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Learning English During the East India Company Rule

The Administration of the East India Company:

A History of Indian Progress

by John William Kaye

London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, London. 1853.

(Second Edition)

We reproduce here an interesting narrative of how, during the East India Company rule, western model of education was introduced in India and the Subcontinent. While some of the sentiments and opinions of the author relating to Indian religions, etc., will not be agreeable to us, the author's report on the problems faced in establishing western model of education in the Indian subcontinent, with emphasis on English, reflects the current thinking in several quarters on the need to teach English. John William Kaye supports vernacular education unambiguously, while emphasizing the need to learn English. There is more to learn about Macaulay in this chapter. Thanks are due to Google Books www.google.com/books for including this valuable book as

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John William Kaye (1853)

The Administration of the East India Company: A History of Indian Progress

Part V, Chapter 1 on Native Education

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NATIVE EDUCATION.

PART V.

CHAPTER I.

Native Education—Parliamentary Enactments — Encouragement of Oriental Literature—Rise and Progress of the Hindoo College—Substitution of the English System—Lord William Bentinck's Measures—Native Agency—Education in the North-Western Provinces—In Bombay—The Jubbulpore School of Industry—The Roorkee College—Missionary Efforts—Statistics of Education.

In the two preceding books, I have treated largely of what may be called the institutional crimes of **India**. I have shown how human wickedness, on a gigantic scale, has been fostered by error and superstition; and how the servants of the **Company** have brought all their humanity, all their intelligence, and all their energy, to the great work of rooting out the enormities, which from generation to generation have grievously afflicted the land. I have shown how they have toiled and striven, and with what great success, to win the benighted savage to the paths of civilisation, and to purge the land of those cruel rites which their false gods were believed to sanction. There is nothing in all **history** more honorable to the British nation than the record of these humanising labors. It is impossible to write of them without a glow of pleasure and of pride.

But noble as have been these endeavours, and great as has been the success, which up to a certain point has attended them, there is something incredibly painful in the thought that, after all, they are fixed upon an insecure basis; that

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hitherto the action has been rather from without than from within; that we have not generally made an abiding impression upon the native mind; and that, therefore, there is always danger of relapse. In many of the cases which I have selected to illustrate the great victories of European civilisation, it will have been seen that it was the weight of external authority and personal influence which, more than anything else, enabled our countrymen to push forward their civilising measures to anything like a successful termination. The grand obstacle to complete and permanent success, was the gross ignorance of the people—that twofold ignorance which includes the darkness of the intelligence and the deadness of the moral sense. It was hard to awaken the heathens to a living belief in the absurdity of the superstitions to which they bowed themselves, and the wickedness of the practices which they observed.

In most cases, I say, the people yielded to the influences of authority, or were moved by self-interest, to conform outwardly to the wishes of their masters—but they were seldom convinced. It was a great thing to bring about even a diminution of the great crimes which had inflicted so much misery upon countless thousands of our fellow-creatures. But having achieved this amount of success, our officers by no means thought that the work was complete. They felt it might often happen that the people, withdrawn from the immediate sphere of these good influences, would subside into their old evil ways—that, indeed, we might be only casting out devils, to return again to find their old habitations swept and cleansed for their reception, and to wanton there more riotously than before: and they one and all said that the only certain remedy, to which they could look for an abiding cure, was that great remedial agent—EDUCATION.

In many cases, the men of whose benevolent labors I have spoken, did their best, with the slender means at their disposal, to employ this great remedy in furtherance of their more substantial outward measures ; but such educational efforts were necessarily local and accidental, and of limited application. Thus Sleeman had established Schools of Industry, at Jubbulpore, for the children of the Thugs; Outram had put to school in Candeish, the little Bheels, whose fathers he had reclaimed; and Macpherson had turned to similar account his opportunities in favor of the victims whom he had rescued from the hands of the

sacrificing Khonds. And, doubtless, these benign endeavours will bear good fruit in their season. But the disease, at which we have to strike, is eating into the very life of the whole country; and it is only by a great and comprehensive effort that we can hope to eradicate it.

It is only within a comparatively recent period that the education of the people has taken any substantial shape in the administration of the British Government in the East. There was a sort of dim recognition, in some of the early charters, of the Christian duty of instructing the Gentoos; but it was not until the year 1813 that there was anything like a decided manifestation of the will of the Government in connexion with this great subject. The Charter Act, passed in that year, contained a clause, enacting that "a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." [Act 53rd George III., chap. 155, clause 43] What this might precisely mean was not very clear; but it seemed to point rather to the encouragement of Oriental than of European learning, and those were days in which the former was held to be of prodigious account. Nothing, however, for some years, of a practical character emanated from this decree of the Legislature. The money thus appropriated, was left to accumulate, and not until ten years after the Act had passed did the local Government take any steps to carry out its intentions. Then a Committee of Public Instruction was established in Calcutta, and the arrears of the Parliamentary grant were placed at their disposal.

Such, in a few words, are all the noticeable officialities of native education up to the year 1823. But there was a movement going on of which no record is to be found in official papers. All that the Government even at this time thought of doing for the education of the people, was through the agency of Pundits and Gooroos; but there were men then in Bengal who held Oriental learning at its true worth, as an instrument of civilisation, and thought that better things were to be found in the writings of the great masters of the English language. First in time, and foremost in enthusiasm among these, was Mr. David Hare. He was a man of a

rude exterior and an uncultivated mind —by trade, I believe, a watchmaker. He lacked the power of expression both in oral and written discourse. But for these wants a large infusion of earnestness and perseverance in his character did much to atone; and he achieved what learned and eloquent men might have striven to accomplish in vain. He originated the Hindoo College of Calcutta. He stirred up others to carry out his designs. The seed which he scattered fell on good ground. Sir Hyde East, then Chief Justice of Bengal, took up the project with hearty good will; and on the 14th of May, 1816, a public meeting was held in his house for the furtherance of this great object. The scheme was fully discussed by European and native gentlemen—and a few days afterwards, at an adjourned meeting, it was resolved that an institution should be founded to bear the name of the "Hindoo College of Calcutta" A committee and certain officebearers were then appointed to give effect to the resolution.

Institution of the Hindoo College

It is generally the fate of great undertakings to be assailed by difficulties at the outset, and to struggle slowly into full success. The Hindoo College of Calcutta, in its infancy, put forth nothing but indications of a complete and humiliating failure. In January, 1817, the school was formally opened in the presence of Sir Hyde East, Mr. Harrington, and other influential gentlemen. Upwards of 6000/ had been raised by private contributions to give effect to the benevolent views of the projectors. But for some time there were thirty members on the committee, and only twenty pupils in the school. After the lapse of a few months the number on the books rose to seventy, and there for six years it remained. Every effort was made to render the institution acceptable to the natives of Calcutta. All sorts of compromises were attempted. The Bengallee and Persian languages were taught in the school—but still the people hung back, awed by the efforts to make their children familiar with the dangerous literature of the Feringhees. The college, indeed, was almost at its last gasp. European and native supporters were alike deserting it, when Mr. Hare came to the rescue. He sought the sustaining hand of Government; and he obtained what he sought.

