future is unknown; and God's time is best. Protracted life might have displayed, in languor and exhaustion, if not in depression, the natural effects, on a frame like his, of a long course of that arduous toil and often severe conflict, which had been occasioned by his own beneficent purposes, or by the harassing opposition and even hostility of others. He might have had unlooked for trials of faith and patience, in the slow and sometimes interrupted operation of those causes of good to his country which his comprehensive and ardent mind must have viewed as now effectually commenced. At any rate, he has sunk to rest in the midst of affection and respect, with all those purposes carried into effect which had been his object through life: and could we have known the thoughts of his heart, when he believed the hour of his departure approaching, I am persuaded that we should have found, blended with them, the emotions of devout thankfulness—which now fill our hearts—that he had lived so long, and that his toils and his conflicts had not been in vain.

“They have not been in vain; and the tomb does not terminate their efficacy. The influence of his personal example and of his instructions will be felt impressively among many who have witnessed and received them. His

writings will be more read and appreciated. Those who have been already acquainted with them, will review them with that new interest which the mournful thought produces, that he whose intelligence and benevolence dictated them, is now among the dead. The purposes of his exertions will, in the heart of many a one, receive a new impulse from the consideration that all who valued him for them and are able to promote them, are bound to do what they can to supply the loss of his efforts and his counsels. In many and various ways his great objects may be carried into effect, with an influence derived from the termination of his course, which the misinterpretation of his motives, or a wrong estimate of his mode of accomplishing them, or the belief that it peculiarly rested with him to effect them, might have contributed to prevent. The spirit under which he obviously laboured will transfuse itself into the hearts of others who have those objects in view; and his writings will aid the wise and benevolent in promoting them. 'Though dead he yet speaketh'; and the voice will be heard impressively from the tomb, which, in his life, may have excited only the passing emotions of admiration or respect.

"That voice may be heard by his intelligent Hindoo friends and other enlightened Brahmins. It may excite them to renewed and increased efforts to carry on the work of intellectual and moral improvement among their countrymen: to diffuse the purer light of religion which his writings contain, among those who are yet debased and superstitious: to give the advantages of a wise education to the young and uninformed: to rise themselves, and teach others to rise, above the narrow prejudices of caste and sect; and thereby weaken that thralldom which so much

interrupts the progress of truth and virtue ; and elevate, by knowledge and a just appreciation, those who may thus be the friends and companions of the present generation, and whose early instructions and training will so much promote the welfare of the next : to coöperate with the benevolent efforts of the British Government for the welfare of their country ; and by giving the system adopted the aids they may effectually afford to prepare for the extension and increase of the advantages which benevolent wisdom has in view. May we not hope, too, that his example will lead the best and most enlightened among the Hindoos to study, and thence to value, those Scriptures which he habitually studied and valued ? And, perceiving, as he has practically shown them, that the religion of Christ requires no renunciation, in faith and worship, of the purest and most ancient principles of their own, to follow him in this respect also, and to receive themselves, and lead others to receive, the instructions of Jesus as the guide to peace and happiness ? If such should be the results, his death will be blessed to their highest interests, and to those of their countrymen at large.

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“So all of us, the rapid progress of fatal disease, by which he has unexpectedly been called from life to whose intercourse we had here looked forwards with so much earnestness and hope, presents a fresh warning as to the uncertainty of life. The voice speaketh from his tomb, and urges us to work the work of life while it is day. His example, too, may well strengthen our desire to work that work faithfully, and as those who are to give an account. A strong sense of responsibility influenced him in the course which Providence marked out for him. The

spirit of benevolence, of humility, and of piety, dwelt in his heart. You learned not from himself, except by casual expressions, or in reply to direct inquiries, what he had done for mankind, in respect to their temporal and spiritual well-being; but on reviewing it for ourselves, we see that it claims our admiration and our deep respect. He sought the blessing of God on his work, and pursued this as an accountable being; and we may well say that the blessing of God has rested upon it for great and important good.

“‘Servant of God! farewell! thy work is o’er’. Thou hast been summoned to that rest which remaineth for the people of God, and we shall soon commit thee to the silent tomb; but it will be with the hope of meeting thee again, when this mortal shall put on immortality, and that which is sown in weakness, shall be raised in power and glory. Thy honoured remains will not repose in ground that has been consecrated by human ceremonial, or even by the exclusive employment of it as the abode of the dead; but they will themselves hallow the spot where they rest, and it will be endeared by the remembrance of thy benignity, thine affection, and thy friendship. Never will be effaced from our memory the beamings of thy countenance, and the mild accents of thy voice; and by all who knew thee will thy name be loved and revered.—‘Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; they rest from their labours; and their works follow them’. The influences of thy labours, thine instructions, thy example, are still with us; and these will render thee still the guide and the benefactor of thy race. As respects others, thy labour will not be in vain; and as respects thyself, thou art awaiting thy reward. The day will come when the Lord of Christians will call thee from the tomb; and then, I doubt not, wilt thou hear the

approving words addressed to thee, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!'

"God grant, my hearers, that a like blessedness may be our lot; that we may faithfully improve our talents for usefulness to others and our own spiritual well-being; and that, when the Lord of Christians shall call us and all men from the tomb, we may receive the blessed welcome, and be admitted into the joy of our Lord."

On the same Sunday, the Rev. R. ASPLAND preached a funeral sermon in the New Gravel Pit Meeting, Hackney, where the Rajah had not unfrequently been a listener. A large portion of the sermon consists of biographical notices of the Rajah, and extracts from his writings, which had been already presented to the public by Dr. CARPENTER. It was, therefore, not intended for publication. Mr. ASPLAND states in the preface that "he considered the sermon preached upon the occasion by his respected friend Dr. CARPENTER, of Bristol, to be the proper funeral tribute to the memory of the Rajah; and this he hoped, and still hopes, to see published, especially as Dr. CARPENTER was in frequent intercourse with the illustrious deceased, during his last days, and enjoyed, besides, peculiar opportunities of acquiring an exact knowledge of his life and opinions. But an edition of the sermon having made its appearance (printed, it is supposed, from notes taken at the time of delivery), without the sanction of the author, no alternative is left to him, unless he could consent to

bear the imputation of putting out a mean and illiterate publication, in reference to a name entitled to every outward mark of respect." On the title page of the sermon are the appropriate lines of the poet of Paradise Lost and Regained :—

" One man except, the only son of light,
In a dark age, against example good,
Against allurement, custom, and a world
Offended."

The subject of the sermon is "The future accession of good men of all climes to Christianity, and their final congregation in heaven." Mr. ASPLAND thus prefaced it,—

"Judging that it would not be uncongenial with the feelings of the congregation, nor presumptuous on my part, nor, perhaps, wholly unserviceable to the cause of Christian truth, I ventured last Sunday morning to announce that I should adapt the present discourse to the melancholy event of the somewhat sudden and, according to the course of nature, premature decease of our distinguished oriental visitor, Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY; the rather, as he was an occasional worshipper in this House of Prayer, and repeatedly expressed that he felt a deep interest in this congregation. On that occasion, I stated that I did not meditate a mere eulogy upon the departed Brahmin. My object is to represent him as, with my means of knowledge, I consider him to have been, and to describe his religious character and profession as it appeared to myself, and to others that had still better means of forming a correct opinion. His condition in relation to Christianity was so peculiar; his rank and acquirements

and labours justly attracted to him so much public attention; and so many contradictory statements have been made of his religious views, that it cannot be regarded as an indelicate or uninteresting inquiry, whether he embraced the gospel entirely and unreservedly, and what was his decision amidst the conflicting theories of Christian sects upon the true scheme of doctrine propounded in the Christian Scriptures. My answer to this inquiry will be anticipated from the words which I shall now read as a text,—the groundwork of some observations not, I trust, foreign from the subject. You will find the words in

Matthew VIII., 11.

AND I SAY UNTO YOU, THAT MANY SHALL COME FROM THE
EAST AND WEST, AND SHALL SIT DOWN WITH ABRAHAM,
AND ISAAC, AND JACOB, IN THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.

“The speaker is our Lord. He was now acting in his great and delightful character of a Comforter and a Saviour, and his gracious prediction was uttered upon the contemplation of an extraordinary degree of faith and piety in one from whom they might have been least expected, a Roman centurion or captain, who improved the opportunity of his military employment in the Holy Land to inquire after true religion, and whose inquiry terminated in his abandonment of the idolatry of his fathers and his adoption of the pure Jewish worship.

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“It would seem to follow of necessity from the admission of the gospel as the power of God and the wisdom of God, that the more earnestly and diligently it is studied, the better it will be understood and the more highly valued;

that the pleasure derived from it will be in proportion to the love of it, from a knowledge of its fitness and excellence; that oneness with its spirit and obedience to its requirements will always go together; and that the union of faith and virtue is the only qualification for the perfect enjoyment of its promised blessings in that world where faith will be turned into sight, but where charity never faileth.

"These are solemnly important conclusions. They should impel us, on the one hand, to inquire seriously into the truth of God by Christ, lest by our own indolence and worldly-mindedness we fail of discovering the pearl of great price; and, on the other hand, to take a willing part in all wise and sincere efforts for the promotion of the moral and spiritual improvement of the world, and to hail with disinterested fervour, and to embrace with fraternal love, all the wise and good, whether from the east or the west, from the north or the south, who enter into the church of Christ with minds enlightened by the wisdom from above, and hearts purified by the influence of divine truth, praying and seeking only for glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good-will to men.

