The Educational Policy of the East India Company in Bengal to 1854
THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF
THE EAST INDIA COMPANY
IN BENGAL TO 1854

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PUNTHI PUSTAK
CALCUTTA-4 : INDIA : 1964
FIRST EDITION, July 1964

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Kamal Mitra
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Calcutta-4
IN THE MEMORY
OF
MY ELDER BROTHER
PREFACE

This book is the revised version of a thesis for which I was awarded the degree of Master of Arts by the University of London. The aim of the thesis was to trace the origin and development of the East India Company's educational policy in Bengal to the year 1854, when the Despatch associated with the name of the President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Wood, clearly laid down the future educational policy of the Government of India. A study of the development of the educational policy in Bengal shows that the principles laid down in this despatch were no new innovations, but had been gradually taking shape from as early as the last decade of the eighteenth century when the missionaries began their endeavours to convert Indians by disseminating European learning among them. In fact, the educational policy of the Bengal Government originated and developed in Bengal. Wood's despatch only systematised the mass of heterogeneous, ill-defined and ill-executed principles, co-ordinated the various trends of development and embodied them into a comprehensive scheme and laid down the future policy, thereby putting the finishing touch to the structure which was all but complete.

This thesis was prepared under the supervision of Professor C. H. Philips, now Director, School of Oriental and African Studies, to whom I am deeply indebted for the keen interest he took and the ungrudging help he gave me throughout the preparation of the work. I also owe a debt of gratitude to late Professor H. H. Dodwell who helped me with useful suggestions and criticisms.

I am also thankful to the authorities of the India Office Library and the British Museum for providing me with facilities to use their libraries for the materials necessary for the preparation of my book.

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D. P. Sinha
INTRODUCTION

Before dealing with the development of the East India Company’s educational policy in Bengal, we shall attempt to give a brief view of the state of India especially Bengal in the late eighteenth century; because a problem of such vital importance as Education must necessarily be studied against the background of the political, social and intellectual conditions which affected the growth of a uniform and beneficial educational policy.

India in the eighteenth century presented a dismal picture. The political decay of the country, which had been clearly manifested in the last days of the Emperor Aurangzeb, had, soon after his death in 1707, ended in a complete collapse of the Central Government and of the political system of the country. India, torn by intestinal strife, had been parcelled into a number of small states always scheming and warring against one another.

The great Mughal Empire has become “a mere shell of empty puissance,”¹ and its different provinces although still owing allegiance to the Emperor were to all intents and purposes independent. Asaf Jah, the Prime Minister had withdrawn to Hyderabad in 1724 and begun to rule as a sovereign prince, although he was still called the Subedar of the Deccan. Carnatic also had split apart not only from the Empire but also from the suzerainty of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The State of Mysore under the able rule of Hyder Ali and Tipoo was absolutely independent and was one of the chief political powers in Southern India, after the decay of the Maratha power. The Marathas had become the chief political and military power in India after the collapse of the Mughal Empire. They had tried to bring about the unity of the country under one rule; but that dream faded with their crushing defeat at Panipat. Their military collapse was soon followed by their political collapse and the different

¹. Thompson and Garratt, *British Rule in India*, p 60.
chieftains became virtually independent of the Peshwa. In the North the Subahs of Oudh and Bengal had split apart from the rule of Delhi. Oudh was ruled by a long succession of weak and incapable Nawabs who dragged the province along the path of ruin. They cared little for the peace and prosperity of the country and were concerned only with their own pleasure. The administration had become totally corrupted, the exchequer was empty and the people of the Subah lived in utmost misery. Bengal, on the other hand, had been ruled by a series of tolerably capable rulers; but after the death of Alivardi Khan, the government fell into the hands of Sura-jud-Dowlah, a voluptuous debauchee of nineteen. He paid no attention to the Government of the country, but immersed himself in pleasure, and by his arrogance, alienated the nobility, and the great bankers. The Province in this period also suffered from the ravages of the Marathas, who carried on regularly their blackmailing raids over a large part of India every year.

Apart from these there were a large number of small States scattered all over India owing allegiance to different large States. Most of these States, whether large or small, were too weak to defend themselves against any external foe, but they never thought of combining together to meet the common danger from the Company. Their rulers did little to earn the gratitude of their subjects and they remained in power only so long as they were strong enough to defend themselves.

This was the state of India when the East India Company appeared on the political science. The Company had come to India for trading purposes and had no desire of establishing a territorial empire. But they soon realised that their trading interests could be safeguarded only by military power. Moreover they found a rival in the French Company, and the political rivalry between France and England often brought them into armed conflict in India. In this conflict the Company was greatly helped by their mastery of the seas and with the failure of Dupleix's endeavours the power of the French Company declined, leaving the English supreme in the Eastern Coast. In Bengal, too, the Company came into
INTRODUCTION

conflict with Nawab, in order to safeguard their interests. This conflict ended with the establishment of the Company's control over the province by 1765. The Committee's war with Oudh also ended in a victory for the Company. In the south, the Company had to fight four stubborn wars against Mysore before they could finally overthrow that State in 1799. But it was with the Marathas that English had to fight their hardest wars and it was not until 1818 that they succeeded in crushing the Marhatta power.

[The Company's position in India and especially in Bengal, was, however, strongly established by 1792.] The French attempt to wrest the supremacy from the British had been frustrated in 1760. Tipoo had been reduced to innocuity in 1792. In Bengal Warren Hastings and Cornwallis had firmly laid the foundations of the Company's power: and although the Company was only the Diwan of the Emperor, yet to all intents and purposes it was the real ruler of the province.

[It was only after the political consolidation that the Company could turn its attention to administrative and educational measures. But the Company was a trading concern and its main object was to promote commerce and make profit. Hence it took only such interest in political and administrative matters as was necessary for the promotion of its commercial interests.]

[Finance, therefore, played an important part in the Company's administrative and especially educational policy in Bengal. The Company was unwilling to incur any expense unless it was absolutely necessary, and consequently did not show any interest in educational matters until compelled by the Parliament in 1813; and even then, it was far from beingwholeheartedin its endeavours.]

Apart from finance, there were many other difficulties which confronted the English in Bengal. They found themselves as the rulers of a people whose languages, religions, social customs and educational systems were completely

2. Apart from their desire for economy, the Company was handicapped by large deficits on account of wars.
different from their own. There were different languages in different parts of India, and consequently there was no one language which could be used for the whole country. Besides, they were in a crude state and so could not be used as media of education. Persian was the official language of business; but it was not the language of every day life and consequently few people knew it. Moreover it was a foreign language to the majority of Indians. The classical languages, which were the media of instruction could not be used for the dissemination of European science and arts, because they were interwoven with the religions of the people, and it was not practicable to translate all European works into them.

The question of religion was also another obstacle to the Company. In India it is difficult to separate religion from other aspects of life. "There is no country in the world," observes Bishop Whitehead, "where religion plays a more important part in the daily life of the people than it does in India." But in the late eighteenth century religion in India had sunk into the grossest form of superstition. Every stone and every tree had acquired the importance of a deity and every phenomenon of nature was taken as a manifestation of the divine will. People had begun the practice of throwing children into the sea for propitiating the gods and of swinging the devotees in iron hooks during certain religious festivals. Overzealous devotees also practised various kinds of self-tortures such as "Dharma" in order to atone for their sins. One of the main causes of the debasement of religion was the degeneration of the Brahmins, who had acquired a dominating control over society. Most of them bereft of any kind of education—a characteristic of their predecessors—had begun to impose their perverted interpretation of the Scriptures upon the credulous simplicity of ignorant people, who looked upon their words as law which no one could contradict. These priests had degenerated not only intellectually but also

3. Whitehead—Indian Problems, I
4. Cambridge History of India, VI, 128.
5. Dubois, Hindu Manners and Customs, 597-600.
moral. All that they cared for was personal gain and pleasure and they often converted sacred temples into places of shame. The lower classes of people often banded themselves together as "Thugs" and committed robbery in the name of religion.

Debasement of religion had gone hand in hand with the degradation of social life. Many abuses, some of the most gruesome kind, had crept into society. Infanticide was widely practised in Central India, especially among the Rajputs. The custom of Sati—or self-immolation of widows was widely prevalent and was looked upon as a sacred act. Caste, once based upon the functions of individuals, had become a rigid system, which kept its various branches in water-tight compartments, although the members had ceased to adhere to the functions originally assigned to them. Only the Brahmans had maintained their monopoly of priestly position. This had naturally led to grave abuses because it had given birth precedence over merit and had consigned to the most degraded state of existence some of the low caste people like the pariahs and untouchables, mere contact with whom was sufficient to make one lose his caste. The aristocracy which had been hit most by the political unquietude, had degraded themselves to the lowest moral level and had steeped themselves in debauchery and dissipation. "Kulinism" originally intended to maintain the pure bloodnesses of the higher classes had degenerated into child marriage and polygamy. Where the highest castes had sunk to such low levels, the women could not have been expected to have a better fate. Married at an early age they got little, if any opportunity of acquiring education and were

7. Sleeman's Thug. (For detailed account).
8. XV. 166. 129-31 and Tod—Rajasthan I 547 also Imp. Gaz.
9. Thompson—Suttee (gives a very detailed account).
10. Dubois—14 et seqq. Also See Rice—Hindu Customs 35-103. Ghurye—"Caste and Race in India" and Senart—Caste in India (for a comprehensive survey of the theory and practice of the Caste system).
kept in seclusion. Moreover the ‘system of Sati’ was by no means a pleasant thing to many young girls, married to old people.¹²

The family shared in the misfortunes of the day. The joint family system which had for long served a useful purpose in society was fast becoming an anachronism,¹³ and the system often became a constant source of unhappiness to its members, who found little chance of self expression in such a complex system. It also bred idleness and consequently dissipation among the hangers on who considered their livelihood secured.

The old economic system of India was also fighting a losing battle. Untouched by modern mechanical contrivances, the cottage industries¹⁴ could not possibly compete with the larger and better industrial outputs of the West. The peasants fared no better. Their lands had frequently been ravaged and although the advent of British rule had secured them from such troubles in future, yet they were being economically ruined by the zemindars and planters.

In India education has always been held in high esteem. “Education,” says Thomas, “is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence.”¹⁵ But in a country where the political and social system had fallen into such a chaotic condition, education could not be expected to flourish. Indian Education had always been of a classical and spiritual rather than of a practical nature. It was communicated through the sacred classical languages of the Hindus and the Muslims, namely, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. The subjects taught were the Scriptures, Grammar, Logic and the classics which included Codes of Law and such scientific works as had come down to them from early times. While the Indian writers had been prolific in their production of philosophical and literary works, they had paid little regard to the development of Science, which though it had made

¹³. Lady Hartog—Living India, 78-9.
¹⁴. See—Sen's Vrihat Vanga II 931-46 for Cottage Industry.
some remarkable progress in the early days had fallen into disquitude.

Learning among the Hindus in India had been the monopoly of the higher, especially of the priestly caste. The learned Brahmmins gathered students from various parts of the country and in the homely atmosphere of their 'tols' imparted knowledge. Life in these places was pure and simple. "The teachers not only received no fees but provided board and lodging for their students without payment. The course of studies extended from fifteen to twenty years and the hours of study were severe."\textsuperscript{16} There were also larger educational establishments in the various religious centres of the most famous of which in the Ganges Valley were Nuddea, Tirhoot and Benares. These were conducted by learned Pandits, who were liberally patronised by the rulers and the aristocracy, and were men of high character and immense learning, and lived a simple life.\textsuperscript{17}

The Mohammedan seats of learning, called 'Madrassas' were less spiritual and were smaller in number, than the Hindu seats of learning,\textsuperscript{18} and were meant chiefly for the training of Law Officers. These Seminaries were attended by both the Hindus and the Muslims. Besides law, instruction was also given in these institutions in Scriptures, Literature, Grammar, Penmanship, Logic, Rhetoric, Natural Philosophy and Arithmetic, and the average duration of study was ten to twelve years.\textsuperscript{19}

But these institutions were not meant for education of an elementary kind; they were the highest seminaries of learning whence students usually passed on to the outside world. For

\textsuperscript{15} F. W. Thomas—Hist. and Prospect of Brit. Educ. in India, i.
\textsuperscript{16} Whitehead 124.
\textsuperscript{17} Long—Adam's Report 119.
\textsuperscript{18} Whitehead says that in 1818, there were 190 Hindu Schools in 24 Pergunnas and only one Madrassa. He surely includes the elementary schools in number of Hindu Schools; and even then the number seems fantastic; but it shows that there were more schools for Hindus than for Muslims.
\textsuperscript{19} C. H. I. VI. 100-1.
primary education, there were village "Patsalas" and "Maktabs" were the "Gurus" and "Maulvis" imparted a knowledge of the three 'R's' to the boys of the locality. These schools were not paying concerns and had to depend on the liberality of the people. Instruction in these schools was given in the vernaculars. The aristocracy did not send their children to these schools but preferred to educate them at home.20

There were no schools for the education of the girls; but the Zemindars often had their daughters educated at home. The majority of the Indians were unwilling to educate their girls on account of social prejudice and superstition, while the lower classes could not afford it.21

Education had fallen to a very low level by the time the Company's Government had sufficiently stabilised itself to consider the question seriously. They, however, had to proceed with utmost caution; because they knew that their dominion depended not only on their own military power but also to a great extent on the tolerance and acquiescence of the people. The Indians themselves were highly suspicious of the motives of the Government and the loud protestations and active propagation of the missionaries naturally made them think that the dissemination of European science and literature and western ideas would ultimately lead to their conversion to Christianity. Hence until about the year 181622 the Indians in Bengal were opposed to English education and even after that a large section of them always remained on their guard against any attempt at anglicisation or evangelisation. Besides, there were other reasons which hampered the adoption of a definite educational policy by the Government. The Company, although supreme in Bengal, had still to contend against a multiple number of warlike states and this also handicapped it financially. It was therefore left to the enterprising individuals and the missionaries to undertake the task of educating Indians. The most enterprising among

20. C. H. I. VI. 100.
21. Long—Adams Reports 132,
these individuals was Warren Hastings himself. Well-versed in classical literature, he had on his arrival in Bengal acquired a proficient knowledge of Bengali and Persian. He took a keen interest in the literature of the country and caused a manual of Hindu law to be prepared. In 1781 on a request from the Muhammedans of Calcutta, he purchased a site for and laid the foundation of a Madrassa on his own account and asked the Court to assign “the rents of one or more villages” near Calcutta as an endowment for the College. The Directors sanctioned this and reimbursed Hastings. Another enterprising officer of the Company, Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares, with the permission of Cornwallis, established a Sanskrit College at Benares, for preserving and cultivating the laws, literature and scriptures of the Hindus (1792). In these Colleges, the students were not only taught gratis, but were also given stipends.

Apart from Government officers, there were people in other walks of life, who gave a great deal of their time and attention to the cause of Oriental literature. The most prominent among them was Sir William Jones, a noted Jurist and the first Oriental scholar of repute. He had been imbued with a great admiration for Sanskrit literature and during his short stay in Bengal—he died in 1794—translated various Sanskrit works such as the laws of Manu, Kalidasa’s Sakuntala and others into English. Supported and encouraged by Hastings he established the Bengal Asiatic Society which soon became a famous centre of Oriental culture and claimed as its members the most famous Orientalists in India, both Indian and European.

These measures, however, did not in any way mark the beginning of a decided educational policy. They owed their

22. The Vidyalaya was established in that year.
23. C. H. I. VI. 95.
27. For the life and work of Jones, see Shores Memoirs of the Life, Writing and Correspondence of Sir William Jone.
origin to individual enterprise and were undertaken by people for the preservation of ancient Indian culture and for political and administrative reasons. The latter reasons were particularly true of the Madrassa and the Benares College which were mainly meant for the training of Law Officers and also for conciliating the feelings of Indians by patronising their literature and learning. After establishing these two colleges the Government remained inactive for a long time and consequently the main task of educating the Indians, fell, in the beginning, on the Missionaries and certain enterprising individuals, both European and Indian.

The lack of enterprise on the part of the Company's government in formulating an educational policy must also be attributed to the condition prevailing in the mother country at the time. In those days education was not a state responsibility in England, and except in Scotland, no public money was spent on elementary education, which was left mostly to charity schools, village dames, to private Sunday school movement started by Robert Raikes, and private efforts of individuals like Hannah More. From 1811, the National Society and from 1814 the British and Foreign School Society began to interest themselves in the education of the Anglicans and non-conformists respectively. There were a few good grammar schools but they suffered from the lack of a central body to supervise their affairs.

The Government took interest in education for the first time in 1833, when it made an annual grant of £20,000 to aid schools maintained by charitable and church organisations. In 1839, the amount was increased to £39,000 and a Committee of the Privy was appointed to supervise state-aided education and this formed the nucleus of the Board of Education. It was, however, not until 1870 that England had a national system of education.

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CHAPTER 1

PERIOD OF MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

(1780—1813)

By the year 1793 the East India Company had firmly established its position in Bengal. Down to this time it was much too occupied with wars, political consolidations and commercial and administrative activities to pay any attention to the formulation of an educational policy. Moreover, it had to pay due consideration to the susceptibilities of the people who had just come under its rule and about whom its officers knew so little. So the task of disseminating education fell on the missionaries, who were seeking means of converting the Indians into Christianity and to whom the best means of effecting this appeared to be the spread of European science and literature which, they thought, would at once destroy the very basis of Indian religions and open to them a world of new ideas. The missionaries carried on their work until finally the educated and literary minded Indians as well as the Governments came forward to assist them although with a completely secular motive.

But before the missionaries had begun to consider the possibility of educating the inhabitants of Bengal, several sporadic and short-lived attempts had been made by certain individuals of Calcutta. The people who undertook [this task were often soldiers incapable of further service, bankrupt merchants or ruined spendthrifts and even destitute widows with little education and no capacity for teaching. They adopted this profession simply because they had no other means of earning a livelihood, and their activities were confined generally to the children of Europeans and half-castes. The education imparted in these seminaries was of a very low order which was, however, considered sufficient for employment in subordinate situations under Government or in mercantile firms. Thus, in 1780, a person, known as Archer,
started a school in Calcutta; it was followed by the establish-
ment of a mixed school for boys and girls by John Stran-
berrow in a garden house in Mirzapore in 1785; three years
later another person called Mackinon advertised a school, to
be opened in the same locality, to receive 140 pupils. The
most popular of the private teachers in this period was
William Medows Fanell (1700-1823) of Company's Military
Board Office. His school established in about 1801-2 in
Dhurmudullah and later removed to Park Street, was for a
long time the most popular institution of the kind in the city;
but after the establishment of a somewhat similar school by
David Drummond its popularity waned.1

The activities of these people were not confined to
the education of boys only; and first girls' school was
established in Calcutta as early as 1760 by one Mrs Hedges.2
These private schools disappeared very soon without creating
much impression on the minds of the people for whom they
were intended.

The few philanthropic organisations established during
this period in Calcutta were hardly more successful. The Free
School Society of Bengal was established on December 21, 1789
under the management of a group of Company's Chaplains and
six other governors with the Governor General as its patron.
It had a very short existence and early in the following year
was amalgamated with the Charity School Society (February 28,


2. There is a great deal of confusion as to the date and the founder
of this school. Captain Williamson, in his 'East India Vade-Mecum'
states that first girls' school was set up in the vicinity of Calcutta in
1780 by Mrs. Hodges who succeeded in making a large fortune within
20 years, while W. H, Carey in his 'Good Old Days of John Company states
that "the earliest school for young ladies was that of Mrs. Pitts". There
does not seem to be any means of ascertaining the truth as nothing
further is known about either the people or the institution they estab-
lished; but it seems likely that Mrs. Hedges and Mrs. Hodges were the
same person and that her first institution was either re-modelled or
after its failure was amalgamated with or replaced by another
institution.
1790). On April 1, 1790 these two in collaboration set up a free school in Calcutta with 17 boys and 12 girls, mainly Eurasians and Europeans, and by Dec. 1791 it had 50 boys and 30 girls on the roll.³

But these attempts were quite inadequate for the task, and moreover, they did not affect the main body of the population, the Hindus and the Mohammedans; hence the main burden of the dissemination of education fell on the missionaries. In this they were helped by the progress of the evangelical movement in England which aimed at the purification of Christianity and at teaching the people to lead a pure life according to the tenets of the Bible. The evangelical bodies—the Clapham Sect, the London Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society—did not confine their activities to England alone, but were equally eager to convert the natives of other countries, particularly those under British rule, to their ideas of true religion. Of these bodies the Clapham Sect, under the leadership of Wilberforce, was the most active especially so far as the missionary activities in India were concerned. But these bodies, as yet, could do little to promote their aims in India, because according to the terms of the Company’s charter missionaries were forbidden to proceed to India without license and the Court of Directors at this time was dominated by men who through their personal experience in India feared the effects of unrestricted missionary activity there.

In India, however, there was a group of Company’s servants who were just as eager as the Missionaries to propagate the doctrines of Christianity among Indians. Of them

³. Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 239. The earliest of the schools established by Indians was the one founded by Nityananda Sen at Colutola. The date of the foundation of this school is unknown. There seems to have been another school in the same locality in which Ram Comal Sen, the Bengali lexicographer studied English. The earliest available date of this School is 1801 when it was kept by one Ramjaya Dutt. (*Cal. Rev.* July 1913, pp. 341-2)
Charles Grant was the most important and active. Grant had come to India in 1767, and after serving in various capacities, had been made the Fourth Member of the Board of Trade with the superintendence of all the Company’s trade in Bengal (1787). During his stay in India he had acquired a large fortune, a great part of which he had squandered in gambling. But later through family mishaps and his close relations with David Brown, one of the Company’s Chaplains, and J. Thomas, the Baptist Missionary of Calcutta, and George Udny of the Company’s Civil Service, he had undergone a moral conversion and had determined to promote Christian missionary activities in India. In 1786 Grant with their help had drawn up a plan for a mission in Bengal and several copies of it were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, William Wilberforce, and other persons who were likely to be interested in or helpful to the cause. Meanwhile the Committee of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge had been corresponding with the Directors and had requested them to establish English schools in the principal centres under their jurisdiction. Their reply was encouraging but nothing was done. Grant also solicited an interview with Cornwallis, the then Governor General, and put his case before him, but Cornwallis replied that he would not oppose the scheme although his official position would not permit him to give it his active support.

Grant’s efforts, however, were not altogether fruitless and in 1787 a mission was established at Calcutta, with the help of Thomas and Udny. When Udny was sent to Maldah on official duty, Thomas followed him and carried on his missionary activities there.

In 1790 Grant returned to England and his work there on behalf of the Missionaries proved to be far more useful

4. Wilberforce sent a copy of the plan to Pitt, who merely acknowledged receipt.
6. Ibid.
7. Carey, Good Old Days of the John Company, p. 35.
than anything he could have done in India. He established contact with the leaders of the evangelical movement, especially Wilberforce. The time for the renewal of the Company's Charter was drawing near and Wilberforce took this opportunity of bringing the case for the evangelisation of India before the Parliament, thus hoping to force the hand of the Directors. Grant sought interviews with the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who though lukewarm at first, promised to bring the matter before Pitt and the King. The latter when apprised of the scheme, hesitated to countenance it "chiefly in consequence of the alarming progress of the French Revolution and the proneness of the period to movements subversive of the established order of things." Wilberforce had by this time come to the conclusion that a plan for a large mission for India would not receive public or official support at a time when Europe was in a state of convulsion and that it would be preferable to press for the diffusion of knowledge in India, rather than for the propagation of Christianity. He, therefore, asked Grant to draw up a paper setting forth the case for the evangelists. Grant, accordingly, prepared the first draft of his treatise, "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals: and on the means of imparting it." He began with an enumeration of the various evils which beset the Indian Society in those days. He charged the Hindus of Bengal with dishonesty, corruption, fraud, mutual hatred and distrust and described their customs, such as Sati, as barbarous. To the Mohammedans he attributed haughtiness, perfidy, licentiousness and lawlessness, and asserted that the intercourse of the two communities had led to the debasement of both because each had imbibed the vices of the other. The people of the Lower Provinces he described as "Dastardly" and "Unprincipled" and concluded his strictures by asserting that "Upon the whole

then, we cannot avoid recognising in the people of Hindoostan a race of men lamentably degenerate and base, retaining but a feeble sense of moral obligation...governed by malevolent and licentious passions, strongly exemplifying the effects produced on society by great and general corruption of manners and sunk in misery by their vices in a country peculiarly calculated, by its natural advantages to promote the happiness of its inhabitants.” Grant blamed the Government for viewing these grave evils with apathy, and contended that it was under no obligation to protect the creed of the Hindus which was monstrous and “subversive of the first principles of reason, morality and religion.” As a remedy to all these evils, Grant suggested a “healing principle,” namely, the supercession of the existing religions by Christianity, through the dissemination of the science and literature of Europe, “a key which would at once open a world of new ideas” to them. Grant stated that the long intercourse between the Indians and the Europeans in Bengal rendered it feasible to use the English language as the medium of instruction. Moreover, he said, a knowledge of English language would immediately place the whole range of European knowledge within their reach, while translations of English books into Indian languages would take a long time and would be less efficacious. Grant also urged the substitution of English for Persian as the official language, because that would induce the Indians to learn it. He urged the establishment of English schools under teachers “of good moral character,” hoping that very soon the pupils taught in these schools would themselves become the teachers of English to their countrymen. In conclusion, he triumphantly asserted, “the true cure of darkness is light. The Hindus err because they are ignorant; and their errors have never been fairly laid before them”.

The first draft of this treatise was privately shown to Dundas, the then Chairman of the Board of Control. He referred it for report to his private secretary William Cabell who wrote a memorandum attempting to show the political advantages to be derived from the introduction of European
knowledge and Christianity into India. He stated that a common language would draw the ruler and the ruled into closer contact, and would lead to the removal of many abuses in the system of administration and that the introduction of European education would also remove the various moral and social evils from which the people were suffering due to their “false system of beliefs and a total want of right instruction among them.” Hence he recommended the establishment of English schools, where “it should ever be kept in view that in order to bring their attention to moral and religious truths, it would be necessary for the teachers to speak from time to time of these things and to acquaint them with the fact that these schools were intended not solely for the language but instruction in religion, so far as the people would be willing to receive it, and likewise for communication of such general knowledge as the teachers might, with the aid of books, be able to afford.” This memorandum together with Grant’s Treatise is of considerable importance as together they form the earliest scheme for the introduction of an educational policy into Company’s territories in India. Cabell’s memorandum and Grant’s Treatise induced Dundas to favour Wilberforce’s ideas and promise him support.

Accordingly, when the question of the renewal of the Company’s Charter came before Parliament, Wilberforce moved that it was the duty of the House to “promote...the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British Dominion in India; and for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement” and urged the appointment of chaplains and ministers for ministering to the Europeans in India. With the Ministry’s support these clauses passed through the committee and the House itself and on 14th May, 1793 another clause was added empowering the Company to send school masters and other approved persons for the religious and moral improvement

of the inhabitants of the British Dominion in India,\textsuperscript{11} The triumph of the missionaries, however, was short-lived. The Attorney General and the Solicitor General reported that the phrasing of these clauses was vague and accordingly they re-drafted and grouped the clauses into a Bill explicitly stating that the real end sought was to send missionaries and school masters to India for the ultimate conversion of Indians. At this time the Court of Directors and Proprietors were dominated by men who had long experience in India and were generally of the opinion that any attempt to convert the natives of India to Christianity would result in political unrest in that country.\textsuperscript{12} The proprietors held a special meeting in which Lushington, Henchman and W. Cambell violently attacked the Bill describing the project of converting Indians as "absurd and impracticable" and declaring that "none but the dregs of the people could be made to profess themselves proselytes." The Committee then passed a resolution condemning the Bill.\textsuperscript{13} When the Bill came up before the Commons it was also coldly received. Fox took an uncompromising attitude describing such schemes of proselytism as "wrong in themselves and productive in most cases of mischief". Dundus, at this time busily occupied with the war with France, did not wish to involve himself in a quarrel with the Company. So he also proved hostile and while paying high compliments to the motives of Wilberforce, declared that he had great doubts whether the means proposed would answer the purpose in view. In the Upper House too, the bill met with no better reception and the Bishops in a body opposed it.\textsuperscript{14} Thus failed the first great attempt to provide the means for the conversion of Indians and their enlightenment.

While in England Wilberforce and Grant were struggling to secure the sanction of Parliament for the despatch of missionaries to India, the situation in India itself was changing

\textsuperscript{11} Kaye, \textit{Christianity in India}, p. 518.
\textsuperscript{12} Marshman, I, pp. 41-3.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid}, pp. 43-45.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid}.
in their favour. In 1790, William Carey, a member of the Baptist Missionary Society and a shoemaker by profession made his way to India in a Danish ship. But his close relations with Dr. Thomas, the Baptist Missionary of Calcutta, who had alienated the sympathy of the Europeans there by his reckless conduct and fanaticism and his high apostolic ideal made it difficult for him to get a position in Calcutta. At last through the timely help of George Udny he was appointed an overseer in a plantation at Dinajpore. The climate and the nature of the work there did not suit him, and he soon lost one of his children and his wife became an invalid for life. But Carey was determined to carry on the propagation of Christianity for which he had come to India and he quickly realised that this could be done most effectively through the dissemination of learning. Accordingly, in 1794 he opened a free boarding school at Maldah (Dinajpore) for poor children, providing for them tuition in Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali and "instructing them in thearious branches of useful knowledge and in doctrines of Christianity." Carey soon found that he required a printing press for the circulation of books, especially the translation of the Scriptures among the Indians, and also assistants to help him in his task. Circumstances soon favoured him. In 1799 J. Marshman and W. Ward on the advice of Charles Grant arrived in India in an American ship and settled down in Srampore under the protection of the Danish Government. Carey soon realised the advantages of this and in 1800 he moved to the same place. There in collaboration with Marshman and Ward he carried on his pioneer work for the dissemination of education and propagation of Christianity among the people of Bengal. They, however, had no means for developing their undertaking especially as no financial help was to be expected from the Company's Government. They, therefore, set up a paper manufactory

1 Richter, Hist. of Ind. Missions, p. 133.
2 Marshman I, pp. 69-70.
3 Richter, p. 134.
and a printing press which soon began to receive large commissions from the Government of Bengal and yield profit. Thus this venture served as a means of livelihood as well as of producing translations of scriptures for circulation among Indians. On May 1, 1800. Mr. and Mrs. Marshman were encouraged to open two boarding schools, which soon became the most popular and remunerative institutions of their kind in Bengal, and before the end of the year realised a monthly profit of Rs. 300. In June they opened a vernacular school and it soon had 40 pupils. Mrs. Marshman also opened a girls' vernacular school which survived until her death in 1842.\textsuperscript{18} The Missionaries reported to their Society in England: "Commerce has raised new thoughts and awakened new energies, so that hundreds, if we could skilfully teach them gratis, would crowd to learn the English language. We hope this may be in our power some time and may be a happy means of diffusing the gospel.\textsuperscript{19}

Sir John Shore, who succeeded Cornwallis to the Governor Generalship of Bengal, was a devout Christian and had been greatly influenced by his former colleague Grant and by the Clapham Sect, with whose members he had several interviews before leaving England.\textsuperscript{20} While in India he kept up a correspondence with Charles Grant, in which he exhibited his anxiety for "the introduction of knowledge among the natives of this country, with a view to the dissemination of those principles which we know and believe to be the foundation of temporal and eternal welfare," and complained of the lack of enthusiasm among his countrymen.\textsuperscript{21} But he was careful not to advocate the direct interference of the Government as that would excite alarm among the people. So he suggested the erection of "Chapels at Patna, Dacca, Moorshidabad and at the Military Stations of Bishnupore and Bankipur for the use and education of Christians. Upon this

\textsuperscript{19} Marshman, I, pp. 130-1.
\textsuperscript{20} *Morris-Grant*, p. 173.
foundation, to which no objections but the expenses can be made—and that ought not to be mentioned—the plan of instructions may be raised, zeal and moderation in the chaplains will ensure success. The natural children of the soldiers will be the first to receive instruction; and Government cannot refuse its assistance in supplying funds for their preservation and tuition.”

Shore took immediate steps to put this scheme into operation.

Conversion, according to Shore, was more necessary for political than for religious reasons, and after he had resigned the Governor Generalship of Bengal, he wrote that “until our subjects there shall be animated with us by a Community of religious faith, we shall never consider our dominion as secure against the effects of external attack or internal commotion.” He even regarded the change brought about by the introduction of the Regulations of Cornwallis as a necessary step to prepare the minds of the Hindus for the reception of Christianity and eagerly looked forward to the foundation of an Episcopal Establishment in advancing the civilisation of the Hindus and paving the way for their conversion. But Shore was not the man to formulate any extensive scheme of his own. He was a man of indecision; moreover, he could never forget that he had all through his life been a servant of the Company and had been raised to the Governor Generalship only through the good graces of the Court of Directors on whom he had to rely constantly for support. Hence he was afraid of initiating any policy which would not meet with their approval.

Lord Mornington (later Marquis of Wellesley), who succeeded Shore in 1798, was a man of completely different character. A man of great ability and energy, he belonged to one of the most influential families in England, and had the great advantage of being nominated to the post by the Ministry, whom he could rely on in case of any disagreement.

with the Directors. He was “the first ruler of India to stand forth decisively as a Christian.” 26 He made the Officers of the Company attend Church Service regularly, prohibited the throwing of children into the Ganges and instituted an enquiry into the Sati rites. 27 He was also appalled at the profanation of the Sabaath by the Company’s Officers and issued orders for the immediate discontinuance of gambling and horse-racing on Sundays. He also approached the Directors for the establishment of Chapels in Company’s territories for the benefit of the Europeans and the Court readily assented to these proposals. 28 Wellesley’s works in these respects won the approval even of Charles Grant. 29

But so far as the propagation of Christianity among the Indians was concerned Wellesley’s ideas were more conservative and judicious. “He had thought it his duty to have the scriptures translated into the languages of the East to give the learned natives employed in the translation, the advantages of access to the sacred fountains of divine truth: he thought that a Christian governor could not have done less and knew that a British Governor ought not to have done more.” 30 He was ever ready to afford every means for furthering the cause of Christianity, but at the same time studiously avoided interfering with the religious practices of the Indians. So when he heard that Indian troops in Colombo had been forced to attend Divine Service with European soldiers he was filled with “surprise and regret” and ordered the immediate despatch of the troops to their respective Presidencies unless they were given specific assurances against any such treatment in future. 31 In a like spirit in 1804, on a petition from the Mohammedans of Calcutta, Wellesley forbade the discussion of the following Disputation—“The advantage which the natives of this country might derive from

tran
tations, in the vernacular tongues, of the books contain-
ing the principles of their respective religions and those of
the Christian faith”—in the College of Fort William, not be-
cause he thought there was anything objectionable in it,
but because it might arouse the apprehension that the British
Government intended to depart from the “system of unlimited
toleration which it had uniformly observed.”