This was in the year 1823, when, as I have said, the local Government first turned their serious attention to the subject of Native Education. They acceded to the request that was made in behalf of the Hindoo College; and stretched out their hands in time to save the institution from the premature extinction that menaced it. They had money then at their command for educational purposes, and although the encouragement of Oriental learning was uppermost in their thoughts, they consented to contribute towards the funds of the new institution, and undertook to erect a building for its use.*[That is, it was resolved to construct a building which would answer the purposes both of a Sanskrit and a Hindoo college.] But having granted this material support, they naturally desired to exercise some authoritative control over the proceedings of the managers. It was proposed therefore to appoint, on the part of Government, a Visitor ostensibly to see that the money-grant was properly appropriated, but really to watch over and direct the management of the institution. This at first the Baboos resented; but there were some among them who were ready candidly to acknowledge, that after seven years' operation the college had produced nothing better than a few "krannees," [A *krannee* is a clerk, in a Government or other office—but the word is hardly translatable into our language, as it by no means represents the high intelligence of the clerks in our own public establishments, or in our banking and mercantile firms.] and that little in the way of enlightened education was to be expected, except from a larger infusion of European energy and talent into the agency employed to carry out the designs of its founders.

The native managers yielded; and a medical officer in the service of the **Company** was appointed in the capacity of Visitor to give effect to the wishes of the Government. The Indian medical service, from that remote period when Joseph Hume called himself an assistant-surgeon, down to the present time, when the science of "William O'Shaughnessy is about to annihilate space between the Indus and the Cauvery, has been bright with the names of distinguished men. But I do not know that there is one member of that profession who has earned for himself a wider European reputation than Horace Hayman Wilson. He it was who, a quarter of a century ago, was appointed by authority to bring into good working order the fast-failing institution. A man of very varied

accomplishments, [The following sketch of Professor Wilson's varied accomplishments is really not overcharged. It is written by one who differs widely from him on many essential points, and is uninfluenced by personal friendship :— " Perhaps no man since the days of the ' admirable Crichton,' has united in himself such varied, accurate, and apparently opposite talents and accomplishments. A profound Sanskrit scholar, a grammarian, a philosopher, and a poet, he was at the same time the life of society and a practical clear-headed man of business. On the stage as an amateur, or in the professor's chair as the first Orientalist of our time, he seemed always to be in his place. He has written on the antiquities, the numismatology, on the **history**, literature, chronology, and ethnology of Hindostan; and on all these subjects not even - Colebrooke himself has written so much - and so well. His works show all the erudition of the German school, without its heaviness, pedantry, and conceit - and his style is the best of all styles, - the style of an accomplished English gentleman."—[*Calcutta Review*.] but with a predominant taste for Oriental literature, he was not likely to push to an excess the great educational reform which was now beginning to take shape in Bengal. But he threw no common amount of energy into all his proceedings. Under his hands paralysis became activity; exhaustion, strength; decadence, stability. The institution was soon in a state of vigorous energetic action. The Hindoo College became the fashion. Even the old bigoted Hindoo Baboos sent their children there without reluctance ; and in the course of a few years, under Wilson's auspices, the class-lists contained the names of four hundred young Bengallees, many of them of good family and position, and all eager for the new knowledge which was opening out its fascinations before them.

But still there was nothing like a decided movement in favor of European learning. The Orientalists were paramount alike in the Vice-Regal city and the Provincial towns, [The oldest educational institution in **India** supported by Government, is the Mahomedan Madressa, established - in 1781, under the auspices of Warren Hastings. About ten years afterwards the Sanskrit College, at Benares, was founded by Jonathan Duncan.] and Wilson himself was among the chief of them. "Previous to 1835," says Mr. Kerr, the present principal of the Hindoo College, in his Review of Public Instruction in Bengal, " all the larger educational

establishments, supported by Government, with the exception of the Hindoo College of Calcutta, were decidedly Oriental in character. The medium of instruction was Oriental, The mode of instruction was Oriental. The whole scope of the instruction was Oriental, designed to conciliate old prejudices, and to propagate old ideas." Professors and teachers of the Oriental languages were liberally paid. Stipends were given to the students in the Oriental Colleges. Large sums of money were spent on the printing and the translation of books. But under the influence of such a system, little progress was made in the enlightenment of the natives of India. Such efforts did not rouse them from the sleep of apathy, or stimulate their appetite for knowledge. The whole thing, indeed, was a dreary failure, consummated at a large expense.

Measures of Lord W. Bentinck

Nothing was clearer than this fact. It was as clear in Leadenhall-street as it was in Calcutta, The Court of Directors, before the close of 1830, had openly recognised the expediency of a vigorous movement in favor of European education, and had written out simultaneously to the Government of all the three Presidencies, clearly enunciating their views on the subject.* The letters which were then despatched to [See, for example, the following passage of the letter of the 18th of February, 1829, to the Bombay Government:— " It is our anxious desire to afford to the higher classes of the natives of India the means of instruction in European science, and of access to the literature of civilised Europe. The classes possessed of leisure and natural influence, ultimately determine that of the whole people. We are sensible, that it is our duty to afford the best equivalent in our power to these classes for the advantages of which the introduction of our Government has deprived them; and, moreover for this and other reasons, of which you are well aware, we are extremely desirous that their education should be such as to qualify them for higher situations in the civil character which may be given to the government of India, than any to which natives have hitherto been eligible."] The letters to the Bengal and Madras Governments are in the same strain.] India were conceived in a liberal and enlightened spirit. There was no reservation of the truth in them. They admitted that our assumption of the administration of the country had so far been injurious to the higher classes of the

people of India as that it had deprived them of official employment; and urged that it was, therefore, the duty of the State to afford them "the best equivalent in their power." Nothing better could be offered than that sound European instruction which would gradually qualify them for restoration to much of the official employment of which they had been deprived. Lord William Bentinck was at this time at the head of the Government of India. His own unaided judgment had led him to similar conclusions; and he was well prepared to lay the axe to the trunk of the great tree of Oriental learning, with all its privileges and patronages, its monopolies and endowments. But it was not until 1835 that, thinking that as the old Charter of 1813 had been buried, the errors to which it had given birth might die with it, he gave the deathblow to the Oriental system, and in a famous minute, dated March 7, thus declared his opinions:—

" His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the nations of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

" It is not the intention of his Lordship to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

" His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning, 'which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies ; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student, who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

" It has come to the knowledge of his Lordship in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

" His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds, which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language."