"We shall thus, my Christian friends, be prepared to unite with the multitude that no man can number, out of every kindred, tribe, tongue and people, and from every dispensation of light,—with patriarchs and prophets, apostles and martyrs, who, their warfare accomplished, their affections wholly sanctified and their spirits perfected, will sit down in heavenly places with Him after whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, to pursue divine knowledge, to exercise universal love, to taste pure bliss, and to proclaim eternally growing gratitude to the

Almighty Father, blessed in himself and blessed, too, in all his creatures for evermore.

"To apply the subject to the occasion. There has been recently taken from the earth one to whom many of our humble observations, to whom I solemnly believe the sublime words of our Lord, apply; a rare, perhaps an unparalleled instance of a man who, by the virtuous use of great talents and splendid acquirements, under the divine providence and grace, delivered his own spirit from the enthralment of idolatry, and entered by degrees into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

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"None can deny that our departed Christian brother was an extraordinary man, whether we consider his intellectual energies, his moral qualities, or his theological attainments. Centuries may intervene before his equal in all respects shall rise up in Hindostan, so bright a light shining in so dark a place. He is a memorable example to the world of what an individual may accomplish by firmness of purpose, diligence, perseverance, fortitude, disinterestedness and candour, in the acquirement of truth, amidst the greatest disadvantages, and the diffusion of truth, amidst opposition and reproach. Would that they could be warned by his example, who, with all the opportunities of improvement around them, neither inquire nor think, neither instruct nor are instructed, lay down no error and acquire no truth, and, except as far as self-interest prompts, meditate no one good service to their fellow creature.

"The name of RAMMOHUN ROY will endure as long as the history of religious truth. It is already, in part, and will hereafter be generally cherished in both hemispheres, in that which is distinguished by his birth, and in this,

which will, it is now probable, have the boast of keeping his honoured relics: *here*, he will be celebrated for breaking the first link of the long chain which has pressed down the heart of his country to the dust; *at home*, when India shall stretch out her hands to the true God, he will be revered as the first of her reformers and philanthropists. And more than this, and above all earthly fame, may we not gather from the promises of the gospel, this morning imperfectly expounded, that when the Throne shall be set, and the books shall be opened, and the dead, from both sea and land, shall be judged out of those things that are written in the books, according to their works, his name will be found in the Book of Life, and the Son of Man will welcome him, with all the righteous, into his Heavenly Father's kingdom! Even so. Amen."

Mr. ASPLAND gives in notes to his sermon the following statements, which were probably derived from the article in the "Athenæum":—

"Mr. ARNOT says, that during the greater part of the period of RAMMOHUN ROY's residence at Calcutta, 'the whole powers of his mind were directed to the vindication of the doctrine of the unity of God. In this, he maintained the sacred books of Hindus and Mussulmans, Jews and Christians, agreed; and that all apparent deviations from it were modern corruptions. He propagated it day and night, by word and writing, with the zeal of an apostle and the self-devotion of a martyr. He was ever ready to maintain it against all gainsayers, from the believer in thirty-three millions of gods to the denier of one: for both extremes are common in the East. The writer remembers finding him at his Garden House, near Calcutta, one

evening, about seven o'clock, closing a dispute with one of the followers of Būdh, who denied the existence of a Deity. The Rajah had spent the whole day in the controversy, without stopping for food, rest or refreshment, and rejoicing more in confuting one atheist than in triumphing over a hundred idolaters: the credulity of the one he despised; the scepticism of the other he thought pernicious; for he was deeply impressed with the importance of religion to the virtue and happiness of mankind."

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" 'There were,' says Mr. ARNOTT, in the 'Athenæum', 'three maxims in politics, in ethics, and in religion, which he often repeated; with these I shall sum up this brief sketch of his life and character. The first he expressed in an Arabic sentence, *Inṣān abid ul ihsan*: 'Man is the slave of benefits.' The second, a couplet from the Anwārī Soheili, which will be found in many a fair lady's album: 'The enjoyment of the two worlds (this and the next) rests on these two points; kindness to friends, civility to enemies.' And the third, from the philosophic Sadi—which he often repeated, and often expressed a wish to have inscribed on his tomb:

'THE TRUE WAY OF SERVING GOD IS TO DO GOOD TO MAN.'

"Amen: so let it be: the religious reformer of the Hindus could not have a more appropriate epitaph."

Though the Rajah had not been able to visit Ireland, yet the Sister Isle was not uninterested in the visit of the Hindoo Reformer, and on October 27th, 1833, a sermon was preached in the Presbyterian Church of Strand Street, Dublin, on occasion of his death, by the

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آسانش دد گیتی تفسیر این دو حرف است
باد و ستان لطافت باد شمعان مدارا
عبادت بحر خدمت خلق نیست (الانوار بیگمیلی)

Rev. WILLIAM HAMILTON DRUMMOND, D.D., which was published by special request. "The Rajah received addresses," Dr. DRUMMOND states, "from Ireland, particularly from Belfast and Cork, and a gentleman of this city was commissioned by the Irish Unitarian Society to invite him to a public entertainment. It was accordingly his intention to pay this country a visit. He seemed to take a deep interest in the affairs of Ireland, and I can state on the unquestionable authority of a friend, who was frequently in his society in London, that in the course of a month after his arrival, he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of its statistics, politics and religion, as might almost justify the belief that he had long been directing his exclusive attention to those subjects of enquiry." The following are extracts from Dr. DRUMMOND's sermon, which was entitled "A learned Indian in search of religion" :—

Psalm LXXXVI., 8, 9, 10.

AMONG THE GODS THERE IS NONE LIKE UNTO THEE, O LORD!

NEITHER ARE THERE ANY WORKS LIKE THY WORKS. ALL NATIONS WHOM THOU HAST MADE SHALL COME AND WORSHIP BEFORE THEE, O LORD; AND SHALL GLORIFY THY NAME—FOR THOU ART GREAT, AND DOEST WONDROUS THINGS: THOU ART GOD ALONE.

"Yes—JEHOVAH is God alone, and all attempts to raise up any god beside God the Father, are as impotent as would be the attempt to sap the foundations of the earth, or pluck the sun from his orbit. His works, through all their boundless variety and amplitude, declare him, by the

unity of their design, to be ONE. The voice of Revelation, through all the rich diversity of her communications, declares him to be ONE. The great legislator of the Jews, their kings, their prophets, the inspired apostles; the blessed Saviour himself, he who was filled with the Spirit of the Most High—all declare him to be ONE. This is the conclusion at which the wisest and best of men, in all ages and countries, who have faithfully followed the twin lights of nature and revelation, have arrived. The light of nature and the light of revelation flow in parallel lines from the same great fountain of everlasting truth. The latter shines with a brighter and more intense ray than the former—but they never cross each other's path, nor stream in opposite directions; nay, they may be said to blend and mingle together, as the rays of heat, and of colour, in the solar beam, to produce one white and brilliant illumination. The God of nature is the God of revelation; and it is impossible that by the voice of the one he can contradict what he has uttered by the voice of the other. What nature has spoken, revelation has repeated in more audible sounds. The aspirations of nature in the soul of man after a holier, happier, state of being, are re-echoed by revelation; and nature's 'longings after immortality,' are cherished and exalted into a lively faith in the resurrection from the dead, by that 'gospel, which hath brought life and immortality to light.'

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"Of the character of the excellent Rajah, intellectual, moral, religious, there seems to be only one opinion among all those whose opinion merits consideration. As for what may be thought or said of him by those, and such no doubt there are, who because he could not embrace their peculiar

doctrines, would still denominate him a heathen, it is unworthy of a moment's notice. Would that but one little shred of his Christianity were shared among them, it would make them better Christians than ever they are likely to become with their ignorant and malevolent bigotry! We have the testimony, not only of friends to his religious views, but of some who were opposed to them, that he was pious, and good, and learned, and wise, and patriotic, and generous, and disinterested. In fact, I cannot at this moment recollect the name of any individual, since the days of the apostles, that has so preeminent a claim to the title of Christian.

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"The accession of such a convert as the Rajah to the truth of Christianity, should, we might suppose, be hailed with exultation by all his friends, and especially by those employed in missionary labours, though his opinions did not altogether harmonize with theirs. But no, such is the spirit of bigotry—such the effect of entertaining narrow views of Christianity, and making it consist, not in 'meat and drink' indeed, but in something still worse, in the belief of doctrines which shock reason, and impeach the justice and mercy of the Father of all—that it would rather such converts as he had remained still immersed in the idolatries, and abominations, from which he had escaped! That a Brahmin of such high character, so distinguished for strong intellectual powers—for superior mental cultivation—for such patient and persevering industry in the study of languages to aid him in the search after truth—that such a man should strip off the prejudices of education, should renounce the popular superstitions of his country, under the severe penalty of incurring the hostility of his

relatives and friends, and at the no small risk of losing his paternal property, and most dreadful of all, of losing *caste*, which, as you well know, is to the Hindoo a grievance more terrible than excommunication in the Roman Catholic Church—that such a man, under such circumstances, should come forward to avow his belief in Christianity at all, ought surely to be a subject of rejoicing to every one who feels a real interest in the extension of the Saviour's kingdom.

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“Such was the learned Indian's high veneration for the sacred Scriptures, that he refused to receive any doctrine, as a doctrine of religion, which they have not revealed. He gave the decrees of Councils and Fathers to the winds, and taking the word of God as his only true guide and instructor, asserted with it, the divine unity, in opposition to all Tritheism and Polytheism.