Wellesley was also the first Governor General to realise
that East India Company was no longer a mere trading con-
cern, but had become a territorial power and needed trained
administrators. He pointed out that the writers and clerks of
the Company came to India at a very early age, often at 15
or 16, and were necessarily ignorant of the rudimentary
principles of administration and also lacked a sound general
knowledge. To rectify these defects Wellesley determined to
adopt means for the proper education of the Company’s
servants on their arrival in India, not only in the several
vernacular languages of the Company’s possessions and codes
of laws and Regulations, but also in the science and literature
of the West. The first step in this direction was taken in 1798
when J. B. Gilchrist of the Company’s Medical Service was
appointed to give the writers daily lessons in Persian and
Hindustanee and all civilians were notified that from 1801 a
sufficient knowledge of the laws, regulations and the languages
of the Province would be required as a necessary condition of
appointment to certain posts. This was, however, only part
of a bigger plan, the formulation of which was postponed
until the return of the Governor General from Coromondal.

When this plan was drawn up, Wellesley did not send it
to the Directors for approval, as was customary, but informed
Dundas as privately. The need of a collegiate institution he
felt to be so pressing that without waiting for Dundas’ reply
he immediately proceeded to establish a college at Fort Wil-
m. The College was established, accordingly, on the

32 Gov. Gen.—Directors, 7 Dec. 1804.
4th of May 1800 to commemorate the fall of Seringapatam and on 10th July Wellesley recorded a Minute on the subject of educating the civilians, which was subsequently forwarded to the Court of Directors.\textsuperscript{35}

In this Minute he dwelt at length on the reasons which had prompted him to take this step and also the nature and the details of the college he had established. He pointed out the changed circumstance, the early age at which the writers arrived in India and the necessity of a trained body of civilians for the good Government of the country and the stabilisation of Company’s rule in India. “Their education” he asserted, “must therefore be judiciously laid in England and the superstructure systematically completed in India.” The plan, formulated by him, he represented as “combining the discipline of the Universities in England with that of the Royal Military Academies of France, and of the other European Monarchies.” The question of expenses was always a difficult matter and to appease the apprehensions of the Directors, he proposed to meet it by a deduction from the salaries of the Civil Servants, and expressed his hope that they would empower him to endow the institution with an annual rent charge on the revenues of Bengal, and to issue similar orders to the Governor in Council of Fort Saint George. The college was to consist of an establishment of Moonshees and native teachers under the Company’s officers, who would be appointed professors and the Directors were requested to send all the writers irrespective of the Presidencies they were appointed to, to reside in the College of Fort William for three years on a monthly allowance of Rs. 300 and a common table. This college was not merely to be a secular institution but was declared to be “founded on the principles of Christian religion” and the officers entering the college were exhorted to “maintain and uphold the Christian religion in this quarter of the globe.” Divine service was to be held regularly in the college and the Provost was “to guard the moral and religious interests and character of the

35. Wellesley’s Minute, 10th July 1800. Home Misc. 488, p. 20 et seq.
institution and vigilantly to superintend the conduct and principles of members."

The Directors, although critical of the expense which such a scheme would have incurred, were disposed to sanction it. But at this time Wellesley’s letter of September 1799, advocating the admission of India-built shipping to trade between England and India reached them, and this together with the prospect of a deficit due to the war with Tipoo totally changed their attitude. They, however, put their criticism in an unofficial “previous communication” recognising the College at Fort William and sent it to Dartmouth, the then President of the Board of Control, who approved of it (Dec. 1801). But at this time a letter from Wellesley apprised them of the necessity of reducing the investment and also a quarrel started between the Directors and the President of the Board of Control, which led to the rejection by the latter of a draft approved by the former. The Court retaliated by destroying the draft which Dartmouth had sanctioned and sent up another draft instead, ordering the immediate and total abolition of the College. They ordered that the College should be immediately abolished and the Seminary proposed by Gilchrist substituted instead and that the writers from other Presidencies should return to their respective provinces without delay. The Board expunged a few paragraphs and the Despatch, substantially unaltered, was sent to Bengal. Wellesley, although much disconcerted at the rejection of his scheme, did not give up all hope of persuading the Directors and in reply pointed out that the state of Company’s finances in India was much better than the Court had anticipated and the surplus was much larger than in previous years. Moreover, he assured them, that the expenses of the College would be defrayed by the town duties and the revival of the

36. Home Misc. 488. 122 et seq.
38. Ibid p. 126.
Customs, ordered under Regulations 5, 10 and 11 of 1801.\textsuperscript{41} In addition to this, the legacy left by General Claude Martin could be legally appropriated for this purpose. But as the Directors had insisted on the abolition of the College, an order to that effect was passed by the Governor General. This order was to come into force from 31st December 1803—a date before which the Institution could not be abolished without causing great inconvenience to the students and teachers who had come from all parts of India to join it.\textsuperscript{42} Wellesley, however, requested the Directors to reconsider their decision.

The appeal reached the Directors in January 1803 and Castlereagh, now President of the Board of Control, immediately realised the intrinsic merits of the Institution. He asked the Court to reconsider their decision and not to abolish the institution unless something satisfactory could be substituted in its place.\textsuperscript{43} The Directors, triumphant in their struggle over private trade was inclined to enter into discussion; but they soon saw through the intentions of Castlereagh to continue the institution permanently and broke off negotiations. They demanded the immediate reduction of the College to merely a Seminary for teaching Oriental languages to Bengal Civil Servants: the establishment of similar institutions in other Presidencies, the foundation of a College in England where all prospective civilians would undergo two to three years’ training in European science and literature. Castlereagh, realising the failure of his plan, tried to force the hands of the Directors by sending them a draft despatch,\textsuperscript{44} but the Court vehemently opposed any such attempt by the Board to initiate policy as they conceived “themselves to be bound by the Act of Parliament to originate all matters which relate directly or indirectly to the creation of any new

\textsuperscript{41} Home Misc. 488, 199 \textit{et seq.} 5 Aug. 1802, Letter from Gov. Gen. 30th July 1801.  
\textsuperscript{43} Philips, \textit{East India Company}, p. 127.  
\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Ibid}, pp. 127-28.
establishments; they consider the authority of the Board on such matters to be confined to an absolute or partial negative". 45 Both sides took legal advice. The Law Officers of the Crown advised Castlereagh to appeal to Parliament, to which he agreed after consulting Pitt and Dundas. At this, the Court grew apprehensive and came to an understanding with Castlereagh. They sent orders to India to continue the College until further orders, while Castlereagh on his part agreed to consider the establishment of separate Seminaries for Madras and Bombay. 46 After Castlereagh had left the Board in 1805, the Directors reduced the College to a mere Seminary for teaching the local languages to the writers at Fort William. 46

In 1806 a College was established at Haileybury for the preliminary training of the Company's servants proceeding to India. In 1807 the expenses of the College at Fort William was further reduced to Rs. 1,50,000 a year. The College continued in this state until the year 1813 when it was allowed to admit military students for instructions in the vernacular languages and for that purpose a further sum of Rs. 34,600 a year was authorised. The College suffered from various evils especially the disorderly behaviour of the students and in December 1827 the Court gave the Government of Bengal the discretion of abolishing the institution if necessary. Three years later the Court sent definite orders for its abolition. 47 But the Government of Bengal suspended the execution of the orders until a further reference had been made to the Directors and thus the College continued indefinitely.

This grand scheme of Wellesley's has been the subject of much discussion and has been variously criticised. Marshman hailed it as the beginning of the "Revival of the Halcyon days of the great Mahammedan and Hindu princes, who had rendered their Courts illustrious by the assemblage of the

45. Ibid, p. 128.
46. Ibid, 128.
literati” of the land; while Edmund Strachey described the attempt to impart European education in India as absurd and ridiculous and declared that a knowledge of the languages of the country could be best obtained by direct intercourse with the people themselves, contending that “He who had never seen the Calcutta College would be a useful man in six months sooner than the other.”

The scheme as originally conceived by Wellesley to bring together the civilians from all the different presidencies in order to give them a similar education and thus enable them to develop a similar outlook as well as to foster in them a common spirit and tradition was admirable and far-sighted; but though the administration of the Company’s territories in India required homogeneity and centralisation, yet, a scheme on such a scale was too premature and much in advance of the time; moreover, to maintain an establishment at a huge cost of Rs. 45,000 per annum simply to acquaint the writers with a knowledge of the Indian languages was too extravagant. The idea of giving them a European education in India, was also impracticable. Hence under the circumstances, the scheme proposed and put into operation by the Court of Directors was more judicious and effective. The idea, attributed to Wellesley by his biographer Pearce and Marshman that he wanted this College to be the nucleus of a prospective seat of learning which would attract learned men from all over the East, seems too fantastic to have been cherished by Wellesley. A practical man of affairs as he was, he was more concerned with the solution of the immediate problems of administration, rather than with anything so visionary. But even in this respect his scheme failed because though in the beginning “there was a fashion of study and much emulation among the young men...their fashion was soon succeeded by another of idleness and in some instances gambling, running horses, Hunter and Dogs and other expensive amusements were more in vogue than books”

49. Home Misc. p. 488. 54.....July 1814.
and before they left the College they were heavily in debt, which often exceeded Rs. 20,000.  

Sir George Barlow, who officiated as Governor General after the second administration of Cornwallis was definitely hostile to Missionary activities. He resented their public preachings, which included vilification of the religions of the people and which had once even provoked Indians to commit acts of violence. So he prohibited them to preach in public streets or to send itinerant native preachers to the villages and to distribute religious pamphlets among the people. They were, however, left at liberty to perform their divine service in Bengali in their own mission house in Calcutta.

The policy pursued by the heads of the different provinces of Company's possession in India toward Missionary activities had the full support of the Court of Directors, who in May 1807, stated to the Government of Fort Saint George that their policy had throughout been one of toleration of all religious systems and the protection of the "followers of each in the undisturbed enjoyment of their respective opinions and usages." They also strongly asserted that in permitting a few missionaries to proceed to India, they had never intended to sponsor any attempt the Missionaries might make to convert the Indians into Christianity. Conversions, they believed, must necessarily be slow "arising more from a conviction of the principles of our religion itself and from the pious example of the teachers" rather than from any interference of the State.

In England at this time the evangelists were trying to find means of avoiding the restrictions imposed by the terms of the Charter Act of 1793 on the unrestricted passage of Missionaries to India. It was customary, at this time, for the Chairman of the Court to select chaplains for Europeans in India and Grant and Parry who held the chairs availed

51. Beveridge, Hist. of India, II, 850-1.
52. Court to Fort St. George, 29th May 1807, Lord Minto in India, pp. 63-4.
themselves of this opportunity of sending out ardent evangelists like C. Buchanan and Henry Martin. In 1805, Buchanan published a pamphlet urging the Government to establish an episcopate in India and coerce "the contemptuous spirit of our Native subject".\textsuperscript{53} T. Twining, one of the leading proprietors brought this pamphlet to the notice of the Directors and attacked the policy of Grant and Parry. This raised a storm of protests and Twining offered to drop the question, provided the Court would state that they had no intention of interfering with the religious belief of the Indians.\textsuperscript{54} To add to the discomfiture of the evangelical party the news of the Vellore Mutiny reached England at this time and Toone, Baring and Twining, three of the leading Directors asserted that this was the direct outcome of Missionary activities in India. Their view was supported by the majority of the Directors and the general public; but in the Court, Grant and Parry managed to avoid a formal debate on the question.\textsuperscript{55} Twining, however, carried on the agitation and determined to bring the matter before the Proprietors. His pamphlet on the subject started a war of pamphlets which ended with Teignmouth's treatise on "consideration of the practicability, policy and obligation of communicating Christianity to Indians" (1808), in which he maintained that no harm and perhaps some good would arise from the sending out of Missionaries to India; but they must not interfere with the customs and prejudices of the people. Twining, at last, succeeded in bringing the question of Missionary agitation before the Court, but Grant and Parry persuaded him to withdraw his motion on the understanding that the Court would come to an immediate decision.\textsuperscript{56} But when the question was put before the Court, Grant carried a motion maintaining the status quo.

Minto, who succeeded Barlow, scrupulously followed the example of his predecessor, as well as the policy enunciated

\textsuperscript{53} Philips—East India Company, 159.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, 159.
\textsuperscript{55} Morris-Grant, 300. Also Philips, 159-60.
\textsuperscript{56} Philips, 163.
by the Directors, although he had great personal sympathy for the evangelical cause. Soon after his arrival in India, Minto’s attention was drawn to a Persian pamphlet published and circulated by the Serampore Missionaries containing “the most direct and unqualified abuse” of the principles and tenets of Muslim religion and its Founder. This pamphlet was so scurrilous that even Carey admitted its impropriety and denied all knowledge of its publication. Minto’s Government immediately passed a resolution condemning the pamphlet as “in the highest degree injudicious and improper and exclusively calculated to vitiate the minds and inflame the religious zeal of the...Mussalmans”. Hence “it was the duty of the Government...with a view both to public safety and to the maintenance of public faith to oppose the circulation and prevent the revival of such inflammatory publication”. The Government of Serampore was accordingly requested to prohibit its further circulation. At this time Blaquierre, a Magistrate of Calcutta, got hold of some pamphlets published by the Missionaries, grossly offensive to the religion of the Hindus and also discovered the devices through which they were carrying on their proselytising work among the people. The Government, therefore, ordered the immediate discontinuance of public preaching and of the publication of all pamphlets which might prove offensive to the religious susceptibilities of the people, or directed to the object of converting them to Christianity. The Missionaries were also ordered to remove their Press to Calcutta, where the Government would be able to exercise better control over its publications. The Missionaries immediately surrendered all their publications, but petitioned against the removal of the Press, which was subsequently granted. While taking these steps against the Missionaries, Minto was at the same time appreciative of their aims. He assured the Directors that “Our duty as guardians for the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity require us to restrain the efforts of the

57. Gov. Gen. to Secret Com. of the Directors 2nd Nov, 1807, Papers relating to East India Affairs 1813, pp 41...
commendable zeal within those limits, the transgression of which would in our decided judgment expose to hazard the public safety and tranquillity without promoting the intended object.” The incident of the Vellore Mutiny was still fresh in his mind and he did not forget to call attention to that.58

The Missionaries, naturally enough, resented Minto’s policy and Buchanan addressed a memorial to the Governor General, accusing the Government of measures “directed to the object of opposing the progress of Christianity in India on the foundations of opinions inculcated by its officers.”59 Minto forwarded the memorial to the Directors, describing it as “personally disrespectful to the Governor General” and wholly untrue in its accusations. He justified his actions by pointing out that the Serampore Press was supported mainly by the orders received from the Asiatic Society and the College of Fort William and that the publications of the Missionaries were meant for circulation among the people of the British territories, moreover the Governor of Serampore had never questioned the legality of the orders issued for the transference of the Press but had merely solicited its revocation. In conclusions, he again assured the Directors that his policy was dictated by “a vigilant attention to the public safety and tranquillity, a regard for the successful propagation of the truths of Christianity among the misguided natives of these distant countries by the only means which can promote its success, the operation of example in the conduct of its preachers and professors in the principles which it inculcates.”60

The task of drawing up a reply to this letter was entrusted to R. Dundas, President of the Board of Control. His draft satisfied both the parties in the Court. It stated that the authorities were “far from being averse to the introduction of Christianity in India,” but warned the Government of

58. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
Bengal that "nothing could be more unwise than any impudent or unjudicious attempt" to introduce it "by means which should irritate and alarm their religious prejudices." The method of imparting a knowledge of Christianity should be "free from any political danger or alarm." The Government was also reminded that "our paramount power imposes upon us the necessity to protect the native inhabitants in the free and undisturbed possession of their religious opinions." Dundas also prepared detailed instructions for Minto's guidance regarding the policy to be followed with respect to the activities of the Missionaries and advised him to continue to supervise the management of the temples and collect taxes from the pilgrims. Grant and Parry were shocked at this but their protest only evoked a sharp rebuke from Dundas. The majority of the Directors, however, supported Minto's policy.

But despite his official attitude, Minto was very much in sympathy with the work the Missionaries were doing to give Indians access to the teachings of their Scriptures. When he saw that his official position prevented him from rendering financial help to the publication of a Chinese translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, he subscribed largely to the publication of a copy of the works of Confucius, hoping that the proceeds from its sale could be devoted to the publication of the Scriptures. In January 1808, Serampore passed under British control and in 1810 two of its Missionaries wanted to proceed to Agra to establish Missions there. The Governor General, when approached for permission, found nothing objectionable in it, but asked them to apply simply for the purpose of going there "saying nothing of anything else". This was understood to mean that if their objects were more distinctly stated, the Directors might take objection and cancel the permit. The Government, however, maintained

61. Philips—East India Company, 164.
63. Minto in India, 77.
64. Ibid, 71.
65. Ibid, 81.
its official attitude and as late as 1811 those Missionaries who came to India without licence were sent back to England.66

Minto was also the first Governor General to draw up a detailed plan for the education of the people of Bengal. There was nothing new or startling about his plan, which merely dwelt on the improvement and extension of the existing system of Oriental Education as imparted through the classical media. In his Minute of 6th March 1811, he called attention to the decay of learning among Indians and the consequent prevalence of crimes and grave abuses in their Society. The financial help given to the students at Nuddea and the Hindu College at Benares, he considered to be inadequate and recommended that "additional" grants should be made by the Government for the education of the people. Regarding the Benares College, he drew attention to the existence of the conviction among the Indians there that the position of teacher should not be regarded as a means of profit; to the antipathy of both teachers and students to assemble in a public hall for instructional purposes and to the gross mismanagement from which the college was suffering. To rectify these evils, he suggested various reforms, recommended the establishment of two new colleges one at Nuddea and the other at Tirhoot, and advocated the reform of the Calcutta Madrassa, as well as the establishment of similar institutions at Bhaugulpore, Jaunpore and other places in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.67 But Minto's suggestions were never fully put into operation and the Government soon lapsed into its former attitude of apathy, so far as the educational policy was concerned.

The next move came from England. The term of the Company's Charter was due to expire in 1813, and the Missionaries were determined to make this the occasion for another trial of strength with the Directors. On March 22, 1813, Castlereagh introduced a discussion on the renewal of the Company's Charter into a Committee of the House of

66. Ibid.
Commons. The Directors in order to gain time called witnesses to support their cause and produced an imposing number of important people who had long experience of India and stood high in the estimation of their countrymen. Warren Hastings when called upon to give evidence stoutly denied any allegation against the moral degeneration of the Indians, attributed various qualities to their character and spoke highly of their religion. "Faults they certainly have," he admitted, but "they are the lot of humanity," he pointed out. In conclusion, he drew attention to the danger to be apprehended from an unrestricted influx of Europeans into India and reminded his examiners of the widespread fermentation among Indians due to "a belief, however propagated, that there was an intention in this Govt. to encroach on the religious rites of the people". Hence, he considered any step for the immediate introduction of Episcopal establishment in India as politically dangerous, although "in a proper time and season it would be highly creditable to the Company and to the nation, if ecclesiastical establishment in India were rendered complete in all its branches".  

William Cowper, formerly President of the Board of Revenue and a member of the Supreme Council of Bengal, also voiced much the same apprehension as to the danger of increased intercourse between the Europeans and the Indians. Lieutenant General Sir J. Malcolm, while admitting the blessings which Christianity would bestow on the Indians, warned the Committee that its introduction into India would have the most dangerous consequences for the stability of the Empire, which depended on the "general division of the great communities and their sub-division into various castes and tribes", because all these elements would be united in a general opposition to any scheme which they might think would lead to their conversion.

69. Ibid, 71 et seq.
70. Ibid, 17 et. seq.
In all fifty-one witnesses were examined and the interval was utilized by Wilberforce and Grant to bring to Parliament’s attention their case for the despatch of Christian Missions to India. Already in Feb. 1812 a Committee had been formed of Wilberforce, Grant, Henry Thornton, Stephen and Babington to arrange an interview with the Ministers on behalf of the various religious organisations in Britain.\(^7\) Dissension soon broke out among the Missionaries themselves, due to the jealousy of the Dissenters for the Church of England; but Wilberforce managed to keep them together. He persuaded the Church of Scotland to take the lead of the Non-Conformists and himself with Grant interviewed Liverpool, who put them off with some vague promises.\(^8\) But Buckinghamshire, President of the Board of Control and Castlereagh, appeared cold and hostile and refused to countenance any change of the existing system. Zachary Macaulay however, encouraged by Wilberforce, organised a campaign calling on the Missionary bodies to send petitions to Parliament for the unrestrained despatch of Missionaries to India and between February and June 1813 no less than 837 petitions were presented.\(^9\) This extraordinary effort produced almost immediate effect and Liverpool and Buckinghamshire told Wilberforce that they were willing to establish a bishopric in India and to the Board of Control to grant licences to authorise Missionaries to proceed to India.\(^9\) In the Lords, Wellesley succeeded in excluding the Missionary question out of the subject for examination and neither the Ministers nor the Parliament took the slightest notice of the vast body of evidences which the Company had presented.

The new Act, renewing the Company’s privileges for a further period of twenty years, was passed on the 21 July 1813. According to its terms, an episcopate with archdeacons was set up in India and the Board of Control was empowered

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72. Philips, 189.
73. Philips—East India Company, 189.
74. Wilberforce IV, 118. Also Philips, 189.
to grant licenses to Missionaries to proceed there. The question of disseminating education among Indians was also taken into consideration and a Clause to that effect was introduced in Parliament by “Bobus” Smith, formerly Advocate General in Calcutta. His draft slightly modified by the President of the Board of Control was passed. This Clause (43rd) empowered the Governor General to appropriate “a sum of not less than one lakh rupees” out of the surplus territorial revenues for 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.”\(^75\) It was perfectly clear from the debates that by “the Sciences” Smith meant Western Sciences.\(^76\) The clause was extremely vague and defective. It did not specify exactly how much the Government was to spend on education. From its wording it appeared as if the Governor General was at liberty to spend anything above one lakh of rupees; but later in 1829 the Directors sharply rebuked the Government of Bentinck for spending more than one lakh of rupees on education. Moreover this amount was to be appropriated only if there was a sufficient surplus and as at this time the Governments of the different Presidencies were having a deficit every year, the execution of this clause had to be postponed until 1823. It seems that the authorities also overlooked the fact that at this time there was no central financial and administrative machinery in India, which could utilise the necessary funds and formulate and execute a comprehensive system of educational policy for the Company’s possessions in India. The Governor General was the administrative head of only the Presidency of Fort William and he had no control over the administrative and financial affairs of the other Presidencies. Consequently, the Parliamentary grant of one lakh was wholly appropriated for the educational

\(^76\) C. H. I. VI, 103.
development of Bengal, which alone benefited by the provision made by Parliament. But in spite of its vagueness and defects, this Clause was of considerable importance in as much as it laid down for the first time that the dissemination of education among the people should be one of the tasks of the British Government in India.
CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

(1813—1821)

On 6th September 1813 the Court of Directors communicated to the Governor General the provisions made by Parliament for the diffusion of education among Indians. They however, did not send any instructions until next year, when on 3rd June they addressed a lengthy Despatch to the Government of Bengal, dealing with the subject in detail. This despatch is of considerable importance as it was the first official communication of the kind sent from England and showed the Director’s conception of the nature and importance of the problem of education and the policy they wanted to be pursued with regard to it. In it they drew the attention of the Governor General to the “two distinct considerations” which the 43rd Clause of the New Act presented namely, “the encouragement of the learned natives of India and the revival and improvement of literature; secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the Sciences amongst the inhabitants of that Country”. To achieve this object they proposed to encourage the classical literature and sciences of the country by leaving the Indians to the long established practice of giving “instruction at their own houses, and by encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinctions, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance”. They discussed the question of establishing public colleges and summarily dismissed it as quite incompatible with the customs and mentality of the people and asked the Governor General to gather information, whether any educational institutions existed in Benares, the traditional seat of Hindu learning, and to devise means for their improvement. It is significant of the attitude of the

authorities that the Directors did not make any mention of European Education or English language but devoted the rest of the Despatch to estimating the merits of Sanskrit literature which they considered to be rich in ethics and scientific works. They also expressed a hope that the study of these by the Europeans as well, will not only be profitable to them, but will also gradually make the Indians "adopt the modern improvements in those and other Sciences."  

This Despatch reached Bengal at a most inopportune moment. War had just broken out between the Company's Government and Nepal; and scarcely had the Company concluded a victorious peace when it found itself embroiled in a war with the Marathas, then the most powerful of the Native States in India. But though the Government could not pay much attention to the problem of education, yet the Governor General, Lord Moira later Marquis of Hastings did not altogether disregard the Despatch from home and on his return from the North Western Provinces in 1815 recorded a Minute showing his "solicitude for the moral and intellectual condition of the Natives and his anxiety to see established and maintained some system of public education". He pointed out the important role which the village school masters would play in any scheme of education and declared that attention should first be turned to their moral and intellectual improvement. He also drew attention to the lack of interest shown by the Government to the question of public education and to the institutions already established. He, therefore, proposed the formation of Committees at Dacca, Patna, Moorshidabad, Benares, Bareilley and Furrackabad, to be composed of Civil Officers residing there, for the purpose of suggesting improvements in the system of education, and proposed that their opinions should be "submitted to the deliberate revision of the most experienced servants in the judicial and revenue departments at the Presidency".

3. Howell—Education in British India, 18, 9.
Meanwhile two experimental Zillah schools were to be established at each district for Hindus and Mahammedans respectively. Moira, however, unlike the Directors, had no exaggerated notion about the efficacy of the existing institutions for improving the state of education, and consequently declared: The immediate encouragement of the superior description of Science by any bounty to the existing native colleges, appear to me a project altogether delusive. I do not believe that in those retreats there remain any embers capable of being fanned into life". Hence, he thought that "the sum set apart by the Honourable Court for the advancement of Science among the natives would be much more expediently applied in the improvement of Schools, than in gifts to seminaries of higher degree". Moira also realised that a system of secular education wholly divorced from religion would not produce the desired improvement in the moral condition of the people; hence, he desired that the school masters should be supplied with "manuals of religious sentiments and ethic maxims, conveyed in a shape as may be attractive to the scholars; taking care that...no jealousy be excited by pointing to any particular creed". He even urged that the rising generation should be taught to revere those principles of Christianity which do not directly conflict with their superstitions.4

The execution of the suggestions made in this Minute was postponed, pending the completion of the enquiry to be instituted regarding the proposed Sanskrit College at Nuddea and Tirhoot.5 The establishment of the college at Nuddea had been entrusted to a Committee of Superintendence composed of the senior members of the Board of Revenue and the Magistrate and Collector of the district; but until May 1815 the Committee remained inactive. On being called upon to report their activities during this period they replied on 9th July 1816, briefly acquainting the Government of the

state of learning in the district and the circumstances, which it was presumed would interpose impediments in the way of any establishment according to the plan contemplated. They informed the Government that there were 46 schools in Nuddea, at that time, kept and supported by the most learned and respectable pandits of the place, who imparted instruction in their own houses or in the hostels attached to them, where the students resided, being partly provided for by the teachers themselves. The total number of pupils at that time, was 380, their ages varying from 25 to 35 years. In these Seminaries only the "Shastras" (Scriptures) were taught and only Brahmins admitted. The Committee submitted the names of most famous of these pandits, in case, the Government should think it fit to employ them as teachers. In reply, the Committee was asked to report specially, first, whether the study of European and Hindu Sciences, in their opinion, could be combined in Nuddea; secondly, whether it would be practicable to admit to the benefits of that institution Hindus of other castes, and, lastly, what modifications of the original plan it might be necessary to adopt for the attainment of these objects. The Committee sent no reply until 1821, when the general subject of educating the Hindoos came before the Government, which decided to establish a Sanskrit College at Calcutta.\(^6\)

The establishment of a college at Tirhoot was also entrusted to a Committee of Superintendence composed of the Sessions Judge of the principal Court for Patna Division, and the Magistrate and Collector of that district. The Committee wanted the appointment of a further member to act as Secretary to which the Government did not accede on account of expenses. A long period of discussion followed and in August 1821 the question was again brought under the consideration of the Government as part of the general question of Hindu tuition.\(^7\) The scheme was finally aban-


\(^7\) Revenue Consultation, 21st Aug. 1821. Fish. Mem 402.
doned in favour of the Sanskrit College to be established at Calcutta. From 1817-18—1822-3 estimates to the following amounts:

Nuddea @ Rs 12,876 p.a. for 6 years ... Rs 77,256
Tirhoot @ Rs 12,742 p.a. ... Rs 76,452

Total ... Rs 1,53,708

But Moira, although unable to adopt any educational measures on a large scale, never ceased to show his interest in the matter and encouraged financially and otherwise many of the institutions and organisations established for that purpose. He wholly rejected the prevalent view that the lower classes should not be enlightened, as that would make them only more discontented with their position in life. He took a keen interest in the school set up by his wife, Lady Loudon, at Barackpore for the education of Indian boys and European half-caste girls. The boys were taught arithmetic and Hindustanee, in addition to their vernacular language, and the most proficient among them were rewarded by promotion to the English class. Lady Loudon compiled a book of stories and maxims illustrating moral principles, which was subsequently translated into Bengali and Hindustanee and used in her school. This school soon became very popular and Indians of all classes, especially the Brahmins showed great eagerness to have their sons admitted there.

Moira also took great interest in the activities of the Missionary Societies for the enlightenment of the people. He spoke highly of the work done by the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore and took the schools established at Chinsurah by Reverend May under Government's protection. Moira's solicitation for the moral and intellectual improvement of the Indians received the applause even of Charles Grant, who

9. There were 80 boys and 16 girls. The girls in this were kept segregated from the boys and were taught writing, arithmetic and needlework.
11. Ibid 27 Nov. 1815, 93-96.
hoped that "the improvement of the intellectual and moral state of the Natives will find him a real friend."\textsuperscript{12} Grant kept up a correspondence with Hastings and in 1819 advised him to introduce moral text books into the village schools, whereby "a prodigious benefit would be conferred on the people without at all agitating the question of religion." He also hoped that "if through the simple idea of adding systematically to the present scanty instruction of the Hindoo village schools the duties of morality were generally adopted, this might of itself ameliorate the mass of the people and prepare them to receive more readily the further lights of European Education and knowledge"\textsuperscript{13} Hastings' personal inclinations coincided with these suggestions and he took steps to engratify moral instruction.\textsuperscript{14} Hastings was not content with merely showing personal sympathy to and patronising the educational institutions; he made his Government take a keen interest in these matters and though—due to want of surplus—the Parliamentary Grant for education was not officially appropriated till after his departure from India, yet during his period of administration (1813-22) he spent no less than £64,713 on education in Bengal, the sum for 1814 amounting to £11,606.\textsuperscript{15}

The Court of Directors also at this time showed some interest in the cause of education in India. In 1816 they informed the Governor General of their resolution to present £100 towards defraying the expense of the passage to Bengal of a Head Master and an assistant Master for the Free School at Calcutta,\textsuperscript{16} and handed over this sum to the Secretary of the Committee of National Society in England.\textsuperscript{17} The establishment of national schools attracted their attention, and they freely gave permission to people proceeding to India

\textsuperscript{1} Morris—Charles Grant 3. Grant—Moira Ap. 1817, 357-2.  
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, 11th Sept. 1819, 353-4.  
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, 15th Jan. 1822, 355.  
\textsuperscript{14} Printed Parliamentary Papers relating to the Affairs of India. General Appendix I, Public 1832 p. 483.  
\textsuperscript{15} Pub. Desp. to Gov. Gen. 6th Dec, 1816.  
\textsuperscript{16} Pub. Desp. 29th Jan, 1819.
for filling situations in them. Moreover they ordered the Governor General to forward without any delay all applications made by these persons, with his own observations.\textsuperscript{18} In 1821, on an application from the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Directors permitted Miss Mary Anne Cooke to proceed to Bengal to take charge of a Female School about to be established, to promote the Society’s objects, although this meant a departure from the policy of which they had apprised the Governor General previously.\textsuperscript{19} In addition to these, certain individuals were from time to time permitted to proceed to India “for the purpose of introducing useful knowledge and religious and moral improvements, upon the usual terms and conditions.”\textsuperscript{20} The authorities at home and in India were, therefore, not hostile or even apathetic towards the dissemination of education among Indians. They did all they could in the circumstances and their shortcomings, if any were due rather to the lengthy period of war into which the Company was involved and to its natural desire of watching and helping the natural development of education rather than of anticipating the future or forcing their own policy upon the people, the vast majority of whom were not yet ready for any radical change.

In 1815 a new factor entered into the field of educational development. A certain section of educated and liberally-minded Indians, through their long intercourses with the Europeans in Calcutta had realized the futility of pursuing a system of exclusively classical education and the great possibilities which a knowledge of the language and literature of the west afforded. Hence they were anxious for the diffusion of European Education and English language among their countrymen. Of these the most prominent was Ram Mohun Roy, a retired Revenue Officer of the Company. Born in 1774 of an aristocratic and well-to-do Hindu family of Western Bengal, Ram Mohun had,

\textsuperscript{18} Pub. Desp. 8th Nov. 1820.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ibid}, 20th June 1821.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Ibid}, 29th May 1822, 19th Sept....... 19th Feb. 1823.
early in life, developed a profound detestation for the heathenism and gross superstition into which the Hindu religion had regenerated, and when only 16 years of age he had written a pamphlet denouncing the existing form of religion which had resulted in his expulsion from home.21 Though temporarily reconciled to his family, he could never accustom himself to the existing customs of the society. He, therefore, devoted himself to the study of the different languages of Asia and Europe and the Scriptures of different religious systems, in order to discover the ‘True Religion!’ These studies, with his close connexion with Europeans and especially the Missionaries, as well as persecution by his fellow-religionists, ultimately led to his severance from the orthodox fold; and thenceforth he devoted himself to the preaching of Vedic Monotheism. He was thus admirably suited, not only to lead the advanced sections of Indians but also to act as the intermediary between them and the Europeans who were solicitous of the well-being of Indians. This section of the Europeans of Calcutta were, at this time, led by David Hare, a watchmaker by profession, who had come to India as early as 1800, but had later taken upon himself the less paying but more arduous task of disseminating education among the people of Bengal. Ram Mohun and David Hare became great friends and in collaboration they drew up a plan for an English institution at Calcutta in 1815. Ram Mohun had at first wanted it to be a seminary for teaching the doctrines of Vedic Monotheism, but the better sense of David Hare, for establishing an English school, prevailed and Ram Mohun acquiesced in the plan. A circular was accordingly issued and Sir Hyde East, Chief Justice of Calcutta Supreme Court, was approached, but not being sure whether the Governor General would approve of his taking any part in these deliberations, he refused to take part in the project and referred the matter to the Government. The Governor General in Council replied

21. Life of Mahatma Ram Mohun Roy, by N. N. Chatterjee, (Bengalee) p. 15.
that they had no objection to the parties meeting at his house for drawing up a plan for the establishment of the institution as "it seemed indeed to be as good an opportunity as any which could occur of feeling the general pulse of the Hindus as to the projected system—and this without committing the Government in the experiment."22 The meeting was accordingly held; but the orthodox section of the Hindus strongly objected to any association of Ram Mohun with the projected institution and Ram Mohun, at last, had to withdraw from the deliberations.23 This meeting was followed by a few others and Hyde East consented to accept the presidency of the proposed institution.24 The Hindus of Calcutta subscribed liberally and before long a sum of Rs. 1,13,179 was collected for the purpose,25 thus demonstrating the desire of English Education. Even the Pandits, the pillars of Hindu orthodoxy took part in the meetings and expressed their happiness at the revival of culture and literary tradition among a people who had once excelled in them.26 The principal object of the institution was to be the "cultivation of the Bengali and English languages in particular, next Hindustanee tongue and then the Persian, if desired, as ornamental; general duty to God; the English system of morals; Grammar; writing (in English as well as Bengali); arithmetic, history, geography, astronomy, mathematics and in time, as funds increased, English belles lettres, poetry etc." The management of the institution was entrusted to a Committee of respectable Europeans with one or two respectable Indians on it "to aid them and see

24. P. C. Mitra—David Hare 7.
that all goes on rightly”. The school was opened on 20th Jan. 1817, with 20 scholars receiving tuition in English, Bengali and Persian. Howell truly remarks that, "the foundation of this College marks an important era in the history of education in India as the first spontaneous desire manifested by the natives in the country for instruction in English and the literature of Europe." And soon this institution Anglo-Indian College, Vidyalaya or Hindu College as it was variously called became the most popular institution in the Presidency.