Never was any reformation more complete and irresistible than this. The Orientalists stood aghast before it, for there lay their idol broken at their feet. The President of the Educational Committee, Mr. Shakespear, had thrown up his office in anticipatory disgust. But there were men of higher intelligence on the other side —men who had prompted Lord William Bentinck, and were now eager to support him. Foremost among these were Macaulay and Trevelyan.* [I had written this before the appearance of Mr. Cameron's "Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain to **India** in respect of the Education of the Natives," made me acquainted with the language of Mr. Macaulay's minute of the 2nd February, 1835, in which he reviews in a masterly manner, the whole question of Government patronage of education. I cannot refrain from quoting the conclusion of this paper:

"I would strictly respect all existing interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanscrit books. I would abolish the Madrassa and the Sanscrit College at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahmanical learning; Delhi, of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanscrit College at Benares and the Mahometan College at Delhi, we do enough, and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and in Delhi Colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be

placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger encouragement to the Hindoo College at Calcutta, and to establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies, of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well *and thoroughly taught*. " If the decision of his Lordship in Council should be such as I anticipate, I shall enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be a the opinion of the Government that the present system ought to remain un changed, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the Committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there. I feel, also, that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the sent system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a board for wasting public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd **history**, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology; for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an encumbrance and blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceeding, I must consider not merely as useless, but as positively noxious. " T. B. MACAULAY."]

The former seated himself in the vacant President's chair; and from that time English education has been as dominant in the chief Government schools throughout **India**, as before it was languid and depressed .

The Vernacular

But by the reader ignorant of all the bearings of the great educational controversy which twenty years ago agitated the learned world of Bengal, and was echoed in the other presidencies of **India**, it must not be supposed that Lord William Bentinck and his supporters ever contemplated the degradation of the

vernacular. The blow which they struck was aimed not at the living but at the dead languages of the country —at the Sanscrit and the Arabic—at languages which were not employed as vehicles of intercommunication, and which contained little in their books to elevate the mind, to invigorate the understanding, or to facilitate the business of life. The importance of the vernacular language as a medium of instruction was admitted; perhaps, with no great heartiness and sincerity. The Court of Directors, however, had consistently urged upon the local Governments the expediency of promoting the extension of indigenous education.* [See the Court's letter to Bengal, written in September, 1829: "We must put you on your guard against a disposition of which we perceive some trace in the general Committee, and still more in the local Committee of Delhi, to underrate the importance of what may be done to spread useful knowledge among the natives, through the medium of books and instruction in their own languages. That more complete education, which is to commence by a thorough study of the English language, can be placed within the reach of a very small proportion of the natives of India; but intelligent natives, who have been thus educated, may, as teachers in colleges and schools, or as the writers and translators of useful books, contribute in an eminent degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements which they have themselves gained, and may communicate in some degree to the native literature, and to the minds of the native community, that improved spirit which it is to be hoped, they will themselves have imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments." — [*The Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, September 28, 1830, quoted in Mr. W. Uoughby's Minute.*']] And now the educational authorities declared themselves in nowise willing to deprive the people of the most obvious means of acquiring information through the spoken languages of the country; and directed that in all the Government colleges and schools the cultivation of the vernacular should go hand in hand with that of the English language.* [* See the following manifesto on the subject put forth by the Committee of Public Instruction:

" The general committee are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. That they do not consider that the

order of the 7th of March precludes this, and they have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions which preceded that order, the claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties; and the questions submitted for the decision of Government only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side, and the learned Eastern languages on the other."]

Mr. Adam's Report

It was in furtherance of this great object of encouraging the study of the spoken languages of the country, that in the beginning of 1835, Mr. William Adam, a gentleman of considerable local experience, and of a thoughtful inquiring mind, who had originally gone out to **India** as a Baptist missionary, but who had lapsed into Socinianism, and become the editor of a Calcutta journal, was despatched by Lord William Bentinck on a special commission, to inquire into the state of indigenous education in Bengal and Behar. He prosecuted his inquiries with great earnestness, and amassed an immense store of information relating to the state of the vernacular schools, and, indeed, the general condition of native society in those provinces. The reports which he furnished to Government are as interesting as they are instructive. The great fact which they set forth, clearly and unmistakably, was, that there was very little education of any kind in Bengal and Behar, and that that little was lamentably bad. In some thannas, or police divisions, the per centage of educated youth—taking the period of education to lie between the fifth and the fourteenth years—was as low as two-and-a-half. In others it was much higher. But it was shown, at the same time, with equal clearness, that the percentage of adult education was considerably lower. And Mr. Adam arrived at the conclusion, " that within a comparatively recent period, certain classes of the native population, hitherto excluded by usage from vernacular instruction, have begun to aspire to its advantages, and that this hitherto unobserved movement in native society has taken place to a greater extent in Bengal than in Behar. Such a movement apparently will have the effect which has been found actually to exist—that of increasing the proportion of juvenile instruction as compared with that of adult instruction, and of increasing it

in a higher ratio in Bengal than in Behar." This mission did something for vernacular education ; but, doubtless, it was not much.

The system established by Lord William Bentinck has been maintained with little variation by his successors. The Committee of Public Instruction, now known as the Council of Education, has numbered among its members some of the ablest and most enlightened men who have ever braved the damp heats of Bengal.* [* The Council of Education is an honorary Board with a salaried secretary. It is composed partly of European gentlemen (some of them not in the Company's service) and partly of natives.]

Under their superintendence, encouraged alike by the local and the home Governments, they have given due effect to this system, and the result has been, that with the aid of a highly-cultivated staff of educational officers, they have rendered a large number of Hindoo and Mahomedan youths familiar with the amenities of European literature. The proficiency attained in the principal scholastic institutions is such as is very rarely acquired by boys of the same age in any other country in the world. I do not believe that there are half a dozen boys at Eton or Harrow who could explain an obscure passage in Milton or Shakspeare, or answer a series of historical questions, extending from the days of Alexander to the days of Napoleon, with as much critical acuteness and accuracy of information, as the white-muslined students who, with so much ease, master the difficult examination-papers which it has taxed all the learning and all the ingenuity of highly-educated English gentlemen of ripe experience to prepare, and who in any such trial of skill would put our young aristocrats to confusion.

All this is past dispute—the proficiency is admitted. But there has seldom been much more than the proficiency of the clever boy. A very few exceptional cases, just sufficient to prove the rule on the other side, might be adduced to show that European education *has* struck deep root in the native mind; but the good seed commonly fell by the way-side, and the birds of the air devoured it. All the enervating and enfeebling environments of Indian life, at the critical period of adolescence, closed around the native youth, to stupify and to deaden both the intellectual faculties and the moral sense. The Hookah and the Zenana did their

sure work. And in a year or two there was little left of the bright-faced, quick-witted boy who could put the Penseroso into good English prose, tell you who were Pepin and Charles Martel, and explain the character of the "self-denying ordinance" as accurately as Hallam or Macaulay.

Scholarships

The children of India were, perhaps, the most impressionable—the most teachable children in the world. But, left to itself, the impression was soon effaced; the teaching soon became profitless. The mere mechanical power of reading and writing remained. The native students became expert penmen, and remained expert penmen to the last. Much of the copying work in the Government offices had long been done by them. But it was impossible to read any number of documents so copied without the conviction that the copyist had brought the smallest possible amount of intelligence to bear upon his work. The eye seemed to communicate directly with the hand; there was no intervention of the brain. The process was merely that of the machine. The member was instructed—but the mind was not cultivated. The intelligence of the well-tutored boy was seldom carried into the practicalities of actual life.