“‘It is my reverence for Christianity,’ says he, in his Second Appeal (p. 304), ‘and for the author of this religion, that has induced me to endeavour to vindicate it from the charge of Polytheism, as far as my limited capacity and knowledge extend. * It is indeed mortifying to my feelings, to find a religion that from its sublime doctrines and pure morality should be respected above all other systems, reduced almost to a level with Hindoo theology, merely by human creeds and prejudices; and from this cause brought to a comparison with the paganism of ancient Greece, which while it included a plurality of Gods, yet maintained that *Θεός εστις ἓς*, or ‘God is one,’ and that their numerous divine *persons* were all comprehended in that one Deity.’

“‘Having derived my own opinions on this subject entirely from the Scriptures themselves, I may perhaps be excused for the confidence with which I maintain them against those of so great a majority, who appeal to the same authority for theirs; inasmuch as I attribute the different views, not to any inferiority of judg-

ment compared with my own limited ability, but to the powerful effect of early religious impressions; for when these are deep, reason is seldom allowed its natural scope in examining them to the bottom. Were it a practice among Christians to study first the books of the Old Testament as found arranged in order, and to acquire a knowledge of the true force of scriptural phrases and expressions, without attending to interpretations given by any sect; and then to study the New Testament, comparing the one with the other, Christianity would not any longer be liable to be encroached on by human opinions.' (304, 305.)

"Again he observes, in his Final Appeal, 'The doctrine of the Trinity appears to me so obviously unscriptural, that I am pretty sure, from my own experience and that of others, that no one possessed of merely common sense, will fail to find its unscripturality, after a methodical study of the Old and New Testaments, unless previously impressed in the early part of his life with creeds and forms of speech preparing the way to that doctrine.'

"The Rajah attributes that prevalence of belief in the Trinity, which exists in Christendom, to the same causes as those which perpetuate and establish Hindooism in the East,—the force of early impressions.

" 'The minds of youths, and even infants, being once thoroughly impressed with the name of the Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity, long before they can think for themselves, must be always inclined, even after their reason has become matured, to interpret the sacred books, even those texts which are evidently inconsistent with this doctrine, in a manner favourable to their prepossessed opinion, whether their study be continued for three, or thirty, or twice thirty years. Could Hindooism continue after the present generation, or bear the studious examination of a single year, if the belief of their idols being endued with animation were not carefully impressed on the young before they come to years of understanding?' (355.)

"Having in another place noticed some facts in Mosheim, and shewn how some nominal converts to Christianity

came to pass a decree constituting Christ one of the persons of the Godhead, he says,

"These facts coincide entirely with my own firm persuasion of the impossibility, that a doctrine so inconsistent with the evidence of the senses as that of three persons in one being, should ever gain the sincere assent of any one, into whose mind it has not been instilled in early education. Early impressions alone can induce a Christian to believe that three are one and one is three; just as by the same means a Hindu is made to believe that millions are one, and one is millions; and to imagine that an inanimate idol is a living substance, and capable of assuming various forms. As I have sought to attain the truths of Christianity from the words of the author of this religion, and from the undisputed instructions of his holy apostles, and not from a parent or tutor, I cannot help refusing my assent to any doctrine which I do not find scriptural."

"Noble, magnanimous declaration! Would that those who pride themselves on their exclusive right to the name of Christian, were to profit by this example!"

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"Having, during the progress of this discourse, been under the painful necessity of animadverting on the illiberality of some of the Rajah's opponents, it is with no small satisfaction that I turn to the agreeable task of shewing that his character and views were highly appreciated, not only by that denomination of Christians who claim him as their own, but by liberal and enlightened members of other denominations. A striking instance of this occurs in the dedication to him of a sermon entitled 'Charity, the greatest of the Christian graces,' by the Rev. RICHARD WARNER, Rector of Great Chalfied, Wilts, 1832. The letter dedicatory runs thus,—

"RAJAH!—Allow me to introduce the following sermon to the notice of the public under the auspices of 'your respected and respectable name.'

“The epithets are appropriate, not so much on account of the condition, fortune, or talent (distinguished as they may be) of the person to whom they are applied, as for the deep interest which he takes in the happiness of his fellow creatures, and for the labours in which he exercises himself for the diffusion of the LIGHT OF CHRISTIANITY, and the promotion of EVANGELICAL LOVE among an hundred millions of his countrymen, immersed in spiritual darkness, or drunken with intolerant superstition!

“Rajah! never shall I forget the long and profoundly interesting conversation which passed between us a few days ago, on subjects the most important to the comfort and peace of mankind here, and their felicity hereafter;—nor will the noble declaration fade from my recollection—that ‘you were not only ready to sacrifice station, property, and even life itself, to the advancement of a religion, which (in its genuine purity and simplicity) proved its descent from the *God of Love*, by its direct tendency to render mankind happy, in both a present and a future world; but that you should consider the abstaining from such a course, as the non-performance of one of the *highest duties* imposed upon rational, social and accountable man!

“Rajah! a ‘door’ of the most extensive usefulness is ‘opened’ to you by DIVINE PROVIDENCE, *macte virtute esto*. Go on as you have begun! and may God prosper your benevolent endeavours to spread through the fairest, but most benighted portion of the earth’s surface, THE KNOWLEDGE OF CHRIST AND THE PRACTICE OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

“I am, Rajah,

“Your friend and brother in Christ,

“RICHARD WARNER.”

“This, I doubt not, you will affirm to be a truly Christian letter, as worthy of its writer as of him to whom it is addressed; such sentiments, from a Rector of the Church of England, is a sign of the approach of favourable times—of ‘times of restitution’ to the knowledge and the worship of the only living and true God. On the sure word of prophecy we found our belief, that

the time is approaching when 'all nations whom Jehovah hath made, shall come and worship before Thee, O Lord, and shall glorify Thy name, for Thou art great, and doest wondrous things, Thou art God alone.' 'They shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.' We may wish to see that day at hand, and we should do all in our power to expedite its approach.

"The illustrious Rajah is among the first and choicest fruits of Indian conversion, and his conversion is remarkable in this, that it was effected in opposition to difficulties and discouragements which, to any mind of ordinary stamp, must have proved insuperable, solely by his superior knowledge of Scripture, combined with an invincible love of truth. It is well known that Mr. WILLIAM ADAM, Baptist Missionary of Serampore, who endeavoured to make him a convert to orthodoxy, concluded his task by acknowledging himself a convert to the true evangelical opinions of the Rajah! By him has the great, the everlasting truth, 'JEHOVAH OUR GOD IS ONE,' been proclaimed to the nations of the East. It has been attested to those of the West by his appearance among them, by his character, by his writings. May his great and good example be followed by thousands and millions of his countrymen, and may we lend our strenuous efforts to promote a cause, which has for its objects the glory of God, the honour of Christ, and the felicity of man. Amen."

A funeral sermon on the death of the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY, was also preached in the Meeting House

of the first Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast, on Nov. the 10th, 1833, by the Rev. J. SCOTT PORTER. This gentleman was associated with Mr. DAVISON, when the Rajah confided to him the care of his adopted son, and there, he states, he had the high gratification and honour of forming the acquaintance of that illustrious man. Mr. PORTER had the privilege of being admitted to some degree of intimacy with the Rajah, who seldom failed to call at least once a week to inquire respecting his son's progress. He had thus peculiar opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the Rajah's manner and mind, as developed in ordinary intercourse. To these he bears strong testimony in the discourse, from which we give the following extracts :—

Matthew XIII., 31, 32.

THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS LIKE TO A GRAIN OF MUSTARD SEED: WHICH A MAN TOOK AND SOWED IN HIS FIELD;— WHICH INDEED IS THE LEAST OF ALL SEEDS; BUT WHEN IT IS GROWN, IT IS THE GREATEST AMONG HERBS, AND BECOMETH A TREE: SO THAT THE BIRDS OF THE AIR COME AND LODGE IN THE BRANCHES THEREOF.

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“There are men who have achieved, in their own breasts, victories over self, over passion, appetite and desire, compared with which the conquests of Alexander or Napoleon were but the amusements of children. Such characters, God has from time to time raised up to adorn and dignify the race of mankind; to spread around them the lights of science and philosophy; to kindle the torch of philanthropy; to fan the genial flame of benevolence; and to teach the base, the grovelling, and the low in soul,—the little vulgar,

and the great,—what human nature is, and to what an elevation it may soar. In my mind, the accession of one of these, confers more glory on Christianity, than would accrue from the homage of a host of kings. Were I called on to point out the person whose testimony I considered as of the greatest importance to the Gospel, I should direct my finger, not to the wealthy, the dignified, the powerful;—not to the warrior, the statesman, or the sovereign;—but to some patient persevering votary of truth and righteousness. I should select some one who lived in calm seclusion from the turmoil of business, and the pomps of greatness, devoting all the energies of a mighty spirit to the discovery and diffusion of sound principles; little regardful whether his doctrines might be popular, or the reverse, provided only they commended themselves to his own reason; and who practised what he taught.