Ram Mohun, although he had to sever connections with the Vidyalaya, never gave up his aim of providing English Education to the young men of his country. In August 1816, he offered a piece of ground to Eustace Carey of Serampore for building a school house, but the scheme never materialized. Soon after (1816-17) he established an English School on his own account at Suripara, for the free instruction of Hindu boys. It soon had about 200 pupils on the roll and the expenses were defrayed by Ram Mohun himself. Shortly after, he opened an English class at his own house under the charge of one Moncroft and transferred the most distinguished students of the school to it. In 1822 Ram Mohun opened his school on a large scale on premises near Cornwallis Square and named it the Anglo-Hindu School. It was a free institution supported entirely by Ram Mohun. Sandford Arnot assistant Editor of the Calcutta Journal of J. S. Buckingham was one of the leading teachers in this school and after his deportation in 1823, the school was seriously handicapped. "William Adam strongly desired to make it a public institution to solicit for public subscription and to put it under the control of the Unitarian Committee, but

28. Beng. Let. XIV. Appx. VI.
Ram Mohun firmly refused his consent to the scheme. When Ram Mohun left for England in November 1830, the school was placed under the charge of one Purna Ch. Mitra and came to be known as ‘Purna Mitra’s School’. In 1834 its name was changed to Indian Academy, and passed under the patronage of one Radha Proshad Roy.

David Hare, Ram Mohun’s collaborator in the formulation of the plan for the establishment of the Anglo-Indian College, did not overlook the necessity of improving and extending vernacular education and in association with Raja Radha Kanta Dev, one of the leading Indians, began to improve the condition of the vernacular schools in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. He also employed Pandits to visit Gurus and instruct them and later established a central vernacular school which was immediately put under the control of Calcutta School Society. An English school was also opened soon after and classes in these schools were held in different hours in order to enable the students to attend both the vernacular and English classes. Although the development of education especially English education was taking place mainly in Calcutta certain Indians in the outlying parts of the province showed that they were not insensible to the benefits to be derived from its acquisition. When Moira visited the Upper Provinces in 1814, Joy Narain Ghoshal, one of the leading inhabitants of Benares, “presented a petition to his Lordship with proposals for establishing a school in the neighbourhood of that city and requesting that the Government would receive in deposit the sum of Rs. 20,000 the legal interest to which, together with the revenue arising from certain lands he wished to be appropriated to the expenses of the institution.” The Government approved of the plan and in July 1818 the school was opened under the management of Rev. D. Corrie, Corresponding Member of the Calcutta

32. Ibid, 164.
33. Ibid, 164.
Church Missionary Society. In this institution arrangements were made for tuition in English, Persian, Hindustanee and Bengali and in 1825, the son of the founder increased the endowment by a further donation of Rs. 20,000.

While these developments were taking place in Bengal, the Missionaries, now free from the restrictions imposed upon them by the terms of the Charter of 1793 were steadily and diligently carrying on the work of educating Indians in order to facilitate the introduction of Christianity. By 1815 the Serampore Missionaries had opened more than 100 schools in different parts of the province and had founded a weekly Bengali newspaper called “Samachar Darpan” or the Mirror of News. The success of their enterprise tempted them to conceive the idea of establishing a College “in which knowledge was to be imparted in English, Hebrew, Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese and a number of other Indian languages; and lectures were to be delivered by qualified professors in Mathematics, Medicine, Jurisprudence, Ethics and Theology.” The College was established by the funds supplied by the Missions themselves, especially by Carey who donated for the College the salary he had received from his professorship at Fort William College, and also the income of the schools set up by Dr. and Mrs. Marshman, as well as the profits of the Press established at Serampore. In the beginning Sanskrit and the vernaculars were the main subjects of study and English was treated as of secondary importance; but soon the study of English became exceedingly popular and Sanskrit was forced into the background. In 1827 the College received a Charter from the King of Denmark, which empowered it to grant degrees to successful students.

37. Sherring—Protestant Missions in India 87.
The London Missionary Society which had established its first mission in India at Chinsurah in 1798 was also very active. Reverend May, who succeeded Forsyth, the first Missionary of the Society, devoted most of his time to planning the development of education. He established his first school in 1814. It was conducted by him on the Lancastrian plan, and was patronised by G. Forbes, the British Commissioner at Chinsurah. On the receipt of the Court’s Despatch of 3rd June 1814, some of the judicial officers immediately suggested various measures and one of them, Watson, fourth judge of the Court of Circuit called attention to May’s schools which he described to be “an invaluable system” for spreading “general knowledge among the natives without interfering with their religious prejudices”. At this time there were 800 students in the principal seminary. The Government called upon Forbes for detailed report especially on May’s system. Forbes in reply stated that between July 1814 and June 1815 16 schools had been established; that they had an average attendance of 957 scholars and that the monthly expense of the circle of 20 was Rs. 300, exclusive of building and outfit, Government, after due consideration, resolved to make a grant of Rs. 600 per month for establishing schools on that plan, to be managed by May and superintended by Forbes. The grant was next year increased to Rs. 800 per month. These schools had soon to encounter the rivalry of native schools; but in spite of that they gained in popularity and between July and September 1815 May established 4 new schools, thereby augmenting the attendance of the Circle to 1296. May soon realised that the work of establishing schools and educating the people could not be carried on with any great measure of success unless arrangements were made for training a body of teachers. Accordingly, on 5th October 1815

40. Joshep Lancaster (1778-1838), and English Educationalist evolved a new scheme of instruction, the main features of which were “the employment of older scholars as monitors, and an elaborate system of mechanical drill, by means of which these young teachers were made to impart the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic to large numbers at the same time”. Encyclo. Brit. 11th Ed. Vol. XVI, p. 147.
he intimated his desire of establishing a separate school for teachers and at the same time expressed his hope that when the Indians will be fully convinced of the utility of the plan, some means might be adopted whereby every village will be able, entirely or at least partly, to support its own school; and in justification pointed out that the people of Chinsurah had voluntarily solicited him to establish schools in their villages. These schools rapidly grew into popularity and by June 1817 they were 33 in number with 226 teachers and 2085 students, the Brahmin students amounting to one third of the total number. May soon realized that the task was too great to be carried on by him alone and on his request Reverend J. D. Pearson was specially sent from England to help him; an European resident of Calcutta called Haile also joined him and lent his assistance. May died in August 1818 and by that time the number of schools had increased to 36 having 3000 students of both Hindu and Mahommedan communities on the roll.41 The result achieved by these schools failed to accomplish the rather exaggerated hopes of their founders, nevertheless, through the number of pupils, they became important centres for the dissemination of elementary education particularly among the higher caste Hindus.42

In 1816 the Church Missionary Society, through the initiative of Captain Stewart, began to establish vernacular schools in Burdwan and its vicinity. By 1818, these had increased to with a roll of 1,000 children.43 These schools became so celebrated that the Calcutta School Society sent its superintendent for five months to Burdwan in 1819 to study Captain Stewart’s system especially as it was found that he was educating a greater number of students with fewer teachers and at


42. The London Society, another of the Missionary organisations established a Mission in Calcutta in 1817 under Rev. J. Keith and soon opened three schools for the education of the Indians. It also set up a printing press for publishing English and Bengali books. (Sherring 81).

half the cost of other contemporary schools. In 1822 the Christian knowledge Society introduced the “Circle System”. It had three circles, at Tollygunge, Cossipore and Howrah; each had five auxiliary schools attached to one Central School. Each school had a “guru” (pedagogue) and the Circle Pandit and the Superintending Missionary visited the schools in rotation. In these schools, Scripture, Grammar, Geography and Natural Philosophy were taught in addition to arithmetic, reading and writing.

Meanwhile, at the suggestion of Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel aided by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge decided to establish and support a Missionary College in Calcutta “to instruct the natives and other Christian youths in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, Catechists and School Masters; to teach the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mahommedans and Hindus, having in such attainments no object but secular advantage; to prepare and print translation of Scriptures, the liturgy, and moral and religious tracts, to receive English Missionaries on their arrival from England and provide them with instructors in the native languages.”

The foundation of the College was laid on 15th December 1820, but the building was not completed until after Middleton’s death in 1822. This institution disappointed the expectations of its founder perhaps because of the abandonment of the original plan according to which it was proposed to open the College in one department to merely secular English studies, while confining the activities of the other departments to im-

44. Bengal Gazetteer—Burdwan 174.
46. Wilson—History of British India II, 569. Middleton had approached the Government for the grant of a piece of land adjoining to the Botanical Gardens for erecting a School House for the education of young children under his care. This request was granted and the piece of land, deemed worthless for any other purpose was placed at the Bishop’s disposal. Ecclesiastical Letter from Bengal 6th Jan. 1820.
parting religious instructions, especially to Indians, in order to make them preachers.\textsuperscript{47}

The great demand for education shown by the Indians in the vicinity of Calcutta and the consequent rapid increase in the number of schools necessitated the establishment of an organisation for supervising and co-ordinating the activities of the various schools as well as for supplying them with proper school books and able school masters. Marshman, the veteran Missionary worker of Serampore, wrote a pamphlet, drawing attention to the need for such organisation, which immediately roused the interest of many Europeans in Calcutta. Consequently, in 1817 through the combined effort of a small group of Indians, Europeans and Missionaries, the Calcutta School Book Society was established on a non-religious basis to promote "the moral and intellectual improvement of the Natives by diffusion among them of useful elementary knowledge". This Society was placed under the management of a Committee consisting of both Europeans and Indians in about equal proportion. By 1821 it had published 1,26,446 copies of "various useful works."\textsuperscript{48} Many of them being elementary scientific works prepared for the benefit of young men.\textsuperscript{49} The Society, however, could not pay its way and in 1821 had to apply to Government for help. The Government considered it "impossible to withhold its approbation from a scheme in which Europeans, Mussalmans and Hindus are combined in the noble cause of diffusing light and information throughout this land of ignorance", so much the more because the Directors had already "evinced their disposition to aid the extension of the benefit of education among the natives by sanctioning a monthly donation for the support of the Schools originally established by the late Mr. May at Chinsurah." The Government, therefore, made to the Society an immediate

\textsuperscript{47} Wilson 569—70. Vol II
relief grant of Rs. 7000 and a further grant of Rs. 500 per month.  

The comparative success of the School Book Society led its founders to establish the Calcutta School Society in 1819. Its object was to open schools in Calcutta and its vicinity and to prepare teachers for the improvement of the indigenous schools. The Managing Committee of the Society was divided into three sub-committees; the first was to establish and support a limited number of "regular schools" wholly controlled and supported by the Society and imparting an uniform system of education; the second sub-committee was to encourage and improve the indigenous schools, that is "seminaries originated and supported by the Natives themselves" and the third one was meant to provide in Calcutta "English and higher branches of tuition". From the Report of 1820 it was evident that the success of the Society was most striking in the second department "though half its resources and expedients have not yet been brought into action." The success in the first year tempted the Society to extend its field of activity and it declared that "Adult and female education, the extension and improvement of the indigenous system and the instruction of a greater number of clever boys in English as well as providing some of them with the means of acquiring scientific instruction are all objects of great importance to be vigorously pursued in this metropolis and its vicinity". Within a year about 2,800 students came under its supervision and an English School was established, admittance to which was made the reward of distinction in the Native Seminaries. Many other schools in the neighbourhood of Calcutta applied for affiliation to the Society "but the Committee, thinking it more prudent in the first instance to extend and consolidate the system within Calcutta—reluctantly declined compliance for the present."  

financial difficulties and had to apply to Government for help and was thenceforth granted Rs. 6,000 per annum.

One of the objects of this Society, the education of girls, had already been taken up by the Missionaries, who, however, had at first confined their activities to the Europeans and Indian Christians; but soon their success in the dissemination of education greatly encouraged them and they gradually extended their pioneer work of female education to the other sections of the population. Soon many Indians, and some Europeans including several Government officials became interested in the matter. The Calcutta School Society had by 1820 established five regular schools in Calcutta for the education of girls; David Hare, the philanthropic watchmaker of Calcutta had also established a school for girls at Arpooli much at the same time and had been defraying the expenses himself. Apart from these activities, an organisation exclusively for the purpose of establishing and supporting Bengali female schools was founded, shortly before 1820. In the beginning there was a great deal of difficulty in procuring Indian teachers, but in April 1820 the services of a well-qualified mistress were secured and thirteen students were collected for receiving tuition. The Society gradually established schools in Shambazar, Jaunbazar, Intali and other localities of Calcutta. Certain sections of Indians soon realised the importance and benefits of female education. Raja Radha Kanta Dev, one of the leading Hindus wrote a pamphlet in Bengali called "Stri Siksha Vidhayaka" showing that female education was customary among the higher classes of Hindus and that if encouraged it would produce beneficial results. He also showed his eagerness by conducting examinations which were periodically held in his house.

The Bengal Christian School Society, formerly called the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society was later changed into

52. Sel, from Educ. Rec. II, 35.
53. Ibid. 35-6.
Ladies' Society for Native Female Education. David Hare, indefatigable in his exertions, was one of its patrons and encouraged it by liberal subscriptions and by his presence at the periodical examinations.\(^5\) By 1823 the number of girls' schools in Bengal had increased to 22 imparting education to 400 students. But although no help was forthcoming from the Government, the Marchioness of Hastings took a very keen interest in the matter and "not only patronized the commencement, but gave work to be done by the children, and a few days before her departure from India, visited in person most of the schools, inspected the classes, commending those who had the greatest proficiency and encouraged them by rewards."\(^4\)

Thus the period between 1813 and 1821 saw the first signs of a wide-spread attempt to disseminate education among Indians and to acquaint them with a knowledge of English language and literature. Hitherto educational activities had been confined to the Missionaries alone and they had been actuated simply by a desire to destroy the foundations of Hinduism and to prepare the way for the reception of Christianity. But from 1813 onwards the dissemination of education became an object of the Government's attention; and though severely handicapped by lack of money and constant political disturbances, the Governor General devoted the little attention he could to educational matters. The Missionaries also were, as always, untiring in their endeavours. These attempts were greatly aided by the emergence of two factors. The first was the interest shown by a certain section of Indians towards education, especially English education; and the second was ready assistance, which certain Europeans—both official and unofficial—offered to every honest attempt to enlighten the Indians of Bengal. Thus the period from 1813-1821 far from being unproductive was a period in which foundations were laid for the future development of English Education in Bengal.

54. Ibid. 37.
CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH EDUCATION
IN BENGAL
(1821-30)

The year 1821 marked a turning point in the development of the educational policy of the Company’s Government in Bengal. By this year the Government had been freed from the prolonged series of wars which had started in 1814 and had ended with the establishment of the Company as the paramount power in India. This year also the Government for the first time since 1813 had a considerable surplus, part of which it could employ for the purposes of education in the British territories in India, according to the terms of the Charter Act of 1813. Hence, Hastings determined to put into operation the provision made by Parliament in 1813 for the dissemination of education among Indians.

The Government first turned its attention to the probability of establishing the two Sanskrit colleges as proposed by Minto in 1811. But as the failure of the projected institutions was obvious and admitted of no doubt, the Government considered itself under no obligation to re-establish them. At this time H. H. Wilson, member of the Benares Committee, presented a note to the Government urging that the former scheme for the establishment of Sanskrit colleges should be given up and an institution similar to that at Benares but on a larger scale be established in Calcutta. “The necessity for European Superintendence, the facility with which it might be obtained in Calcutta, the accessibility of that city to all parts of India... determined the Governor General in Council to adopt the measure proposed”¹ Consequently, a Committee of management was appointed, with Lieutenant Colonel Price as Secretary,

to arrange for the establishment of the institution. The Government sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 25,000 for the maintenance of the institution and made an extraordinary grant of Rs. 1,20,000 for the erection of the college building. This institution was to have a two-fold object, namely, "the cultivation of Hindu Literature and the gradual diffusion of European Knowledge through the medium of the sacred language." The latter was declared to be "a purpose of much deeper interest" and the Committee was asked "to seek every practicable means" to accomplish it.\textsuperscript{2}

Thus as early as 1821 the Government openly avowed the communication of merely traditional classical education was insufficient for the moral and intellectual improvement of the people. Certain sections of Indians, especially of the Hindus, had already realised this. Even some of the officers of the Government in charge of the Government Seminaries now began to advocate the cultivation of European science and arts in those institutions.

In 1822 Lumsden, Secretary to the Calcutta Madrassa suggested to the Madrassa Committee, various reforms to render the studies pursued there "more useful to the student and the state alike,"\textsuperscript{3} and as a result of his activity the Madrassa Committee informed the Government of the reforms which had already been made, and declared that "the reforms which yet remain to be effected, are of a much more delicate nature... They consist in selecting a better class of books in certain branches of Science than that which constitutes the present course of study and in directing the labour of the students into the channels most likely to be useful to themselves and the State." But they disapproved the adoption of any foreign element in the course of study, against the wishes of the people.\textsuperscript{4}

The Government at this time had not yet seriously taken up the question of educational policy and had, therefore,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[3] Lumsden—Mad. Com. 9th June 1822, Board’s Coll. 908 F. 237.
\item[4] Mad. Com. to Govt, 22nd July 1822, Board’s Coll. 908 F. 203
\end{footnotes}
little knowledge of educational matters or of the sentiments of the people on that subject. Consequently, they adopted an extremely cautious attitude and advised the Committee that “in all attempts at improvement... you should endeavour to carry with you the voice of the educated classes of the community. Even what is useless, if highly prized must not be hastily rejected and where there is so much lumber in the learning of the people, the selection of what is valuable in the works actually studied is naturally the first step in the introduction of an improved system of study.”

But Oriental education, as then generally pursued, was fast becoming an anachronism and its futility was gradually becoming manifest. Lumsden, therefore, again drew the attention of the Government to the need of reform in the course of study pursued at the Madrassa. He proposed to remodel the primary text books “retaining whatever is useful and rejecting whatever would be deemed superfluous, trifling, erroneous or objectionable according to the European taste”. Moreover, he urged the adoption of such measures as would gradually introduce among students, a taste for English literature and science, which he considered to be the only effectual means of opening their eyes to the faults of their own systems. This dissemination of European learning, he proposed to achieve, through translations of some appropriate English scientific works into Persian and Arabic and for that purpose he recommended the appointment of one Abdur Rahim who had already translated some English works into Arabic. For some time past Lumsden had engaged him for that object on his own account; but since the cost had become too great for him he asked the Government to relieve him and to take Abdur Rahim under its patronage. Lumsden also stressed the necessity of establishing a preparatory school in order to rectify the defective primary education of the students who sought admission into the Madrassa. The Madrassa Committee went far beyond these proposals and requested the

Governor General in Council to establish elementary schools in every district under the patronage or control of the Government and to award “Jageers” or scholarship to the students as reward. This, they hoped, would give the opportunity of acquiring higher education to students throughout the country. As to the diffusion of European science and literature there was a considerable difference of opinion in the Committee itself and a majority of the members deemed the object “to be rather foreign to the views with which the Madrassa was originally established and endowed” and, therefore, did not consider themselves “to be called upon to submit any recommendation on the subject”. The Madrassa Committee in these days, being the only organisation in the metropolis charged with educational matters, played much the same part as the General Committee of Public Instruction did in later times and its views had a great influence on the Government which had little time to spare for educational matters. Hence, the Governor General in Council took a very cautious attitude and although declaring themselves decidedly in favour of disseminating European science and literature among the people of India, postponed taking any decision until the formation of the General Committee of Public Instruction which was then about to be established at Calcutta. Thus between the period 1821 to 1823, the Government approached the question of educational policy with extreme caution, which naturally enough was due to the magnitude of the subject, hitherto unexplored and the ignorance of the Government and its officials as to the exact condition of education at Calcutta and the sentiments of the people thereon.

But the Government was determined, for the time being at least, to tackle the educational problem seriously, to find out the state of education in the province, the means of its improvement as well as the possibility on introducing the study

8. Govt’s. Reply to Mad. Com. 3rd July 1823, Board’s Coll. 908. F. 422
of European among Indians, the means of effecting it, and also the sentiments of the people thereon. Moreover, having for the past three years enjoyed a large surplus, the Government felt itself secure financially, and decided to pursue a general policy towards educational matters not only in Calcutta but throughout the province.

Consequently, on 17th July 1823, the Governor General in Council took into consideration a note on that subject presented by Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government in the Territorial Department. In this note Mackenzie drew the attention of the Government to the necessity of adopting proper measures for the moral and intellectual improvement of Indians. He suggested that the introduction of European Science should form "an early part of the general scheme and should authoritatively be indicated by Government as such" and that the Government should apply itself chiefly to the instruction of those who will themselves be teachers (including of course in the term many, who never appear as professed masters, and also translators from the European into the native languages) and to the translation, compilation, and publication of useful works". When these objects have been provided for, the more immediate objects of the Government, Mackenzie considered, should be to support and establish "Colleges for the instruction of what may be called the educated and influential classes" rather than "the support and establishment of elementary schools". He considered it impossible to provide for the education of the great body of the people, at least, under the existing condition. 9 Means of education for the ordinary purposes of life, he thought, were well supplied and believed that much improvement may be effected in the Native Seminaries at a small cost, by supplying them with books and instructors. "The education of the great body of the people", he declared, "can never be

9. Mackenzie did not describe what he meant by the existing condition. He probably referred to the want of properly qualified teachers, absence of suitable text books, inaccessibility of the villages and above all the limitation of funds,
expected to extend beyond what is necessary for the business of life; and it is only therefore through religious exercises, which form a great part of the business of life, that the labourer will turn his thoughts on things above the common drudgery, by which he earns his subsistence”. This, he believed, could be done “under the Christian Scheme alone”. Dismissing the problem of elementary education, he turned to discuss secondary or higher education. Regarding the course of instruction in this branch of education he advocated the “Association of Oriental learning with European Science and the general introduction of the latter, without any attempt arbitrarily to supersede the former.” Elucidating his plan Mackenzie declared “it implies, too, the support and patronage of existing institutions, so far at least as the furnishing them with masters and supplying them with translators. And further if......means suffice, it implies a more positive encouragement to learned Natives and consists well with the resolution (supposing the funds for the first objects supplied), to establish new institutions for the instruction of Natives in the learning of the East and of the West together.” He preferred English as the medium of instruction, because, its cultivation would facilitate the development of a community of language and he believed that the difficulties of introducing it had been greatly overrated. Therefore, he proposed the establishment of a General Committee of Public Instruction for giving effect to his proposals as well as for taking into early consideration the various suggestions made by the Madrassa Committee and for the establishment of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.¹⁰

As a result, the Governor General in Council resolved to constitute a General Committee of Public Instruction “for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education in this part and public institutions designed for its promotion, and of considering and from time to time submitting to

¹⁰ Revenue Consulation. Territorial Department 17th July 1823.
Sel. Educ, Rec. I. 57-64.
Government the suggestion of such measures, as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge to the improvement of their moral character", and "to appropriate to the object of public education the sum of one lac of rupees per annum, in addition to such assignments as were made by the British Government, previously to the Act 53rd of his late Majesty; and likewise of course exclusively of any endowments which may have been or may be made by individuals, applicable to the purpose." The Committee was accordingly constituted with W. H. Harrington as President; H. H. Wilson as Secretary and J. P. Larkins, W. B. Martin, W. B. Bayley, H. Shakespeare, H. Mackenzie, H. T. Prinsep, J. C. Sutherland and A. Stiling as members. Most of these members were Oriental scholars of repute and the only wholehearted champion of "English Education" was Holt Mackenzie. Lumsden, a man of experience in educational matters and an advocate of the introduction of European science among Indians, was not included in the Committee. All the members held high positions in the Government and so they had little time or inclination to give much thought to their newly assigned and unremunerative task. Moreover, none of them was especially qualified to determine an educational policy. They had spent practically the whole of their official career in the civil, medical or military service and now they found themselves suddenly elevated to the position of experts on educational matters. Besides, their official experience had taught them to pay a great deal of consideration to the religious prejudices of Indians, which the Government had always been at great pains, not to rouse. The Committee, therefore, was ever apprehensive of hurting the sentiments of the people and never wanted to take any steps which might create antagonism. Consequently, as a rule it awaited rather than anticipated events. This policy of conciliating Indian opinion, the Committee often carried beyond

reasonable limits, even when the Indians themselves wanted the policy to be otherwise as shall presently be seen. Hence the Committee's educational policy between 1823 and 1826 degenerated into a confused and confusing series of experiment which were always abandoned whilst still incomplete.

The newly constituted Committee was to supersede all the existing committees entrusted with the management of educational institutions in Bengal, and was to appoint and superintend sub-committees or individual members for the management of those institutions. The first task was to communicate with the local Agents throughout the Province, in order to ascertain what private endowments existed in the several districts applicable to purposes of education, and to make arrangements for the establishment of the proposed Sanskrit College at Calcutta. The jurisdiction of the Committee was confined to the Government seminaries in which the Committee was to introduce the study of "useful knowledge including the Sciences and Arts of Europe"; but it was expected to "communicate with, and encourage all persons, native or European", who might be engaged in the management and support of private institutions, and to "afford assistance in providing for the safe custody and improvement of any funds which may be devoted to the object of education by individuals."

After the establishment of the General Committee the Committee of Management for the proposed Sanskrit College at Calcutta was merged with it. The General Committee on turning its attention to the founding of the college, decided, in the beginning, to confine the course of study to be pursued there to the classical learning of the Hindus, in spite of the fact that this diverged from the original plan of the Government which wanted to use this institution, mainly for conveying a knowledge of European science to the students through Sanskrit language. The attitude of the Committee however

was justifiable under the circumstances. The Committee had just been formed and its members had not yet acquired even a working knowledge of the existing educational system or of the prejudice of the Hindus against any innovation. Further in order to communicate European science, two things were necessary namely, to translate an adequate number of text books into Sanskrit and to procure qualified teachers to convey such information to the students. Both of these would have taken a long time to achieve. Moreover, in order to receive instruction in a highly developed subject like European science through the medium of a classical language, the students must necessarily have to be, previously, well grounded in that language. Hence the Committee was essentially right in deciding to confine the studies, in the first instance, to the classical Hindu learning. But the fault of the Committee lay in the fact that while advocating this policy it did not make any provision for the subsequent introduction of European science into the seminary; not only that, it side-tracked the question altogether.

The Governor General in Council, however, disagreed with the Committee’s proposed policy. They were, however, fully cognisant of the danger of arousing the hostility of Indians, the necessity of conciliating their feelings and the impracticability of persuading them to relinquish so suddenly that they had long prized highly, though that might be “intrinsically worthless”. Nevertheless, they considered “that the time is now come when in any seminary to be established at the Presidency some provision should be made for the gradual introduction of European science”. Apart from these considerations there was another factor which probably exerted more influence than anything else in determining the Government’s policy towards education; namely, finance. The limited nature of the funds available and the vastness of the undertaking compelled the Government to discontinue the expenditure of any part of the money at its disposals on subjects which were of secondary importance or which it considered to be “utterly worthless”. Hence, the Government referred the matter back
to the General Committee for re-consideration and modification and informed the Directors accordingly.¹³

Meanwhile, this expression of the Government's opinion, coinciding with its approval of an application made by the Managers of the Anglo-Indian College for assistance caused the Committee temporarily to alter its plan. The Anglo-Indian College had for some time past been suffering from financial difficulties. Expenditure on a lavish scale had reduced its fund from about Rs. 1,50,000 to Rs. 60,000. Apart from this, its only other source of income was the monthly payment of Rs. 150 made by the Calcutta School Society for the instruction of 30 boys, belonging to that Society's Schools. The students of the College itself had not only to be taught gratis, but had to be supplied with books and other necessary requirements and some of them had even to be given stipends. Consequently, a large number of students had to be refused admission every year and the roll generally fluctuated between 80 and 100. So, the managers and supporters of the College had approached the Government for financial assistance and had requested that the College should be removed to the vicinity of the Sanskrit College, then about to be established, so that the two institutions would be able to assist and supplement each other. They had also solicited the Governor General to be the patron of the College.¹⁴

Since the General Committee had not yet been formed, the Governor General had forwarded the petition to Harrington, who later became the President of the General Committee; Harrington asked Wilson, the future Secretary of the General Committee, for his opinion, especially as to the desirability of uniting the two institutions.¹⁵ Wilson replied in a Memorandum setting forth his ideas and sentiments on the question.

¹³ Rev. Let. from Bengal, 30th July 1823. Board's Coll. 908, f. 1
He pointed out the difficulty as well as the disadvantage of uniting a college established by Government expressly for classical education with one established through private enterprise chiefly for the dissemination of English Education. He also drew the Government's attention to the fact that neither of the institutions had any funds to spare and that if the Sanskrit College were thrown open, Brahmin students would not seek admission there. He, however, thought that some sort of connection would be advantageous to both, and although sceptical about the practicability or utility of introducing English education on a large scale, he considered it not altogether impossible "to include this important end in the objects of the College to an extent that may be sufficient for all present purposes which will at any rate furnish an experimental guide to a calculation of future probabilities." As for the present, he suggested that the higher departments of English literature and Physical and Experimental Philosophy of the two Colleges should be combined and that gratuitous instructions in them be given to the advanced students of both the institutions through the medium of English language. To induce the students to join the classes, he further proposed that boys in each class should be given a monthly allowance of Rs. 5 each and estimated the cost of the whole plan at Rs. 10,000, in conclusion, he recommended that for the better superintendence of the Anglo-Indian College, the European Committee of the Sanskrit College should be appointed Visitors of the former institution. Harrington approved of and forwarded these proposals to the Government.

The Governor General in Council considered them on the same day that the General Committee was formed. The weight of the opinions of Harrington and Wilson, who became respectively the President and the Secretary of the Committee and the natural desire of the Government to shape its activities according to the policy laid down by Holt Mackenzie in

17. Beng. Pub. Cons. 41 of July 17, 1823, Board's Coll. 909 F. 789...
his Note and ratified by Government’s subsequent Resolution, led the Governor General in Council to resolve to give public support to the Anglo-Indian College and to amalgamate its higher classes with those of the Sanskrit College. At the same time the chance arrival of some “Philosophical Apparatus” from England sent by the British Association rendered the occasion suitable for the Government to endow a Professorship or Experimental Philosophy. In addition, the Governor General consented to construct a building for the Anglo-Indian College and also to be its patron. ¹⁸

The General Committee which was entrusted with the execution of the Government’s proposals finding that the Government had disapproved of its plan to confine the studies in the proposed Sanskrit College to the sacred literature of the Hindus, now advised the Government to effect the union of European and Hindu learning in an unobtrusive manner so as not to excite alarm among the Brahmin students of the college and hoped that “the union of European and Hindu learning being thus quietly effected in one case, it will hereafter be comparatively easy to carry the combination into other departments and the improved cultivation of science and literature may thus be successfully and exclusively promoted”. The Committee, therefore, urged the Government to put into operation the plan formerly worked out by Harrington and Wilson for combining the higher classes of the Anglo-Indian College and the proposed Sanskrit College. Adverting to the course of study to be followed in the combined class, it suggested that the proposed Professor of Experimental Philosophy should deliver lectures on Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Electricity, Astronomy and Chemistry! The Committee also thought that it might be advisable to throw the lectures open to the public at a moderate charge. It, further, declared that “the lads of the Native Colleges should not be permitted to attend philosophical class unless they are well grounded in the English language” and suggested

¹⁸. Beng. Proc. Gen. Dept., No. 43 of 17th July 1823, Board’s Coll, 909. F. 807...
that a teacher should be procured from England on £500 per annum for the tuition of about two dozen students taken in about equal proportions from both the Colleges.\textsuperscript{19}

The College was established in 1824 with a staff of 14 Pandits and 100 scholars. The lectures on scientific subjects commenced in July 1824 but the students of the Sanskrit College derived little benefit from them because the lectures were given in English and none of the students of that College knew enough English to follow the lectures.\textsuperscript{20}

The General Committee was obviously carried away with enthusiasm for English education and the members wanted to show their zeal for their newly assigned task. But in this the Committee very much under estimated the difficulties of imparting such a comprehensive knowledge of European sciences in English language to the students. One teacher, however, qualified could not possibly have instructed students, in so many different and divergent subjects; and the little knowledge imparted by him would necessarily have been of a very elementary character, which would have been of little, if any, use at all to the students. The Committee’s proposal to limit the science class to students possessing a good knowledge of the English language was a very commendable one, in that it recognised the fact hitherto unrealised and subsequently overlooked that a proper and adequate acquaintance with the sciences of Europe could be made available to the students only through one of the European languages. Besides, the communication of a knowledge of the European science through translations into Sanskrit would have been a most cumbersome and practically ineffective process. It would have taken a very long time to translate suitable text book into Sanskrit and even then, the knowledge of the students would have been confined only to the books thus translated. Apart from this, it was always extremely difficult to find people properly qualified to translate English scientific works into Sanskrit. Such a task would


\textsuperscript{20} Kerr—Rev. of Pub. Instruc. in Beng. Press. II. 58.
have required a mastery of both the languages and a good acquaintance with European science, and although some of the Company's officers had the requisite qualifications, they did not have enough time at their disposal. Further, such a task would have involved huge expenses, which the Government both at home and in Bengal were unwilling to sanction. Hence, so far, the Committee's plan was very sound. But while advocating that a well grounded knowledge of English should be a necessary condition of admission into the science class, the Committee apparently forgot that no provision had been made to enable the students of the Sanskrit College to acquire a knowledge of English language. The Committee, obviously, thought that its proposal would lead to the formation of an English class in that institution; but the Government did not pay any attention to it and the Committee also shelved the matter.