It was mainly to remedy this evil—to check the retrograde tendency of which I speak—that under the administration of Lord Auckland, certain scholarships were founded in the principal Government institutions. It was obvious that any system which would have the effect of riveting the knowledge, which we imparted, on the minds of the students, and preserving their literary ardor from early extinction, would confer great benefits on the people. Of infinite moment was it that the native student should not glide away from beneath the eye of his preceptor, just at that most important stage of life when the boy passes over the bridge to manhood. The scholarship system was designed to render the effects of all this good Government teaching rather an abiding influence than a transitory impression. And as far as its advantages have extended, I believe that there is a solid reality in them. In all the Presidencies of India scholarships have been founded, both in connexion with the English and the Vernacular schools. And this

alone is sufficient to associate the administration of Lord Auckland honorably with the cause of native education.

But the good effect of this encouragement was necessarily limited. Something more was required to give a general impulse to native education, even among the more influential classes of society. The Court of Directors, it has been seen, had always associated native education with official employment, and the local governments had, partially at least, given effect to the wishes of the Court. But it seemed that a more authoritative declaration of the views of Government should now be put forth, with respect to this important matter of public employment—that something, indeed, in the shape of a pledge, should be given to the educated natives, that their claims would be duly regarded. Lord Hardinge, before he was compelled to push aside the portfolio and take the sword into his hand, had given his mind earnestly to the subject of native education. Regarding it both in connexion with its general effects upon the elevation of the national character, and upon the qualification of the people for employment in the public service, he came to the conclusion that conformably both with the decrees of the Legislature, and the expressed desire of the Court of Directors, those objects would be best attained by a more authoritative enunciation of the views of Government—by a specific declaration that it was then intention, thenceforth, to recognise a certain educational test of qualification for the public service, and by so doing, both to encourage the diffusion of knowledge, and to raise the character of the native agency employed in the service of the State. Whether education were to be promoted that this agency might be improved, or whether these inducements were to be offered that education might be promoted, was in reality of little consequence, so long as the reciprocal action of the two was secured. Lord Hardinge believed that both ends could be attained by an authoritative enunciation of his views and intentions; and he prepared a minute, which has since become very famous in the later **history** of native education, wherein, under date, October 10, 1844, he thus declares the intentions of the Government:—

Lord Hardinge's Minute

" The Governor-General, having taken into his consideration the existing state of education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement, by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service; and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved, that in every possible case, a preference shall be given, in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment."

To the Council of Education, as the general educational executive, it was left to carry out the details of a scheme at once liberal and wise; but it often happens that the wise liberality of an original project, passed through the filtre of mechanical detail, is purged of all its heartiness and sincerity, and weakened and reduced to something narrow and exclusive, and most unlike the first design. Lord Hardinge's minute was subjected to this process of filtration; and all its catholicity was left behind in the machine. The Council of Education prescribed a test, based entirely on the educational system of the Government colleges,* [* The examination was to be similar senior scholarships at the Calcutta and to that to which candidates for the Hooghly colleges were subjected.] so that the pupils of those institutions which had been established "by private individuals and societies" were practically excluded from the competition.

The Court of Directors entirely disapproved of this decision. "It appears to us," they wrote, "that the standard can only be attained by the students in the Government colleges, and that therefore it virtually gives to them a monopoly of public patronage." " We are also of opinion," they added, " that this high test, instead of promoting, will in effect discourage the general acquisition of the English language. Those who cannot hope to pass this test will not think it worth their while to bestow any time upon learning the English language, at least with a view to employment in the public service." And they argued that men might be

well qualified by their general character and attainments for public employment, although they were but imperfectly acquainted with the writings of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, or, indeed, with the English language at all. " Where from local circumstances," they said, " the persons whom it would be most desirable to employ are found deficient in that knowledge, we would not, on that account, peremptorily exclude them from employment, though other qualifications being equal, or nearly so, we would allow a knowledge of the English language to give a claim to preference."

Want of Employment

Nothing could have been heartier than the wish of the Court to have ever " at their disposal a body of natives qualified by their habits and acquirements to take a larger share, and occupy higher situations in civil administrations than had hitherto been the practice." But this liberal desire soon overleapt itself. For the native students, encouraged by the known wishes of the Court, and the declarations of the local Government, so strove to qualify themselves for office, and so eagerly sought Government employ, that many were necessarily disappointed. Employment could not readily be found for them. And this discouraging, though inevitable fact, was emphatically pointed out by some of the heads of colleges to the superintending authorities. Thus, in the report of the Delhi College for 1850, it is stated, that " several of the more advanced students had, during the past year, been attending the civil courts, with the view of familiarising themselves with the forms of official business. The officiating principal, in noticing this, remarked, that from the press of competition, it not unfrequently happened that youths, whose qualifications were undoubted, remained long after quitting the college without any provision. He therefore proposed that any *elève* of the college who could procure a certificate of his fitness for official employment from the officer whose court he had been attending, should at once be appointed a supernumerary, on a small salary, till such time as a vacancy might occur. " The principal of the Benares College also observed, that much difficulty was experienced even by his best pupils in their" search for employment after quitting the college. He therefore proposed that the passing of an examination of some fixed and high standard should entitle the

successful student to immediate employment under Government, on a salary of 30 rupees (per mensem) or thereabouts: should no vacancy exist at the moment, the passed candidate might be directed to prosecute his studies at the college, and to employ himself under the direction of the committee in the preparation of translations and treatises in the vernacular."—" A class," it was added, " like that of the fellows of our English colleges would thus be formed, the members of which might be drafted off as their services were required, into the educational or other departments."

But these proposals did not altogether meet the approbation of the authorities. It was declared that there was no reluctance on the part of heads of departments to employ the passed students of the Government colleges and schools—that on the other hand every practicable effort would be made to afford them the encouragement which they sought; but that it was clearly impossible to find employment in the Government service for all candidates urging the claims of a collegiate education ; and that it was inexpedient that a general impression should obtain among them that such education conferred upon them any *right* to official employment. No Government in the world could afford systematically to recognise such claims. It is one thing to hold out an inducement to exertion by showing that successful efforts will strengthen the chances of obtaining official employment; another, to admit that such efforts constitute a prescriptive right to office. All that Government could possibly do was to hold out encouragements of the former class. It was clearly impossible to pledge themselves to the latter.

Public and Private Employment

It would appear from these statements that considerable difficulty has attended the efforts which have been made to give practical effect to the wise and benevolent intentions of the Court of Directors. The design was one of a reciprocal beneficial action—the hope of public employment giving an impulse to education, and education mightily improving the character of the public service. But there was a defect in the national character which did much to embarrass the practical working of this admirable design. The natives of **India**, when once their

expectations are raised, lean with child-like helplessness on the strong arm of Government, and, instead of exerting themselves, believe that everything will be done for them. Instead of something conditional, they thought that they saw something absolute in the promises of Government, and believed that they had only to conform to a certain test to secure official employment. The tendency of this was to give them narrow and exclusive views of the advantages of education, and greatly to limit private enterprise.