“And, my friends, I could point out, not one, but many such examples. I could select those whose vigorous minds have run the most excursive career into the realms of science and fancy,—but who returned to take their rest in the branches of the Christian Revelation; and who valued far more than those intellectual qualities and attainments, in which they outstripped all their co-temporaries, the possession of that invaluable treasure, the truth as it is in Jesus. I could point to him who sung in sublime accents the fall and the recovery of man,—the strife of angels, and the overthrow of fiends; the glorious majesty of heaven, and the gloomy horrors of the infernal abyss;—MILTON! He was a Christian;—a zealous, a conscientious Christian;—a Christian upon rational and deliberate conviction;—a Christian who spent much of his time, and employed much of his talent, in elucidating the sense of those venerable

writings in which the principles of the faith are recorded; and who esteemed this the noblest occupation of his mental energies. And so was NEWTON: he whose comprehensive soul grasped the huge machinery of the universe in its embrace; and reduced to order the fragments of a mighty plan, before but imperfectly understood. So, too, was LOCKE; who led the way to the knowledge of the human mind; teaching the student of nature to look inwards; and revealing to him a world there, not less interesting nor less important in its relations, than the world without. And such was LARDNER, the close, accurate, patient investigator of antiquity;—whose assiduity never tired; whose inquiring spirit was never satisfied while any fact relating to the early history of the faith was unexplored; and whose candour in stating the result of his inquiries, has never been impeached, even by those whose judgment he controverted, and whose arguments he exposed. Such, too, was SIR WILLIAM JONES, whose researches into the language, history, and records of the oriental nations, have never been equalled by the labours of any other scholar, before or since his day; and who undertook these inquiries for this among other important purposes,—that he might determine whether or not there existed in the literature of the East any authentic history irreconcilable with the Christian Scriptures. The result of his search was his confirmation in the faith of Jesus: a conclusion the more important,—because, as he himself declares, he would not have hesitated to avow, and had no motive to conceal the contrary inference, if it had appeared to be supported by the facts of the case, and sound argument. And,—not to trouble you by enumerating others, whom it would be easy to add to the list,—such was one, whose name I do not hesitate to

introduce in connexion with those just mentioned, because I conceive him to have been in many respects the equal, and in some the superior, of the greatest among them;—I mean the late illustrious Christian Brahmin,—the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. These and such as these are the great men whose names add weight and value to their testimony. These were the truly great;—great not by the accident of birth,—not by the circumstances of fortune,—not by the chances of conquest, nor by the apportionment of worldly dominion; but great in genius, learning, and virtue. The dominion they have exercised, is over the spirit of man, the immortal soul,—not the gross material frame. Their patent of nobility bears the stamp and seal of the celestial chancery. When I contemplate the conduct and history of these illustrious sages;—when I witness their ardour in promoting the knowledge of divine truth;—when I see them exerting, in this holiest and best of causes, the transcendent abilities with which they were gifted by their Creator;—I am struck with the fulfilment of my Saviour's prophetic similitude:—‘*The kingdom of Heaven is like unto a grain of seed, which a man took and sowed in his field;—which is indeed the least of all seeds; but when it is sprung up, it becometh a tree,*’ in whose branches the high soaring birds of heaven take refuge. My faith is strengthened, when I witness the accomplishment of this seemingly most improbable prediction. I am made to feel that though heaven and earth may pass away, the words of Jesus shall not pass away. And I revere that Gospel, which though first preached to the poor, and, more than any other religion, adapted to the wants of persons in humble life, is not less suited to the requirements of the most refined and enlightened minds.

"I have mentioned the lately deceased Rajah **RAMMOHUN ROY**, as one whose talents and history entitle him to be ranked among those men of illustrious soul, to whom, as it appears to me, the phrase in the parable of our Saviour may be most expressively referred: and a brief survey of the leading facts in his eventful life, will be sufficient to justify the estimate I have formed."

The substance of the biographical sketch of the Rajah here given has appeared in a former part of this volume. Mr. PORTER thus speaks of the publication of the "Precepts of Jesus":—

"The conduct of **RAMMOHUN ROY** in presenting to his countrymen the didactic and moral parts of the Gospel, at first, in a detached form, was evidently prompted by reflection on the experience of his own conversion. These were the passages which first attracted his own attention, interested his feelings, and allured his mind; he naturally concluded they were the most likely to engage the souls of other persons similar in faith and habits. His procedure was warranted by reason; for there is nothing in the nature of things, or in the laws of morality, that requires any advocate to bring forward, at the very outset, those parts of his case, which, as he well knows, may and must prevent him from obtaining a hearing in urging what farther he has to advance. It was demanded by policy; for had **RAMMOHUN ROY** insisted upon the doctrinal and miraculous portions of the New Testament, in addressing persons unprepared to receive them, he would only have confirmed them in their prejudices, and strengthened them in their obstinate rejection of Christianity altogether. Whereas, by presenting to them those sections whose truth, beauty, benevolence,

and utility, could not but be apparent to every candid observer, he took the most promising means of securing their attention and favor, when he should afterwards have occasion to introduce the other portions of the sacred volume to their notice. His conduct was sanctioned by the example of the apostles of Christ. In this sense, Paul openly avowed to some of his converts, that he '*fed them with milk and not with meat, because they were not able to bear it*'; and even Christ himself spoke the word unto the multitudes who frequented his preaching, '*as they were able*' to receive it. For the same purpose, he spoke much to them in parables, '*that seeing they might see and not perceive; that hearing they might hear and not understand*';—that is, that they might attain to some impressions of the truth without their knowledge, unaware of the process by which it was acquired."

With respect to the Rajah's character, Mr. PORTER says:—

"I believe I only speak the general sentiment of all who knew him, when I declare, that the extent, vigour, and profundity of his mind were much more evident to those who conversed with him personally, than to those who only knew him in his works. Never have I known a person who brought a greater variety of knowledge to bear upon almost every topic on which he conversed;—never one whose own remarks were more original, ingenious, solid, and useful. Yet, with all his great attainments, he was a modest seeker after knowledge. He did not disdain to ask information from the youngest person in company, if he seemed disposed and qualified to afford it: for he was far removed from the puerile ambition of wishing to appear a

universal genius. But he chiefly addressed himself to the old, to whom he always paid remarkable deference and respect. He frequently questioned them respecting their recollection of the state of moral and political knowledge in their youthful days, and as compared with the present time. He loved to hear of the progress of society in philanthropy, virtue, and religion; and to discuss the means by which that progress might be accelerated.

"It occurred to me, that, even while discussing the affairs of England, his beloved India was uppermost in his thoughts. Often, after conversing on the means adopted for the support and education of the poor,—upon the industrial and commercial system, and upon the social machinery of Britain, some expression would escape him, which impressed the attentive observer with the conviction, that the Rajah was treasuring up in his mind, facts and suggestions that might be of service on his return to that country, for which his bosom never ceased to beat with a son's affectionate solicitude. It was for India, that he left his native land;—it was for India, that he sojourned among strangers; subjecting himself to the thousand inconveniences of a residence amidst a people differing totally in manners and customs from those which he was obliged to maintain;—it was for India, that he exposed a delicate constitution to the vicissitudes of a strange climate, and risked the loss of health and ease, and endangered life itself.

"The purity no less than the benevolence of his mind, was conspicuous in all the acts and words, and even the tones and looks of the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY. Offences against the laws of morality, which are too often passed over as trivial transgressions in European society, excited

the deepest horror in him. His whole manner and appearance discovered how much he shrunk from the very thought of them, when associated with the names of any for whom he had formerly felt respect. The admonitions which he addressed to his son, upon such subjects, were among the most impressive that I ever heard. They have left upon my mind the sentiment of a holy sublimity. It was an elevating thing to hear the mild, solemn and affectionate tones of that voice, inculcating the practice of whatsoever things are pure, lovely, and of good report; and to behold the eye and the whole expressive countenance of the Rajah beaming with benevolence and piety. Never will the impression of those moments be effaced from the recollection of those who witnessed them. Nor was it for those only with whom he was closely connected, that the Rajah felt and expressed such sympathy. I can tell my countrymen, that for Ireland's welfare, he felt all the interest of a philanthropist. I remember well, that, on the first and only occasion when he attended divine worship in Carterlane Chapel, during my ministry, my flock were engaged in making a collection for the relief of the suffering poor in the West of Ireland, then in a state of lamentable distress; and when I read a letter from a clergyman in that quarter, giving an account of the state of things in his neighbourhood, the tears which fell from his eyes, declared how deeply he was moved by the recital. I have reason to think that the liberal contribution which we were enabled to transmit to the general Committee, was materially aided by his generosity. The Rajah was habitually serious, pious, and even devout. He was in the daily habit of perusing, in a very thoughtful manner, some portion or portions of the Word of God; and prayer, both public and private,

was an ordinance which he never neglected.—This practice he observed, no matter what might be his avocations; even when they were of such a nature that most Christians would hold them a plausible excuse for omitting the duty. He was, as his writings testify, a Unitarian Christian. Such he frequently avowed himself, both on the title page of his works, where the name appears; and by his attendance upon the anniversaries of the Unitarian Association, in London. On one of these occasions, I heard him deliver his sentiments at considerable length, with great force and correctness; although the weak state of his health, at the time, rendered it impossible for him to make himself heard at a distance, and the speech consequently could not be reported. It chiefly dwelt upon the importance of practical principles, as compared with mere articles of faith; and more especially those which are called mysteries.