The difficulty of teaching European science, through the English language, under the existing conditions, soon became obvious to the General Committee. Hence, while dealing with the question of teaching European science in the Madrassa, which had been postponed pending the constitution of the General Committee, it fell back upon the proposals originally made by Lumsden and recommended to the Government the appointment of Abdur Rahim for translating English scientific works into Arabic and Persian. Lumsden, however, did not wait for Government's approval and took steps to introduce the study of arithmetic and mathematics into that institution and also proposed to cultivate the higher branches of sciences there. The Government did not take any immediate steps but sanctioned the measure adopted by Lumsden and also the establishment of a Preparatory School in connection with the Madrassa.

21. The Committee were at first divided on the question, but pressure from Government decided the issue. Gen. Com. Gov. Gen. in Coun. 20th Jan. 1824, Board's Coll. 909, f. 653....
22. Lumsden to Gen. Com. 29th March 1824, Borad's Coll. 909, f. 677...
Meanwhile, the Government’s Despatch of July 1823 had reached the Directors. At this time utilitarian thinkers were exercising a strong influence in England. James Mill, the most famous disciple of Bentham, had, in 1814, formed an association for establishing a “Chrestomatic” institution for superior education. By 1825, the movement for establishing a non-sectarian university in London had gained momentum. Brougham, Russell and Thomas Campbell inspired by Benthamite ideas decided to establish a University College in London and in this they were supported by liberals and radicals including Macaulay, Grote and James Mill. The College was established in 1827. It was free from religious tests and was to teach science, economics and other modern subjects. This institution together with its Anglican rival, the King’s College formed the University of London in 1836. During this period James Mill held important posts at East India House and exerted considerable influence on the Directors and their policy. Utilitarian influence at East India House was continued and maintained by his son John Stuart Mill who joined the staff as junior clerk in 1823, rose to high position and retired on a pension in 1858 when the Company was abolished. Between 1825 and 1836 he drafted most of the despatches sent out to India on education. Hence, the Director’s views were greatly shaped by utilitarian ideas. Unaware of the developments which had taken place since that time, they expressed their profound distrust of the type of education the Committee had proposed to impart in the Sanskrit College as well as of the course of study followed in the Madrassa; and reminded the Governor General in Council that “the great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning but useful learning”. They declared “In professing to establish Seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo, or mere Mahommedan literature, you bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous,

24. James Mill (1773-1836)—Assistant to Examiner of Correspondence 1819; Second Assistant 1821; Assistant Examiner 1823; Examiner of Correspondence 1830.

not a little of which was purely mischievous", and observed
that the idea of establishing seminaries for oriental learning
was "originally and fundamentally erroneous". Nevertheless,
they warned the Government that "in the institution which
exist on a particular footing alterations should not be intro-
duced more rapidly than a due regard to existing interests and
feelings will dictate", although "incessant endeavours should
be used to supersede what is useless or worse, in the present
course of study by what...better knowledge will recommend."
They approved of the Government's selecting Calcutta as
the seat of the new College at that would enable the Govern-
ment to "consult the principle of utility in the course of study"
without being hampered by any previous practice as would
have happened in Nuddea or Tirhoot. They, however, asked
the Governor General to submit to them a detailed plan and
await their opinion.26

But the College had been established before the receipt
of this Despatch. But as it dealt with the question of educa-
tional policy in general, the Governor General forwarded it
to the General Committee now vacillating between a desire to
pursue at least temporarily the existing type of classical
education and the claims of education in Western sciences,
were roused by this Despatch to put forward a strong defence
of the policy hitherto followed by the Government and its
agencies towards education. The Committee claimed that
hitherto the educational policy had been dictated by circum-
stances since no benefit would have accrued from a course of
instruction which neither the Hindus nor the Mahommedans
were ready to pursue. "Instruction in the English language"
they asserted, "could have been attempted on the most limited
scale and as they could not have been at all introduced into
seminaries designed for the general instruction of the educated
and influential classes of the natives, the success of the attempt
may well be doubted.27

93-8.
Regarding the Sanskrit College at Calcutta, they pointed out that it was substituted for the two Colleges proposed to be established at Nuddea and Tirhoot, but stated that although "the Government may be considered pledged to the character of the institution...the pledge does not...extend to bar the cautious and gradual introduction of European Science in connection with the learning which the people love." Strangely enough, the Committee, in the face of the growing demand for English education among Indians, and the suggestions already made to meet that demand by many of the high officials of the Government as well as by the Government and the Committee itself declared that the Government had no alternative as instruction in European science was "neither amongst the sensible wants of the people, nor in the power of the Government to bestow", and that European literature was held in "slight estimation" by the people. They also drew attention to the difficulty of disseminating European learning through the classical media as well as to the want for properly qualified teachers and suitable text books. To remedy this defect the Committee declared, "Until the means are provided...we must be content to avail ourselves of the few and partial opportunities that may occur for giving encouragement to the extension of a knowledge of the English language amongst those classes, whence future preceptors and translators may be reared. To do this with any good effect...we must qualify the same individuals highly in their own system as well as ours in order that they may be as competent to refute errors as to impart truth, if we would wish them to exercise any influence on the minds of their countrymen". The Committee, further, considered "the actual state of public filling still an impediment to any general introduction of Western literature and science". In conclusion, they told the Government that there was more useful material in the Hindu learning than the Directors estimated, and in view of all these circumstances decided for the time being to "go with the tide of popular prejudice."

The Committee, however, had grossly overrated the prejudice against European education and English language. The demand for education in Western science had already been manifested by the enthusiasm shown for the Anglo-Indian College. The importance and practicability of instruction in European science had also been advocated by the Madrasa authorities and the popularity of private schools teaching English, especially that of Ram Mohan Roy had proved that at least certain sections of Indians were ready and even eager to receive tuition in English language and in European science and literature. Apart from this a recent incident had shown the hostility of several well-known Bengalis to the cultivation of more oriental learning and their eagerness to take every opportunity for disseminating European science and literature. On hearing of the General Committee’s decision to confine the studies in the Sanskrit College to the sacred literature of the Hindus, Ram Mohan Roy, on behalf of the Indian Community had protested vigorously to the Governor General. “This seminary”, he had contended, “can only be expected to load the minds of youths with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to Society. The pupils there would acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties, since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.” He had, therefore, requested the Government to “promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Anatomy with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe and providing a College furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.”

As the Government had, in the meantime, made arrangements for a combined science class; the Governor General considered

the letter to have been "written under an imperfect and erroneous conception of the plan of study which it proposed to introduce into the new College", and forwarded it to the General Committee with the observation that it was "not calculated to call for any answer on the part of the Government". The General Committee declared the statement made in the letter to be "a dereliction of truth which cancels the claim of its author to respectful consideration" and pointed out that though Ram Mohun had claimed to speak for his countrymen yet his letter contained his signature alone, and he, too, was known to cherish opinions hostile to those of his countrymen. But the fact that Ram Mohun was not the only Indian to advocate the spread of European education was shown by the eagerness with which other Indians made liberal donations towards the education of the people of their country. Colly Shankar (Kali Shankar) Ghoshal, son of Jainarain Ghoshal, the founder of Benares English School, offered Rs. 20,000 to the General Committee for the improvement of education in Benares. Shortly after, Raja Hurrinath Roy, donated Rs. 22,000 for the spread of education in Calcutta. Another important Indian Raja Buddinath Roy approached the Committee with an offer of a donation of a lac of rupees to be appropriated as follows: Rs. 50,000 for the Committee’s Fund; Rs. 30,000 for the native hospital and Rs. 20,000 for the Ladies’ Society for Native Female Education.

The donation made for the advance of Female Education was specially illustrative of the fact that the long standing prejudice of Indians against Western education and Western ideas was fast disappearing. By 1823 the number of schools for girls had increased to 22 with 400 pupils on the roll. By

34. Ibid, i, 977.
1824 the number of students rose to about 500. The relative popularity of female education in spite of the fact that it was in direct contravention to the prevalent practice and ideas of Indians, and in spite of the fact that it was directly connected with the Missionary activities, showed to what a great extent the Indians had overcome their prejudice against things that savoured of the West. The Indians, specially the Hindoos, had not only overcome their prejudice but many of them were actively engaged in furthering the cause of female education. Prominent Hindus like Raja Radhakant Dev, and Raja Buddinath Roy, and Europeans like David Hare and Miss Cooke (later Mrs. Wilson) greatly helped this new undertaking by liberal donations and unremitted toil.

In view of these developments it is extremely difficult to reconcile the Committee's contentions with actual facts. There was no doubt as to the reality of the demand among certain sections of Indians for an acquaintance with the science and literature of Europe. It is true that this section was very small and was confined to the higher classes of the community, but then, education itself was in those days confined to the higher classes and it was the declared object of the Committee to educate those classes first. The Committee also grossly over-estimated the antipathy of Indians when they asserted that instruction in European science was neither among the sensible wants of the people nor was it in the power of the Government to bestow. The people had made their demand sufficiently clear, the officers of the Government charged with educational matters such as Lumsden, had already borne testimony to that and the General Committee itself had admitted it when they had advised the Government to establish a combined science class and endow a Professorship.

It is, however, unkind to lay the whole blame on the Committee. Its position was unenviable. Its members could devote but a negligible portion of their time to their newly acquired and unremunerative task. They had no means of ascertaining what the people wanted and the absence of any Indian member on the Committee made their task all
the more difficult. They could not wholly rely upon the advanced section of the Indians, because some of them by their recent antagonism to Ram Mohun Roy had shown that they; too, were liable to be extremely hostile if their religious prejudice was excited. Apart from this the Committee had to take into account the orthodox section of the Indians who formed the vast majority of the people and whose sentiments, the Committee had hardly any means of ascertaining.

Meanwhile the Committee had been carrying on negotiations with the managers and supporters of the Anglo-Indian College to settle the conditions on which they could grant financial assistance which the latter had asked for. This institution had again been suffering from financial difficulties and had not been able to meet adequately the growing demand for instruction in European science and English language. Hence in June 1824 the managers and supporters of the College had again approached the Government with a request to be provided with proper accommodation and a well qualified teacher of European science to be paid by the Committee. The General Committee signified its readiness to consider the proposals favourably on the condition that a proportional share of the authority over that institution should be vested in the Committee.

The managers wanted to know the exact nature of the terms and on their part proposed to put the College under the control of a Committee to be composed of an equal number of members from both parties. Wilson on behalf of the General Committee informed the managers that the Committee in proposing to exercise any authority over the College had in view only the due administration of the funds which the Government might from time to time supply, in order to make that institution “a Seminary of the highest possible

35. Managers and supporters to Gen. Com. 30th Jan. 1824. Board’s Coll, 909 ff. 863...
36. Wilson—Managers and supporters. 28th May 1824. Board’s Coll, 909 ff. 871...
37. Managers and supporters to Wilson, 1st July 1824. Ibid, ff. 873...
description for the cultivation of the English language" and for that purpose desired to exercise the right of inspection and supervision and to be regularly furnished with the reports of the institution. 38 The managers consented to this proposal 39 The General Committee, accordingly recommended to the Government the grant of Rs. 200 per month for house rent and the appointment of David Ross, foreman of the Calcutta Mint, as the teacher of Natural Science on a monthly salary of Rs. 300. 40 Wilson, was appointed Visitor of the College. These were sanctioned. 41

This College, however, continued to claim the attention of the Government which considered it to be a good field of experiment for the introduction of English Education, especially as this institution was the direct outcome of the spontaneous desire on the part of Indians to get an acquaintance with European science and literature through the English language. This institution also played another important role in that its frequent solicitation for help made the Government pay more attention to English education, and thus help its growth; and the success of English education there convinced the Government of the reality of its demand among Indians.

In spite of the help so recently rendered, the Anglo-Indian College could not overcome its financial difficulties. Lavish expenditure had reduced the income from its original fund to only Rs. 400 per month. The College had to instruct 100 boys, 70 of whom were taught free and were supplied with "books and materials of study". In order to avoid approaching the Government again, the managers opened the College to "pay scholars" who were charged at the rate of Rs. 5 per month. This enabled them to admit about 100 more students into the College, to whom admission would normally have

38. Wilson to All. Coll. 6th Aug. 1824, Ibid, f. 877...
39. Managers and supporters to Wilson 22nd Sept. 1824, Board’s Coll. 909. ff. 870...
41. Gov. Gen. in Council to Court of Directors 27th Jan. 1826, Pers. Dept. Board’s Coll. 908 ff. 116...
been refused for want of funds. The success of this scheme led Wilson to suggest that the students should also be charged for books and the other requisites supplied to them. Further as a reward of this commendable exertion on the part of the College authorities, Wilson requested the Government to make another monthly grant of Rs. 300 as well as a yearly grant of Rs. 175 for annual prizes. Moreover, to encourage the study of English in that institution he suggested the establishment of a small library, and also advocated the introduction of the study of mathematics. 42 It is important to note here that Wilson, who was Secretary to the General Committee was also the Visitor of the Anglo-Indian College; hence his recommendation of any proposals usually meant its adoption by the Committee as well as by the Government. Moreover, this connection between this College and the General Committee through Wilson greatly helped the growth of English education in Calcutta. Wilson, although a great Oriental scholar, was through his constant association with the Anglo-Indian College being gradually convinced of the necessity as well as of the practicability of disseminating English education among the Indians on a large scale. His views he impressed upon the Committee and thus greatly helped it to overcome its often exaggerated attachment for Oriental education.

The General Committee accepted Wilson’s proposals and asked the Government’s permission to put them into operation and also drew its attention to the indispensability of procuring teachers from England. 43 The Government not only approved of these proposals but asked the Committee to render the institution financially independent of the Government, by charging monthly fees from all the students. 44 This was done and before long the only students taught gratis were those on the foundation and those who were ‘nominated’

42. Wilson’s Report on the Anglo-Indian College. 26th Jan. 1825, Board’s Coll, 909 ff. 896....
44. Stirling to Gen. Com. 20th May 1825. Board’s Coll, 909, ff. 929.
by donors of Rs 10,000 or more. But even in the case of these students, the expenses of their tuition were defrayed from the interest on the original contributions and on the donations respectively.

The Committee had, to its own satisfaction, defended the educational policy before the Government and the Court of Directors. But pressure against its policy continued to be exerted by a person who though unconnected with the Government or the Committee had greater knowledge of educational matters than either of them. Reverend Mill, Principal of the Bishop’s College, Calcutta and Reverend Thomason, who jointly conducted the annual examination of the Madrassa in 1825 urged that in order to make the studies pursued there, really useful to the students, the Government must take early steps to provide for better and more comprehensive instruction in European sciences. They, unlike the General Committee had at once realised that if the Government wanted to disseminate effectively a knowledge of European sciences among the students, it must be done through the medium of the English language. “To provide for the study of the student”, Thomason declared, “will be a task of great labour, and if the vehicle of science must be Arabic or Sanskrit, it is obvious that the knowledge acquired by the few and scanty publications which can be prepared in those languages must be very limited. A great deal, therefore, would be gained, if instead of translating books into the Eastern languages, scientific instructions were conveyed in English; a multitude of books would be at command, admirably fitted for every kind and degree of mathematical learning from things most elementary to most profound treatises”. He was, moreover convinced as a result of his experience that the time had “fully arrived... when it would at once be easy and popular to treat the English language as language of science” and advised that a teacher capable of teaching mathematics should be sent for from England.45

45. Thomason’s Report to Lumsden. 27th Jan. 1825, Board’s Coll, 908. ff. 79-83 ; ff. 739....
Mill completely agreed with Thomason and pointed out that "a very slight knowledge of any language is sufficient to read mathematical works in it." 46

Lumsden had for a long time been an advocate of teaching Western science in the Madrassa; but in the absence of any specific orders from the Government or the General Committee he could take no important steps on his own account. Now, encouraged by the emphatic declarations of Mill and Thomason, he once more decided to press the General Committee to take up a decided line of policy. He was fully aware of the apprehension which the Committee felt about the effect of any innovation on the attitude of the Mohammedans. He himself was also alive to the danger of arousing Muslim hostility. But his long tenure of office as the Secretary of the Madrassa had given him a great deal of opportunity not possessed by others of ascertaining the state of feeling among the Mohammedans, and he had come to the conclusion that they would not object to study English for the purpose of using it as the medium of acquiring "useful knowledge"; and he assured the Committee accordingly. He, however, did not forget to draw the attention of the Committee to the danger that an innovation like the introduction of the study of English in a Seminary meant for Mohammedan learning might be interpreted as the first step towards ultimate interference with the religious beliefs of the Mohammedans. In order, therefore, to pacify the Mohammedans as well as to induce them to study English, Lumsden proposed to offer "Jageers" to the value of Rs. 8 per month to students who would pursue a course of study in English. He did not wait for the General Committee's approval, but directly approached the students with the offer. Fifteen students accepted it. Lumsden, however, soon found that it was beyond his power to create a separate English class for them. He, therefore, allowed the students to choose their own teachers. Such an arrangement was sure to lead to abuse and

corruption. Many of the students had no other desire than to save as much of the 'Jageers' as possible. Hence they chose the cheapest and consequently, the worst teachers. In order to remedy this abuse of a well meant system, Lumsden arranged to attach all of them to some well qualified English teachers. But as these teachers charged each of them Rs. 8 per month, the pupils refused to study under them. This scheme for giving education in English language being absolutely unofficial and voluntary, Lumsden had no means of making the students abide by his decision. He, therefore, requested the Committee to pay immediate attention to the matter and to appoint a qualified teacher as suggested by Mill and Thomason. 47

The General Committee adopted a very cautious and non-committal attitude. "With respect to the arrangements for encouraging the study of English in the Madrassa as suggested by Lumsden", the Committee commented, "we shall not at present offer any remarks. We hope to be able to introduce some modification of the existing plan which shall better consult the convenience and promote the progress of the students". It, therefore, directed the Secretary of the Madrassa "to take measures to that effect". 48

The General Committee, however, could not long remain undecided as to its attitude towards English education. Although, it had given up, at least temporarily, its advocacy for the use of the English language, now it realised that if it wanted to disseminate a knowledge of the sciences of the West, among Indians, it should be done effectively and that such dissemination of European learning must be made beneficial to those who would acquire them. The recent developments in the Anglo-Indian College and the Madrassa, the pressure of the Home and Bengal Government and the still more emphatic assertions of Mill and Thomason now

47. Lumsden to Gen. Com. 19th Feb. 1825, Board's Coll. 909 ff. 713....
helped the Committee to realise that the best means of achieving this was to use the English language as the medium of instruction. 49

The Committee considered this question early in 1825. The immediate occasion for this was Wilson’s first Report on the Anglo-Indian College (26 Jan. 1825) in which he requested further monetary grants for the maintenance and the extension of the scope of the College. In the Committee H. Mackenzie suggested the establishment of a separate English College and in this he was supported by Harrington, the President of the Committee. Wilson, although more inclined to reform and improve the existing College, was of opinion that unless the Anglo-Indian College was rendered more efficacious it would be necessary to do so. The Committee, therefore, formulated a bold plan of erecting a Central English Institution at Calcutta, for imparting “gratuitous instruction in literature and science through the English language” to the most advanced students of the three Seminaries of Calcutta. They wanted to maintain the English class in the Calcutta Madrassa, Anglo-Indian College and the Sanskrit College, 51 whence they hoped, students would first acquire the necessary preliminary education in English before being selected for the English College. Apart from other reasons the Committee thought that the establishment of such an institution was called for so much the more, because many respectable Hindus had begun to show their appreciation of English education either by sending their children to the private English schools or by employing private European teachers for their instruction at home; and the Committee hoped that they would naturally welcome and


51. It must be noted here that as yet there was no English class attached to the Sanskrit College; or the Madrassa. Probably the Committee was thinking of establishing them, but they did not do so until much later and after the scheme for the English College had been abandoned.
take full advantage of an institution of this kind. Hence, it proposed to throw the proposed College open to all, irrespective of caste or creed, but suggested that gratuitous instruction should be restricted only to some of the Senior Free Scholars of the Preparatory Schools,\(^5\) altogether it might be necessary to establish a few scholarships on the model in existence in Europe. The total cost of running the whole institution was estimated at Rs 21,600 per annum, and the Committee considered itself to be in a position to spend a yearly sum of Rs. 24,000 for the purpose. The Committee had by this time realised that without the help of properly qualified teachers no sound system of education could be established. So it requested the Government to procure two competent teachers from England. "In any case", the Committee declared, "it is to be understood that the assistance of the teachers referred to is indispensable, whether a new English College be founded or the present Anglo-Indian College be improved, as we shall equally stand in need of proper persons to give instruction in English literature and science under either determination".\(^5\)

The Government sanctioned the establishment of a separate English College, pending the approval of the Directors, to whom they decided to send a special despatch dealing with the matter. The Government of Bengal, however, was fully aware of the Directors’ obsession for economy and realised that however much inclined they might have been to spread English education among Indians, they would not sanction the expenditure of any large sum on that account. Hence, the Government decided that whether a separate college was established or not Teachers from England should be procured for the existing Colleges.\(^5\)

The time, indeed, seemed very propitious for such an undertaking. The Government had recently been enjoying a

52. The Committee meant the seminaries, Anglo-Indian college, the Madrassa, and the Sanskrit College.
54. Stirling to Gen. Com. 20th May 1825. Board’s Coll. 909, ff.929...
large annual surplus and hence was not in any way worried about the financial aspect of the question. At home the Direction was gradually falling under the control of the "Private Traders" who wanted to disseminate European knowledge among Indians, partly, no doubt, to bring about a greater demand among them for English products. Moreover, the Directors as a body were strong advocates of economy in administration; and they believed that this could best be effected by employing educated Indians in certain posts. For these reasons, the Court was strongly in favour of educating Indians in the literature and sciences of the West. It had already voiced its protest against the policy of imparting oriental education as pursued by the Government.55

Lately, in March 1825 they had welcomed the help rendered by the Government to the Anglo-Indian College and had declared "there is nothing as we have often informed you which we regard as of greater importance, than the diffusion of English language and European Arts and Sciences among the natives of India". To stimulate the cultivation of English language they had advised the Governor General to bestow marks of distinction on persons who would acquire a knowledge of the language and to give them preference in the Government Service.56

The Government of Bengal had become aware of this new development of the Directors' sentiments on English education by August 1825, and that no doubt had a great influence on the communication it made to the Directors, on the subject of education, especially with regard to the establishment of the proposed English College. Encouraged by the Directors' strong advocacy for disseminating English Education among Indians, it informed the Court at great length of the measures that had been taken in the province, the progress which English Education had made and the results which had accrued.57

55. Vide Desp. 9th March 1824.
56. Pub. Desp. 9th March 1825.
57. Gov. Gen. in Council to Directors Pers. Dept. 27th Jan. 1826 Board's Coll. 908 ff. 9...
on the necessity of establishing a separate English College; repeated the arguments put forward by the General Committee and concluded their observations on the subject by declaring that the establishment and maintenance of a public Seminary of this type was a duty of the Government. They were so much carried away with enthusiasm that, not content with soliciting sanction for the establishment of the College, they requested the Court to appoint two teachers for English and Mathematics, free of charge on the Education Fund.\textsuperscript{58}

They closed this long letter with a final and ardent appeal to the Directors. "Your Honourable Court will doubtless perceive", they declared, "that it is no less the aim and object of the Government in all its late proceedings in the Department of Public Instruction, than the declared wish of the Home authorities to encourage the study of useful learning and to diffuse sound practical knowledge among our native subjects to the gradual exclusion of whatever is frivolous and unprofitable or positively mischievous in the science and literature of the East. But for the means of effecting this great national reform, as indeed for the accomplishment of any material or extensive improvement in the education of the Natives of India, we must depend mainly on countenance and encouragement which our views and measures may receive from your Honourable Court and your disposition to aid us in the provision of qualified teachers.\textsuperscript{59} Although solicitous about the spread of English Education among Indians the Directors refused to countenance the establishment of a separate institution involving a large expenditure. The alternative plan of establishing separate classes saved them from the rather unpleasant task of vetoing a plan which was in full accord with their declared wishes. So they asked the Government to establish classes or lectureships in the existing Colleges at Calcutta in some of the "more useful branches of knowledge" for example,

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, 125-35.

\textsuperscript{59} Bengal Public Letter, Persian Department, 27th January, 1826. Board's Collection, 908, ff. 162-3
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and English Literature, in which the promising pupils of the English classes of the existing institutions might further prosecute their studies. In order to facilitate the adoption of this course, they promised to send two teachers as requested.\textsuperscript{60} The Directors, however, never sent the two teachers and the scheme for the establishment of the College was permanently dropped.

Meanwhile, the General Committee, while awaiting final orders from the Directors had again turned its attention to the improvement of the Anglo-Indian College, using it as a barometer for measuring popular feeling on the subject of English education. The progress of the institution had fulfilled the expectations of the Committee; the number of students had reached 200—an increase of 100 in one year; of these 110 were "pay scholars" while the School Society paid for 30; and the General Committee declared that so long as such a large number of respectively connected students were taught useful knowledge and English language, there could be no doubt as to the general improvement of the native character. The Committee, however, was fully aware of the difficulties attendant thereto and pointed out that such improvement must take a long time and must depend on the consistency of and steady and prudent attention to the objects of the institution. It also drew the attention of the Government to the strained circumstances of many of the students which compelled them to leave the institution rather early and suggested the establishment of such scholarships as would be expedient from time to time and as funds would allow.\textsuperscript{61}

The Committee, until this time, had no clear-cut and well formulated policy of its own. It was watching events rather than anticipating them. It was dealing with situations as they arose and was always trying to compromise between conflicting interests and sentiments. Hence educational policy

\textsuperscript{60} Pub. Desp. 5th Sept. 1827.

\textsuperscript{61} Gen. Com. to Gov. Gen. in Coun. 21st Jan 1826. Board's Coll, 909, ff. 933...
was more or less left to take its own course. In one respect, however, the Committee had all along been steadily following the policy, originally laid down for its guidance. This was the so-called "filtration policy". This "filtration policy" had a three-fold aspect. It meant the concentration of the attention of the authorities on a higher type of education; the neglect of elementary education and the confinement of the higher education to the higher classes of the Community, who, the Government thought, would, in time, be teachers to the rest of the people and whose influence and social standing would carry education to the masses. Holt Mackenzie had particularly emphasized this policy in his Note at the time of the constitution of the General Committee and the Government had also approved of it. In 1824, Loch, Agent to the Governor General in Moorshidabad suggested a plan for the establishment of a Mohammedan School and College there for the education of the young members of the Nizamut family, which he hoped might lead to the introduction of a more extensive plan of education among the people of that locality. The Government sanctioned the plan on July 1, 1825, and in view of the growing demand for English education, declared that the study of English should be particularly encouraged in that institution.  

The other aspect of "filtration policy" that is, concentration on higher education was amply exemplified since the constitution of the Committee, by the help it rendered and the attention it paid to the seminaries of higher education in Calcutta and in the provinces, which it hoped would lead to the education and enlightenment of those people who would be the leaders of Society.

The third aspect of the "filtration policy", the neglect of elementary education was also manifested in the General Committee's refusal to take Fraser's primary schools at Delhi under its patronage. On September 25, 1823, Fraser had approached for assistance to the Chief Secretary of the Government informing him of his intention to extend the scope of study in these schools and to make provision for the educa-

62, Fish. Mem. 411,
tion of 400 boys of peasant families at an estimated cost of Rs. 8,400 per annum, adding that if it were possible to supply masters capable of teaching on the Lancastrian principle, the expense would be much less. The General Committee to whom the matter was referred refused to countenance such a proposal. Its remark is worth quoting at some length because it helps to give a clear idea of the opinion it held on the subject. "Should it hereafter appear expedient", the Committee declared, "upon any special ground to encourage the establishment of village or other elementary schools in the Delhi territory, we shall again have the honour of addressing your Lordship in Council on the subject. We must, however, observe generally that the want of education amongst the natives of India is not, we conceive, restricted to the class of peasantry or to the mass of the people. It prevails equally amongst the higher orders of the community and consists rather in the want of means to obtain useful and liberal knowledge than in the ignorance of more rudiments and inability to acquire them. In fact, as far as respects the simple acquirements of reading and writing, we believe that the peasantry of few other countries will bear comparison with those of many parts of British India and whilst this is the case, we conceive it expedient that the appropriation of any limited funds assigned for the purpose of public education, should be chiefly directed to the best means of improving the education of the more respectable members of the Indian Society, especially those who make letters their profession of whose future employment in the public service may render it of the first importance, that they should be duly qualified for the discharge of the duties, that may be committed to them". The Committee, however, informed the Government that although it could not grant Fraser any assistance from the Education Fund, yet it would not object if the Government decided to give him some remuneration for his activity.63

This attitude of the General Committee was further exemplified by its refusal to help a group of some 25 schools at Dacca, which until 1826 had been jointly supported by the European and Indian Communities there. In that year the Indians withdrew their support "through some unaccountable cause," and the authorities had to apply to Government for support. The General Committee refused to render any financial assistance on the grounds that, strictly speaking, the schools did not come within its jurisdiction and that the funds at its disposal were already appropriated. The Government, however, again came to the rescue and sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3,000 and a supply of school books.64

The Directors, however, had realised the importance of elementary education on which any sound educational policy must necessarily be based; but they were also aware of the difficulties involved especially due to the want of properly qualified teacher through whom alone could such education be made accessible to the people at large. Hence, they had declared, "It is upon the character of the indigenous schools that the education of the people must ultimately depend. By training up, therefore, a class of teachers, you provide for the eventual extension of improved education to a portion of the natives of India far exceeding that which any elementary instruction that could be immediately bestowed would have any chance of reaching.65

By 1827, the Directors had become ardent advocates of "filtration policy" and they approved of the General Committee's refusal to help the elementary schools at Delhi, Chinsura and Dacca. Their attitude was dictated by reports they received from the Government of Bengal, which in turn was dependent on the General Committee. So they could either sanction or reject the proposals laid before them, and in this they were greatly influenced by financial considerations. They were prepared to sacrifice every reform for the sake of economy. In view of the important part which financial

64. Fish. Mem. 440,
65. Desp. Pub. 9th March 1825,
considerations played in the Government’s educational policy, it is worthwhile to quote at some length the observations made by the Directors: “From the limited nature of funds at your disposal”, they declared, “you can only engage in very few limited undertakings and where a preference must be made there can be no doubt of the utility of commencing both at the places of greatest importance and with the superior and middle classes of the natives, from whom the Native Agents whom you have reason to employ in the functions of Government are fitly drawn and whose influence on the rest of their countrymen is the most extensive. Thus the Directors sealed the fate of elementary education in Bengal.

In spite of all that the authorities might say in defence of their “filtration policy,” their too great insistence on it was detrimental to the wider interests of education. It was indeed true that in the existing circumstances the Government could not introduce elementary education on a large scale. The funds at their disposal were not only limited but were insignificantly small, compared to the vastness of the undertaking. Moreover, they could not possibly procure a sufficient number of properly qualified teachers to carry education to the people at large. Further, the want of proper elementary text books made the Government’s task all the more difficult. Lastly, the Government had no means of ascertaining the exact state of elementary education throughout the country, the needs and requirements of the people and their attitude towards education. Consequently, it could not be blamed for not adopting a comprehensive scheme of elementary education.

But these difficulties, however, afford no justification for the utter neglect of elementary education. The Government could have experimented on a smaller scale in Calcutta and other important stations, just as it did with the Seminaries of higher education. This would not have required a large outlay of funds, and the small cost involved could easily have been met from the education fund, which for a long time after

66. Pub, Desp. 5th Sept, 1827.
the establishment of the Committee remained largely unappropriated, because all the Seminaries both at Calcutta and in the North Western Province had separate funds of their own. When the Parliamentary grant of one lac was assigned to the General Committee for disposal, the Government specifically mentioned that only the expenses of the Chinsurah, Bhaugulpore and Rajpootana schools, amounting to Rs. 16,800 would be charged on the Education Fund.\(^{67}\)

Consequently, when the Committee began to function, it had no less than Rs. 83,200 per annum at its disposal over and above the interest on the lump sum of two lacs, the arrears for 1821/2-1822/3 granted by the Government to the Committee. During the first few years after the establishment of the Committee, this large sum remained practically unappropriated except for the meagre help rendered to the Anglo-Indian College and the printing of some Oriental works. Moreover, although the Committee refused to help Fraser's Schools and the Dacca Schools on the grounds that all the funds at its disposal were already appropriated, yet only a few months later in 1825 it declared itself in a position to spend an annual sum of Rs. 24,000 for the maintenance of a separate English College to be established at Calcutta, and also sanctioned farther grants to the Anglo-Indian College from the Education Fund. In addition, even as late as 1828 the Government authorized the expenditure of about Rs. 50,000 for the publication of text books for the Government Seminaries;\(^{68}\) all out of the Education Fund! Hence the contention that it was the absolute want of funds which prevented the Committee from promoting elementary education does not hold good. Moreover, even if the Committee was unwilling to undertake the establishment of fresh elementary schools, it had no justification to allow the already established schools

67. Gov. Gen. in Counc. to Court, (Pers. Dcot.) 27th Jan. 1826, Board's Coll. 901, f. 9... Also Gov. Gen. in Council Resolution 17th Jan, 1824 Board's Coll. 909, ff. 503...
to fall into decay. To illustrate this point it will be sufficient to draw attention to the Chinsurah schools. Under their founder, Rev. May, they had made such great progress and had won so much popularity, that the Government, though it had not then taken up the question of education as a part of its activities, had extended its patronage over these schools. This had led to a great increase in the popularity as well as the number of the schools. But after the establishment of the General Committee these schools gradually declined, due to lack of proper care and interest on the part of the authorities. The Committee, instead of coming to their help went on reducing their number as well as the amount of the financial grant originally made to them.69

The General Committee overlooked the significant fact, that any educational system in order to be most effective must necessarily be based on a sound system of elementary education; that to impart higher education without paying attention to a sound system of elementary education was like lavishing money on the roof and neglecting the foundation of a building. Many of the students who went in for higher education in the Government seminaries were inadequately equipped for it and spent ten or twelve years without acquiring anything more than the rudiments of learning. The Government, however, had realised this and had urged the establishment of a Preparatory School in connection with the Madrassa and later in connection with the Anglo-Indian College and the Sanskrit College. It had also set apart a large sum of money for that purpose. But the General Committee strongly refused to countenance

69. In 1818 when May died there were 30 schools with 3,000 pupils. In 1829 there were 14 schools with 1,540 pupils. Fish. Mem. 439. In their Report for 1826, by which time the number of the schools had been reduced to 18 and the aid from Rs. 800 to Rs. 600 p. a., the Committee declared "further reduction may be made with advantage as it is evidently desirable to have a few effective seminaries in preference to a number of schools of comparative unutility" Board's Coll. 1170. ff. 146-47.
any such scheme and spent the money in effecting improvements in the existing seminaries and publishing text books.\textsuperscript{70}

Meanwhile the Government in Bengal had been thinking of setting up an educational standard for the appointment of Indians to posts under Government. The Government had two things in mind. First, that the persons appointed in the service should be properly educated and well qualified for their jobs; secondly, that this would stimulate Indians to go in for education of a higher type. The first concrete proposal, however, came from the Government of Fort St. George. Early in 1825, it had started a correspondence with the Government of Bengal as to the desirability of making proficiency in English language a condition of preference in services under Government. The Bengal Government had consulted the officers of the Sudder Dewany Adalat, who objected to the adoption of such proposals. The Government, therefore, did not pass any formal regulation, but suggested to the judges of the provincial zillah and city courts that in the selection of pleaders, preference should be given to persons who could produce certificates of their acquirements and to recommend for such certificates, those persons who could appear to them best qualified for the office and the Committee was empowered to grant the certificates thus recommended.\textsuperscript{71}

But the arrival at this time of the Directors’ Despatch of March 1825 emboldened the Government to take further steps in the direction of making the educational acquirements a condition of service under Government. In that Despatch the Court had asked the Government of Bengal to give “a very efficient stimulus to the cultivation of the English language and useful knowledge in general among the natives—by a marked preference to successful candidates at College in the selection of persons to fill those situations in service which can advantageously be conferred upon the Natives.”\textsuperscript{72}


\textsuperscript{71} Beng. Civil and Judicial Consultations 20th Sept. 1825, 14-20, Fish. Mem. 444.