It was clearly mischievous that the natives should look upon official employment as the one great aim and end of education. Mr. Cameron, therefore, did wisely when he cautioned the native students of Bengal against this dangerous delusion. " Do not imagine," he said, " that the sole or the main use of a liberal education is to fit yourselves for the public service; or rather do not imagine that the public can only be served by the performance of duties in the offices of Government . . . Besides the public service and the pursuits of literature and science, there are open to you the learned professions, law, medicine, the highly honorable profession of a teacher, and that which has but lately become a profession, civil engineering."* [* Address of the President (Mr. Cameron) of the Council of Education to the students under its superintendence — [Cameron's *Address to Parliament*]].

It was a great thing that the natives should be encouraged to cultivate their minds by the promise of the high reward of official employment; but it was a still greater thing that they should learn to rely on themselves—to look to education as the means of independent advancement in life. So often is it that in the very best of human designs, there is some germ of failure at the bottom.

In the mean while a great experiment was going on in the North-West. In 1845 circular letters were addressed to all the revenue-collectors, calling their especial attention to the subject of education. These letters are a model of sound practical sense combined with the purest benevolence. They set forth a general admission that " the standard of education amongst the people is very low;" and then they proceed to show that " causes are at work, which tend rapidly to raise the standard and improve the intellectual state of the whole population." These

causes were mainly to be found in the operation of the new settlement. "The people of Hindostan," continues the secretary of the North-Western Government, "are essentially an agricultural people. Anything which concerns their land immediately rivets their attention and excites their interest. During the late settlement a measurement has been made, and a map drawn of every field in these provinces, and a record formed of every right attaching to the field. The 'Putwaree's' papers, based upon this settlement, constitute an annual registry of these rights, and are regularly filed in the collector's office. They are compiled on an uniform system, and are the acknowledged groundwork of all judicial orders regarding rights in land." The case thus stated, as between the Government and the agriculturist, the former proceeded to show the direct interest which every man had, under such a system, in the education of himself and his children. "It is important," they wrote, "for his own protection that every one possessing any interest in the land should be so far acquainted with the principles on which these papers are compiled as to be able to satisfy himself that the entries affecting himself are correct. There is thus a direct and powerful inducement to the mind of almost every individual to acquire so much of reading, writing, arithmetic, and mensuration, as may suffice for the protection of his rights; until this knowledge be universal, it is vain to hope that any great degree of accuracy can be attained in the preparation of the papers." [* Three years afterwards it was declared that the progress of time had tended to confirm these views of the system and the education of the country:— "Subsequent experience has confirmed the lieutenant-governor in his opinion that those features of our present revenue-system, which affect the registration of all landed property, afford the proper means by which the mass of the people may be roused to a sense of the importance of sound elementary instruction. If the people at large continue as ignorant as they now are, they cannot work out for them all connexion between the revenue-system the advantages it is calculated to produce. These advantages are so palpable to their minds, that when rightly apprehended they form the strongest incentive to any exertion which will secure their attainment."—[*Government of North-Western Provinces to Government of India, April 19, 1848.*] (- *Ibid*)

Movements in the North-West

Thus, for the first time, was it plainly manifested to the people, that the maintenance of their individual rights was dependent upon their own power of ascertaining them—that without the rudiments of education they were liable to be wrongfully dealt with—that, in short, the power of reading and writing was essential to the very life of an agricultural population. An appeal was thus directly made to the self-interest of the people. It was something that every one could understand ; and was far more likely to be responded to by the rude peasants of Upper India than any abstract propositions regarding the value of learning and the duty of improving the mind. But although this was to be the beginning, it was not to be the end. It was believed that if self-interest were to lead them a little way along the paths of learning, they would be induced by higher motives to advance further in the march of mind. " When the mind of the whole people," it was said, " has thus been raised to a sense of the importance of knowledge, it is natural to suppose that many from the mass will advance further, and cultivate literature for the higher rewards it offers, or even for the pleasure which its acquisition occasions.

For the furtherance of these ends the collectors were exhorted, above all things, to endeavour to carry the people with them—not to think of introducing novel and barely intelligible systems among them—but to accommodate themselves, as far as possible, to existing institutions. " Judicious encouragement," it was said, " would promote the formation of village schools, and enlist in the work of education the persons whom the people themselves might select as their teachers and support for that purpose." The preparation of a series of village school-books was commenced for circulation among the people. Detailed instructions were given to the Tehsildars, or native revenue-officers, who were to be employed as the immediate agency for the prosecution of this scheme; and the utmost endeavour was made to collect, from all parts of the provinces, detailed educational statistics wherefrom to construct the groundwork of their operations. It was not the design of the Government to establish schools of its

own, but to encourage the maintenance of old institutions, and to stimulate the people to extend the Benefits of the existing system.

The statistical inquiries, thus directed, were pushed forward with hearty goodwill. To the majority of those concerned in the new settlement it was a congenial task. A valuable series of reports was thus prepared, and a vast mass of information was collected. The aggregate result was a deplorable picture of the state of education in Upper **India**. It was ascertained that " on an average less than 5 per cent, of the youth who are of an age to attend schools obtain any instruction, and that instruction which they do receive is of a very imperfect kind."* [* *Government of the North-Western Provinces to Government of **India**, November 18, 18-16.* In the preface to the "Memoir on the Statistics of Indigenous Education within the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency "to which I am indebted for the information contained in this and some of the following pages. Mr. R. Thornton, the compiler, says: the —" Out of a population, which numbered in 1848, 23,200,000 souls, and in which were consequently included more than 1,900,000 males of a school-going age, we can trace but 68,200 as in the receipt of any education whatever. In Prussia nine-tenths of this portion of the population is stated to be under the population is stated to be under instruction. In Russia, the most barbarous of the European monarchies, the proportion is as one to nine. In **India**, even with a large allowance for those receiving domestic and private education, it is of as one to twenty-five. Low, however, as this proportion is, it is only when considered in connexion with the degree of information imparted, that it conveys any idea of the extent of the deficiency to be supplied." But it was not only that the percentage was very low in comparison with that exhibited by the educational statistics of Europe, but that as compared with the state of the Lower Provinces of Bengal—the darkness of the Upper seemed to be very apparent. " Assuming," said the Agra Government, "boys from commencement of their fifth to the end of their fourteenth year to be of an age best adapted for receiving instruction, it is calculated that, in the Lower Provinces, the percentage of such boys now receiving instruction varies from 32 in Bengal to a little more than 5 in Behar. In Bombay it appears to vary - from 7 to 13. In Agra, one of the most favored districts in these **provinces**, it is only 5 1/2."]