“One defect in his character, or perhaps I should say in his manner, the partiality of friendship would have led me to pass over in silence, or under a general admission of imperfection: but it has been publicly mentioned, and need not now be concealed; the more especially, as I am persuaded that the more it is examined, the more will it appear to admit of extenuation. It is this: that either a personal disposition to acquiescence, or compliance with the laws of oriental politeness, sometimes induced him to act in such a way as allowed strangers to leave him with incorrect impressions of his opinions and views. With those whom he knew and loved, he conversed most freely and unreservedly upon all topics: and by them his sincerity and candour were most highly appreciated. But, in conversing with strangers,—and more especially those who called upon him out of mere curiosity, without any intro-

duction or business of any kind, as multitudes did, he would not enter into controversy; even though in shunning it he yielded seeming assent to principles most opposite to his known opinions, and which he would rather have laid his head upon the block than have published to the world as his own. This has been set down as insincerity; but, however contrary to our better regulated judgment, I am informed that it is no more than is required of every person who aspires to the character of a well-bred man among the natives of India. It would be judging too harshly to condemn him, an Oriental and a Hindoo, for non-conformity to a European standard. After all, it would be difficult to assign a motive for the deception, if he had wished to deceive: and it is universally allowed, that few have sacrificed more to the cause of truth and sincerity than he.

"Another point which has been sometimes objected to in his conduct, is, in my mind, capable of a very easy defence: I allude to his anxiety to avoid every act by which he might forfeit the privileges of *caste*. It has been held that this anxiety shewed him to be wavering in his profession of Christianity. But, never was objection more futile. Even if the distinction of *caste* were founded on religious considerations, the Rajah might be defended on the same principles with the apostle Paul; who, with the Jews lived as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, though he himself strenuously maintained, that those restrictions to which he subjected himself, were abolished. But the best authorities are agreed that *caste* is a civil, not a religious institution.—Adherence to it, therefore, is no more a proof of insincerity in the profession of Christianity than the retention of a title of nobility would have been. And when it is considered, that without *caste* he would have been

cut off from intercourse with all the enlightened and learned among his countrymen,—and, at the same time, would have been deprived of his landed property, sufficient reason will be seen for the conduct which he pursued. This view of the origin of *caste* was not peculiar to RAMMOHUN ROY. It has been taken up by other competent and strictly impartial authorities, including the Abbé DUBOIS; the Danish Missionaries at Travancore, the most successful of all the teachers of Christianity in India, who freely permit their converts to retain the distinction of *caste*; and, finally, by the Supreme Court of Hindoo law at Calcutta, which, by its decision already mentioned, may be considered as having finally settled the question.

* * * * *

“Thus departed one of the most extraordinary men whom the world has witnessed for centuries: one, whose freedom, vigour, and independence of thought, commanded the admiration even of adversaries; and whose amiable disposition, purity of mind, and benevolence of heart, attached to him, by indissoluble ties, the souls of all who were admitted within the circle of his friends: one whose ardent love of truth, and indefatigable search after it, led him to renounce prejudices the most dear, and connexions the most beloved; to embrace opinions once the most obnoxious, and to submit to losses and deprivations the most painful and severe. He was a man who left all and followed Christ: and closely did he tread in his master's footsteps. His integrity and philanthropy were never questioned, and could not be called in question. He fell in a land of strangers, surrounded by countenances on which his eye had never rested, till a few days before; where feature, complexion, language, manners, all told him that

He was dying in a foreign soil; far from his beloved India, for whose good his heart beat unceasingly. He was carried off in the midst of his days, when much of active usefulness might have been expected in the course of nature. But now,—all his benevolent plans are suddenly cut short, and all his high thoughts are perished. Alas! how many hopes has this mysterious dispensation brought at once to a close! We trusted,—we fondly trusted,—that it was he who should have redeemed unto Christ the Israel of the East; but it has otherwise pleased God, and our duty is resignation. Let us hope that He will, in His own good providence, raise up other reformers, to finish the work so nobly begun; and to complete that which is now left unfinished for lack of time. Let us pray the Lord of the harvest, that he may send forth other labourers into this field, men like-minded with the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY.

* * * * *

"In conclusion.—Let us bless God, for the progress of the Gospel throughout the world, up to the present period. Let us glorify Him for the illustrious men whom He has raised up to adorn its profession. Let us rejoice in the labours of those who have devoted their lives to the illustration and spread of its pure doctrines. Let us pray, that a succession of such labourers may be raised up to purify it still farther from those corruptions which yet obscure its native beauty. Let us trustfully anticipate the time, when, in its divine and simple majesty, it will be acknowledged and obeyed from the rising to the setting sun; the day, when '*JEHOVAH shall be King over all the earth; when there shall be ONE LORD, and his name One.*'"

The last sermon is by the Rev. W. J. Fox. He prefaces it by saying,—“The following discourse was delivered at Finsbury Chapel, South Place, on Sunday, October 14, 1833, and is published at the request of the congregation, and in testimony of the feelings by which both preacher and hearers were influenced towards the extraordinary man whom it commemorates.”

Genesis, XII., 1.

NOW THE LORD HAD SAID UNTO ABRAM, GET THEE OUT OF THY COUNTRY, AND FROM THY KINDRED, AND FROM THY FATHER'S HOUSE, UNTO A LAND THAT I WILL SHOW THEE.

Hebrews, XI., 8.

AND HE WENT OUT, NOT KNOWING WHITHER HE WENT.

“Abraham was an Oriental; and whatever the nation of the individual, I apprehend that an Orientalism of nature and mental character belongs to this class of reformers. I mean by Orientalism, a tendency towards the spiritual, the remote, the vast, the undefined, as distinguished from the microscopic and grovelling intellect, which looks only upon earth, sees only in detail, and comprises all philosophy in the calculations which most directly solve the questions, ‘What shall we eat, what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?’ The men whose monuments rise on the ascending path of human improvement, like ‘towers along the steep,’ beneath which the tide of time has hitherto beaten in vain, have always had loftier and wider views than these. They have seen, and foreseen, what to others was only a

shadowy distance; and even Socrates, who brought down philosophy from the clouds to the business of mankind—the Utilitarian of antiquity—had his inspiring demon; a mode, perhaps, of admonishing his disciples that there are impulses and influences of higher origin than *they* perceive, whose spirits are incarcerated in the gross material world. Of Christian reformers and philanthropists most evident is it, that this Oriental spirit is upon their spirits, for they imbibe it in the religion itself. Our Bible is Eastern; it finds or creates an affinity in those whom it vests with a power and a commission to enlighten, exalt, and bless the souls of their contemporaries.

“Another mark of this type is, the departing, always figuratively, and often in a literal sense, from the paternal home, and the shrines in which worship the family, or the countrymen of him to whom, in his youth, God speaks, that he may benefit mankind. For such light springs up in the darkness. It implies a conscientious originality of thought. There must be the clearness and the boldness which consanguinity is not likely to have anticipated—which society is not likely to recognise, and which as, in the first instance they display the mental strength of the individual, next subject his moral strength to a severe and painful trial. Parent, child, friend, countrymen, all clinging to the superstitions against which the reformer bears his testimony, become instruments of torture, agonising in proportion to the superior susceptibilities of his nature. Perhaps, by the very operation of trying and wounding him through his sympathies, expanding and refining those sympathies, so as to contribute to his better qualification for the work of generous, but ill-requited beneficence, which he was created to accomplish.

“Such men make their pilgrimage as did the patriarch, in one sense, ‘not knowing whither.’ It often leads them to lands they little thought to visit—to a mental path they little expected to trace—to exertions and associations they little thought to make or form—to conclusions which once their minds would have deemed appalling—to some unexpected rest of faith from their spirits, and perhaps an unexpected grave for their mortal bodies. They know, as Abraham knew, whither they go, in this particular, that it is where truth, and conscience, and benevolence shall lead; they have the faith which, knowing this, deems it knowledge enough, a sufficient revelation of futurity, such as the Saviour used not only for his own strength, but for his disciples’ consolation, ‘whither I go ye know, and the way ye know:’ and that way known, that path illumined, they are content it should lead through unknown regions, covered with clouds and darkness.

“I will only mention more, that in such men’s views, if chiefly directed to scientific and social improvement, there has usually been involved a recurrence to some sublime simplicity of principle, from the forgetfulness of which, error and injury had been occasioned. In theology, the reformation has generally related to the divine nature and character, and has been a protest against some modification of polytheism or idolatry. All great eras of religious improvement have been a return towards the simplicity of that faith in one infinite spirit, of which Abraham was the patriarchal confessor. The losing sight, doctrinally or practically, of the Divine Unity, has been the source of almost all corruptions and debasements of religion, whether among Jews or Gentiles, in ancient or modern times. That ‘there is one God,’ truism as the assertion

may seem to us, is, in reality, a proposition so full of truth, and so exclusive of error, so rich in devotion, and so hostile to superstition, that, under some modification or other, in some application or other of it to the details of faith and practice, it has always been deeply enshrined in the souls of spiritual reformers. Whenever and wherever such men arise, their lives, characters, and influence are deserving of our earnest study—whenever and wherever they die, their loss is to be lamented, and their memories cherished; and so be it with him, the unexpected termination of whose career has occasioned the feeling which pervades this assembly, and in whom was visible the image and superscription of that excellence which I have been describing, and which, first in distant report and then in personal observation, our hearts recognised in the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY.