\textsuperscript{72} Pub. Desp. 9th March 1825.
in August 1826 the Government again took up the question and appointed a Committee of Examination at the Presidency with Macnaughten as President and consisting of Wilson, Captain Ruddell, Captain Ouseley and Rev. Carey as members assisted by the Kazee-ool-Kazat, the Moofti and the Pandits of the Sudder Dewany Adalat; the principal modums of the Madrassa and the Chief Pandit of the Hindu College. As a result of their deliberations the Regulation XI of 1826 was passed which declared that all nominations for law officers in the Courts were to be made from amongst the number of candidates possessing suitable certificates which were to be awarded at an annual examination held at the Madrassa or Hindoo College of Calcutta. By 1828 the Regulation was fully put into operation. In that year 37 candidates offered themselves for certificates of qualification as Law Officers and of these only five were declared qualified.

Although the Regulation XI of 1826 marked a step forward in the Government's educational policy, yet it is open to criticism from various aspects. This Regulation was another example of the Government's policy of filtrating education, in as much as it put a premium on higher education which was then confined practically to the higher classes of Society. Moreover, the absence of any specific mention of English education as a condition of preference in service was gravely detrimental to its cultivation. This omission naturally discouraged the students from acquiring a knowledge of English language and European science. Further, by omitting to set up either an uniform standard of educational test, including both Oriental and European learning or two separate standards, one for students educated in the orthodox way and the other for those educated in European science, the Government definitely handicapped the latter, because those who spent their time acquiring a better and more useful type of education got nothing for their exertion. Finally, by adopting

73. Fish, Mem. 444.
this policy the Government put the cart before the horse, in as much as they held out the prospect of Government service to successful candidates, but neither threw open nor created enough posts to meet the demand. Hence, there would always have been a large number of young men who although possessing high qualifications could not get into service for want of sufficient vacancies.

The progress of education in the North Western Provinces produced a somewhat different spectacle. The main stations there being situated far away from the metropolis scarcely offered any particular inducement to the people to acquire a knowledge of European arts and sciences and still less of English language. The people there rarely, if ever, came into contact with Europeans. Due to this absence of any close intercourse between the two communities, the Upper Provinces had not produced any one like Ram Mohun Roy or Radha Kant Dev, nor had they attracted any philanthropic European like David Hare. Moreover, places like Benares, Agra, Delhi, Allahabad were well-known as the strongholds of orthodoxy. Consequently, in these places education in the first instance was confined to the sacred lore of the Hindus and Muhammadans, and the Government decided to diffuse European learning there only when it would consider the time to have arrived. It followed this course more consistently than it did its policy at Calcutta. It is necessary here to point out that apart from the native inhabitants who formed the real population of the North Western Provinces, there was a small group of Bengalis who domiciled in that region, especially in Benares. These Bengalis in striking contrast to the rest of the population had kept themselves abreast of the developments in Calcutta and had shown a genuine desire to acquire a knowledge of the European science and arts. Prominent among these were Jainarain Ghoshal and his son, Colly Shankar Ghoshal, who had established and maintained the English school at Delhi. This distinction between the two parts of the population became still more distinct in 1831 after the establishment of English classes and colleges in the Upper Provinces by the Government. In that year about 90 per cent. of the
students studying English in the various seminaries were Bengalis; and the Bengalis formed but an insignificant minority of the population there. In another respect the educational development in the Upper Provinces differed from that at Calcutta. In the North West Provinces, there were already large funds or endowments in existence which the Government could legitimately take over and apply for the endowment of educational institutions. Many of the prominent Indians like Nawab Itimad Dowlah also came forward with liberal donations.  

Hence in the Upper Provinces the Government was to a very great extent free from financial embarrassments, which so much hindered its proceedings at Calcutta.

The attention of the Government to the educational problems of the Upper Provinces had been drawn as early as 1822. In that year the Agents of the Agra district had reported to the Government the existence of certain landed property possessed by a certain late Gangadhar Pandit of Agra, in Agra and Aligarh districts, yielding a rent of Rs. 16,000 per year, which could be used as an endowment for maintaining an educational institution. The sum hitherto accumulated amounted to Rs. 1,50,000 and the interest upon it would bring the annual income to Rs. 20,000 "forming a fund adequate to the support of a collegiate establishment on a scale creditable to the Government and beneficial to the people."  

The General Committee, after its constitution, took the question into consideration and recommended the proposals to the Government. It wanted to throw the proposed college open to all classes and pointed out that as the college was not intended to be a residential one, there would be no difficulty as to the caste or creed of the students; while as a compensation for non-residence the students should be given

75. Nawab Itimad Dowlah of Lucknow donated Rs. 1,70,000 "for the purpose of being employed in conformity to the views of the Supreme Government in founding an institution in the City of Delhi for the education of the Native Youths." J. Calder—Stirling, 17th Sept. 1829, Ind. Pub. Cons. 7, of 15th July, 1840.

76. Fish, Mem. 408.
stipends. The Committee was at this time strongly pro-oriental in its attitude. It had only recently been formed and had got no opportunity of ascertaining the possibility of introducing English education in such a remote part of the province, or the kind of reception it would get there. Hence, it chose the safest and wisest course left to it. It decided to start the college as a seminary of oriental learning, but did not altogether exclude the possibility of introducing instruction in the Western sciences although it considered such a step undesirable for the present. Hence, the Committee declared, "Although our attention in this, as in all similar cases, will be particularly directed to the object of giving to the natives a taste for European science, it appears to us at least premature to establish separate classes for any of the separate branches of it." Regarding the dissemination of English language, it adopted a similar attitude. It considered that "It may be desirable hereafter to provide the means of obtaining some acquaintance with English", but "could not consider this necessary in the first instance". Concluding, the Committee stated that as nothing could be "expeditiously taught in which the people do not take an interest", it would, for the present, "look chiefly to the object of teaching what is most useful in native literature, freed as far as possible from the lumber with which it is encumbered." 77 The Government sanctioned the plan and the College was established in 1824. 78

In January 1824, in response to the circulars issued by the General Committee to the various Local Agents in accordance with the instructions imparted to it at the time of its constitution, Taylor, agent of the Government at Delhi, sent a detailed report on the state of education in the province, the means of its improvement and the funds available for the purpose. He reported that most of the educational institutions there were of a private character, teaching Persian and Arabic

traditions of Muhammed, Muhammedan Law and oriental classics; the chief public institutions were the College of Ghazee-ooddin Khan, Cashmere Masjid College, the Masjid of Nawab Roshanad Dowlah and the Madrassa of Irad tumud Khan. All these institutions were in a deplorable condition, their source of income having been confiscated during the "period of revolutions" in Delhi. "The Local Agents", Taylor reported, "are of opinion that any attempt at the introduction of an acquaintance with the European science and literature will most probably prove useless and abortive, so long as its advantages are not rendered in a very sensible and obvious manner, the interest of the Natives". The Agency, therefore, declared that a knowledge of European science and literature should be made a condition of appointment in certain offices in Government service. The Agency took it for granted that its proposals would be carried out and the study of European science introduced without much delay. Therefore, it requested the Government to ask the General Committee to procure for use in the College an adequate supply of suitable books from the Calcutta School Book Society. The Agency further proposed that the College when established should accommodate 300 students of whom 100 should be paid Rs. 3 per month each as stipends. 79 The General Committee recommended these proposals to the Government which subsequently adopted them. 80

But the difficulties of introducing the study of European arts and sciences in the Delhi College were many. "In the present want of books and teachers", the Committee informed the Government, "it is not possible to suggest any innovation in the course of study to be followed in the Delhi College. It will, however, be of importance to adopt, as a guiding principle, that useful knowledge is to be the chief end of the establishment and it will not be necessary, therefore, to encourage, although it may not be possible nor expedient to

exclude, what the Mahommedans consider the higher branches of learning, Arabic, Philosophy and Theology". For the present, however, the General Committee decided that "the attention of the students should be specially directed to a command of their own language and to composition in a classical and unaffected style of Hindoosthanee; the next should be a similar command of the Persian language and the course should terminate with an attempt to give the best scholars at least an equal convergency with the language of Arabic".  

Thus there was a marked difference between the policy pursued by the General Committee at Calcutta and the policy pursued by it in the Upper Provinces. The Committee was formed mainly, if not exclusively for the purpose of disseminating Western arts and sciences among Indians. The task assigned to it was, however, too great for a body of amateurs with little experience of and still less time for educational matters. It had practically no means at its disposal to accomplish the task it had undertaken and it had to satisfy all the parties concerned. The difficulties which beset its way were not few. It could procure no text books through which instruction in European science could be imparted to Indians. It had first to make provision for an adequate supply of suitable text books. The task was by no means easy. There were no scientific works of value in oriental language in existence; the few books on oriental science were either of the most elementary type or were "utterly worthless". The Committee, therefore, had to translate books on European science into oriental classical languages. This was a cumbrous and toilsome process involving large expenditure and often the books thus translated were more difficult to understand than the original works. In Calcutta the propriety of using the vernacular dialect, i.e. Bengali, was never considered by the Committee. This was due to the fact that Bengali at that time was in very crude state and could not possibly

have been used as the language of learning; the Indians also paid little attention to the vernaculars. Moreover, the vernaculars were absolutely dependent on Sanskrit for technical and scientific terms. Apart from this there was another factor which must have weighed largely in the Committee's consideration; that was the close relation between Sanskrit and Bengali, which if used as the sole medium of instruction must necessarily have aroused strong antagonism among Muslims. Lastly, Indians had some peculiar psychological attachment to the classical language, which they regarded as the language of learning; hence the Committee was apprehensive lest the relegation of those languages to a secondary place would arouse their opposition. Thus, the only alternative left to the Committee was the use of English as the medium of instruction. This alternative the Committee approached rather timidly, because it was aware of the strong antipathy the Indians had to any kind of innovation and did not want to spoil its chance of success by taking any rash step. It, also, did not have enough means at its disposal to spread English education effectively over a wide area. Many respectable Indians, like Buddinath Roy, indeed came forward with large donations, but those were by no means sufficient for a vast undertaking.

Apart from this, the idea of withdrawing Government support altogether from the oriental institutions was out of the question as that would have brought about a combination of all the sections of the Indian Community against the Government. Therefore, in Calcutta the General Committee, during the period from 1823-27 was unable to form and follow a definite and decided policy of its own. Its policy during this period, therefore, presented a spectacle of a series of confusing experiments, which were never fully carried out and of sporadic outbursts of activities which never led to any concrete result.

On 27th Jan, 1826, the Governor General in Council in a lengthy despatch informed the Court of Directors of the steps which it had taken for the extension and improvement of education in the Presidency since 1823 and the results which
had accrued therefrom. The Direction, which had by now come completely under the control of the Private Traders, were also keenly watching the developments of education in India. Their remoteness from the scene of action was both a help and hindrance to them. They could not possibly have a first hand knowledge of the situation; but their aloofness enabled them to overcome the prejudices under which the authorities in India laboured. Moreover, not being immersed in the details of administration, which often hinders one from taking a broad general view of the situation, they could take a more detached and consequently clearer view of the exact state of education in Bengal and the possibilities of its development. On receipt of the Governor General's letter they took special care to investigate the whole question of educational policy as pursued in the past, its development, its present state and the measures which should be taken in future for its promotion. With these objects in view, they ordered Thomas Fisher, Searcher of Records in East India House, to compile a Memoir depicting the growth and development of the educational policy of the Governments of the various Presidencies in India. After maturely considering his detailed Report they approved of the steps which had been taken by the Government for extending and improving education in India. They sanctioned the establishment of the Agra College, but reminded the Governor General to seize the earliest possible opportunity of providing for the dissemination of English education and also that "utility should always be kept in view". Aware of the consequences that any rash or hasty policy might produce, they warned him that alterations must not be introduced "more rapidly than a regard to the feelings of natives will prescribe". "It is necessary for us", they added, "to suggest the probability that a little skill and address is in most cases all that is necessary to remove the prejudices of the natives, which, fortunately, on the subject of education do not appear to be strong." They disapproved

of the stipendiary system established at the Agra College and hoped that "when the benefits of the institution come to be more fully known there will be sufficient number of candidates for admission without the allurement of a pension." They also asked the Governor General to introduce alterations into the stipendiary system, although, they did not suggest any scheme of their own. But, however much the Directors might have been inclined to encourage the growth and development of education in India, they were never ready to sanction any additional sum for that purpose. It is, however, interesting to note that by ordering the stipendiary system to be remodelled and by confirming the Committees filtration policy, the Directors anticipated the policy advocated by Macaulay by a good many years. They concluded their Despatch with an appreciation of the Government's endeavours, which they described as having been characterized by "zeal tempered by prudence and discretion" and declared, "you appear to us in the steps which you have taken to have been guided by events instead of out-running them; and the measures you propose are not only good in themselves, but were called for by the circumstances of the times."

In many respects this Despatch marked a new step forward in the Government's educational policy. In it the Directors, for the first time, signified their disapproval of the stipendiary system as then practised, though they never laid down any definite scheme as to how it should be remodelled. Apart from this they re-affirmed more emphatically than before their desire to see a wider dissemination of English education among Indians. Further, they put a premium on the filtration policy of the Government by declaring themselves in its favour in unmistakable terms. But this Despatch had its drawbacks as well. It clearly showed that the Directors, in spite of their strong advocacy of English education, were not ready to incur any new expenditure on that account. This was clearly proved by their reference to the limitation of funds and their refusal to sanction the establishment of a separate English College at Calcutta; not satisfied with that, as will be seen later, they were even eager to reduce the expenditure already sanctioned for the purposes of education,
Moreover, their approval of the Government's policy of waiting for events, could not but have a detrimental effect on the attitude of the Government, in as much as it encouraged the Government to persist in a policy of indecision, uncertainty and vacillation.

Of all the educational institutions in Calcutta, the Anglo-Indian College had for long been receiving the greatest attention of the Committee and the Government who had been using it as their favourite field for experimenting on the dissemination of English education and of testing popular feeling thereon. The rapid increase in the number of students, especially of "pay scholars" in this College proved that the Government's policy was warranted by the course of events. The success of the Anglo-Indian College also stimulated the Government to take further steps for the diffusion of English education and to push on with their policy. By the end of 1826, the number of students had reached 313, of whom no less than 223 directly paid for their tuition; by May 1827 this number increased to about 430; of these 300 were "pay scholars," while the cost of the tuition of the rest was paid either by the School Society or from the interest on private donations. This rapid increase in the number of students encouraged the Committee to introduce further reforms in that College with a view to extending the scope of opportunities offered there. Since many of the students were in indigent circumstances and could not afford to prosecute their studies for any long period of time, the Committee established 8 scholarships of Rs. 16 a month each, in order to relieve the most meritorious of the pupils from financial difficulties and to enable them to continue their studies beyond the early stages.84 This was at once an improvement on the prevalent stipendiary system and a great encouragement to English education, and in sanctioning this Bentinck anticipated the more comprehensive system of scholarships which was instituted later by Lord Auckland. The General Committee

84. Report of Annual Exam., 6th May 1827, Board's Coll. 1170. ff. 117...
further recommended the grant of an additional sum of Rs. 300 per month in order to enable the authorities of the College to devote greater time and attention to the study of English and European arts and sciences there. The frequent accession of new pupils which greatly interrupted the progress of study in the College also called for urgent attention and the Managing Committee of the College had to change the periods of admission from monthly to quarterly. This, however, caused a temporary decline in the number of the students from 430 to 372; but by the beginning of 1829 it again rose to 436. By this time the standard the students were expected to reach was quite a high one. The students of the highest class were taught Pope’s Iliad, Pope’s Poems, Vicar of Wakefield, whole of Paradise Lost, Julius Caesar, Cymbeline, Merchant of Venice, part of Blair’s Lectures and portion of Howe’s Elements of Criticism.

No education, however, could be imparted without a sufficient supply of suitable text books. In fact, this want of text books had throughout been the stumbling block to any substantial improvement in the development of English education in the province.

In January 1829, Wilson, Secretary to the General Committee, drew the Committee’s as well as the Government’s attention to this deplorable want of text books. To give a significant example he stated that as the supply of the Merchant of Venice, one of the prescribed text books, was not equal to the demand, most of the students had to copy it out themselves. He, therefore, suggested the compilation of a series of text books to be systematically graded from the elementary to the highest type, comprising History, Natural Philosophy, Biography, Poetry and Drama. Wilson knew how reluctant the Govern-

85. This extra grant enabled the authorities to extend the hours of study from 3 in the afternoon to 5, so as to comprise the Bengali and Persian classes within the general conduct of the College as well as to acquire additional opportunities for prosecuting the study of English.

86. Annual Report for 1828, 18th May 1829 Board’s Coll. 1170, ff. 278....
ment was to sanction any innovation, especially if it involved the outlay of any large sum; so to allay its anxieties he pointed out that as such a scheme would take a long time to be put fully into operation, the expenses would be spread over a number of years and thus the Government would not have to incur any immediate expenditure on a large scale. Moreover to prompt the Government into activity Wilson indicated his readiness to set about the task. But it was not in English alone that text books were wanting. The oriental studies suffered equally gravely from a dearth of text books. The books available were learned works badly compiled and could not be of any great use to the students who required much more simple, short text books. This want was most strongly felt in the study of languages as there was neither any properly edited grammar nor any Dictionary which the students could possibly use to their advantage. Wilson, therefore, suggested that a small Grammar and a Dictionary of the Persian language should be compiled. In suggesting this Wilson had in view the fact that a simplification of the study of Persian would, in the long run, facilitate the introduction of the study of English in the North West Provinces, when the time for such a step would come. 87

The progress of the Bengali and Sanskrit departments of the College was also not very gratifying, due to the hindrance caused by the exclusive demand made upon the time of the students by the study of English language and literature and by the "very tedious and imperfect method of teaching according to the native system." The study of Bengali had never been popular with those who spoke it, and Wilson considered that it could be "beneficially prosecuted only upon a basis of Sanskrit." The acquisition by the students of the Sanskrit language, also he considered to be hopeless unless it could be taught in a more simplified manner through the medium of English and unless elementary works were compiled for the purpose. He, therefore, proposed to "superintend the compila-

87 Wilson's Rep. on A. I. Col., 8th Jan. 1827. Boards Coll. 1170; ff 172...
tion of a short grammar and vocabulary in Sanskrit and English agreeable to European forms, by which the acquirements of an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit may be much facilitated". The General Committee agreed with those proposals and was especially enthusiastic about the last one. "These works" it declared, "will we doubt not be of great utility and looking into the poverty of the dialect of Bengali and its utter dependence for terms of science and Philosophy upon the Sanskrit language, we conceive them indispensible to the adaptation of Bengali to the purposes of translation from English writings of an abstruse and speculative character". This declaration of the General Committee showed that it had in mind the use of the vernacular media for the diffusion of European education which it had already advocated in the Upper Provinces, especially in Agra. For the present, however, the Committee confined its activity to the compilation of English books, which it undertook in collaboration with the School Book Society.\textsuperscript{88}

The Government readily approved of these proposals. It also gave the Committee complete liberty to afford Wilson every facility and authorised them to spend Rs. 49,376 from Educational Fund for printing a series of English books, but expected that a part of the expenses would be reimbursed by the Calcutta School Book Society. In addition to this the Government granted Rs. 5,000 for purchasing books for the Library of the Anglo-Indian College. Finally, as the Directors had done nothing to procure the services of two qualified teachers from England, the Government on the request of Wilson sanctioned the appointment of Mr. Tytler, Superintendent of the Education Press as a teacher of both English and Mathematics.\textsuperscript{89}

The development of English education was not confined to the Anglo-Indian College alone. It was making rapid inroads even into the strongholds of oriental learning, such as

\textsuperscript{88} Report of Annual Exam. 1828. Board's Coll. 1170, ff 268...

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Calcutta Sanskrit College. Stirling had already advocated the establishment of an English class into that College. But the General Committee naturally enough was apprehensive of taking such a step lest it might provoke popular antagonism. It had reason for such apprehension, because very recently the introduction of the study of arithmetic according to the European system had aroused strong opposition among the students of the Sanskrit College. However, in 1826 the Committee declared its intention of establishing an English class in the College. The response, though not phenomenal, was quite encouraging and 40 out of 136 students volunteered to study English. The Committee was now placed in a rather embarrassing position as it did not know how to provide for their tuition. They could not be sent to the Anglo-Indian College without over crowding that institution; moreover, the advanced age of many of the students made it inadvisable to subject them to the ordinary routine of study. The Committee, therefore, solicited the permission of the Government to form a separate class with a teacher especially appointed for the purpose on Rs 200 per month from the College Fund.90 The Government sanctioned the utilization of the services of Tytler for the purpose.91

The introduction of the study of English was followed by other important innovations. In 1827 instruction in the first elements of European anatomy was introduced into the Medical class of the College and the English class also began to function regularly from the same year. “The progress in English”, the Committee declared, “is fully as considerable as could have been expected”. The progress of the Medical Class was beyond the hopes of the authorities. The students, far from being averse to handling human bodies, vied with one another in dissecting them and often their zeal was so embarrassing that the Professors had great difficulty in checking it. These together with the increase in the number of the students to 152 by 1828, showed that even the most

90 Annual Report 1826, 6th May 1827, Board’s Coll., pp. 117...
91 Stirling to Gen. Com., 1st Feb., 1828, Board’s Coll., pp. 241...
orthodox section of the Hindus was ready to receive instruction in European science and literature.\footnote{92} This emboldened the Committee to suggest the establishment of a Hospital in connection with the College for the practical training of the students; but the Government had to reject the scheme owing to the strain already imposed on the Education Fund, but promised to admit the students to another institution under Dr. Brenton after it had been enlarged.

Of the Government establishments, the Committee of the Calcutta Madrassa had begun to advocate the dissemination of European education among the people long before the Government had started to take any active interest in the question of education. The examiners as well as the Secretary of the College, had advocated the use of English language for that purpose as early as 1825. But though the Government had sanctioned the former, nothing had been done to execute the latter proposition. In 1828, the Government suddenly realised this omission and informed the General Committee that the "Governor General in Council has noticed with regret that instruction in the English language does not form a part of the Madrassa course of tuition" and considered this to be a defect which should be remedied as early as possible. The Government considered that the difficulty of subjecting students, who were of an advanced age, to the ordinary routine might be obviated by establishing a school in connection with the Madrassa where the students would acquire the preliminary requirements. The Government also drew the attention of the Committee to the fact that the establishment of such an institution had long been sanctioned and funds to the requisite extent were still available. The Committee was, therefore, asked to consider the best means of executing the plan and thus accomplishing "the highly desirable and important object of introducing the study of English language and literature" into

\footnote{92 Annual Report 1827, 19th June 1828, Board's Coll. 1170, ff. 223...}
the "principal seminary for the education of the Mahommedan youth." 93

The General Committee directed the Secretary of the Madrassa to organise an English class immediately, but some delay was caused by the absence of a properly qualified teacher. With regard to the establishment of a Preparatory School the Committee thought "that the scale of proficiency has of late years been considerably raised without the intervention of any other encouragement than that granted by admission to the Madrassa", and therefore considered that "the sum appropriated hitherto to this object, may be more beneficially applied". It, therefore, drew the attention of the Government to the proposals made by Captain Ruddell for abridging the elementary works used in the Madrassa and translating the works on European science into Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian, but refused to give the plan anything but a general approval until the details had been received. 94 The Government approved of the Committee's suggestions and asked it to relinquish the idea of establishing a Preparatory School. 95

Although, the policy pursued by the General Committee in the Upper Provinces had been different from that followed in the Lower Provinces, yet the Committee had from the very beginning recognised the dissemination of European learning to be the ultimate object of its policy. Just as at Calcutta the Committee had adopted the Anglo-Indian College as the field for experimenting in English education and ascertaining popular opinion on it, so in the Upper Provinces, it adopted the Agra College for experimenting in vernacular education. As, for reasons already enumerated, the use of English as medium of instruction had to be rejected, the Committee had to choose between the vernacular and the classical languages.

94 Annual Report for 1828, 18th May, 1829, Board's Coll. 1170, ff. 269...
Due to the impossibility of teaching western sciences through the latter and their inalienable association with the religions of the people, the Committee adopted Hindi as the medium of instruction. But on account of its crude state and the absence of any text books in it, the progress of education in Agra College was greatly retarded. Once this defect had been remedied, the Committee held, Hindi could be used as the medium through which information could be spread among the people. How confident the Committee was about the success of this policy, especially in comparison with the vacillating attitude at Calcutta, can be clearly seen from the following statement:

"We trust...", the Committee declared, "that by a perseverance in the plan laid down by the Agra College and by promoting every favourable opportunity to procure books in Hindi, these evils will be gradually remedied and the language of the greater portion of the people will be reduced to rule and become un-exceptionable and cultivable vehicle for the diffusion of information. Until this is effected, we think it an unprofitable application of our resources to expend them upon the partial and imperfect dissemination of another foreign language. The people of this country have long been in the habit of studying other languages instead of their own and the consequence is a very defective national literature and still more imperfect knowledge of it. It is only through the medium of their own tongue that the bulk of the population can acquire the information derivable from another and it must be our special object to qualify that medium for the purposes it is to effect, before we can expect to employ it with success; we do not, therefore, concur in the expediency of introducing the study of English at Agra until the study of Hindi is more fully established". The Committee, therefore, proposed to encourage either the translation of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit books into Hindi, or the compilation of Elementary Treatises. In order to execute this plan, it recommended that certain scholarships should be instituted to encourage meritorious students to prosecute their studies further and that the holders of such scholarships should be
expected to translate or compile original works in Hindi. This scheme, the Committee believed, would achieve the object of improving the Hindi language without committing the Government into any extra expenditure. 96 It is indeed a pity that this plan was never fully put into operation, nor was much heed paid to it; otherwise the educational policy of the Government in Bengal might have taken a different course and the so-called Anglo-Oriental controversy might have followed much the same line as at Bombay.

The popularity of the Agra College, as well as the rapid increase in the number of students studying Hindi justified the policy pursued by the Committee. This success of vernacular education also indicated that the study of the classical languages was gradually falling in public estimation. Persian was still studied by a large number of students because it was still the language of the Law Courts and business, but Sanskrit and Arabic classes were attended by only a negligible number. 97 This was exactly what the Committee had expected. "It is highly satisfactory", it declared, "to find that the attention of so large a number of pupils of the College is directed to Hindi... The situation of the Agra College is well adapted to the successful cultivation of this language and we trust it may be made the instrument of giving a finer standard to the vernacular dialect of an extensive portion of Upper India until the establishment of which it is vain to expect that any information of which it may be made the vehicle, will be widely circulated or permanently remembered." 98

The encouragement which the General Committee received from success of Hindi naturally enough led it to discountenance

97 In 1827 there were 210 students in the Agra College; of these 143 composed the Persian class and 27 Hindi class. Of the former 23 studied Arabic, while 53 attended the Hindi class, thus making a total of 120 Hindi students.
the establishment of English classes in Agra College. But it could not long defer the establishment of classes for European science. The Superintendent of the College had already drawn the Committee's attention to the necessity of procuring from the Presidency qualified teachers of European science, Sanskrit and Arabic, especially for the cultivation of Mathematics, and Geography. He had also suggested the alternative of teaching the students through the medium of English. Local Committee at Agra also had complained that the General Committee had rejected its previous advocacy of the very same subject on insufficient grounds. The Committee, in defence, contended that it entertained "no objection to the introduction of the English language into any Government Seminaries where a reasonable prospect exists of its being serviceably acquired or effectually taught", but for the time being considered English education at Agra to be of "secondary importance." Moreover, the Committee pointed out that it did not possess the means of "imparting a sound and thorough knowledge of the language". "Any attempt of this nature", it therefore declared, "would... end in the communication of a little broken English to a few individuals sufficient to fit them for copyists in the public offices". Adverting to the Local Committee's reference to the success of English education in Calcutta, the General Committee asserted that, "That very example...affords a strong argument against the attempt to introduce it anywhere else at present, for it is found that a thorough knowledge of English is acquir-

able by the natives only by the almost exclusive study of it from a very early to an advanced age, with a very expensive series of instructors including Europeans of superior acquire-

ments." Moreover, as the study of English in the Upper Provinces "would be wholly useless except in the public services", the Committee could not "recognise any urgency for its introduction into Agra at present, or for some time to come." The Committee, however, promised that when the present system had been "fully established and superior scholars in Persian and Hindi are multiplied, we shall be disposed to acquiesce in an arrangement for qualifying some of the ablest scholars to become translators from the English
into the languages of the Country,” but reminded the
Government that “those languages must first be acquired.”
The rejection of the proposal for establishing an English class
obviated the necessity of establishing a Preparatory School
for the preliminary training of the students, and the Committee
refused to sanction its institution on the ground of finance;
but it reluctantly granted Rs. 30 per month for the school
which had already been established. 99

The Government, though it had pinned its faith on the
desirability of introducing English education among Indians,
in this instance agreed with the Committee. But that was due
to the fact that the Government’s activities in educational
matters seldom amounted to anything more than approval or
rejection of propositions submitted by the Committee, and
more often it was approval rather than rejection. Hence in
this case the Governor General in Council was “disposed to
conceive with...Committee that at the present moment there
do not appear to be sufficient grounds to warrant the expecta-
tions that a favourable result would attend the introduction
of an English class into the Agra College. 100

By 1829, the Committee made a ‘volte face’. Several causes
contributed to this change. The Directors’ Despatch of
September 1827 which arrived in the first quarter of 1828
must have exercised a great deal of influence on the Committee.
The change in the Governor Generalship of Bengal must
also have greatly influenced the Committee’s policy. Bentinck,
who succeeded Amherst, was a man of great energy and was
well known of his reforming zeal. He was determined to
tackle every problem, social, administrative and financial,
and such an important question as educational policy could
not have been expected to escape his notice. Moreover, in
spite of the General Committee’s refusal the Local Committees
had maintained a steady pressure for the adoption of the
policy of disseminating English education in the Upper

100 S. Fraser to Gen. Com. 13th June 1828, ff. 248-49, Board’s Coll.
1170.
Provinces. The Delhi Committee being composed of men like C. T. Metcalfe, E. Colebrooke and Trevelyan, played a particularly great part in bringing about this change. Their advocacy for English education became more emphatic and the General Committee could not long remain indifferent.

In 1828 the Local Committee at Agra again repeated their request for establishing an English Class in the College, whose expenses were to be defrayed from the Education Fund and which was to consist of about 12 select students from the Persian and Hindi classes. In order to enable indigent students to prosecute their studies the Local Committee also recommended the institution of scholarships. The General Committee this time fell in line with the Local Committee and declared that "the ultimate introduction of the study of the English language and European science and literature into every part of India is an object which we ever keep in view, although we have been reluctant to press it prematurely upon the taste and feelings of the people and thus render them averse to its cultivation." But now it believed that "the time has arrived when English tuition will be widely acceptable to the natives in the Upper Provinces" and therefore decided "to promote the diffusion of English instruction as far as the means at disposal and the opportunities of applying them will permit." The Committee, however, was not very certain as to the methods it should adopt. It was sceptical about the effectiveness of attaching additional English classes to the already existing establishments thinking that if this was done "the study of English will form but a subsidiary part of the system; a small portion only of the time of the students can be devoted to its acquirement and it will probably not engage much of his interest or experience." The alternative was the establishment of independent English Colleges. But as the Committee did not possess means requisite for an undertaking of this kind it reluctantly had to remain content with the less effective plan of attaching English classes to the institutions already established. Consequently the Committee proposed

101 Metcalfe left Delhi and went to Calcutta in Aug. 1827.
to form such a class in connection with the Agra College and
to grant scholarships to certain of the meritorious students
to enable them to continue their studies for a sufficiently long
period. The Committee further proposed that apart from
the limited number who would receive their instruction free, a
further number of twenty students might be allowed to attend
the class provided they were ready to pay a moderate charge
for their tuition.\textsuperscript{102} The Government approved of these plans
and in order to induce Indians to take an interest in the
spread of English education declared that should any of them
make contributions towards the spread of English education
the principal subscriber among them would be associated with
the management of the College.\textsuperscript{103}

The development of Education in the Delhi College
followed much the same line as in Agra. In 1827 Sir Charles,
Metcalfe, Commissioner of Delhi, recommended to the General
Committee the desirability of attaching an English class to the
Delhi College. The Committee, however, did not share his
views as to the benefits to be derived from this; moreover, it
thought that it would be a very difficult matter to procure a
suitable teacher. The Committee nevertheless reiterated its
desire of attaching English classes to Colleges whenever cir-
cumstances would be favourable, but declared that it “should
first wish to see arrangements in progress for the due cultiva-
tion of the spoken dialects”.\textsuperscript{104} However, during the year
1828 some provisions for the study of English were made in
the Delhi College. The students who joined the class were

\textsuperscript{102} According to the Committee the number of free students was
to be limited to from 30-40, to be selected from the meritorious
students of other classes. Of these 20 or half might be retained with
a scholarship to enable them to qualify themselves as teachers of
English either independently or as assistants in the College. Scholar-
ships were to be valued between Rs. 10-16 per month and were to be
made the reward of progress and proficiency. The charge for the out
students was to be Rs. 3 per month. Report Annual 1828, 18th May
1829, ff. 279-87, Board’s Coll. 1170.