Mr. Thomason's Proposal

To supply this grievous want, Mr. Thomason now proposed the endowment of a school in every considerable village. The plan which he desired to carry out he believed to be in accordance with the feelings of the people and the character of their institutions. He suggested that the endowment should be secured by small grants of land—that jagheers of from five to ten acres each, yielding a rental varying from twenty to forty rupees per annum, should be granted to the village communities for the purpose of maintaining their schoolmasters. But this proposal* [* The proposal was supported by an argument of a general kind, worthy of notice. " It is the standing reproach of the British Government," wrote the Agra secretary, " that whilst it continually resumes the endowments of former sovereigns, it abstains from making any, even for those purchases which it considers most laudable. The present measure will in some degree remove this reproach, and that in a manner most acceptable to the feelings of the people at large."] did not meet the approbation of the Court of Directors. They acknowledged, in the most unqualified manner, " the necessity for giving some powerful impulse to elementary education in the North-Western Provinces." They declared themselves " prepared to sanction the adoption of some more comprehensive plan of extending and improving the means of popular instruction throughout the country;" but they doubted the expediency of sanctioning the proposed plan of landed endowments.

"It has, no doubt," they wrote, "the advantages " ascribed to it, and is apparently the most economical " arrangement for effecting the object proposed. Endowments of land are, however, open to obvious " objection. They have an inherent tendency to assume " the character of permanent and hereditary property, " independent of any reference to the tenure by which " they were originally held. An actual occupant, even " should he prove inefficient, would think himself deprived of a right if he was removed, and a son would claim to succeed to his father whether he were competent or not. The evil would be

aggravated by the "extreme difficulty of exercising a vigilant control " over such numerous establishments, and in one or " two generations it might happen that the alienation " of revenue would be of little avail in securing the " education of the people."* [* *Despatch of Court of Directors, August 25, 1847.*]

The Visitation Scheme

Moved by these considerations, the soundness of which is not to be denied, the Court declared themselves in favor of the expediency of moneyed payments. They were ready, they said, to give their attention to any plan inviting the payment of monthly stipends to the village schoolmasters, or a direct expenditure of money in any other manner most likely to secure the great end of the diffusion of knowledge among the people. " Too thankful for the liberality of these concessions to lay any stress on the rejection of his particular scheme," Mr. Thomason now set himself with earnestness to devise a plan which should meet the wishes of the Court. He frequently discussed the best mode of accomplishing this object with all the officers of Government with whom he came into communication in the course of his annual tour. And the result of this discussion was a strong conviction that the system of moneyed payments to village schoolmasters was open to very grave objections. He proposed, therefore, that the ordinary village schools should remain as before, self-supporting institutions ; but that in every tehseldarree, or revenue-district, a model school should be established at the general expense, " to provide a powerful agency for visiting all the indigenous schools, for furnishing the people and the teachers with advice, assistance, and encouragement, and for rewarding those schoolmasters who may be found the most deserving."* [* *Government of the North-Western Provinces to Government of India, April 19, 1848.*] To each district was to be attached a Zillah visitor and three Pergunnah visitors—the system being one of visitation and superintendence—and these officers were to be emphatically enjoined " to conduct themselves with the greatest courtesy both to the people at large and to the village teachers." They were carefully to avoid anything that might offend the prejudices or be unnecessarily distasteful to the feeling of those with whom they

have communication. "Their duty," it was added, "will be to persuade, encourage, assist, and reward, and to that duty they will confine themselves."

It was calculated that this scheme, when carried out in all its completeness, would necessitate an expenditure of about 20,000/. per annum. A partial experiment was proposed in the first instance; and it was suggested at the same time that a Visitor-general should be selected from among the civil servants of the Company to communicate with the subordinate agency, to direct and control their operations, and secure the efficient working of the entire scheme. The Court of Directors sanctioned the arrangement; and a Resolution of the Government of the North-Western Provinces, dated 9th of February, 1850, formally inaugurated the plan.

Turning now to the general statistics of Education it would appear from the most recent statement that there are in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency 30 Government colleges and schools which English is taught—that these schools are conducted by 283 masters, and that the number of pupils receiving instruction in them is 5465 ; and that these 291 scholarships, of the annual value of 50 in all, are held up for competition. In the same ... of the country there are 33 Government Vernacular schools, with 104 pupils, and 4685 scholars. The annual expenditure upon English and Vernacular schools in Lower Bengal is about 38,000*.*[In the last Report of Public Instruction in Lower Bengal (1853), prepared since these statistics were made out it is stated “during the past year (1852) there were in the government institutions of Bengal, including the Vernacular schools, ... 11,000 pupils, of whom 103Christians, 791 Mahomedans, 189 Thugs... and the rest Hindoos.]

In the North-Western Provinces there are 7 colleges and schools, supported by Government, in which English is taught. In these there are 112 masters, 1 pupils, and 232 scholarships, of the value of at 2300* . . Besides these are 8 model schools, of origin and intent of which I have spoken. The expenditure in the North-Western Provinces amounts to 13,350*.

It appears from the same official record that, in the Madras Presidency, there is only one school in which English is taught—the Madras University E School—with

13 masters and 180 pupils. The number of Vernacular schools seems to be uncertain. The gross expenditure is 4350*. Education is in a more dep... condition in Madras than in any other part of Company's territories.

Progress of Education

From Bombay the reports are more encouraging ...appears that there are 14 Government colleges and schools in which English is taught, with 62 masters and 2066 scholars, amongst whom 84 scholarships of the aggregate annual value of 588/ are divided. Besides these there are 233 Vernacular schools, with the same number of masters and 11,394 students. The total expenditure, on account of education in this Presidency, is 15,000/.

It would appear from these statements that the annual expenditure on account of education in the three Presidencies is about 70,000/. The Madras returns being imperfect, the actual number of pupils under instruction in the Government schools cannot be given. Perhaps it may be estimated at about 30,000.

The number of scholars in the Government schools has, with a few exceptions, steadily increased. Thus, in the Hindoo College of Calcutta, in 1833, there were 318 pupils; the last returns (1851) exhibit a total of 471. In the medical college of Calcutta the advance has been rapid and striking. In 1835 there were 67 students on the books; the last returns show that the number had risen to 228. In the Dacca College the number has risen from 144, in 1835, to 383 in 1851. In the Midnapore School the number was 45 in 1836, and 125 in 1851. In the Chitagong School there has been an advance from 61 in 1837, to 125 in 1851. In Sylhet, from 62, in 1843, to 114 in 1851. These cases are all taken from the returns of the Lower Provinces of Bengal.* [* In the last Report of the Committee of Public Instruction.] There are no comparative tables to the same extent in the reports from other parts of the country. The last Bombay reports give the returns of Vernacular education for the last two years, from which it would appear that in 1851 there were 10,965 pupils, and in 1852, 11,088. I can only gather the progress in the North-Western Provinces from scattered fragments in the different detailed reports. Thus, from Saugor, it is reported that " the applications for admittance to the English class had exceeded in number those of any previous

year, and the desire for English knowledge was evidently on the increase, whilst the institution generally appeared to be appreciated by the inhabitants of Saugor, and was resorted to by the children of all classes." From Jubbulpore it is reported that " the constituency of the school had increased during the past year by 94 pupils, a result which the head master attributed to the increased favor with which the institution was regarded by the inhabitants of Saugor and its vicinity." From the Delhi College it is reported, that in 1848 the number of pupils in the English departments was 218; and in the following year 234. From the last report of the Madras University, it would appear that the number of pupils had risen in the last year to 180 from 173, the number in the preceding year.