“Strange is it that such a man should have been given by India to the world. * * Strange, that in the proudest and most selfish tribe of the land of caste, which arrogates a diviner origin than the rest of the community, and unscrupulously makes the rest subsidiary to its pleasures, its cupidity, and its arrogance, legislating for the Brahmin with a recklessness of all inferiors’ rights, to which there is nothing comparable even in the worst insolence of feudality—should have been born one, in whose heart men’s common nature and equal rights seem ever to have been recognised; whose own soul was such a revelation to him of the universal brotherhood of humanity, that he read it everywhere, even in the reveries of Brahminical theology, and became its advocate and missionary before the voice of the Apostle had told him it was the word of God. Strange, that from that exclusive and restricted land,

where the selfish interest alike of the native priesthood, and of the foreign conqueror, obstruct free communication with the world at large; where the invisible wall of superstition, guarded by temporal, even more than by spiritual terrors, has hitherto confined all, except the very outcasts of the people, within its magic circle—should have come one who was already, in principle and feeling, a citizen of the world, a member of the great fraternity of enlarged and liberal minds, in whom the foremost men of all free and civilized nations would welcome a congenial visitant, and whom one country after another was anxiously waiting to tell, upon its own shores, how he was already known and honoured there. Strange is it—but he was not of India, so much as *for* India; and the influences of race and of country that were over him, only so far tinged the universality of his spirit, as to give it that colouring in which the best of his countrymen would delight, and which would more completely qualify him to be (as in the, perhaps, remote agency of his character and instructions I think he will yet be) the moral and spiritual reformer of his people, the Apostle of Hindostan, the patriarch there of a purer faith, worship, and morality.

“The remarkable faculties and operations of his intellect,—the readiness with which it received new impressions, and the tenacity with which it retained whatever had once been made;—the wide field over which his acquirements spread, comprising sciences and languages, which individual knowledge rarely associates together;—the caution with which he arranged facts, and the acuteness with which he detected sophisms,—the minuteness of detail to which his investigations descended, and the broad principles which he so early adopted, and so extensively applied: these

qualities, remarkable as they were, and remarkable as they would have made him, even amongst the literary men of the most enlightened countries,—owed their highest worth to that pure and beautiful moral constitution which was the real glory of his character. Facility and kindness are the common qualities of his countrymen, so far as priestcraft and subjugation allow us to discern the native qualities of that gentle but perverted race. Not only were these, in him, sublimed into virtues, by their combination with his intelligence and his principle, but he was born to that expansiveness of sympathy and feeling which, when feeling is also strong, presents the germ of the noblest philanthropy—of that which will love man, and toil for man, and suffer for man, and eventually bless man; while yet not the most exclusive fabricator of a family-interest can have more of tenderness and fondness to all who dwell within the circle of his domestic affections. And there was yet more than this in him; there was a tendency, which took the happiest direction, towards what we may call natural religion, or more properly, veneration; I mean the ready recognition, the deep appreciation, of whatever is morally superior. Real greatness, which is moral greatness, he felt, he loved, he venerated, wherever it existed. Hence the beautiful humility of his character; its freedom from the restlessness of the mere innovator, from the pragmatism of the mere controversialist, from the nationality of the narrow-minded patriot, and from the hard ambition of the sectarian leader and religious despot. It was this which made him turn with disgust from the gross mythology of his country; it was this which made him rejoice in every beam of the true light which he found glimmering among the dark pages of their Shasters; it was this which guided his unerring selection of those wise

and holy fragments, which have floated down from the remote antiquity of their theological books, intermingled with wild dreams, and prescriptions of foolish or pernicious ceremony; it was this which made him so promptly perceive, that, whether his mission were natural, or supernatural, the 'precepts of Jesus' were the 'guide to happiness:' and if we may advert to a lower, though not less striking operation of the same faculty, it was this which overcame his young hostility towards the English name and people, his aversion from the conquerors and despoilers of his country—making him comprehend to what a superior race and nation they belonged, and gaze, neither in hate nor envy, at their grandeur in arts, and arms, and literature, and polity, and even in religion; it was this which made him neither the indiscriminating admirer, nor the indiscriminating associate of European residents; but attracted him towards, as they were attracted towards him, the most distinguished for the best qualities of head and heart; the most able, the most honourable, the most upright, though not always the most influential, of all that sojourned there. It was this which made him select, when he came to the daring resolution of passing abroad to other nations, the countries most worthy of such visitation; and dictated alike the purposes which he should, in each pursue, and the associations he should form with kindred spirits, to whom, in the simplicity of his own worth, he did homage, because he revered in them, that which made them his moral kindred, his spiritual brethren. Such a disposition is of itself a preparation for, and pledge of, final beatitude in heaven; it ripened him to feel blessedness in sitting down with patriarchs in the kingdom of heaven, and in joining the society of the spirits of just men made perfect.

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“His adoption afterwards of Christianity, I can scarcely call a *conversion*; for it no more wrought an essential change in him, than it would have done on the patriarchs and holy men of the Jewish nation, who lived before the coming of the Saviour, but in whom was the spirit of Christ. It was not a *change*, but an enlargement, and new modification of his religion. It affected rather the evidence of his principles, than the principles themselves; for the unity, spirituality, and perfection of the Deity, a moral government, and a future life, with the summary of duty in love to God and our neighbour, had long constituted his religion. And these are the substance of Christianity; the peculiarity of which, as distinguished from the pure theism of the Hindoo Reformer, consists rather in evidence and application, in the bearing upon these truths of a supernatural system, and in the resurrection of Christ, than in the truths themselves. He had previously that faith, that enlightened and filial confidence in God, which the writer to the Hebrews has so distinctly characterized as the life of all pure religion, most acceptable to God—most safe and honourable for men. ‘He that cometh unto God, must believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him.’ So came the inquiring philosopher; and what bigot shall say that, so coming, he was not accepted? Like another character in this same record, ‘he walked with God.’ He already manifested that spirit of devotion which permanently possessed him; which was neither weak originally, through the imperfection of his knowledge, nor polluted afterwards by the false fires of controversy in which he was compelled to engage; but ever strong,—shining steadily even through the last days of silence and darkness, when his life ebbed

away. This is religion; this is Christianity in spirit and in substance, whatever its appellation. Nor is it improbable, that, by a direct influence, as well as a native affinity, his faith was linked to that of the patriarch, in the words of whose history we have ventured to describe his character and destiny. Through the traditions, both of India and of Arabia, might something of the spirit of the Father of the faithful descend upon the Indian Reformer; like the mantle of the ascending Elijah, borne hither and thither on the whirlwind, but resting at length on the meek and expectant disciple who knelt upon the earth. Strong as must generally be the prejudices of the Hindoo against the gospel; strong from the interweaving of idolatry with all the dictates of education and the concerns of life; strong, from its remote antiquity and unquestioned reception by the many millions around them; strong, from the connexion of the Christian name with those whom they fear and hate, while they obey, and who exhibit little of his benign spirit to mitigate their prejudice; strong in all the arts employed to uphold idolatry by a shrewd, unprincipled, ambitious, and rapacious priesthood, possessing the hereditary reverence of the community; we may yet well believe that his mind, which had vanquished these prejudices in itself, and long struggled with them in others, was neither unprepared nor indisposed for the reception of Christianity. He must have felt congeniality with the sacred writers, as soon as their pages were fairly open before him. The simplicity of their narrative, the fervour of their devotion, the depth of their philosophy, the purity of their precepts, the boundlessness of their benevolence, the splendour of their hopes—all must have touched corresponding chords in

his bosom—must have made him feel that this was what he wanted—must have led him to the Lord of all, not like John's disciples, *questioning*, but affirming, thou art he that should come; I look not for another.

Yet his reception of Christianity was no act of impulse, of gratified curiosity, or accordant feeling, but of investigation as patient and perfect as if it had been to him, of all systems of religion, the most incredible or uncongenial. He acquired both the Hebrew and Greek languages, that he might study the Scriptures in their originals. He called in the aid of a Jewish Rabbi, for the one, and of a Christian Missionary, for the other; the singular circumstance having occurred, as you know, of the Missionary, who thus aided his labours, being himself converted from the Trinitarian opinions which he was sent thither to promulgate. This investigation, and the doctrinal controversies which ensued, occupied at least three years: he looked back on them with complacency: he had found in Christianity his own pure theism and morality, not overturned, but gloriously strengthened and illustrated. The doctrine of a plurality of divine persons had been to him a stumbling block, at the portal of the Christian temple. The angel of inquiry rolled away the stone, and told him of the resurrection of the man Christ Jesus. But while he was more and more appreciating Christianity, many Christians were less and less appreciating him, because it was not their dogmatized and sectarianized Christianity. He sat at Jesus' feet, with listening ears, and eager eyes, and loving and obedient heart; while they were pointing to church and to chapel, and saying, 'Lo! here is Christ,' or, 'Lo, Christ is there!' It better became him, than it would become us,

to forget the insults and vexations to which he was subjected, by that spirit of sectarian bigotry which dwells in the nominally Christian body, the worst of demoniacal possessions. * * * Not for such a man should there be that poor and pitiful, that blind and bitter conflict, to make a party trophy of that which could not, from its very nature, become the prize or the possession of a party. The factions of Jerusalem might as reasonably have battled for the light that used to irradiate their temple. What can matter, whether he said Shibboleth or Sibboleth, or neither? he spake with the tongues of men and angels; for his speech was charity, the true language of heaven, to which the noise of creeds and their partizans is but as the sounding brass, or the tinkling cymbal.

"The Unitarians, who expected (if such there were) that he should only worship in their chapels, and be identified with their affairs—and the Trinitarians, who because he went about the walls of their Zion, to mark its towers and palaces, would incarcerate him within its gates, and claim him for their own,—alike mistook that which became such a man on such a mission. It was in his own free and Catholic spirit, ever ready to ask 'Are ye not all brethren? why fall ye out by the way?' that he wended his way, in charity, awhile with each; nay, that sometimes, with a literal observance of the precept, when some partizan, with rude hand, constrained him to go a mile with him on his rough road, he would, in his oriental courtesy, 'go with him twain'. But the affectation of a doubt on the doctrinal opinions of a man who has illustrated them with unsurpassed acuteness of criticism, variety of information, and conclusiveness of argument, through a succession of publications, is scarcely

more endurable than the bigotry which would append everlasting damnation to his known continued belief in the doctrines so defended, of the proper unity of God, and the forgiveness of sinners, by his unpurchased mercy.