\textsuperscript{103} Stirling to G. C. C. I., Pers. Dept. 26th June 1829, f. 384. \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{104} Report 1826, 6th May 1827, ff. 142... Board’s Coll. 1170.
mostly Hindus and among the applications for admission were several Indian Christians.\textsuperscript{105} But still the Committee's main object was to maintain the College as an institution of oriental learning and the vernacular language. The progress of the oriental section was not up to the expectations of the Committee which to a great extent was due to the growing disregard for the traditional classical education and the demand for English education. The General Committee therefore asked the Local Committee at Delhi not to relax its attention on oriental education and "to endeavour to erect the Delhi College into a seminary of the highest possible order in native estimation", and at the same time to "seek to engraft upon it the language and literature of Europe".\textsuperscript{106} The Superintendent of the College urged the appointment of an English teacher of a higher qualification capable of teaching European science, but the General Committee thought that as the students must first acquire a rudimentary knowledge of the English language, one of the type employed at Agra would be quite sufficient for the present.\textsuperscript{107}

But the Delhi Committee had been insisting on the dissemination of English education on a much larger scale than had hitherto been done by the Committee in any part of Bengal. On 12th February 1829, it sent a long Memorandum to the General Committee setting forth its case, dealing not only with the education of the people of Delhi but of India in general. "All the sciences", it held, have been carried to a much greater extent and their principles have been more fully developed by the inhabitants of Europe, for which reason the idea of encouraging the natives of India to prosecute their

\textsuperscript{105} It was left to the discretion of the Local Committee to decide whether the admission of Christians was compatible with the establishment of the institution.

\textsuperscript{106} The number of students in the Persian class declined from 146 in 1827 to 126 in 1828; Arabic from 50 to 32, and Sanskrit from 17 to 13. While the newly constituted English class had 28 students, the proportionately small number of students in English class was due to the aversion of the Mohammedans for English education.

\textsuperscript{107} Report 1828, 18th May 1829, ff. 286-89, Board's Coll. 1170.
own learning has never been adopted, but with various modifications to avoid too rapid innovation and encourage the previous diffusion of the taste, the general object of our system of education has ever been to improve the natives by the introduction of European learning and science”. It, then, pointed out that the policy of preparing the ground for the introduction of English education by means of translations had failed, especially because the translations were quite inadequate for such a purpose. It also drew the attention of the Committee to the absence of scientific terms in the oriental languages and to the fact that it was much easier to understand original English works than their translations in the classical language. Moreover, it added that there was quite a sufficient number of teachers available, capable of teaching the subject. The Delhi Committee also did not share the General Committee’s enthusiasm for the immediate efficacy of the vernacular languages. They were considered to be in a crude state and completely lacking in scientific terms but “in a remarkable degree capable of improvement and assimilation to the English language almost to any extent”, consequently, the Committee of Superintendence declared that the bulk of the people being entirely uneducated and attached to no previous system were ready to adopt English literature, “which will afford them to the best available means of improvement”, and believed that from the cultivation of the English language “will follow as a natural consequence, the assimilation of the taste and language of the bulk of the people and the ultimate introduction of every useful work on science into the vernacular tongue”. For the Delhi Committee, as for the General Committee, the ultimate aim was the introduction into the Upper Provinces of European science through the vernacular media, the only difference being that the former regarded the dissemination of the English language to be the intermediary step between the existing classical education and the teaching of the European sciences through the vernacular media. The Delhi Committee further pointed out that since the Persian language was foreign to both the rulers and ruled alike it formed a barrier between them; therefore, their scheme had a political object in that it
aided at creating a new class of Indians sympathetically inclined to the English by virtue of a similar education; in short as Macaulay later said, "Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, in intellect." In conclusion, to encourage the students to learn English the Delhi Committee suggested that inducements in the nature of scholarship, degrees and diplomas should be offered and that the Government should correspond with the native Chiefs in the English language and that a knowledge of it should be made requisite for public offices, without much delay.\textsuperscript{108}

The General Committee gave a general approval to these suggestions and declared that it would not hesitate to employ such means as would accomplish the object. It, however, declared that the local Committee had rather underrated the difficulties and pointed out that to acquire a knowledge of English one must study it exclusively and laboriously for a long time; moreover, English was to be taught not for the sake of language but for facilitating the dissemination of English science and literature. "With this view, therefore, the General Committee declared", "we would propose to establish an English College at some chief city or cities in Hindoostan on similar principles to those which regulate the Anglo-Indian College". But Delhi, according to them was not the place for such an experiment. Finance, however, was the rock on which educational experiments had often foundered, and with this in mind the General Committee, in order to allay the apprehensions of the Government, stated that in the beginning the English College would not cost more than an English class, because, the instruction imparted would be elementary and would not require a large establishment.\textsuperscript{109} The students were to be taught gratis, the stipends

\textsuperscript{108} Delhi Com. to Wilson 12th Feb. 1829, Board's Coll. 1170. ff. 313...

\textsuperscript{109} They thought one instructor at Rs. 200 p.m. with the present teacher at Delhi College, at Rs. 100 p.m. perhaps two young men from Hindu Coll. at 80 or 100 Rs. p.m. would be sufficient for 50 students.
were to be as small as possible; but after the scheme had come fully into operation, the most promising of the students were to be liberally paid to enable them to continue their studies long enough to make them better conversant with English. The English class was also to be thrown open to those who would be ready to pay a small fee, and the Committee hoped that if the demand proved to be as great as the Delhi Committee had anticipated, the payment made by the "out students" would cover a considerable portion of the expenses of the College. The number of the out students was at first to be limited to 100 but might be increased in future.\textsuperscript{110}

But before the General Committee's sentiments had reached the Government, the Committee of Superintendence sent in the details of its plan. In order to promote the cultivation of English language among Indians it proposed to establish a Preparatory School in every Zillah and a College in every district, to be subject to the control of the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, who would be President of the Managing Committee which was to be composed of all the magistrates and judges; the students of the Colleges were to "consist of such as have acquired a certain standard of proficiency, to be ascertained by a previous examination." A certain number of them was to be admitted as Government foundation scholars and the rest would have to maintain themselves. Admission to the College was to be thrown open to all except the lowest classes such as the sweepers. In order to encourage the students the Committee of Superintendence proposed to award scholar-

\textsuperscript{110} The total cost of the College was estimated at Rs. 800 p.m.; but of this a part could be paid from the existing English class which cost Rs. 100 p.m. Moreover, if no pecuniary grant was made to the pupils the remaining charge would be only Rs. 550, which the Gen. Com thought would be counterbalanced by the sum saved for the Preparatory School, to be attached to the Madrassa; i.e. 1000 of which the Com. proposed to appropriate 250 for the Eng. class, leaving 750 for the Education Fund Com. Also agreed to provide a building, Board's Coll. 1170. ff, 290-5 Rep. 1829. 18th May 1829.
ships to the most deserving ones. "The object of the Prepara-
tory school" the Committee declared, "will be to impart a
knowledge of the English language, and the object of the
College will be to impart a knowledge of European learning
and science." The course of study was to be as follows:

(a) Law—General principles, Regulations, Hindu and
Muslim Law;

(2) Mathematics and Mechanics—including land
Surveying;

(3) Moral and Political Economy, Logic, Natural
History, Astronomy, Physics, Anatomy, Chemistry
and the fine Arts;

and for each of these subjects the Committee proposed to
establish a Professorship. The Committee laid special
emphasis on the study of Law, because it hoped that by its
proper cultivation a new class of Advocates would be raised
who would restrain the judges and save their clients from the
exactions of native officers. The want of properly qualified
teachers was always a handicap and the Committee thought
that the source of such recruitment might be supplied "either
by adding additional means of scientific instruction (particu-
larly in Law) to the institution which already exists at Calcutta
or by founding there a new University for all classes on the
proposed system, or both." The Committee, however,
admitted its incompetence to decide a question like this
and suggested that "for the present the elementary teachers
who will at first be most in request may be easily drawn
from the Hindu College and elsewhere." The funds available,
it considered would be sufficient, especially when the
stipends would be withdrawn, and thought that it would
be necessary gradually to charge fees from the scholars
except those on the foundation. It again drew the attention
of the Government to the political advantage of English
education. This, the Committee held would lead to an attach-
ment between the Government and the people who would feel
grateful to the former for affording them the benefits of
education and also to a closer intercourse between the Indians
and the Europeans. "In short", it declared, "the pursuit of
English learning and polity by the natives will for centuries form a bond of union between ourselves and them, which can never be entirely dissolved”, while if left to themselves, they would start to brood over their fate. Moreover the Committee hoped that the study of English would create a “common vernacular tongue not purely, but sufficiently allied to it” to admit of translations and in conclusion reiterated its proposal that, to encourage the study of English, preference should be given to degree holders in Government services.\textsuperscript{111}

This plan was rejected by the General Committee on the ground that the Delhi College could not be abolished or diverted from its object without creating a great stir among the people; moreover, suitable teachers could not be procured as the students of the Anglo-Indian College were not willing to leave their own province to take up appointments at Delhi. In conclusion, it pointed out that without inducements there would be no enthusiasm among the people for studying English, and affirmed that the suggestions already made by itself were sufficient for the present.\textsuperscript{112}

Holt Mackenzie, however, dissented from the rest of the Committee and declared that he did not consider the Delhi Committee’s proposals to be impracticable. He pointed out that the Delhi Committee did not desire the abolition of the Delhi College and that they had not in their mind the immediate execution of the plan. In conclusion, Mackenzie urged the Government to notify immediately that after three years, candidates having a knowledge of English should be given preference in certain Government offices.\textsuperscript{113}

It is important to note here that there was very little difference between the General Committee’s plan and that of the Delhi Committee, the only difference being the Delhi Committee’s proposal to establish Preparatory schools in every


\textsuperscript{112} G. C. P. I. to G. G. in C. 2nd June 1829. Board’s Coll. 1170 ff. 341...

\textsuperscript{113} Dissent 3rd June, Boards Coll. 1170 ff. 350-2
Zillah; which was still an anathema to the General Committee. The General Committee, however, strangely enough failed to realise the importance of Preparatory schools in any sound system of education because unless students at an early age were effectively taught the elements of reading and writing, how could they be expected to join a College and prosecute their studies thereof. This was a question which the General Committee on financial grounds most studiously refused to face. Moreover, the General Committee declared that the proposals made by them in their annual Report were for the time being sufficient; but as the report was submitted after the receipt of the Delhi Committee’s second plan, the Delhi Committee could not possibly have been aware of it. Finally although the General Committee had received both the plans of the Delhi Committee before they submitted their report to the Government yet they did not make any mention of the later and more detailed one in the report but confined their observations to the first one, on which their suggestions as to the dissemination of English education in the Upper Provinces, were to all intents and purposes based.

The history of the growth of English education in Benares was almost a repetition of the events in Delhi. In 1829 Thoresby, Superintendent of the College there, suggested the formation of a Seminary for the study of Arabic and Persian and of one or two classes for the cultivation of English at an annual cost of Rs. 10,000. The General Committee rejected it that on the ground that it did not want to divert funds from objects of higher importance, “at any rate...until the result of the attempt to introduce English tuition at Benares shall have been ascertained.” The Committee, also, pointed out that the Persian class in the College was already available to the Hindus and proposed that a similar English class, open both to Mohammedans and Hindus, might be attached to the College. But, although averse to the establishment of a College for Persian and Arabic and attaching an English class to it, the Committee declared itself fully 

114 Pol. Let. 25th March 1829. Board’s Coll. 1170
prepared to sanction the establishment of a separate English College at Benares as well as at Delhi at an estimated cost of between Rs. 700 and Rs. 800 per month. It hoped that the Education Fund would be quite able to meet the initial expenditure and thought that if the College should become popular and attract scholars ready to pay for their tuition the cost to the Government might be ultimately less. The Committee also hoped to raise local subscription, and suggested the adoption of the same plain as at Delhi and to incorporate some of the leading Indians into a Committee of management.\textsuperscript{115}

On 29th June 1829, the Government communicated to the General Committee its sentiments on the development of educational policy within its jurisdiction. This, however, meant little more than the Government’s approval of the steps taken and measures suggested by the General Committee in the past years. The Government, however, made a startling statement in that it declared that it was under no obligation to maintain the seminaries for oriental education, though it was not ready as yet to abandon them. Thus the decision finally taken in 1835 had already been considered in 1829! The Government also informed the Committee that “His Lordship in Council has no hesitation in stating to your Committee and authorizing you to announce to all concerned in the superintendence of our native seminaries, that it is the wish and the admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country and that it will omit no opportunity of giving every reasonable and practicable degree of encouragement to the execution of the project”.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{115} According to the Committee’s plan the establishment was to consist of an European teacher and two Indian assistants; and 50 scholars were to be taught gratis. The College was also to be open to an equal number of students who were to be charged Rs. 5 per month. Donors of Rs. 10,000 or more were to be entitled to nominate a scholar each. Report for 1828, 18th May 1829, Board’s Coll. 1170 ff. 297-9.

\textsuperscript{116} Stirling to G. C. P. I., Pers, Dept. 26th June 1829, Board’s Coll, 1170,ff. 377-93.
In a long letter wholly devoted to the question of education, the Government intimated to the Court the means which it had adopted for furthering the cause of education and the results which had accrued therefrom. It expressed its delight with the progress made in various institutions, and felt particularly gratified with the success of the Medical class in the Sanskrit College where the students should not the slightest reluctance to handle human corpses, and often their zeal had to be repressed. This the Government thought to be a most hopeful sign as it showed the extent to which the Hindus had overcome their prejudices.\textsuperscript{117}

At home the directors were keenly watching the development of education in India. By this time they had lined themselves up with the Government in Bengal on the question of education and their ideas and opinions were much the same. Being concerned more with quality rather than with quantity, they informed the Government that "Before Schools and School books are provided, there should be at least a reasonable probability of their being attended or read...when seminaries of higher education are provided, it should be borne in mind that were the country studded with them they would be wholly unprofitable, both to Government and the people, unless the branches of knowledge taught in them were fully useful and their tendency to degenerate were closely watched and provided against."\textsuperscript{118}

The crux of the whole question, however, was finance. It had all along been a dominant factor in the Government's policy towards education. It was to become still more so now. The authorities at home had taken up the cry of retrenchment and reform and had asked Bentinck, the Governor General, either to retrench or to retire. Now they suddenly took it into their head that the Government in Bengal was spending too much money on education. They reminded the Governor General that the sum of one lac per annum granted by

Parliament in 1813 was meant not for Bengal alone but for all the three Presidencies and was to be appropriated only in the case of there being a net surplus in the territorial revenues of India. Finally, they drew attention to the fact that the sum expended was "four times the sums conditionally allowed".¹¹⁹

The Directors' contentions were based on a complete misconception of the actual facts, since the Government of Bengal every year enjoyed a large surplus which was sufficient not only to cover the consistently huge deficits of the other two Presidencies, but also of Bencoolen and Prince of Wales Islands. Apart from this, there was no central machinery in existence in India at that time, either to control the finances or to co-ordinate the civil administration of the Country as a whole. As a result each Presidency made its own arrangements and communicated with the Directors independently of the Governor General at Fort William. Hence the Parliamentary Grant could not easily have been apportioned among the three Presidencies and the blame for this lay in the faulty wording of the Act of 1813 which failed to realise this. Moreover, as the surplus accrued from the revenues of Bengal there was no reason whatsoever as to why the other Presidencies should have been allowed to take advantage of it.

Before blaming the Governor General for spending about 4 lacs on education in India, the Directors should have realised that of the amount 1 lac was spent by Bombay and Madras Governments. Secondly, the Act of 1813 authorized the Government to spend not less than one lac on education and thus did not put any limit on the expenditure. Thirdly, the Government never appropriated more than 1 lac from the surplus territorial revenues of India; the rest of the expenses were defrayed from the grants which had already been made by the Government from time to time for educational purposes and which had received due sanction from the authorities at home. Apart from this there was a large fund accumulated from the private donations made by individuals, amounts

¹¹⁹ Ibid.
appropriated from other sources such as the estate of Gangadhar Pandit at Agra, as well as the arrears and surplus of the Education Fund. Lastly, when the Government of Bengal decided to appropriate the Parliamentary grant of one lac for Bengal only, they accordingly informed the Directors who duly sanctioned it. Hence there was no ground for the Directors suddenly to raise such a question unless this was due to their obsession for economy.

But in spite of their apprehension about the finances, the Directors were firm about their attitude towards the dissemination of English education. The Government of Bengal’s letter of August 1829 finally convinced them that the time had come when English education could be more extensively as well as beneficially disseminated among Indians. “The experiment” they declared, “of giving instruction to the people of India, of a higher kind than any which they previously possessed has been successful in a degree not merely equal, but superior to our most sanguine expectations”. “The great and rapidly increasing efficiency and popularity of the Institutions”, they continued, “not only affords complete proof that their establishment was called for by the state of public feeling and by the circumstances of the times, but also conveys the gratifying assurance that the higher classes of our Hindu and Mohammedan subjects are ripe for a still further extension among them of European education and European science and literature”. This clearly showed the genuineness of the demand as well as the necessity of taking further steps to meet it. Hence, they declared, “It is of the greatest importance that to these and others of the native youths, the means should be afforded of cultivating the English language and literature and acquiring a knowledge of European science and a familiarity with European ideas, in a higher degree than has yet been within their power”. They were particularly impressed and greatly confirmed in their attitude by the observation made by the General Committee that the time had arrived when English tuition will be widely acceptable to the Natives of the Upper Provinces. Hence, in order to facilitate the study of English they ordered that the English and
Oriental classes should be kept distinct and attended by different sets of students. They were fully cognisant of the various difficulties which must first be overcome before English education could be widely disseminated, and therefore drew the attention of the Governor General to the necessity of supplying school books and informed him that "We shall more readily sanction expense judiciously incurred for this purpose than for any other object connected with native education, because it is the point in which your present means are most deficient". But, however strong their attitude might have been with regard to the spread of English education, they were not insensible to the potentialities as well as the efficacy of the vernacular, especially in carrying education to the mass of the people in the Upper Provinces. They, therefore, agreed with the General Committee and declared that they had greater faith than the Committees at Agra and Delhi as to the "amount of useful information which can be communicated to the natives through their own language". But in order to communicate European science and literature in the vernaculars one must necessarily also have a thorough knowledge of the English language, and the Directors quickly realised this. They, thererfore, pointed out that the "fittest person for translating English scientific books or for putting their substance into shape adapted to Asiatic students, are natives who have studied the sciences profoundly in the original works", and once more warned the Governor General against a disposition 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 Indians, through the medium of "books and oral institution in their own languages". The question of stipends also attracted their attention and they approved of the utilization of the interest accruing from the donations placed at the disposal of the General Committee for granting scholarships to the deserving students, hoping that this would lead to the abolition of the stipends. They also approved of the Regulation XI of 1826 but expressed doubts as to the expediency of corresponding with the Princes and nobility in English as that, they
thought, would put them more into a position of dependence on their native advisers. They also suggested that the vernaculars and not English should be substituted for Persian in official matters. In conclusion they reminded the Government that elementary schools established before the appointment of the General Committee were of subordinate importance and that disproportionate sums should not be allowed to them.\textsuperscript{120}

Theoretically speaking, this despatch marked the end as well as the beginning of another phase in the development of the educational policy of the Government of Bengal. For the time being, it seemed to have put an end to the long period of vacillation and confusing experiments practised by the General Committee of Public Instruction and to have put the seal of confirmation on the policy of disseminating English education in Bengal. But, unfortunately, as shall be seen in the next chapter, the policy laid down in this Despatch was not attached upon. The two chief protagonists of English education, Holt Mackenzie and H. H. Wilson left India in 1831 and 1833 respectively; in the latter year also died Ram Mohun Roy who had for long been the moving spirit among the Indians in every attempt at reforming the Hindu religion and of infusing new and Western ideas among them. Partly due, no doubt, to these facts, and partly due to the usual temporary lapse of the Committee into an attitude of vacillation and indecision, the Directors' injunctions remained in abeyance and the rival claims of Oriental and English education became the subject of vehement dispute within the Committee itself.
CHAPTER IV

THE ANGLO-ORIENTAL CONTROVERSY

(1830—1835)

The Directors' Despatch of 1830 failed to settle the issue in favour of English education; the timidity and vacillation of the General Committee, the want of funds; and the pre-occupation of the Governor General with administrative, financial and social questions, hindered the development of a consistent and well-planned policy as might have been expected after the arrival of the Despatch of 1830.

Before the Despatch of 1830 had reached Bengal, the Government had under its consideration an elaborate plan for the education of the landed gentry of the Upper and Lower Provinces, which it hoped would not only lead to the enlightenment and improvement of the morals of the leaders of society, but would also help the filtration of education among the people in general. On August 11, 1830, W. B. Bayley, President of the Board of Trade, recorded a Minute urging "the extension of the benefits of the Hindu College\(^1\) to respectable residents in the Muffusil" which he considered to be "an object deserving serious attention". Filtration of education being then the policy of the Government and its officials, Bayley thought "the necessity of imparting education to the children of the land-holders is more urgent than that of communicating tuition to any other class". He drew pointed attention to the depraved condition of this class and hoped that their improvement would lead to the improvement of other classes, was however fully aware of the difficulties of persuading the Zemindars to send their sons to a distant place as Calcutta, which moreover had the reputation of fostering extravagance and immorality among young people. Bayley, however, hoped that a start might be made with the minors who were under the Court of Wards, and that the

\(^1\) The Anglo-Indian College.
improvement effected in them would gradually induce the parents of others to send their children voluntarily to Calcutta for education. He was not at all worried about the cost of this scheme, because he believed that, as many of the minors were very opulent, it would not be very difficult to defray their expenses. Regarding the accommodation of the students, he proposed to establish a Boarding House under a respectable Hindu, and to place it in charge of the managers of the Hindu College. Bayley's scheme was not confined to the education of the Hindus alone. He paid due attention to the education of the children of the Mohammedan Zemindars as well. He considered that to be less difficult as the Mohammedans had less prejudice in religious matters and he believed that their education would cost less and that the income accruing to them form the Court of Wards would be sufficient. Bayley proposed to attach them to the Calcutta Madrassa, where they should be taught English. In the first instance the establishment was to be confined to six boys and the cost was estimated as Rs. 1000 per month.² The Governor General agreed as to the principle of the scheme and on Bayley's recommendation referred it to the Sudder Board of Revenue for Report.³

The Board, realising the importance of the matter, asked the several Commissioners under it about the advisability as well as the practicability of the scheme. The Commissioners agreed that the principle was excellent, but expressed grave doubts as to the practicability of putting the scheme into operation. The Board concurred with them and drew the Government's attention to the small number of Wards in the Western Provinces and expressed the apprehension that residence in Calcutta for education might lead to the moral degeneration of the young Wards which would defeat the object that the Governments had in view. But it thought that the same objections would not apply to the establishment of

² Beng. Rev. Con. 12th Aug. 1831, No. 1 Board's Coll. 1387 : f. 0...
³ Macnaughten Acting Deputy Secretary to Sudder, Ed. of Rev, 12th Aug. 1830, Cons. 2.
a College at Patna, Benares, or Agra, and observed that "an experiment at either of these places might be attended with favourable results." The Governor General agreed with these views, although, he thought, that an institution established at one of the places suggested would not be as useful as one established at Calcutta. He therefore decided that if the Vice President of the Council agreed, he would consult the General Committee as to the practicability of remodelling of the Benares Institution or of establishing a new College in some central place and conducting it on the same principle as at Calcutta.

Soon after W. W. Bird, third member of the Board of Revenue drew up a plan improving upon and elaborating the scheme already thought out by the Governor General. He believed that "a race of land-holders, who have themselves enjoyed the advantage of some sort of education must arise before such an object can be accomplished", and wanted the Government to "persevere in the plan already partially adopted of placing within the reach of the rising generation and as nearly as possible at their own doors such means of education as their parents may be less disinclined to take advantage of. "This, he thought", "may be done by extending Branch establishments under the direction of the Committee of Public Instruction to as many of the principal stations as the funds available for the purpose will afford." Finally, he pointed out that even if a few Wards were sent up to Calcutta that would not induce others to send their children there but they might be persuaded to put their children under the local Commissioners in the Branch establishment.

1. Pattle, second member of the Board, produced a somewhat different but in many respects more practicable scheme. He advocated that Hindu tutors should be appointed

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4 W. Fane and R. M. Tilghman to Macnaughten 2nd Aug. 1831, Board's Coll. 1387, ff. 25...
5 Macnaughten—Thomason, Deputy Secretary. Govt. Rev. Dept. 10th Aug. 1831, Board's Coll. 1387, ff. 55-6.
6 Bird's Minute, 12th Aug. 1831, ff. 29...Board's Coll. 1387.
to give an effective, but completely secular education to the Hindu Minors and expressed his belief that almost all the Minors were in a position to afford to appoint such tutors. Secondly, he endorsed Bird's plan and advocated the establishment of as many Branch Institutions as possible under the Board of Revenue aided by the General Committee. These Institutions were at first to be meant for such Minors as could afford to keep private tutors and for Zemindars favourably inclined towards European education. Pattle also realised that, to persuade the Indians to avail themselves of such institutions, it would be necessary to offer them inducement in the nature of employment in the Government service. He further proposed the substitution of English in place of Persian as the official language and the language of public business of the country. This, apart from inducing the higher classes to study English would, he thought, destroy the bad influence now exerted by natives in official and public matters and lead to the abolition of corruption and conduce to despatch an economy in Government service. In conclusion, he pointed out that as education has disabled many Indians from earning their living by common labour it was necessary for the Government to provide for their employment.  

These Minutes were sent to the Government for consideration. The Governor General in Council concurred with Bird decided that if the Vice President would also agree and that if the funds were found insufficient, the Court should be approached. The Vice President concurred with the Governor General and decided to discuss it further with General Committee. The General Committee was accordingly asked to state its opinion and to devise the best means

7. Minute 6th Sept. 1831, ff. 35...Board's Coll. 1387.
10. Thomason to Fane and Tilghman 22nd Nov. 1831 f. 53. Ibid.
of carrying into effect the suggestions made by Bird. The Committee was also asked to report what funds were available and what additions to them would be necessary for achieving the purpose in view.\textsuperscript{11}

The General Committee discussed the whole question at great length. W. W. Bird, who was also a member of the Committee reiterated his former proposals with greater emphasis, and proposed "to establish gradually at the principal stations throughout the country not only at Delhi and Agra, but at Benares, Patna, Moorshidabad, Dacca, and elsewhere...Seminaries as nearly as possible on the model of Government Institutions at Calcutta". Bird also drew attention to the fact that the success of the scheme would depend on the appointment of an efficient secretary. He, however, dropped the idea of establishing Boarding House for the Wards, because such Wards were too few in number and would in most cases be too near their own relatives. The question of funds was always the deciding factor and Bird proposed to meet the expenses by withdrawing support from petty institutions and pointed out that if necessary the Governor General was ready to approach the Court for further financial grants.\textsuperscript{12} Wilson, however, advised the Committee to wait until the period of the General Report, when they would be in a position to consider, more comprehensively, the exact state of education in the Upper Provinces, and declared that financially the Committee could not afford to undertake the establishment of any institutions on a large scale.\textsuperscript{13}

Shakespeare agreed with Wilson and pointed out the injustice of withdrawing funds from other smaller schools as suggested by Bird.\textsuperscript{14} Saunders agreed with him.\textsuperscript{15} Bushby

\textsuperscript{13} Wilson’s Comment, \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{14} Note, 20th Jan. 1832, \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}
wanted to draw up an estimate of the cost which the scheme would involve and to approach the Government separately before the submission of the General Report; he also expected to enlist the help of Indians, and hoped that the schools would be ultimately able to maintain themselves.\textsuperscript{16} Thomason also declined to insert this important question into the General Report, where he thought it would be lost sight of and “overwhelmed in a mass of detail.” He, too, advocated the necessity of enlisting the support of Indians.\textsuperscript{17}

Thus all the members agreed as to the expediency of the scheme. It now fell on Wilson as Secretary of the Committee to draw up a detailed plan. Wilson suggested that institutions should be established at Moorshidabad, Dacca, Patna, Gorruckpore, Benares, Agra, Delhi and Bareilly; but as Delhi, Agra and Benares already had institutions of their own, there remained only six more to be established. He proposed to put these institutions under a joint committee of Indians and Europeans, the former to be selected from among the subscribers.\textsuperscript{18} This scheme, he thought, might first be tried at Benares. He did not agree with Macnaughten’s proposal for remodelling the Sanskrit College, and pointed out that there were two Colleges at Benares—one English College, the other Sanskrit College, and that they were kept separate according to the desire of the Local Committee. The funds of Sanskrit College, he asserted, could not be diverted because they were specially assigned by Duncan for Sanskrit studies; moreover, in Benares Sanskrit was more highly prized than English and the closing of the Sanskrit College would close the means of living to many. Wilson, also, considered it impossible to remodel the English College because it was “intended to be a seminary on the plan of the Hindu College

\textsuperscript{16} Note, 21st Jan. 1832. \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{17} Note, 7th Feb. \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{18} None of the Government Colleges were managed by such a joint Committee. The schools at Rungpore and Jaunpore were conducted on this plan but they were as yet too new,
of Calcutta." The same remarks, he thought, would also apply to Agra College. Apart from this, the cost of executing the scheme appeared to him an almost insuperable handicap, especially as the Indians could not be expected to bear any part of it. Wilson estimated the cost of maintaining six new institutions at Rs. 4,800 per month, and the Committee was in a position to spare only Rs. 1,650. The only alternative was to approach the Government for further help, but this he emphatically refused to do unless the Indians themselves were ready to bear a part of the cost. For the present, therefore, he suggested that the Government should authorise the Local Committee at Benares "to invite co-operation of the most respectable Natives of City to contribute to the English College, investing them with a share of the management proportionate to their contribution." This process, Wilson pointed out, had already been tried at Calcutta and found to be successful.

The General Committee sent this plan to the Government with its approval. It also informed the Government that a further grant of between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 60,000 per annum would be necessary to put the plan into operation. In case the funds were not augmented, the Committee proposed to improve the existing institutions and especially to "give efficacy to the English schools at Delhi, Agra and Benares." It also suggested that a new College might be established at Bareilly by abolishing one or two minor institutions and appropriating their funds for the purpose.

In the council, Blunt, considering it inopportune to wait for any length of time, advocated immediate action and urged the necessity not only of improving and enlarging the existing

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19. The English schools at Delhi and Benares were costing Rs. 800 p.m. without the salary of the Superintendent. The appointment of separate Superintendents would increase the expense to Rs. 1,100 p.m.


institutions, but also of establishing new ones. He emphasized that it was through the initiative of the Government alone that any great moral and intellectual improvement could be effected, and in support of this view pointed out the failure of the endeavours of Missionaries and of liberal minded individuals to achieve any great success in the field of educational activity. In order to allay the apprehensions of the Government as to the cost of putting the plan into effect, Blunt declared that although at first the Government would have to bear the expense, yet in the end the Indians themselves would undertake the task as they have begun to do in Calcutta. Finally, he appealed to the conscience of the authorities, by pointing out that "the expense, even were it more considerable than estimated would be amply repaid by the less tardy melioration of the people and the consequent more rapid improvement of the Country in all its relations".

The matter was for the time being shelved. By this time nearly two years had elapsed since Bayley had first submitted his plan for the education of the higher classes, but nothing had so far been done, and the Governor General apprehended that the plan had for the present been abandoned. Macnaughten, Secretary to the Governor General, therefore, again reminded the Government at Fort William of the urgency as well as of the importance of the question, and informed them that the Governor General considered the subject to be of such importance that he wanted it to be separately referred to the Directors, with a view to ascertain "whether any and what extent of additional pecuniary assistance may be expected" from them. The Government of Fort William, however, decided to wait until the receipt of the General Committee's Report.

The matter was at last referred to the Directors on 4th Dec. 1832. The Directors replied that they had no objection to the plan, but warned the Government that "the further extension of arrangements for Native Education should be gradual, and that no new steps should be taken until the success of the steps which preceded it has received the confirmation of experience." They thought that "perhaps the most effectual mode of spreading a knowledge of English and one which would be less alarming to the prejudice than any other would consist in favouring the disposition which seems already to exist on the part of many natives who have been educated at the Government seminaries to establish English schools on their own account."

So the matter was left there and nothing further was done, nor was any mention of it made by the General Committee or the Government. This was perhaps due to the Anglo-Oriental controversy, which started almost at the same time that the Director's Despatch reached Bengal.

The reason which induced the Government to formulate this scheme is not far to seek. The Government was anxious to conciliate the Zemindars and the landed gentry and enlist their support. Moreover, this was a period of far-reaching retrenchment and reform. The Directors had been sending sharp notes to the Governor General to economise; to retrench or to retire, and Bentinck had started to carry out reforms on a wide scale. He had perceived that economy in administration could be effected best by employing Indians to certain subordinate posts. Hence he was all the more anxious for their education of the Indians and was even ready to sanction an additional sum of Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 60,000 for the purpose. But the Directors were not ready to incur any immediate expenditure on a large scale, even if it was for effecting economy in future. Hence the scheme fell through.

While the Government officers were discussing the scheme for the improvement and dissemination of English education

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among the higher classes, the General Committee was pursuing its educational policy in much the same way as before. The authorities both at home and in India had declared themselves unequivocally in favour of disseminating English education, but the Committee, hindered by want of funds, could undertake this task only on a limited scale. Indians themselves, however, had begun to show much greater interest in English education than before. This tendency had become very marked by the year 1831. But in the absence of enough funds, suitable text books and properly qualified teachers, little could be done.

That the Indians were paying less attention to classical studies and more to those subjects which were useful for their purposes was shown by the proceedings of the several institutions under the Committee’s control. In the Calcutta Madrassa the number of Arabic students fell from 75 in 1829 to 17 in 1830. The number again rose to 62 in 1831, but this was 23 short of the usual number and the progress of the students was far from satisfactory. All but the study of Law was neglected. The great popularity of the study of Law was due to the opportunity it offered to the students to earn a living, and because of “an arrangement sanctioned by the Committee by which the students were allowed to choose their own studies.” The Committee considered this neglect of the language to be deplorable “as proficiency in any science with an imperfect knowledge of the language in which that science is taught must be more apparent than real.” The Committee, therefore, proposed “to enjoin on all pupils in future a defined course of study commencing with the literature and ending with the Law”.