Medical College

It is clearly beyond the scope of a mere chapter on Native Education to treat in detail of the different institutions established and supported by the **East India Company**. But there are two or three, of an exceptional and so interesting a character, that I must devote a few pages to them before the chapter is brought to a close. I think that the foundation of the Medical College of Calcutta is one of the greatest facts in the recent **history** of Indian Administration. Half a century ago, a project for the establishment of an institution, intended to convey to the natives of **India** instruction in European medical and surgical science, would have been scouted as the chimera of a madman. Even a quarter of a century ago, when Lord William Bentinck first arrived in **India**, men of sound judgment and long experience shook their heads and said that the natives of **India**, to whom the touch of a corpse is the deadliest contamination, could never be brought to face the science of anatomy as European students face it in the dissecting-room. But the experiment, under his auspices, was tried. It was tried and it succeeded. The Medical College of Calcutta was founded; and Hindoos of the highest caste learnt their lessons in anatomy, not from models of wax or wood, but from the human subject. The beginning was small; but the progressive advancement was striking. In 1837—the first year, of which a record was kept— sixty bodies were dissected before the students. In the next year the number was precisely doubled. In 1844 it had risen to upwards of 500. The college was highly popular. There was evidently a strong desire on the part of the native youths for medical and surgical

knowledge, and their prejudices gave way beneath it. But a greater victory, even than that which was to be seen in the dissecting-room, was now soon about to be achieved. In 1844, that liberal and enlightened native gentleman, Dwarkanath Tagore, offered to take to England and to educate at his own expense two students of the Medical College.

The proposal was communicated to Dr. Mouat, the secretary of the college—a gentleman of a large and liberal mind, to whose energy and intelligence the cause of Native Education is greatly indebted. In the assembled school he made the announcement, pointed out the advantages the proposal offered, and asked whether any were inclined to profit by the liberality of their distinguished countryman. On this, three native students volunteered unconditionally to cross the black water. They were all, with a fourth fellow student, enabled to proceed to England,* [* Dr. Goodeve, one of the professors of the college, offered to take a third pupil at his own expense, and raised an additional sum, by private subscription, which enabled him to take a fourth. “The four pupils who accompanied the professor and started in the steamer Bentinck on the 8th of March, were Bholonath Bose, a pupil of Lord Auckland's school at Barrackpore, who was supported at the medical college by his lordship for five years, and was considered by the late Mr. Griffith, the most promising botanical pupil in the school—Gopaul Chunder Seal—Dwarkanath Bose, a native Christian, educated in the General Assembly’s Institution, and employed for sometime as the assistant in the Museum – together with Surprice Comar Chuckerbutty, a Brahmin, native of Comillah, a junior pupil, and a lad of much sprit and promise” –*Report of the Medical College for 1844.*] and in our English colleges, competing with the best scientific scholarship of the West, they earned great distinction and carried off high rewards.

Of an equally practical, but of a different kind, is the Engineering College of Roorkee, in the Northwestern Provinces. It was suggested by the progress of the great public works in the Doab, of which I have spoken in detail. Its object is to afford a good education in practical science both to Europeans and natives —to train up a new race of public servants, by whose aid these great works may be successfully prosecuted to their completion. For many years past there has

existed a large demand for skill in every branch of practical engineering. Efforts were made for some time to find the means of special scientific training in existing institutions, but they were found to be inadequate to such a purpose ; and on the 25th of November, 1847, Mr. Thomason published a " Prospectus of a College for Civil Engineering," which is now established at Roorkee, and on the first day of the following year the first pupils were formally enrolled. By the middle of 1848 the establishment was completed, the buildings erected, and the classes opened.

The Roorkee College

An institution of this kind is calculated to be of immense advantage, both to the Government and the people. It is estimated that the expenditure on public works,* ["The problem then, for the Government to solve is, how they can most economically manage this large expenditure. Many civil engineers, artificers, and laborers must be employed in the disbursement. Whatever will increase the science, skill, and character of these agents, will cause a material saving in the expenditure. Whatever tends to multiply the number of well qualified agents, will facilitate the operations and cheapen the supply. It cannot be an unthrifty course which appropriates less than one and a half per cent of the whole estimated minimum expenditure to training up an efficient agency and sending them forth with all the appliances which may make them intelligent and trustworthy servants of the State." – [*Report on Roorkee College, printed by the order of Government of North-Western Provinces in 1851.*] in the North-Western Provinces, including those the cost of which is defrayed from the road and ferry funds, is not less than 580,000/. It is of the first importance to secure an efficient and economical agency for the execution of these works. In no way can this great end be so well secured as by raising a class of engineers on the spot under the eyes of British officers. A great impulse will thus be given to Native Education. Few things are so much wanted as honorable professions attractive to the youth of the country; nor are the only advantages those which immediately occur to the employers and the employed. "It is evidently impossible," to use the words of the official exposition of the scheme, " that an agency, such as it is designed to connect with Roorkee College, should be brought into exercise in the midst of the dense population of

the Northern Doab, without materially improving the social condition of the inhabitants. The certain discoveries of modern science would be substituted for the crude and mistaken notions which now prevail on all subjects connected with natural philosophy. The people would have daily before their eyes some of the greatest achievements of scientific skill, and they would be taught the steps by which that skill is acquired, and the means by which it is brought into operation. A stimulus will be given to the native mind, which cannot fail to be highly beneficial. This is in itself an object worthy of the aim of a great Government. It is a purpose for which the State has appropriated large sums of money in all parts of the country."* [* *Report of Roorkee College, printed by order of Government of North-Western Provinces in 1851.*]

Of one other institution I must briefly speak. It is one of peculiar interest. When Sleeman and his associates had stricken down Thuggee, it seemed to them that it would be a great thing, and, as it were, set the crown upon their work, if a school were to be established, not only for the education of the children of these convicted murderers, but also for the instruction of such of the criminals themselves as had been induced to become approvers. With this object, a school of industry was established at Jubbulpore. I believe that the idea first took shape in the mind of Lieutenant Brown, and that he was the originator of the institution. It had, like other great works, a small beginning ; but it has now become an important establishment, viewed with regard both to its material and moral results. Within a factory, enclosing a space of 350 feet by 224, are to be seen continually at work, blacksmiths, dyers, spinners, tape-makers, chintz-printers, carpenters, carpet-makers, tent-makers, and other artisans. None of them knew any trade but that of robbery and murder when the school was established in 1837.* [* *J. Colonel Sleeman to Government, July 23, 1846 MS.*] All now work with the greatest cheerfulness, and even rivalry; manufactures of great variety and excellent quality are produced in abundance. . . The whole exhibits a scene of industrious activity which is highly refreshing, and cannot but exercise a most beneficial influence on its inhabitants." [*Police Report of Mr. Mcleod, MS.*] During a part of the day the children are instructed in reading and writing, and instead of

becoming habituated to murder from their boyhood, there is every likelihood of their growing up to be not only peaceful and well conducted men, but skilled artisans, able to gain a livelihood for themselves, far in advance of that which is procured by the common labor of the country. [*Records*. See for some further information, relative to these schools, Appendix G.]