“The testimony which he thus bore against the departure from the worship of the one only God, both by Hindoos and by Christians, has not been borne in vain. Its useful influence has already been made apparent, although it will probably be long before the full extent and power of that influence will be manifested. Thousands of his countrymen have followed his example in the renunciation of idolatry. The philosophical theists of India now comprise no inconsiderable portion of whatever is eminent amongst the natives for intelligence and character. In their temple at Calcutta, where his voice has been often heard, and at the mention of which his countenance would glow with devout and benevolent pleasure, no exclusive worship is offered to the Deity, but homage in which the Hindoo and the European, the rationalist and the supernaturalist, the Jew, the Mahometan, and the Christian, may and do unite. Where the votaries of so many creeds must continue to meet and mingle in the midst of an idolatrous multitude, may there long remain, though he shall never return to it, that one spot in which man, unquestioned, may offer the universal prayer to the universal Father. And the flame which he had kindled continued to burn and brighten in his absence! The liberal Hindoos, notwithstanding the power and wrath of the idolatrous priesthood, are growing in strength and influence. To them, apparently, we must look for the carrying on of his work, and the continuation of the process whose consummation will be

the disuse of idolatrous ceremony, the extinction of caste, the enlightenment of the people and improvement of their condition, the reception of pure Christianity, and the attainment of political existence and freedom. Then will his name receive its rightful honours, and his country know its benefactor.

* * * * *

"We shall see his face no more! His presence has passed away as a poetic image fades from the brain! But it has left impressions which will long endure; influences of good, wide and deep, here; yet wider and deeper in the distant land of his nativity. And, 'being dead, he yet speaketh' with a voice to which not only India but Europe and America will listen for generations. A few days of fever have made him dust. It appears that no skill could have saved a life which, as he was probably but in about the fifty-fifth year of his age, seems to us prematurely terminated. Subsequent to all other signs of consciousness, he indicated the yet surviving sense of the kindness of his friends, and, by silent devotion, of the presence of his God. His body will be silently committed to its rest in ground only hallowed by its reception—the noblest of all consecrations. Many will there be whom personal attachment will draw towards that spot, and it *should* draw them thither; for it is good to weep over the grave of such a man, and makes the heart better. Good will it be for them, there, to adopt as the rule of their own conduct his favourite quotation from the Persian poet, which he often wished should be inscribed on his tomb—'THE TRUE WAY OF SERVING GOD, IS TO DO GOOD TO MAN.'

"And if we shed at his death 'no faithless tears,' such is the service which the contemplation of his life will stimulate us to render. God is not served by our forms and ceremonies, our creeds and anathemas, our wild emotions, or our bustling zeal. He will have mercy, and not sacrifice. The garland with which the Hindoo decks his idol is not less worthy heaven than the useless observances and mysterious dogmas, by the faith and practice of which many who are called Christians, have thought to propitiate God. The dissemination of knowledge, the mitigation of suffering, the prevention of oppression, the promotion of improvement, the diffusion of a beneficent piety,—these are God's work, for us, towards others; and they are all reflected upon ourselves in the building up of our own characters to intellectual and moral excellence. 'Speaking the truth in love,' we shall best bear our own testimony, and prolong theirs who have joined the 'cloud of witnesses' that compass us about, as we 'run the race set before us, looking unto Jesus.' The voice of duty may not call us to quit either country or kindred; but our souls have their pilgrimage of faith to pursue, through varied trials, to our Father's house, in which there are many mansions, wherein ultimately shall be gathered together the whole family of heaven and earth. Already should our hearts feel the bond of that holy fraternity,—the love which never faileth, which never shall fail, in time or in eternity; for it is the essence and the influence of God, and 'he that loveth dwelleth in God, and God in him.'

"Thus may we anticipate, according to our usefulness and progress, acceptance in degree like that which awaited our departed visitant and friend. For may we not devoutly trust that the Great Master has received him with—

‘Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord;’ and that patriarchs and prophets, apostles and confessors, philosophers and reformers, the holy and illustrious of all times and countries, gathering round to greet a brother, have responded in gratulation, ‘Amen, even so, Lord Jesus!’”

Here we bring to a conclusion the notices we have been able to collect of the last days in England of the illustrious Hindoo Reformer, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY,—a man who, though he was greatly admired and appreciated during his life by those who could discern even a small portion of his greatness, will perhaps be far better comprehended, and therefore exert a far wider influence over his countrymen, now that time has removed some of the barriers which separated him from them during his lifetime. India will doubtless not much longer delay to prepare for him an enduring tribute of reverence and respect, as well as to perpetuate the history of his life for future generations. It is probable that the painting from which the frontispiece is copied is the best representation of his living form that exists;—while the bust taken after death preserves his actual form. Will the capital of his country long remain without the honour of possessing such a statue of him as may show to future generations the noble benefactor of his country? Ere all have passed away who

personally knew him in India, will not efforts be made to collect all that can be known respecting him into a complete and permanent Memoir?

There is, however, one further mark of respect due to this illustrious Reformer, which he would value more highly than any other.

We have seen how earnestly he laboured to disseminate the great truths which he had devoted his whole life to discover, and to present them to his countrymen for their serious consideration in a simple and popular form. To accomplish this he spared no expense, no time, no personal exertion. His unexpected, and, to our narrow view, premature summons to the other world, prevented his accomplishing all he had purposed in this respect. His works were never given to his countrymen and to the world in a connected series:—many of the books which he published are now out of print, and it is probable that manuscripts of his may yet be discovered which he intended for publication, had not death arrested his hand.

Let his countrymen undertake the sacred task of collecting and publishing in a complete and permanent form all his works, and of rendering those of them to which he attached the greatest importance acceptable to the public generally by being printed in a cheap and popular edition. Thus will the most enduring monument be raised to his memory! Thus may his high and excellent aspirations be enabled to kindle the hearts of generation after generation of his countrymen, and through them of countless multitudes. Listening

with reverence to his voice, now speaking to them from the World of Spirits, may his Countrymen be led on by him to a pure and holy religion, which will guide them in peace and happiness through this world, and prepare them for another and a better. And thus, without distinction of country or clime, shall myriads bless the name of the first Hindoo Reformer, the Rajah RAMMOHUN ROY.

APPENDIX.

(A)

LIST OF THE WORKS OF THE RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY,
WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

(From the Notes to Mr. Fox's Sermon).

1. The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness, extracted from the Books of the New Testament ascribed to the Four Evangelists. To which are added, the First and Second Appeal to the Christian Public, in reply to the Observations of Dr. MARSHMAN, of Serampore. London, 1823.

2. Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus." London, Hunter, 1823.

3. Translation of several principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veds, and of some Controversial Works in Brahminical Theology. London, Parbury, 1832.

This Collection contains the following Tracts, to the titles of which are affixed the dates of their (English) publication at Calcutta:—

Translation of an Abridgment of the Vedant, or Resolution of all the Veds; the most celebrated and revered Work of Brahminical Theology; establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being, and that He alone is the Object of Propitiation and Worship. 1814.

Translation of the Mooffduk-Oopunishud of the Uthurve Ved. 1819.

Translation of the Cēna Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sāma Vēda. 1824.

Translation of the Kut'h-Oopunishud of the Ujoor-Ved.

Translation of the Ishopunishud, one of the Chapters of the Yajur Vêda, 1816.

A Translation into English of a Sungskrit Tract, inculcating the Divine Worship; esteemed by those who believe in the Revelation of the Vêds, as most appropriate to the Nature of the Supreme Being. 1827.

A Defence of Hindoo Theism, in reply to the Attack of an Advocate for Idolatry, at Madras. 1827.

A Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Vêds; in reply to an Apology for the present State of Hindoo Worship. 1817.

An Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude, independently of Brahminical Observances. 1820.

Translation of a Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of burning Widows alive; from the original Bungla. 1818.

A Second Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the practice of burning Widows alive. 1820.

Abstract of the Arguments regarding the Burning of Widows, considered as a Religious Rite. 1830.

Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance. 1822.

4. Essay on the Right of Hindoos over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal. With an Appendix containing Letters on the Hindoo Law of Inheritance. Calcutta, 1830. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1832.

5. Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems in India, and of the general Character and Condition of its Native Inhabitants, as submitted in Evidence to the Authorities in England. With Notes and Illustrations. Also, a brief Preliminary Sketch of the Ancient and Modern Boundaries, and of the History of that Country. London: Smith, 1832.

6. Answers to Queries by the Rev. H. WARE, of Cambridge, U.S., printed in "Correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity, and the Means of promoting its Reception in India." London: C. Fox, 1825.

7. Translation of the Creed maintained by the Ancient Brahmins, as founded on the Sacred Authorities. Second Edition, reprinted from the Calcutta Edition. London: Nichols and Son, 1833; pp. 15.

He was also the author of an able Memorial to the Privy Council on behalf of the Native Press of India; of a Bengalee Grammar in the English language; and, probably, of various publications not known in this country. His early work, which was written in Persian, with a preface in Arabic, "Against the Idolatry of all Religions," has not, so far as is known to the writer of this note, appeared in the English language. Besides some portion of a Life of Mahomet, already referred to, mention is made by Mr. ARNOTT, in the "Athenæum," of supposed works in favour of monotheism, and also that "he prepared, while in England, various able Papers or Essays on the working of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, against the Salt Monopoly in India, &c., which have not been published." If his "Journal" have been regularly and fully kept, its appearance must excite a strong interest.