In the Medical Class of the Madrassa, which also attracted many students, the system of Medicine as laid down by the Arabic authors was taught. The acquaintance of the students with this branch of knowledge was, therefore, of a limited

28 Report for 1831, 25th May 1832, Board’s Coll. 1386, ff 107-12,
nature. The Committee realised that "no really valuable accession to their medical knowledge can be expected from these sources and the only means of remedying the imperfections of the original authorities are the translation of European standard works into the native language and the employment of English teachers to explain them". The Committee also thought that "a knowledge of English would also be of essential advantage". It, however, realised that a long time must elapse before these proposals could be put into operation.29

Consequently, on a request from the General Committee, Tytler, who was in charge of the Medical Class, set about to translate Hooper’s Surgeons Vade Mecum, Hooper’s Physicians Vade Mecum, Fyffe’s Manual of Chemistry and Conquest’s Outline of Midwifery.30 This work continued at a very slow rate and although the number of students in the Medical Class increased from 10 in 1831 to 20 in 1832, their progress was far from satisfactory. The Committee, therefore, recommended that Tytler should be appointed to give additional lectures on Rs. 200 per month. But due to want of funds, this plan had to be abandoned.31 The General Committee then suggested that since the teaching of Arabic medicine was of little value, the teacher of that subject should be employed in some other branch preferably to teach the European system of science and medicine.32 Suggestions for a more extensive cultivation of European learning also came from another quarter in 1833. Mill, one of the earliest advocates of the dissemination of European science through English once more urged that the teaching of scientific geometry in conjunction with Practical Mathematics and Algebra should be compulsory. Tytler also strongly advocated the same course, but he recommended a somewhat ingenious device. He

30 Report for 1831, Board’s Coll. 1386, ff. 113.
suggested that with a view to the "ultimate explosion of the crude fallacies of the Arabian schools...efficient instruction in their system should be conjoined with tuition in European science. By this method... Mohammedan jealousy would be disarmed and the exposure of fallacious doctrines now received with prescriptive reverence...would ultimately tend to their voluntary abandonment". But the General Committee was not convinced and declared "we have already sufficiently encouraged more Arabic learning and it is inexpedient to apply more of our limited resources to the publication of original works of that school yet unprinted or to increase the efficiency of instruction in its doctrines by European supervision."\(^3^3\)

Tytler, therefore, reverted to his original proposal of promoting instruction in European science alone. But the want of a suitable teacher proved to be a stumbling block and the General Committee asked the sub-Committee for the Madrassa to be on the look out for one. They also signified their readiness to increase the salary of any of the existing professors, provided he would undertake the task. But the Committee knew that the appointment of a teacher alone would not be enough to overcome the difficulties and that the object in view could be achieved only when the study of English literature and science had taken deep roots in the Institution.\(^3^4\)

The Committee had already realised that the study of English was essential to any great progress in the field of European literature and science. In 1831 it had declared that it was the special object of the Madrassa "to combine a knowledge of English with high attainments in Mohommedan literature and science." With this object in view, they authorized Captain Ruddell, the Secretary of the Institution, and Rochefort, the English teacher, to carry out the reforms


necessary to achieve that purpose.\textsuperscript{35} Next year, the sub-Committee introduced a rule into the Madrassa, requiring all students to attend the English class and declared that those who at the Annual Examination would show the required proficiency would be given an additional allowance.\textsuperscript{36}

It appears that this rule was never fully put into operation, because in 1833, there were only 45 students in the English class. The senior students of this class were studying Hume’s Pleasures of Hope and Pope’s Homer; and their progress led the Committee to believe that in near future their hopes about the English class would be fully realised. The sub-Committee, no doubt, finding that their former Regulation did not operate, further enacted that in future those who would present themselves for scholarship examination should study English literature. In the General Committee, however, majority of the members opposed this and the matter was for the time being dropped. But the General Committee adopted a praiseworthy resolution, that thenceforth only the indigent students were to receive pecuniary assistance.\textsuperscript{37}

In the Sanskrit College, the Committee considered the progress of the English class to be “as much as could have been expected”.\textsuperscript{38} The Committee, however, had not expected any great advance, because most of the students had been engaged in studying English only for a year or two; moreover, the advanced age of the students always proved to be a handicap and the Committee declared “No great proficiency is to be expected from students who begin English at the season of adolescence and by whom, as in the case of both Mahommedans and Hindoos of the literary classes, more value is attached, and in the present state of circumstances justly attached, to a knowledge of Arabic and Sanskrit.”\textsuperscript{39}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{35} Annual Report 1830, 1st June 1831, Beng. Pub. Cons. 37 of 14th Aug. 1831.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Report 1832, Beng. Pub. Cons. 23 of 25th March 1835.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Report 1830, Beng. Pub. Cons. 37 of 14th Aug. 1831.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Report 1831, Board’s Coll. 1386, ff. 116.
\end{itemize}
But soon an opinion gained ground that English was going to be made the official language before long. The students of the Sanskrit College also began to show a spirit of competition with the students of the Anglo-Indian College, whose superior attainments excited their keen rivalry. Consequently, in 1832 the number of students studying English in the College rose to 66—one third of the total number; and by 1833 it increased to 80. In order to facilitate the study of English as well as of European science, a certain number of the best students were grouped together into a class, mainly with the object of translating Sanskrit classics into English and English works on language and science into Sanskrit. The popularity of European science was shown by the decrease in the number of students in the Hindu Mathematics class which dwindled from 32 in 1832 to 8 in 1833. Encouraged by these developments Tylter emphasized the necessity for a wider dissemination of European science among the students. The General Committee consequently decided to take the question into consideration after the works in the process of translation had been completed.

The study of Medicine had already been popular with the students of the Sanskrit College and on July 10, 1830, the Government authorize the establishment of a Native Hospital and Dispensary in connection with the Medical class, at a cost of Rs. 300 per month from the Education Fund. They were established in the same year.

The Anglo-Indian College had always been the most favourite institution of the Government as well as the most important seminary of English education in the Presidency. After 1829, however, there was a sharp decline in the number of its students. The number fell from 421 in 1829 to 409

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41 Ibid.
42 The works undertaken were the English translation of Bhatti and the Sanskrit translation of Hulton's Geometry.
in 1830; but Wilson considered this “to be of no importance and partly ascribable to the institution of other schools at which instruction in English is given gratuitously”. Next year the number further decreased to 316. Wilson attributed this reduction to “circumstances of a local and temporary character which may at least be considered to indicate the necessity of persisting in the prudent and cautious system that had hitherto been pursued”. Explaining his statement further, he pointed out that much uneasiness had recently been created “in the minds of the native community by the measures of some Missionary gentlemen and some rather intemperate discussions in the newspapers about the Hindoo College”. To illustrate this, he pointed out that in consequence of a report that some of the students proposed to attend a public Dinner at the Town Hall. 160 boys were withdrawn from the College in the course of one week. This decrease continued and it became necessary to take certain measures which included the dismissal of one of the teachers called De Rozio. “In consequence of this and other arrangements an alarm which threatened the very existence of the institution was removed and some of the boys returned to their studies”.

But no sooner had the agitation subsided than a severe economic depression hit the Indian community of Calcutta so hard that many of them were obliged to withdraw their children from the College and to send them to cheaper English schools or even to Free schools. Although this meant a serious setback for the institution, the General Committee considered it to be a matter of congratulation, because all these schools had been established and were maintained by the former students of the Anglo-Indian College. This showed how rapidly English education was spreading in Calcutta and to what a great extent the Anglo-Indian College had been instrumental for its dissemination.

46 Report 1831, Board’s Coll. 1386, ff. 117-18.
In spite of the decrease in the number of students, the College continued to make considerable progress and the Committee informed the Government that "the progress now usually made by the first class of the College is as great as can be expected from a course of general and elementary education. To an extensive command of the English language the pupils add a considerable conversancy with English literature with ancient and modern History with Geography and the rudiments of Anatomy with Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Mathematics". The Committee did not consider it "possible to carry them much beyond the limits they now reach with the present establishment", but as many of the students were willing and able to continue the course of study it suggested that "a portion of their time may be devoted to the higher mathematics". Wilson, the Visitor of the College, however, suggested the cultivation of Law (including Elements of Jurisprudence and principles of English Law), Political Economy and Practical Chemistry. The General Committee approved of these proposals and recommended them to the Government. The want of teachers had always been a great handicap and the Committee therefore requested the Government to appoint a Professor for Law and Political Economy on Rs. 300 per month to be paid from the Educational Fund. Regarding the teaching of Chemistry, it thought that Ross, the Science teacher of the College, would be able to undertake the task without much inconvenience.49 The Government sanctioned these measures.50

The number of students in the Government institutions in the Upper Provinces also showed a considerable increase, but the success of English education there was not so striking as in Calcutta.51 In 1829, the General Committee had sent two young Bengalees to Benares to establish an English seminary there under the superintendence of the Committee of the

Sanskrit College. The seminary was established in June 1830 and 43 students appeared at the first annual examination. Most of them were sons of the respectable people of Benares and were not given stipends. The Committee considered their progress satisfactory and hoped that further extension of English education in Benares would soon follow.  

The popularity of this institution, however, was mainly confined to the Bengali community of the locality; and of the 58 students who were on the roll in 1831 no less than 42 were Bengalis. In order to induce the people of Benares to join the College the Local Committee proposed to establish, experimentally, a class for Persian, so that the students might study English and Persian together, acquiring the letter as the language of public business. It also proposed to charge fees from the students. The General Committee recommended these proposals to the Government, adding that a certain number of students, approximately 30 or 40, might be admitted free at the Local Committee's discretion. It also did not fall to remind the Government that the time had come when a teacher with a higher type of qualification than had hitherto been available, and an English Head Master, should be procured for the improvement of the seminary. The Committee also recommended that a few of the respectable people of the locality should be associated with the management of the institution, hoping that this would remove the apathy of the Indians. These reforms proved to be successful. By January 1834, the number of students increased to 89 of whom 46 were Bengali Hindus, 38 Hindus of the Western Provinces and only 5 were Muslims.

In the Agra College the popularity of the study of Persian and Hindi continued while Arabic was studied by only a few—26 in 1831. In 1830 there was a slight decrease in the total number of students, which chiefly affected the Hindi class. This, the Committee considered was due to "the general

conviction that proficiency in the Vernacular or Classical language of the Hindus is of no service in public life. And that the best scholars in this branch of literature are excluded from the hope of employment by their ignorance of Persian."

The Committee, therefore, pointed out to the Government that "the want of that encouragement of literary attainments which their application to the service of the state would not successfully confer, has been so often brought to the notice of Government that it is unnecessary to reiterate its importance, especially as it admits of no immediate remedy."

The Local Committee had already recommended the establishment of scholarships to the value of Rs. 15 per month each, and now in order to win over the reluctant students, the General Committee recommended to the Government their immediate establishment and pointed out that as the College had ample means at its disposal there would not be any financial difficulty on that account. These scholarships the Committee proposed to divide equally between the Hindi and Persian Departments, and hoped that hereafter some knowledge of English might also be expected from the students holding these scholarships.55

Apart from Hindi and Persian several students were also engaged in the study of Geography, Astronomy and Mathematics. An English Class had also been attached to the College in 1830. This class was composed almost entirely of Hindus, only 3 of the students being Mahommmedan. The General Committee watched the progress of the English class in the Agra College with great interest, especially because the study of English here was combined with the study of other subjects. It is true that in Calcutta Sanskrit College the study of English was associated with the study of Sanskrit, but in the Madrassa at Benares and Delhi the study of English was carried on independently; at least the students did not necessarily have to study Arabic or Sanskrit at the same time as English. The combined study at Calcutta Sanskrit College had not been very successful and the Committee

thought that the result of the experiment at Agra would enable them "to calculate upon the prospect of ultimate advantage." "It is highly desirable," it observed, "that the same individual who is a good English scholar should be a good Sanskrit or Arabic Scholar also, not only because the two languages will be mutually serviceable in public life, but because it is only from persons acquainted with both that we can expect the translation of English books, and because the study of English will rise in general estimation when it is found associated with what are yet alone regarded as high literary attainments." But the Committee knew the difficulties which beset the path of English education and that a long time must elapse before it could be affectively disseminated among the Indians. They, therefore, warned the Government that "the combination is of slow and doubtful accomplishment, partly from the real difficulty of prosecuting two very arduous subjects of study, but principally from the feeling common to Maulvies and Pundits that the study of English is unworthy of their attention and an unprofitable waste of their time, a feeling which is not to be suddenly overcome and must be left to the influence of time and the operation of causes which may give a practical value to a knowledge of the English language." In order to overcome some of the prejudices of the students as well as to encourage them by rewarding their merit the Committee further proposed to institute scholarships to the monthly value of Rs. 15 each which was already sanctioned by the Government. The Local Committee at Agra had proposed to encourage the studies at the Agra College by making the teachers' salaries dependent, in some degree, upon the number and attendance of the pupils; but the General Committee, although doubtful of its results, approved of its adoption as an experimental measure. All these suggestions received the sanction of the Government.

The condition of the College soon improved. In 1832 the number of students increased from 168 to 260, while the

56 Report 1831, Board's Coll. 1386, ff. 125...
number of stipendiaries fell from 130 to 100. Two-thirds of the total number belonged to the Persian Departments and one-third to the Hindi Department; the English class consisted of 52 students, taken in equal proportion from each department. There were also 31 students studying Arabic and 32 Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{58} By 1834 the roll rose to 354. Of these 224 were in the Persian and Arabic Departments and 134 in Hindi and Sanskrit Departments. The number of students studying English showed a decline and there being only 49 students on the roll.\textsuperscript{59} The teaching of elementary European Geometry, Geography and Astronomy, through translations, had already been introduced into the College as an experimental measure. In 1833 the Committee decided to teach them through English.\textsuperscript{60}

The progress made by the students was, however, very little. The General Committee, therefore, asked the Local Committee to ascertain what could be done to improve the character of the institution and to render it beneficial to the students. Unlike other institutions, the Agra College had never been involved into any financial difficulty. It had started with a large fund, and every year had shown a surplus. The Local Committee advised to utilise this surplus for the betterment of the institution.\textsuperscript{61} The discussion over this proposition continued for a long time and caused a split in the General Committee. Before the General Committee could come to any decision on this point, they were plunged into the famous Anglo-Oriental Controversy, which involved the future of the educational policy of the Government of Bengal.

One of the characteristic features of the educational policy of the General Committee during this period was the institution of scholarships as a reward of merit. The stipendiary system was not altogether discontinued but neither the General Committee nor the authorities at home and in

\textsuperscript{60} Report 1832, Beng. Pub. Cons. 23 of 25th March 1835.
India looked upon it with favour. The students looked upon the stipends as a means of their livelihood rather than as a reward of their merit. The stipends, therefore, had a rather detrimental effect upon the progress of the education of the students. This was soon realised by the authorities, who further discovered that many meritorious students could not prosecute their studies beyond the mere elementary stages on account of pecuniary difficulties. These considerations, together with a desire to encourage the merit of advanced students and to distinguish them from the rest had induced the authorities to institute a system of scholarships. The General Committee therefore decided to extend this system of scholarships, which had already been instituted in some of the Colleges to the other institutions under its control. The Local Committee at Delhi had proposed to establish 5 scholarships of Rs. 10 per month each to be awarded on the result of public examination. The General Committee agreed with the principle but advocated a more graduated scale: 4 scholarships at Rs. 16, 4 at Rs. 10 and 4 at Rs. 8 each. The Local Committee also suggested the gradual discontinuance of the stipends in the English College and to substitute instead scholarships of Rs. 5 per month. Captain De Bude, the Secretary of the College, however, opposed the scheme on the ground that the abolition of stipends would discourage the students from pursuing the study of English. He, nevertheless, agreed to try the experiment on a small scale. The General Committee took a middle course. "It is no doubt desirable", it observed, "to discontinue the practice of paying boys to receive education, and we gladly concur in any proposition to this effect that does not seem calculated to discourage the study of English in the Upper Provinces". But at the same time it "thought it advisable to proceed with caution at a place where the temptation to learn English cannot be very strong", and where the local Committee had repeatedly urged the necessity of making pecuniary grants to encourage its acquisition. Consequently the Committee preferred De Bude's modification and recommended that the plan should be tried "at first, only partially, limiting the pay scholars to 70 and as
those above that number drop off, adding to the value rather than to the number of scholarships”. The General Committee also hoped that “a further reduction may perhaps be effected hereafter and in time the whole of the scholars may attend without stipends, except a few who will make a real progress in the language of English and may employ themselves in communicating it to their countrymen”.\textsuperscript{62} These arrangements received the sanction of the Government.\textsuperscript{63}

But even in Delhi the factors which had facilitated the spread of English education elsewhere were at work. English soon came to be regarded as a “New Literature” and rose in popular estimation. Its growth was also greatly facilitated by the demand among native chiefs for secretaries acquainted with English and by the “increasing prevalence of an opinion that attainment in English will lead to fortune and distinction”. The zeal for acquiring a knowledge of Sanskrit Literature was further suppressed by a rule of the Local Committee which excluded its students from participating in the pecuniary support afforded in this College to other pupils.\textsuperscript{64} The General Committee, however, was divided as to the merits of such a measure and therefore referred the matter to the Government for decision.\textsuperscript{65} The Government, however, in the meantime had been involved in the Anglo-Oriental Controversy and consequently the question of the Delhi College was merged into the broader issue of the future educational policy of the Government.

In the Delhi English Institution the number of students rose to 160 by 1834, the proportion of the Hindus to the Mohammedans being 17 to 11. This showed that even the Mohammedans were now eager to acquire a knowledge of English. Encouraged by this the General Committee decided

\textsuperscript{62} Report 1831, Board’s Coll. 1386, ff. 129...
\textsuperscript{63} Bengal Pub. Let. to Court 4th Dec. 1832.
\textsuperscript{64} The number of students in this College had fallen from 300 in 1832 to 257 in 1833.
that in that College only poor students should receive stipends.66

Apart from introducing improvements and reforms the Government also considered the possibility of establishing seminaries of higher education at Bareilly and Furrackabad. In the latter place, as early as 1826 the Local Agents had reported that a Mohammedan gentleman of the locality named Ullee Collah had proposed to establish an educational institution for which he had solicited the aid of the General Committee. The Maulvi had informed them that he had no objection to the appointment of Trustees provided he was made the sole Director for life. In reply to the Committee's enquiries the Local Agents submitted the details of a plan and asked for a grant of Rs. 12,000 for the erection of the College building (1827). On June 19, 1827, the General Committee submitted the correspondence to the Government with their recommendations. The Government sanctioned the grant of money out of the Education Fund, (30 August).67

The money was paid but no educational institution was established and the Maulvi appropriated a part of the grant to erect a place of Mohammedan worship.68

For a long time the Committee did not take any interest in the matter, but on January 20, 1832, the Committee called upon Nisbet, the Local Agent, to state his opinion on the General expediency of completing and maintaining the Institution on the proposed scale and on the practicability of introducing the study of English there. It also asked Nisbet to find out if any local means existed which would contribute to the expense of the institution, Nisbet replied (2nd Feb.) that he was averse to the maintenance of any institution the chief aim of which was the imparting of instruction in the principles of Mohammedan religion and laws. But he thought that the introduction of the study of English might be made a condition of the Committee's patronage and although the Maulvi was against it he might be prevailed upon to do so. The

66. Ibid.
67. Report 1831, Board's Coll. 1886, ff. 139...
68. Princep to G. C. P. I. 12th June 1832, Board's Coll. 1386, f. 173
Committee decided that during the lifetime of the Maulvi, who would not tolerate any innovation, they would confine their patronage to the payment of the salary of one or two teachers and a few servants⁶⁹ and therefore ordered the formation of a Local Committee.⁷⁰

The Government, however, realised that the Maulvi had played a trick on the Committee. They pointed out that not only had nothing been done to put the scheme into operation, but that a part of the money had been misused by the Maulvi. Moreover, the Maulvi’s contribution towards the maintenance of the intended Madrassa amounted only to Rs. 8 a month. The Government further declared that the Committee, having pledged the Government to leave the management of the proposed College to the Maulvi had placed at his disposal the promised Government allowance of Rs. 100 per month. In short, the transaction had the appearance of a successful scheme on the part of the Maulvi for obtaining at small sacrifice the credit of being the founder, and the distinction and other advantages attaching to the principal, management for life of a seminary of education erected and maintained from the Public Revenue.” The Government, therefore, decided to take the case “as a warning example of the caution with which propositions from individuals conditioning for pecuniary support and other assistance from Government ought to be received.” It agreed with the Committee that “the first step towards an attempt to derive benefit to the cause of public instruction from the outlay already made will be to appoint a Committee of gentlemen disposed to give their attention zealously to the subject”, and that until a detailed Report had been received “it would be premature to determine the footing on which the institution shall be placed or the degree of support to be contributed by the Government.”⁷¹

The Local Committee was accordingly formed of the principal Civil Servants of Furrackabad and in 1832 it

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⁶⁹ This amounted to Rs. 100 per month.
⁷⁰ Report 1831, ff. 139-47. Board’s Coll. 1386.
⁷¹ Prinsep to Gen. 12th June 1832, Board’s Coll. 1386, ff. 165...
recommended the grant of Rs. 175 per month for the education of 20 students in Mohammedan literature. The General Committee refused to sanction this because it did not have enough funds at its disposal, and because it could put no faith on the Maulvi. Moreover, the Committee was determined not to apply its limited resources to the support of any institution in which English was not an object of study.\textsuperscript{72}

The Maulvi, however, was not a fraud. He had spent his whole fortune in building the Madrassa and furnishing it with books, and the institution was being maintained chiefly from the Government grant of Rs. 100 per month. But this grant stopped with the death of the Maulvi on 18th November 1833. The Board of Revenue, however, considered that the institution had shown considerable promise of success and hence recommended to the Government that they should either continue the former grant to the nephew of deceased, and appoint him as the next Mutawali or should make monthly grants to the institution. But the Government refused.\textsuperscript{73}

Before further discussions could take place, the Anglo-Oriental Controversy started and the matter was for the time dropped.

The establishment of a College at Bareilly had been recommended by the General Committee as early as 1827, and had received the Government's sanction in the same year. A Local Committee had consequently been formed, and the only communication received from it was to the effect that it would be necessary to erect a College at once at an expense of a lac of Rupees. This outlay seemed so large that the Committee decided to suspend the contemplated arrangements for the time being. Meanwhile the Directors had been apprized of the proposed measure and they had asked the Government to establish the College whenever the funds would allow. But financial difficulties continued. When the proposal was first mooted, the General Committee was prepared to spend Rs. 1,000 per month for the support of the institution. Since

then the fund had been absorbed in the formation or development of other institutions, and the Committee was no longer in a position to apply the same amount without withdrawing support from other establishments. Consequently, in 1831 it considered that the grants made to the Chinsurah and Ajmere schools might be wholly or partially appropriated for the College at Bareilly. But it was impossible for the Committee to spare the lac of rupees necessary for the erection of the College building. It, therefore, thought that a beginning might be made on a more moderate scale, and recommended the appointment of a Local Committee for the purpose. The Government also abandoned the idea of erecting a suitable edifice, but sanctioned the appointment of a Local Committee. The idea of establishing a College at Bareilly was finally abandoned in 1833 and the General Committee proposed to establish instead a collegiate institution at Allahabad, where the school of late had shown considerable promise of success.

The school at Allahabad had a checkered career. The General Committee in its enthusiasm for higher education and repugnance for primary education had often thought of withdrawing the paltry financial grant of Rs. 100 per month which it had sanctioned for its maintenance. The school had been established by voluntary contribution, but had later become entirely dependent on Government. In 1831 there were 84 students in the school. Of these 53 studied Persian and 31 Hindusthanee; besides there were 40 part-time students. Due to the "increased importance of Allahabad by its being the seat of a Supreme Court of Appeal" the Committee preferred to continue "the support of the school for some time longer at least at the institution may possibly be matured into one of more importance and may expect to receive aid and countenance from the European Functionaries at Allahabad".

The General Committee was not belied in its expectations. Soon the people began to evince a keen desire to learn English.

74 Rep. 1831, ff. 149...Board's Coll, 1386.
75 Prinsep to G. C. P. L., 12th June 1832, Board's Coll. 1386, f 176.
76 Rep. 1831, ff. 147-9, Board's Coll, 1386.
This was no doubt due to the prevalent idea that English would soon become the official language of the Country. Jackson the Local Agent, consequently recommended that an English Master should be appointed on Rs. 200 per month and that Rs. 50 should be granted for his accommodation. He dis-countenanced the idea of instituting stipends, but advocated that a grant of Rs. 5 per month should be given to monitors chosen for their merit. Encouraged by this, the Committee recommended the formation of a Local Committee and the grant of a monthly sum of Rs. 500, including the existing grant of Rs. 100 from the General Fund, "for extending the sphere of its utility by the introduction of English and rendering the instruction in Native Literature more efficient." It also advocated that the College proposed to be established at Bareilly should instead be established at Allahabad.77

These proposals received the Government's sanction, but only an English class was opened with 83 students (December 1833). A curious thing which happened at this time shows the state of popular feeling in those days. When the students were told that they would have to pay for the text books, nearly all of them left the school in disappointment. Soon, however, many of them returned, and the roll gradually rose to 62. The success of the English class was encouraging enough to make the Committee repeat its suggestion that the school should be raised into a College.78 But before any effective steps could be taken the Anglo-Oriental Controversy reached a climax and the question, together with others of a like nature, was shelved.

While the Government was pursuing its policy of disseminating higher education among Indians, the Indians themselves were establishing schools in different parts of Calcutta for the primary education of their children. Most of these schools were established and conducted by people who had received an English education in the Anglo-Indian College and in many of these institutions English was taught together

with Indian subjects. These schools though in many cases supported by their founders, received the patronage of the enlightened Europeans and Indians of the locality. A few of them may be mentioned here. The High School was established in 1830 in Wellington Street and its first Annual Examination in 1832 was conducted by the Lord Bishop and Archdeacon of Calcutta. The Hindu Benevolent Institution was established by Saradaprasad Vasu, and Pascal, a teacher of the Anglo-Indian College conducted the Examinations there. The Hindu Free School was established at Shimulia by Rasik Krishna Mālik and in this school books were supplied to students at half price. The Oriental Seminary was established in 1829 and as the students of this school did not turn atheists it became a very favourite institution with the Indians. The Hindu Free School was established by Radhanath Pal, a former student of the Anglo-Indian College and he and his friends bore the entire expense of the Institution. In 1831 there were 6 evening schools in Calcutta alone, all established by ex-students of the Anglo-Indian College, and teaching 300 boys. English education had hitherto been practically a monopoly of the rich. Some of the Indians now turned their attention to the education of the poor. The Liberal Academy was established for that purpose on 1st March 1832. Safeguards were taken against the rise of any atheistic tendency among the students and books were freely distributed among them. Some of the Europeans, also, undertook works of a similar kind. George E. Mullins, a former teacher of the Oriental Seminary established a school called Minerva Academy at Sovabazar and informed the Hindu Community that he was ready to teach English literature there.79 Most of these schools were short-lived and very little is known about them; but, nevertheless, they showed the strong desire felt among Indians at Calcutta for the cultivation of English education.

English education began to make headway in the Mofussil

as well. In 1832 the respectable people of Rungpore convened a meeting and resolved to establish an English Grammar School there. The subscription soon amounted to Rs. 14,000 and the Raja of Cooch Behar built the school house at his own expense. It was decided to teach English, Bengali and Persian in that school. The authorities, however, restricted the benefits of the Institution only to the higher castes.\(^8\) An English school was also established at Midnapore and the Raja of Burdwan subscribed Rs. 1,000 for the purpose. The Raja also maintained a small school at Burdwan on his own account.\(^9\) In many cases the missionaries who had always been at the forefront of educational activities joined hands with the laity, European and Indian, in taking up new undertakings. As a result a new Missionary school was opened at Burdwan in which instruction was given in English, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit.\(^2\) The Raja of Burdwan contributed Rs. 1,500 towards its maintenance.\(^3\)

The proceedings of the School Book Society, which often worked in collaboration with the General Committee, also clearly indicated that the classical languages were fast falling in popular estimation, while people were showing increasingly greater interest in English and Bengali books. The interest shown by the people to their spoken language was indeed a good augury for the future, especially because hitherto little, if any, attention had been paid by them to the vernacular language of the province. The demand for the English Readers was constantly increasing, and in 1835 the Society decided to remodel them in order to make them more acceptable to the people. In 1834, 700 copies of “Introduction to Natural Philosophy” in 5 parts were printed for the use of schools by the Society. They were in great demand and the General Committee bought half of them for its own institutions. One thousand copies of Wollaston’s “Elements of

\(^8\) As. Journal VIII, N. S. 1832, June, 120.
\(^3\) As. Journal XV, N. S. 1835, Pt. II, 96.
English Grammar" were translated into Persian and of these another 1,000 copies with English version on opposite pages were printed by the General Committee. These had a very rapid sale at Delhi and Agra. Besides, 500 copies of Macpherson's "Geography of Hindusthan", 1,500 copies of Carpenter's "Spelling Assistant" and 2,000 copies of Bengali and English primers were printed; and also 2,000 copies of the History of Greece and Rome were translated into Bengali. The number of Bengali books sold during the period 1833-35 amounted to 4,896 copies as against 13 copies of Arabic books. In Persian, the demand had declined from 1,443 to 870 and the number of Sanskrit books sold amounted to 208 only. It was in the English and Anglo-Asiatic Departments that, during the period under review, the improvement in the demand was chiefly felt. In the case of the former the sale increased from 11,063 to 14,792; in the latter case from 1,969 to 2,205. The demand was so great that they formed three-fifths of the total issue of the Society. Thus one of the objects of the Society—to promote a desire for the study of English through the diffusion of general knowledge in the vernacular—was realised to a considerable extent. The Society, therefore, decided for the time being to devote more attention to English works, hoping that when a knowledge of English had been acquired by a great many people, they would again pay greater attention to the vernacular language "to render them fit vehicles of communication and to transfuse into them that valuable knowledge which had been acquired through English." Commenting on the results hitherto achieved, the Committee declared that "it is pleasing to observe that knowledge of the English is now regarded as an essential branch of good education", and pointed out that "though this Institution can do comparatively little towards supplying all the wants of this vast population, and though the greater part of the schools in the Country are still without proper elementary books, yet it is now capable of demonstration that as far as its labours have been carried, and its influence extended, they have been decidedly beneficial. Books the most unfit for the education of youth have been supplanted
prejudice have been conciliated; a taste for English literature have been excited; the bonds of union between the Governors and the governed have been strengthened; and that friendly feeling and intercourse secured which have laid the foundation for future development.” The circulation of the publications was not confined to Calcutta or even the Presidency alone. “During the past year its publications have been very widely diffused”, the Committee declared. “Independent of most large stations in the centre of Hindusthan, they have now reached as far as from Loodiana and Bahawalpore to Ceylon and they are also at this moment circulating in Persia to the West, and in the Malaya peninsula and Java to the East.84

While these developments were taking place in Bengal and the Upper Provinces, Alexander Duff who was sent to India by the Church of Scotland, arrived in Bengal in 1829. He had been given a completely free hand by the Church atherities at home, though it had been understood that the plan of the new mission which Duff was leading should be educational. For this purpose the Committee of the Church had suggested that Duff should settle down in some rural centre in Bengal where he would be able to have direct contact with the people. But on his arrival in Calcutta Duff felt that “Calcutta itself was pre-eminently the place where he should work”, and the Committee of the Assembly afterwards approved of his choice.85 Duff was essentially a man of spiritual ambition and had come to India determined to assail the very foundation of Hinduism. Put briefly, his plan was “to use Christian education carried eventually to the highest level and given through the medium of English as the great instrument of assault on Hinduism and of the presentation of Christianity”. This plan was considered to be too bold and was opposed by all the Bengal Missionaries with the exception of William Carey, whose steady friendship and sympathetic advice did much to help Duff carry on his lonesome task.

84 As, Journal XVI, N. S. 1835, Pt. II, i...
85 Paton—Duff, 57.
Circumstances in Calcutta favoured his designs. The secular atmosphere of the Vidyalaya or Anglo-Indian College had produced a class of agnostic youths and Duff eagerly seized this opportunity of filling their spiritual vacuum with the teachings of Christianity. Duff himself later gave a very illuminating description of the student mentality at Calcutta in those days, while speaking before the Select Committee of the Commons. According to him, in 1829 none of the students professed to be Hindus; they behaved wildly and indulged in extravagant freaks. They took great pleasure in publicly wounding the religious susceptibilities of their co-religionists and this often led to disorderly and unpleasant situations. Drinking also became quite common and the students freely indulged themselves not only without any sense of shame, but often with great pride. Naturally this led to a severe reaction on the part of the parents, who put all the blame on Derozio, the teacher of History and English literature and the Anglo-Indian College. Derozio was of mixed descent and a man of very liberal ideas. He had become highly popular with the students and had formed a Club called the Academic Association where discussions on all topics, not excluding even religion and morality, were freely encouraged. Consequently Derozio became the main target of attack from the orthodox section of Hindus who charged him with disseminating among the students immorality and atheism. A meeting of the members of the College Committee was called, where despite Wilson's and Hare's support of Derozio, his dismissal was decided upon by a majority vote. Derozio, however, did not wait to be dismissed and sent in his resignation immediately. In a long letter he refuted the charges made against him and contended that far from fostering a spirit of disrespect for the parents, he had always taken steps to suppress any spirit of insubordination among his students. Derozio left the College in 1831; but the spirit of

rationalism which he had instilled into the students not only survived but gained in force.87

Duff laid all the blame on the people and the Government. "All this was brought about, not by the Missions and the Missionaries", he declared, "but by the joint action of the Government and the Natives themselves".88 It was ironical that the College which Ram Mohun had hoped would disseminate true knowledge and would bring the young members of the Community back to the fold of true religion should have produced such astonishing results. Duff, however, immediately saw his opportunity and took up his residence in the neighbourhood of the College in order to come in contact with its students as frequently as possible. The students, however, paid scant regard to the Missionaries and looked upon them with much the same contempt as on the Brahmans. When Duff managed to gain a hearing, he found their attitude militant and moreover the parents threatened to withdraw their sons from the College.