Alexander Duff

I am writing of the administrative efforts of the **Company** and their servants; and in this chapter it only comes within my original design to give some account of the educational system and institutions of the Government. But I cannot refrain from turning aside in this place to bestow a few words on the great and successful exertions of private bodies to diffuse, principally through missionary agency, the light of knowledge among the people. It would be pleasant to write in detail of what has been done by different religious communities to disseminate European learning in the large towns, and to promote Vernacular Education in outlying districts, but I cannot do more than illustrate and exemplify the good that has been done by the private efforts of these Christian men. It is not difficult to select an illustrative example from among the many Protestant communities who are now earnestly and diligently laboring in the great cause of Native Education ; there is, perhaps, not one that would not cheerfully acknowledge that the foremost place amongst these educational benefactors of India is due to Alexander Duff and his associates—to that little party of Presbyterian ministers who now for more than twenty years have been toiling for the people of India with such unwearied zeal, and with such wonderful success.

It was in the month of May, 1830, that Alexander Duff, a minister of the Church of Scotland, arrived at Calcutta. He was then a very young man, but his wisdom was far in advance of his years. Never was purer zeal—never sturdier energy devoted to a high and holy calling. He went out to India charged by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland with the duty of establishing an educational institution for the purpose of conferring on native youths all the advantages of sound and comprehensive European Education—an education, indeed, of the

highest order, " in inseparable conjunction with the principles of the Christian faith." It was a great experiment—a few years before it would have been a dangerous one. But Duff never so regarded it. He began his work and he waited. ... pupils; and ere long he had 1200. There was ... any reservation on the part of Duff and his associates. It was openly and unequivocally avowed that the Scriptures were taught in the schools. But the children came freely to the Christian institution regarded their Christian teachers with affection. There are missionary schools scattered over all **India**, and freely the children come to be taught. There is not one which, either for the magnitude ... the success of the experiment, can be compared those presided over by Duff and his associates. Bombay and Madras share worthily in these honors; an educational achievements of their Scotch divine serve to be held in lasting remembrance.

There are some, perhaps, who, reading this, feel disposed to ask, why cannot the Government likewise—why, if the natives of **India** flock to Bible-schools, is the Bible so rigorously excluded the Government institutions? My individual opinion is, that the Bible might be safely and profitably ... mitted into the Government school-rooms, like other class-book. But there are very many a right-minded men who think differently on this important subject, and there are some who say ... would be unworthy of our Government to ... such a compromise, and that the Gospel ought be taught like algebra in the schools. I know there is a vast difference between the use of the Bible in a private school and in one under the superintendence of the servants of the Government and that what in one case would be regarded wil... difference, in the other might create irritation and alarm in the native mind. I shall touch briefly on the general subject of Government interference in the next chapter. But it is not the object of this work to deal with controversial matters, or to attempt to settle vexed questions of so delicate a character as this.

Its Present State

It will have been gathered from this rapid sketch of Native Education, especially as it has progressed under the Bengal Presidency, that public instruction is as yet only in its infancy. I cannot doubt, however, that very much has already been

done by means of this great regenerative agent to advance the progress of civilisation among the people. It is true that when the entire number of pupils under education in the Government schools is compared with the population of the British provinces, it will be seen that our educational schemes are making very little direct impression upon the minds of the great mass of the people. But this is very far from the view which any reasonable man would take of this great question. "We can only hope to work upon the uninstructed many through the agency of the instructed few.* [Col. Sykes, in a very valuable paper on the "Statistics of Government Education" published in 1845, gives a table showing "The employment of the students who have left the Government schools and colleges (in Bengal) up to 1839-40;" from which it appears that the largest number, except that embraced by the comprehensive term "Miscellaneous," went out into the world to teach: 83 became English teachers; 33, Arabic teachers; 50 Sanscrit teachers; 20, Bengallee teachers; 4, Hindoo teachers; and 5, Urdu teachers.] We must trust, as it were, to the contagion of education. It is hard to say how many are indirectly benefited by the blessings conferred directly upon one pupil educated at the public expense. There is a reproductiveness in knowledge—a diffusiveness in truth—which renders it impossible for us to calculate the results of such instruction as is being conferred upon the people of India by the Government and the Missionary schools.* [* Since the publication of the first edition of this work, it has been stated in Parliament by Mr. Macaulay, that during the time of his connexion with the Indian Government, "every important measure which was adopted— every measure of which History will hereafter make mention, was taken without any authority whatever from home." "I believe," he added, "that every one of those measures or acts was regarded with disapprobation at home. That was most eminently the case with respect to that great reform, which was made in 1835 by Lord William Bentinck, on the subject of Native Education." On such a question it need not be said that Mr. Macaulay is a great authority. But broad assertions of this kind seldom convey the exact truth. It is impossible to read such passages as that given from the Court's letter of Feb. 18, 1829, at page 594, ante, without perceiving that the views of the Home Government were substantially identical with those of Lord William Bentinck, and that the Company had been long recommending the extension of

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European Education. But the home authorities thought that they perceived, at the time to which Mr. Macaulay refers, a tendency to run into extremes, and were fearful lest the Bentinck and Macaulay system should become too exclusively English in its character. The importance of Vernacular Education at one time seemed likely to be overlooked—and it may be doubted whether even now it is sufficiently recognised. I should be glad to see a little more attention given to Vernacular Education, and the No. 1. School principle well carried out. It appears, from an admirable Minute on Native Education, drawn up by M Willoughby shortly before leaving Bombay, that in the principal institutions here the Vernacular languages are held of less account even than they are in the Bengal colleges. The writer says : ' But to revert to the subject of Vernacular education, I would now inquire why, when a boy is admitted into the English college or school, should instruction in his mother tongue cease? Why, in 1..., should not the study of English and Vernacular be combined ?—a system which, I understand, has been successfully introduced into the plan of education pursued in the Hindoo College at Calcutta. By compelling the student to give his undivided attention to the new language, there must be a great risk of his losing the knowledge, at the best but superficial, he had previously acquired of his own language. I see no reason for this, but, on the contrary, think the study of both languages, being proceeded with *pari passu*, would in several respects be exceedingly advantageous to the student. Indeed, I am happy to observe that the system of combined instruction has recently been introduced here, though not to the extent which appears to me advisable."]