(B)

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL LETTER OF RAMMOHUN ROY.

(From the Appendix of Dr. Carpenter's Sermon.)

The following letter from the Rajah first appeared in the "Athenæum," and in the "Literary Gazette;" from one or other of which it was copied into various newspapers. It is a valuable and interesting document. It was written just before he went to France. It was probably designed for some distinguished persons who had desired him to give them an outline of his history; and he adopted this form for the purpose. The letter may be considered as addressed to his friend Mr. GORDON, of Calcutta.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,"

"In conformity with the wish you have frequently expressed, that I should give you an outline of my life, I have now the pleasure to give you the following very brief sketch.

"My ancestors were Brahmins of a high order, and, from time immemorial, were devoted to the religious duties of their race—down to my fifth progenitor, who about one hundred and forty years ago gave up spiritual exercises for worldly pursuits and aggrandisement. His descendants ever since have followed his example, and, according to the usual fate of courtiers, with various success, sometimes rising to honour and sometimes falling; sometimes rich and sometimes poor; sometimes excelling in success, sometimes miserable through disappointment. But my maternal ancestors, being of the sacerdotal order by profession as well as by birth, and of a family than which none holds a higher rank in that profession, have up to the present day uniformly adhered to a life of religious observances and devotion, preferring peace and tranquillity of mind to the excitements of ambition, and all the allurements of worldly grandeur.

"In conformity with the usage of my paternal race, and the wish of my father, I studied the Persian and Arabic languages,—these being indispensable to those who attached themselves to the courts of the Mahomedan princes; and agreeably to the usage of my maternal relations, I devoted myself to the study of the Sanscrit and the theological works written in it, which contain the body of Hindoo literature, law and religion.

"When about the age of sixteen, I composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoos. This, together with my known sentiments on that subject, having produced a coolness between me and my immediate kindred, I proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond, the bounds of Hindostan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British power in India. When I had reached the age of twenty, my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants;

and I enjoyed the confidence of several of them even in their public capacity. My continued controversies with the Brahmins on the subject of their idolatry and superstition, and my interference with their custom of burning widows, and other pernicious practices, revived and increased their animosity against me; and through their influence with my family, my father was again obliged to withdraw his countenance openly, though his limited pecuniary support was still continued to me.

"After my father's death I opposed the advocates of idolatry with still greater boldness. Availing myself of the art of printing, now established in India, I published various works and pamphlets against their errors, in the native and foreign languages. This raised such a feeling against me, that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends, to whom, and the nation to which they belong, I always feel grateful.

"The ground which I took in all my controversies was, not that of opposition to Brahminism, but to a perversion of it; and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmins was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to reverence and obey. Notwithstanding the violence of the opposition and resistance to my opinions, several highly respectable persons, both among my own relations and others, began to adopt the same sentiments.

"I now felt a strong wish to visit Europe, and obtain, by personal observation, a more thorough insight into its manners, customs, religion, and political institutions. I refrained, however, from carrying this intention into effect until the friends who coincided in my sentiments should be increased in number and strength. My expectations having been at length realised, in November, 1830, I embarked for England, as the discussion of the East India Company's charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India, and its future government, would be determined for many years to come, and an appeal to the King in Council, against the abolition of the practice of burning widows, was to be heard before the Privy Council; and his Majesty the Emperor of Delhi had likewise commissioned me to bring before the authorities in England certain encroachments on his

rights by the East India Company. I accordingly arrived in England in April, 1831.

"I hope you will excuse the brevity of this sketch, as I have no leisure at present to enter into particulars; and

"I remain, &c.,

"RAMMOHUN ROY."

(C)

The four Hindoo gentlemen alluded to in the Preface, p. viii., are:—

SATYENDRA NATH TAGORE, Esq., now in the Indian Civil Service.

MANOMOHAN GHOSE, Esq., now called to the English Bar.

WOMIS CHUNDER BONNERJEE, Esq., of the Middle Temple.

KHITTER MOHUN DUTT, Esq., M.D., Professor of Bengalee in the London University.

(D)—P. 54, Line 4.

It is a remarkable fact, that Mr. ADAMS, the Baptist Missionary at Madras, to whom RAMMOHUN ROY applied for instructions in Greek, with a view to the critical study of the New Testament, was led by the force of the Brahmin's arguments to renounce his Trinitarian views, and become a Unitarian. Dr. CARPENTER states, p. 55:—"Mr. ADAM had been one of the Baptist Missionaries. He was led, I believe, to that investigation which made him a Unitarian, by communication with RAMMOHUN ROY. This change of sentiments, which was publicly avowed at the latter end of 1821, brought down upon him much bitterness of opposition; but nothing transpired to throw any stigma upon his principles or his conduct, and some of those whose creed he had left bore honorable testimony to them. He enjoyed the coöperation and friendship of RAMMOHUN ROY; and in reference to his qualifications for the work which he executed, and for missionary labours, the Brahmin stated that he possessed a thorough acquaintance with the language, manners, and prejudices of the natives of India."

(F.)

"Four Native Indian Medical Students,"—p. 67.

Dr. GOODEVE has kindly furnished the following account of those gentlemen:—

"1st. SOONJO COMAR GOODEVE CHUCKERBUTTY. He was a very high caste Brahmin; but at his own request was baptised as a Christian in London, and insisted on taking my name in addition to his own—indeed, he wished to adopt mine entirely, and *abandon his own*, which, of course, I would not allow; but his family are to be GOODEVE CHUCKERBUTTY's for ever, he says, so I have to reckon them amongst my progeny. He took a very high degree at the London University—as, indeed, did they all—and after having been some years in India, attached to the Medical College, he returned to London in 1855,—as soon as the medical service to India was thrown open to competition,—and out of more than one hundred candidates he passed first in the examination, thus becoming the first native of India who entered the so much coveted *covenanted* service of the (then) company. He then returned to his post in the College, and after having performed the duties of several professorships, he was finally appointed, in 1866, Professor of *Materia Medica* and *Clinical Medicine*, and Second Physician to the College Hospital.

"2nd. BHOLONATH DAS BOSE. He held several civil appointments in various parts of India; was present in most of the battles of the second Sutlege Campaign as an Assistant-Surgeon, and though afterwards pensioned on account of ill-health for some years, has lately recovered, and is now *Civil Surgeon at Dacca*—a very responsible appointment, which he fills most creditably.

"3rd. DWARKANATH DAS BOSE has been for many years practising on his own account in Calcutta.

"4th. GOPAL CHUNDER SEAL, a very fine, intelligent, and promising youth, unfortunately drowned shortly after his return to India."

(F)—P. 77.

RAJAH RAM ROY.

The following account of this youth was received by Dr. CARPENTER in a letter from India in 1835:—"You ask me to give you any corrections (of Dr. C.'s Sermon and Review) that may appear necessary. One has been suggested to me by his native friends, as desirable to be made for the sake of RAMMOHUN ROY's character. The boy RAJAH whom he took with him to England is not his son, not even an adopted son, according to the Hindoo form of adoption; but a destitute orphan whom he was led by circumstances to protect and educate. I have a distinct recollection of the particular circumstance under which he stated to me RAJAH came into his hands. And my recollection is confirmed by that of others. Mr. DICK, a civil servant of the Company, found the child helpless and forsaken at one of the fairs at Hurdwar, where from two to three hundred thousand people annually congregated. It is not known whether the parents were Hindoos or Mussulmans, nor whether the parents lost or forsook him; but Mr. DICK had him clothed and fed, and when he was under the necessity of leaving the country for the recovery of his health, he consulted with RAMMOHUN ROY how the child should be disposed of. I well recollect our late friend's benevolent exclamation: 'When I saw an Englishman, a Christian, thus caring for the welfare of a poor orphan, could I, a native, hesitate to take him under my care, and provide for him?' Mr. DICK never returned to India, having died, I believe, on the passage to England, and the child remained with RAMMOHUN ROY, who became so fond of him, that I often thought, and sometimes said that he injured him by excessive indulgence." RAJAH RAM ROY returned to India, and has since died.

(G)—P. 101.

It does not appear that the Journal here alluded to was published. During the preparations of this work, information has been received from one of the family of the late JOSEPH HARE,

Esq., "of whom the late Rajah was the intimate friend and guest, that she has in her possession letters and documents which are of the utmost importance for such a work." These have not, however, been entrusted to the Editor.

A box of papers, labelled "RAMMOHUN ROY," exists also in the keeping of a widow lady, the father of whose late husband was an intimate friend of RAMMOHUN ROY, who entrusted them to him.

It is thus possible that important writings of RAMMOHUN ROY's may yet be discovered, and given to the world.

(H)

"Many of the countrymen of the illustrious Brahmin have already visited the spot," p. 182.

Besides those already mentioned, we may add the names of—

BAKHAL DAS HALDAR, Esq., of Bengal; and
RAMCHUNDER BALKRISHNA, Esq., of Bombay.

(I)

Two letters occur in the "Memoirs of JEREMY BENTHAM," by Sir JOHN BOWRING, chap. XXIII., p. 7, and chap. XXV., p. 80, in reference to RAMMOHUN ROY, containing Sir JOHN's estimate of his character. The Editor was not aware of these early enough for insertion.

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