As a result, the authorities of the College, including even Wilson, who personally was a strong believer in the ultimate conversion of Indians into Christianity, prohibited the students to attend the meetings which Duff addressed in his own house. In protest Duff interviewed Bentinck the Governor General who "so far as he himself was concerned could not, as Governor General, in any way mix himself up with missionary affairs, or even officially express sympathy or approval". But he declared that privately, as an individual Christian, he felt deep sympathy with the avowed object of the Missionaries, and approved of the operations of all who carried them on in the genuine spirit of the Gospel.89 Duff, however, thought it prudent to pause for a time; but he began to hold weekly meetings in his house again. At first, students attended these meetings only to show their opposition

87 Sivanatha Sastri—Ramtonu Lahiri O Tatkali'n Banga Samaj, 71...
and contempt for religion, of whatever denomination it might be, but gradually their opinions began to change and by 1832 a few people offered themselves for conversion.\footnote{90}

Duff, however, had never given up his original idea of using English education as the means of introducing Christianity among Indians: His “primary object had been to establish at once a central institution for communicating a higher education, — literary, scientific and theological — to a more select number, who might beneficially influence the minds of all around them; and some of whom might become qualified in the capacity of teachers and preachers, to act as instructors to their countrymen.”\footnote{91} But before embarking on such a venture it was necessary to institute an inquiry “as to the probability of likelihood of obtaining a reasonable number of pupils who had already undergone the preparatory discipline, and had acquired the preparatory attainments.”\footnote{92} After careful enquiry it was found that those who were willing to enter such an institution were not properly qualified, while those who were properly qualified were not willing to enter it. Duff considered the reason to be obvious. The Calcutta Missionaries had hitherto directed their attention almost exclusively to elementary Bengali schools, “where the highest attainment reached by the most advanced class was confined to a moderate proficiency in reading and writing the vernacular language and a little smattering of arithmetic”. The students of the Anglo-Indian College and other seminaries connected with Government were qualified but had strong anti-religious prejudices and could not be expected to seek admission into a missionary institution.\footnote{93}

Consequently, the Home Committee “decided to relinquish “for the present the idea of founding a Collegiate Institution and to direct all their “educational energies towards establishing and extending those elementary seminaries that must act as the permanent and everteeming nurseries of an Institution

\footnote{91}{Duff—India and Indian Missions 506.}
\footnote{92}{Ibid.}
\footnote{93}{Ibid, 507.}
of a higher order. So, Duff, at first, thought of establishing a series of Bengali schools, but the deplorable condition of the missionary institutions acted as a deterrent. Moreover, he realised that the Indians of higher classes never sent their children to a missionary school and always provided for their education either by employing private teachers or by sending them to the indigenous schools, of which there were 200 in Calcutta alone. The Bengali schools maintained by the Missionaries were attended only by Indians of a lower order; the higher classes were not attracted because apart from religious prejudice the study of Bengali was of little use to them, since it was neither the sacred language nor the language of official transaction: it was also in a very crude state. Moreover, these Bengali schools were of a non-sectarian character, hence they could be of little use to Duff. The only possibility, therefore, left to him was that of establishing separate institutions.

As the study of Bengali was held in scant regard by the people, Duff had to choose between the "sacred languages of the natives" and English. To quote Duff: "The determination of this choice involved the decision of one of the momentous practical questions connected with the ultimate evangelisation of India". Duff, finally, decided in favour of English. The decision to establish an English seminary provoked strong opposition from "some of the best friends of Missions". "In a few months", they said, "or at the utmost in a year or two, all the pupils will run away, and considering the chicanery so notoriously prevalent among the menial classes of natives, you may only be multiplying evil instead of good". One of Duff's friends, seeing the failure of his expostulations, exclaimed: "You will deluge Calcutta with rogues and villains" But Duff was

94 Duff—India and Indian Missions 510-11.
95 Ibid, 513-7.
96 Ibid, 517.
97 Ibid, 521.
98 Smith I, 124.
determined, and the strong inclination shown by the Government itself towards English education encouraged him.

The school was accordingly opened on 13th April 1830 with the collaboration of Ram Mohun Roy. As if to belie all the apprehensions of those who had opposed the scheme, "the hall, which held only about one hundred and twenty was completely filled in three days" without any publicity or advertisement. The rush for admission was so great that "it was announced that a selection would be made, and that every application must be made in writing and accompanied if possible by a special recommendation from some respectable native or European gentlemen". The rush, however, continued and at the end of the week the list had to be closed in order to avoid over-crowding. Duff, himself, described the situation as follows: "They pursued us along the streets. They threw open the very doors of our palankeen, and poured in their supplications with a pitiful earnestness of countenance that might have softened a heart of stone". In order to get rid of undesirable students it was decided that all those chosen for admission should "instantly pay for the class books and that the parents and guardians should formally sign in the presence of witnesses a written agreement binding themselves, under certain pecuniary penalties, to the observance of various regulations respecting the hours of daily attendance and a prolonged period of attendance." Ultimately 250 students entered into such agreements, though it was subsequently found that no such contract was necessary.

When the classes met for the first time, the students were given to understand that the ultimate end sought was not the introduction of Christianity, but the dissemination of European science and literature and a comparative study of religion which should form a part of any liberal educational system. Thus, when "some of the most rugged asperities of

99 N. Chatterjee—Life of Ram Mohun Roy (Bengali) 394.
100 Duff—525.
prejudice were smoothed away”, the study of the Bible was introduced.\textsuperscript{102} This led to strong protests from the students, but Ram Mohun came to the rescue and admonished the students by pointing out that just as nobody becomes a Mohammedan by studying the Koran, there could be no reason why one should become a Christian by studying the Bible. Thereafter the students raised no objection.\textsuperscript{103}

Although the progress of the institution was satisfactory to the founder, yet the Europeans remained apathetic towards it. Duff, therefore, decided to hold an Annual Examination and the result was striking enough to allay the apprehensions of the antagonists.\textsuperscript{104} Duff soon realised the importance of vernaculars and a Bengali class was attached to the school and no one was allowed to enter the English class unless he could read and write his own language.\textsuperscript{105} The success of the institution was so great that Duff was persuaded to open another school at Taki—about 50 miles from Calcutta, which also became popular also,\textsuperscript{106} and became the largest and most advanced of the several Branch schools which were subsequently established.\textsuperscript{107} But though the Indians showed themselves eager to learn English, yet Duff’s ultimate object of converting them seemed as remote as ever. On 9th January 1832 he wrote to Professor Ferrie of Kilconquhar, “I see nothing to satisfy me that any decisive victory has been won on the grand scale of national emancipation. The few converts that have been made can never be the seed of the church; they resemble rather those somewhat unseasonable short-lived germs which start up under the influence of a few peculiarly genial days in winter—an indication of the seminal powers of mother earth and a token of what may be expected in spring”. But Duff had not given up hope of the ultimate victory of his cause and

\textsuperscript{102} Duff, 540, \\
\textsuperscript{103} N. Chatterjee—Ram Mohun Roy, 395-6. \\
\textsuperscript{104} Smith, 129-30. \\
\textsuperscript{105} Paton, 74. \\
\textsuperscript{106} Smith, 131. \\
\textsuperscript{107} Duff—F. N., 586-7,
pointed out "there is a sphere now partially occupied, formerly almost unattempted: there is the instituting of English schools under a decidedly Christian management and insisting on the inculcation of Christian truths". 108

But though Duff failed in his immediate object, yet his endeavours had the most far-reaching consequences. He was the first Missionary to attempt the dissemination of English education on a large scale and the success of his school showed that the demand for English education was genuine enough to transcend even the prejudices of Indians against the proselytising activity of the missionaries. The little school of Duff gradually expanded in size and in utility. To-day it stands as one of the finest seminaries of learning in India, and perhaps in the East, and to educated Indians of all classes and every denomination, Duff stands not as the hated proselytiser and the destroyer of their religions but as one of the greatest pioneers of English education and the benefactors of the people of Bengal.

But whatever might have been the influence of Duff's activities on subsequent generations, his influence on his contemporaries was great. He was held in high esteem by Indians and Europeans alike, and was a great friend of Bentinck. Consequently, his advocacy of European education through the English language was bound to have a great effect on the Government.

The Protestant Missionary Societies were also very active. In 1823 there were 50,000 students in their schools in various parts of India. Between the years 1823-31 the number of pupils in the schools of the Church Missionary Society increased from 6581 to 12,298 and those in the schools of the London Missionary Society from 4,650 to 7,800. By 1832, there were approximately 1,00,000 students in the schools of the different Protestant Missions. 109

108. Smith, 172.
While English education was advancing with rapid strides in Bengal, the Missionaries in England were preparing for another trial of strength with the Directors, with a view to the further promotion of Christian knowledge in India. The time for the renewal of the Company's Charter was drawing near and they wanted to take advantage of that opportunity as in former times. Ever since the enactment of the Charter of 1813 the various Missionary organisations had been busy infusing the people of England with their own proselytising zeal. They had been trying to make the people realise to what great extent the British Government in India had been associating itself with the heathenism of the Indians, by collecting pilgrim taxes turning out troops during religious ceremonies and countenancing the un-Christian acts in many other ways. The Missionaries denounced "this unnatural alliance" at public meetings and private assemblies. "Many, indeed, conceiving that the source of the evil lay in the indifference, if not in the impiety, of the Court of Directors, spoke in no measured language of the delinquencies of that body; and even the placid dullness of the India House elections was for a time disturbed by appeals to the religious sensibilities of languid proprietors".  

In order to infuse a religious element into the Court, people who were not proprietors "qualified" for the purpose of election and "candidates for the Direction were compelled to put forth manifestoes declaratory of their views on this important question". In their struggle, the Missionaries found a ready ally in Charles Grant, President of the Board of Control. He was the son of Charles Grant, who, with Wilberforce, had fought from 1793 onwards for the proselytisation of India. Son of such a father, he was sure to take an active interest in Missionary enterprises and in this he was greatly favoured by his official position as the head of the Board of Control. He instantly made his influence felt in the Company's affairs, and decided to put an end to the "heath-

110. Kaye—Christianity in India, 398.
111. Ibid, 398-9,
enism” of the Government in India. Accordingly a Despatch was prepared and the Directors were compelled to send it to India.

In this Despatch, the Government officials were forbidden to interfere in the management of the temples, or to take part in the religious ceremonies of the people, and the Government was asked to abolish the pilgrim taxes and to cease collecting the “fines and offerings” which were no longer to be considered as sources of revenue. This Despatch also enjoined that in religious matters the Indians should be left entirely to themselves, but whenever necessary the Government should take all possible precautions to safeguard the peace and security of the pilgrims and worshippers.112

This Despatch was sent to India on the 20th February 1833. It has been often complained, especially by Kaye, that no steps whatsoever were taken to put the provisions of this Despatch into effect and that it lay in abeyance for five years. This, however, was not in the least true. The question was continuously discussed by Auckland, who succeeded Metcalfe in 1836, with his own officers and also privately with Sir John Hobhouse. This, however, will be dealt with at length in the next chapter.

The question of the renewal of the Company’s Charter came before Parliament early in 1832. The various Missionary bodies took advantage of this to petition Parliament for the recognition of their right and the promotion of their objects. Even the Missionary organisations in India took part in this struggle, and the missionaries of Calcutta sent a petition to Parliament praying for an annual grant of one lac of rupees from the Indian revenue to a Board of the Missionaries “for the promotion of religious, literary and scientific education amongst the Natives.”113 Thus the question of English Education and the christianisation of Indians was once again brought before Parliament as inalienably linked. Hence, those who advocated the greater dissemination of English

education among Indians, consciously or not helped the cause of the Missionaries. In the same way the Missionaries in their zeal for the conversion of Indians helped the cause of English education.

In the Select Committee, before which many respectable people, both laity and missionary, appeared to give evidence, a great deal of attention was paid to the cause of education and the witnesses were examined at length on that subject. J. W. Sherer of Bengal Civil Service, spoke of the popularity of Paine's works among the Hindu students and pointed out "the necessity, therefore, of extending the means of religious and moral instruction" which had become "imperious under this awakened desire of the natives for European knowledge." "I consider", he declared, "the progress of the mind, without religious instruction, is only tending to evil and mischief. It appears to me that the thirst for knowledge has been excited in Bengal among the natives, and that knowledge cannot be withheld from them; this state of things renders it more necessary to supply the means of satisfying that desire safely by solid useful Christian knowledge and information". He knew the danger of Government's interference with religion and hence declared that all that was wanted for the Government to remain tolerant to Missionary activities. But though advocating non-interference in religious matters, he wanted that "the Government...should use every means of rendering the Church establishment in India efficient, so that it may embrace not only the whole of our European subjects...but be kept in a state to receive such native converts as the labours of the Missionaries are preparing to become so." 114

C. Lushington of the Company's covenanted service also declared that the best chance of the advancement of Christian religion lay in the enlightenment of the people; but he too warned against the danger of Government's interference in religious matters. He advocated a greater dissemination of English education among Indians and drew the Committee's

attention to the great proficiency already shown by many of the students of the Anglo-Indian College, who held debates and spoke with "remarkable fluency" quoting Gibbon, Hume, Reid, Bolingbrooke, Voltaire, Milton, Shakespeare and others. Lushington also observed that a greater scope for employment would give a considerable stimulus to the acquisition of English language. 115 Rev. J. Hugh endorsed their views by quoting numerous examples and pointed out that "the Protestant Missionaries are carefully laying a good foundation for future labours, and they have established numerous schools throughout India, north and south" 116

The cause of English education found a great many advocates. Almost every one of the witnesses stressed its importance. Holt Mackenzie, who had long been its ardent champion declared that the extension of English language among Indians was necessary for the more general identification of the rulers with the ruled. He altogether ruled out the claims of Persian, which he pointed out was as foreign to Indians as English itself, and thought that English might be introduced in the Courts of India if the attainments of that language were made a condition of promotion in the service. He also suggested that the acquisition of English could be facilitated by distribution of prizes, by making it a condition of appointment in service and by promoting a greater amount of intercourse between the Europeans and Indians. He assured the Committee that there was no danger in an attempt on the part of the Government to introduce the English language into the proceedings of the Courts of Justices, and that such a step would not excite apprehension, and also declared that English education was necessary for further changes in the religion, customs and habits of the native population. He, however, warned his interrogators that the introduction of English language should not be taken as the substitution of the language of one conqueror for another; because that would throw many out of employment

115. 8th March 1832, Ibid, 109-10.
116. 19th July 1832, Ibid, 244-5.
and might cause a religious reaction. Finally, he pointed out that the interference of Government was essential for the promotion of the study of English language.\textsuperscript{117} John Sullivan, a retired Madras civilian, testified to the keenness shown by Indians for the acquisition of English. He thought the spread of the English language to be a point of the highest importance and declared that no means should be left untried to accomplish it.\textsuperscript{118}

There was, however, one dissentient voice. It was that of James Mill, the venerable old examiner at the East India House. Though a great advocate of disseminating Western education among the Indians, he thought that English could not be the language of education for the masses. He pointed out that the dispersion of such a vast population over such a large country, the limited nature of intercourse between Englishmen and Indians, and the absence of any inducement for Indians to learn English, rendered it almost impossible to diffuse a knowledge of that language on a large scale among them. He also did not believe that by making the acquisition of English a condition of employment any advantage could be gained; and while advocating a much greater association of Indians with the Government of the Country. Mill declared "I am not sure that natives would become one whit better adapted for the greater part of the employment in which we should place them by having the English language, excepting in this, that by becoming acquainted with English literature they would have a chance of having their understandings better enlightened, but that advantage I think is likely to be attained more speedily and exclusively by the translation of European books into their own languages." Asked whether a community of language would tend to identify the Indians with their rulers. Mill replied that if English could be made the language of the people at large, that would have important results in many respects, but pointed out that the community of language had not identified the Irish with the English.\textsuperscript{119}

\textsuperscript{117} 2nd March 1832, Ditto 84-86.
\textsuperscript{118} 28th Feb. 1832, \textit{Ibid} 65.
\textsuperscript{119} \textit{Ibid}, 21st Feb. 1832. 55-7.
But Mill's was the only dissentient voice and he too was not averse to the spread of English though he doubted the practicability of making it the language of the people. But Mill had been and still was an ardent advocate of disseminating European science and literature among Indians. Indeed by this time the necessity of giving European education to the Indians had been taken for granted, so much so that in the Select Committee its practicability or utility was never questioned, and the main question discussed there was whether English should be used as the medium. The result of all this was clearly to be foreseen. The Select Committee of the House of Commons reported favourably on the activities of the Missionaries. "This general diffusion of knowledge", they declared, "is producing the best and most salutary effect, not only on the children educated, but on minds of their parents and neighbours. Female schools have also been successfully established; at the different Military stations there were in 1823 nearly 1200 female children, and that number has gradually increased to 3,000." 120 With regard to the cultivation of English language they were much more emphatic. "It is on all hands allowed", they declared, "that the general cultivation of the English language is most highly desirable both with a view to the introduction of the natives into Places of Trust, as a powerful means of operating favourably on their habits and character, and that moreover a great partiality prevails in favour of the English language and literature, in both of which many Natives have made considerable progress, but that the subject has not hitherto met with the consideration and encouragement from the Government which its importance seems to merit. 121

In the Court, however, there was a good deal of difference of opinion on these questions. Tucker, one of the Directors with a long experience of India, spoke of the uneasiness which English education and Missionary activity have created among the Indians. "Those natives", he said, "who have received

121. Ibid, 25.
an English education have imbued new views, have acquired new desires and evidently feel that they may justly claim a larger share in the administration of the country... The discussions in this country on the subject of religious observances of the Hindoos have produced uneasiness.”

Tucker also declared that though he had been one of the first persons to advocate the association of Indians with the administration of the country, yet he considered that “in the present state of Society in India it would not be safe to employ the Natives generally in offices of high trust without European superintendence.”

Jenkins was extremely vehement against the adoption of any measure which would lead to the uniformity and unity of the Indians by obliterating their difference of habits and religion. He felt strongly “the impolicy of even endeavouring to eradicate the national distinctions existing between the Natives of our different Presidencies ... which, besides contributing to the happiness and well-being of the people themselves, are one main ingredient of our strength”.

So, he declared that “If we could accomplish that uniformity in the laws ... which can only be operative though a similar uniformity in the manners and modes of thinking of all classes of our Indian subjects, we should not keep the Country for a day”.

Nevertheless, the dissemination of English education among Indians had practically been taken for granted by the majority. The same, however, was not the case with missionary enterprise. The Court of Directors, though protesting their sympathy for the missionary cause refused to connect the Government in any way with proselytising activities. They even declared that the Indians should not be taxed for the maintenance of religious establishments with which they had nothing whatsoever to do, and informed Grant accordingly.

122. Papers relating to Charter 1833, 123, 30th March 1833.
123. Ibid, 127.
124. Ibid, Jenkin’s Dissent, 5th July 1833, 360.
On 13th June 1833, Charles Grant introduced the subject of the renewal of Company's Charter in the Commons and moved three resolutions. Of these the third one dealt with the question of education, and ran as follows:

"That it is expedient that the Government of the British Possessions in India be entrusted to the ... Company under such conditions and regulations as Parliament shall enact, for the purpose of extending the commerce of this Country, and of securing the good government and promoting the religious and moral improvement of the people of India". The Resolutions were passed almost without discussion, and most of the members did not even care to be present, which led Macaulay to make the sarcastic remark that "A broken head in Coldbath Fields excites greater interest in this House than three pitched battles in India ever would excite".

The Bill which gave effect to the Resolution was passed by Parliament and received Royal Assent in 28 August 1833.\textsuperscript{127} The Charter Act of 1833, as the Bill then became, did not directly provide for the dissemination of education in India, but its 87th Section declared that "no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company". This provision was naturally conducive to the diffusion of education among Indians, because a good education was a necessary condition of employment into any service except manual labour. But although any direct mention of education was side-tracked, the Parliament had to pay due attention to the clamours of the Missionaries. The Act consequently provided for the establishment of bishoprics at Madras and Bombay and enacted that at each of the Presidencies "two Chaplains shall always be ministers of the Church of Scotland", and declared that "nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to prevent the Governor General in Council from granting from time to time with the sanction of the Court of Directors

\textsuperscript{127} Mahmud—Eng. Educ. in India, 48-9.
and of the Commissioners for affairs of India to any sect, persuasion or community of Christians not being of the United Church of England and Ireland, or of the Church of Scotland, such sums of money as may be expedient for the purposes of instruction or the maintenance of places of worship".  

The loss of the monopoly of China trade, which reduced the Company to a merely administrative body, and the cessation of wars enabled the Government to devote all its attention to questions of internal reform, and the genius of the Governor General Bentinck was particularly suited to this task.

The year 1835 proved to be the crucial year in the development of the educational policy of the Company's Government in Bengal. In that year the Government was called upon to review the question of education in detail, to examine its past development, present state and future possibilities, and also to indicate the policy that should thenceforth be followed by educational organisations. The Government's action in this respect was not in any way hasty or sudden, but was the logical continuation of a process of development spread over a number of years. It was discussions on this question in the General Committee in 1834 that led to the Anglo-Oriental Controversy, which was subsequently settled by the Governor-General in favour of the Anglicists in March 1835.

Before entering upon the discussion of the Anglo-Oriental Controversy it will be useful and necessary to say something about the people who played an active part in it. The most prominent figures in this controversy were Lord William C. Bentinck, the Governor General of India, and T. B. Macaulay, the Law Member of his Council. Bentinck was well known for his reforming zeal, he was also deeply influenced by utilitarian ideas. It is said that on being appointed to the Governor-Generalship he wrote to Bentham, "It is you will be the Governor

128. Beveridge, Hist. of Ind., III. 245.
General." His period of administration also coincided with a period of intense reforming activity in England and Bentinck proved to be a true product of his age. The reforms he had sanctioned for the Army whilst Governor of Madras had led to the mutiny of Vellore. As Governor General of Bengal he had also been busy in carrying out his schemes of social reforms. He was a man of great energy and vigour and favoured by the long period of peace which prevailed throughout his period of administration, he was determined to tackle every problem of internal Government. Even Prinsep, an adverse critic of Bentinck, has said: "I never saw a man who had such a love of work, or such an incessant desire to meddle with everything, great or small. He was incessantly writing minutes on all subjects and his Private and Military Secretaries were employed all day in copying them and sending them to the Departments to be officially brought before the Council". Again, this time somewhat adversely, "He had great love of change and desire to meddle with every institution or practice he found in work or prevailing. It is impossible to deny that some of his changes were beneficial, but he as often muddled what he meddled with as improved it..."

But in spite of his meddlesome habits, Bentinck did a great deal for the amelioration of the social condition of the people by such measures as the abolition of suttee, infanticide, hook swinging and Thugee. His reforming zeal and Whig principles also led him to sympathise with the Missionaries, whom, however, he could not help openly because of his official position. But he openly avowed his sympathies for Duff and other Missionaries. "Encourage education with all your means", he said to a deputation of Missionaries. "The offer of religious truth in the School of the Missionary

131. Ibid.
is without objection. It is or it is not accepted. If it is not, other seeds of instruction may take root and yield a rich and abundant harvest of improvement and future benefit.” “It would give them as an example”, he continued, “in support of this advice, the school founded exactly upon those principles lately superintended by the estimable Mr. Duff, that has been attended with such unparalled success. I would say to them finally that they could not send to India too many labourers in the vineyard like those whom I have now the gratification of addressing.” 132 Hence there was little wonder that the question of education, like so many other problems, would be boldly tackled by him, and a definite policy enunciated and adopted.

The person next in importance to Bentinck was Thomas Babington Macaulay, the Law Member of the Governor General’s Council. He was a Whig of radical views and his zeal for reforms was well known. He had taken an active part in the discussions on the Reform Bill of 1832, and had been rewarded by being appointed a member of the Board of Control, of which he soon became Secretary. He was the author of the Charter Act 1833. He took his duties seriously and “during the eighteen months that he passed at the Board of Control he had no time for relaxation.” 133 In 1834, he came to India as the fourth member of the Supreme Council and soon fell in line with Bentinck, with whom he found much in common. A man of great learning and culture, he was always eager to diffuse the advantages of education among people educationally backward, and in this respect India offered him a splendid field of activity. So, when offered the Presidency of the Committee of Education, he eagerly seized the opportunity.

C. E. Trevelyan, who became Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Government of India in 1831, also took a prominent part in the controversy. While Assistant Commissioner at Delhi, he had been a keen advocate of

133. Trevelyan—Life & Letters of Lord Macaulay I, 253
English education there. On his return to Calcutta, he found a more congenial field. He "had not been a week in Calcutta when...he threw himself into the different movements originated by Duff." Macaulay had described him as "a most stirring reformer", and declared, "he is the soul of every scheme for diffusing education among the natives of this country....His topics, even in Courtship, are steam navigation, the education of the Natives, and the substitution of the Roman for the Arabic Alphabet." Moreover, the prospective marriage of Travelyan with Macaulay’s sister did much to align them on the same side. Travelyan by his integrity and steady judgment earned the approbation even of Bentinck, who observed: "That man is almost always on the right side in every question." 

The Educational Controversy which started in 1834, formally came up before the Government in January 1835, but before considering that question, Bentinck took two important steps, namely, the establishment of a Medical College at Calcutta for the teaching of Medicine and Surgery according to the European system through English; and the appointment of William Adam, the Baptist Missionary, to investigate and ascertain the state of vernacular education in Bengal, Behar and Orissa. These two steps were of considerable importance, in as much as they showed that the Government was determined to adopt the policy of diffusing European learning and vernacular education, as against the hitherto pursued policy of disseminating classical education of a higher type. Another significant fact is that the Government took these steps when the controversy was awaiting decision. Moreover, the establishment of the Medical College and the abolition of the Medical classes in the Sanskrit College and Calcutta Madrassa, clearly indicated that the Government was determined to cultivate European science at the expense of classical oriental education.

Mention has already been made of the establishment and

135. Travelyan I, 387.
progress of a European Medical Class in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and also at the Madrassa. The success of the former had been especially gratifying to the Committee and the Government at home and abroad. In 1833, Bentinck had appointed a Committee to report on the state of Medical Education in Bengal. The General Committee had raised the question "whether it would be expedient to confine the Medical instruction to English lectures and to adopt for class books solely English treatises, discarding Sanskrit Medical Books altogether." Dr. Tytler, the Superintendent of the English classes, was strongly opposed to such a change. A controversy raged on this point and the scheme submitted by Tytler to the Committee appointed by Bentinck did not meet with its approval. The Committee, therefore, suggested "that the best mode of fulfilling the great ends under consideration is for the state to found a Medical College for the education of Natives in which the various branches of Medical Science cultivated in Europe should be taught, and as near as possible on the most approved European system." The basis of this system they considered "should be reading and writing knowledge on the part of the candidate pupils of the English language, and the like knowledge of Hindustanee or Bengali and a knowledge of arithmetic." They considered a knowledge of English to be "sine qua non", "because that language combines within itself the circle of all the science, and incalculable wealth of printed works and illustrations." The Committee further recommended that the students who should distinguish themselves most in the final examination should be employed as sub-assistant surgeons in the Government service.

The Governor General in Council took these suggestions

136. In the Native Med. Instn. Sans. Coll. & Cal. Madrassa. In the last two the Med. classes were opened in 1826.
into consideration on 28th January 1835, and decided to abolish the Medical class of the Sanskrit College and of the Madrassa, as well as the Native Medical Institution. They, however, did not want to leave the students of the Native Medical Institution in the lurch, and ordered that those who were capable of passing the final examination should be appointed as Native Doctors and all others should be transferred to the Native Corps of the Army upon their present salaries when duly qualified and certified by a Committee of Medical Officers but if they failed they were to be discharged. In place of the existing Medical Institution, the Government decided to establish a new Medical College which was to be put under the control of the General Committee assisted by:

- The Surgeon of the General Hospital,
- The Surgeon of the Native Hospital,
- The Garrison Surgeon of Fort William,
- The Superintendent of the Eye Infirmary,
- The Apothecary of the Hon’ble Company.

The medium of instruction in this College was to be English. The Government, further, decided to admit fifty students of over 20 years of age, capable of reading and writing English, Bengali and Hindustani as foundation scholars. Apart from these, the benefits of the College were to be extended to all students between the ages of 14-20 possessing the requisite qualification. The General Committee was asked to provide a suitable building, Library and necessary requisites. The drawing up of a plan of Medical education and of the Rules and Regulations of the College was also entrusted to the Committee.

Strangely enough, the Government instituted stipends and in some cases even increased the amount already granted.\textsuperscript{139}

This was however dependent on their acquirements and not upon their period of study. The final examinations were to be

\textsuperscript{139} 1st Class—Rs 7 p.m., 2nd class—Rs. 9 p.m., 3rd Class—Rs. 12 p. m. No stipend was to be higher than Rs. 7 p.m. for the first two years. The foundation pupils were to remain in the College for not less than four years.
conducted by the Education Committee publicly and assisted by the Medical Officers already mentioned, and certificates were to be awarded to the successful ones. The Government also ordered that "The Public Service shall be supplied with Native Doctors from the Institution and with a view to this object, whatever appointment may happen to fall vacant during the period which intervenes between two examinations shall be offered for the acceptance of the students who pass at the examinations next ensuing."

In order to induce boys of respectable family to join the Medical Service the Government instituted a graduated system of pay ending with a pension on retirement after 20 years service. The Institution was to be maintained by the savings made by the abolition of the Native Medical Institution and the Medical Classes of the Sanskrit College and the Madrassa.

The College was opened in June 1835 with Dr. M. J. Bramley as Superintendent and Drs. H. H. Goodeve and W. B. O' Shaughnessy as Professors. The task of making a detailed survey fell on William Adam a Baptist Missionary, who had arrived in Calcutta in 1818 and had been a very great friend of Ram Mohun Roy, Adam had in 1829 addressed a Memorandum to the Governor General on the subject of popular education and stressed the importance of making a detailed and comprehensive survey of the state of education in the province. This had been declared to be one of the objects of the General Committee at the time of its constitution; but nothing had as yet been done. Adam's memorandum also lay in abeyance for a long time and no step was taken until 1835. In January of that year Adam submitted a detailed plan for this survey which was read

140. The salary was to start on Rs. 30 p.m. then to increase to Rs. 40 after 7 years' service; Rs. 50 after 14 years. Extract from the Proceedings of the G. C. in C. in the Military Dept. 28th Jan. 1835, Ind. Pub. Con. of 7th March 1835.  
142. Sel. Educ. Rec., II.  
before the Supreme Council. He emphasized the necessity of a preliminary enquiry to ascertain the nature and extent of the means which already existed for the spread of education. "To whatever extent such institutions may exist", he declared, "and in whatever condition they may be found, stationary, advancing or retrograding, they present the only true and sure foundations on which any scheme of general or material education can be established. We deepen and extend the foundations, we may improve, enlarge and beautify the superstructure but these are the foundations on which the building should be raised." Emphasizing his point further Adam declared, "all schemes for the improvement of education therefore to be efficient and permanent should be based upon the existing institutions of the country transmitted from time immemorial, familiar to the conception of the people and inspiring them with respect and veneration. To labour successfully for them, we must labour with them and to labour successfully with them we must get them to labour willingly and intelligently with us." Therein lay the necessity of the inquiry.

Regarding the plan of inquiry, Adam pointed out that different plans would have to be followed in respect to principal towns and seats of learning and to districts. With regard to the former Adam decided to take up his residence in one of the towns and with the help of his pundit and Maulvi and by friendly communication with the respectable people of the locality to make a list of the educational institutions to classify them according to their denominations, to examine each of them and to draw up a memorandum on the spot recording the number of the pupils, the nature and extent of the course of instruction in science and learning, the resources of the institutions, whether public or private; if public whether they were efficient or legitimately applied, the estimation in which the institution was held by the Community to which it belonged, and the possibility or means of raising the character and enlarging the usefulness of any single institution, or of a whole class.

Adam suggested a different method for districts where
primary schools and schools of learning were scattered indiscriminately over a large area. In the case of these districts he proposed to fix his principal residence at the chief station, and from there to tour the different parts of the district, entering freely into communication with parents, teachers and pundits and examining schools; after he had finished his investigations he would report separately on each place and in the end would submit a general report. He left it to the Governor General to determine whether his investigation was to be limited to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa alone or was to be extended to the Upper Provinces.

Adam however suggested, that it might be useful to extend the enquiry into other provinces as well.144

Bentinck took this opportunity of ascertaining the real state of education in Bengal generally and the means for its improvement. "As it now seems universally admitted axiom", he declared, "that education and the knowledge to be imparted by it can alone effect the moral regeneration of India, nothing need be said in support of this principle......nor will it be necessary here to advert to the various questions connected with Education which at present occupy the public mind as to the particular languages, to be cultivated or to be adopted in the transaction of public business, or upon the various other subject connected with public instruction because all these questions will......at a very early period come before the Council from the general education Committee". Hence there was the necessity of a careful inquiry into the state of education in the province. This inquiry was all the more necessary, he thought, because unnecessary meddling with the seminaries of education was likely to do more harm than good: but it was possible "that the aid of Government, if interference be carefully excluded, might be very usefully applied and very gratefully received and a still more important end might be attainable of making their institutions subsidiary and conducive to any improved general system which may be

hereafter thought proper to establish". The failure of the collectorate and Tehsildaree schools in Madras was a warning against attempting any undertaking on a vast scale and without previous investigation as to its practicability. Bentink's opinion on this was illustrative of the opinion he held about elementary education. "With respect to the collectorate, and Tehsildaree schools", he declared, "it appears...that more has been attempted than was practicable and that it would have been much better to have established a few good institutions with well appointed teachers of every kind confined perhaps to six great divisions into which Madras Presidency is formed, where instructions of a Superior order might have been obtained and to which natives of all ranks and classes would have gladly had recourse as in the case of the Hindu College for the higher education which is there afforded. From these would have naturally gone forth teachers of the best kind in all languages and sciences and without any further effort on the part of the Government true knowledge must have gradually made his way." In Bengal he wanted to avoid this mistake and hence wanted to institute an inquiry before adopting any policy. But there were neither many capable men nor enough money available for appointing a commission. He, therefore, accepted Adam's offer and selected him for the task on Rs. 1000 per month and the travelling expenses. Adam was placed under the General Committee, through whom he was directed to submit his reports.

Adam, however, was chiefly concerned with the question of vernacular education, which alone, he thought, could effect the intellectual and moral improvement of the people. This development of vernacular education had also been advocated previously by the General Committee. But their idea of vernacular education was somewhat different from his. They

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146. Prinsep to Adam, Ind, Pub. Cons. 3 of 22nd Jan., 1835.
wanted to improve the vernacular language so as to make it ultimately the medium for conveying European science and literature to the Indians; and not to subsidise and cherish the village schools. It is true that the Despatch of 1814 and Moira’s Minute of 1815 had stressed the importance of village schools; but the Government both at home and abroad has soon after thrown this idea overboard and had adopted the policy of ‘filtration’. Hence a man like Bentinck, aided by Macaulay could not possibly have thought of using the Survey as a preliminary for the ultimate reversal of policy in favour of village schools. In fact, his remarks about the Madras Schools quoted before, points the other way. Bentinck’s main object in employing Adam, no doubt, was to ascertain whether the state of Education in the province admitted of a further extension of the educational activity of the Government and the adoption of a definite educational policy; it is important to note that the Governor General’s Minute did not contain Macaulay’s signature, which was no doubt due to the fact that at a time when the Anglo-Oriental Controversy was reaching its climax, he could not have been expected to countenance a scheme for vernacular Education. “Woodrow............tells us that Macaulay gave his final consent to the amended instruction issued to Adam”\textsuperscript{148} Macaulay, however, must not be considered to have been opposed to instruction in the vernacular language. His support of the proposal to teach Hindi at Ajmere amply proves that. His sentiments on that occasion are worth quoting at some length as they clearly show how he wanted to utilise the study of the vernacular for the promotion of English language: “An order to give instruction in the English language is by necessary implication an order to give instruction, where that instruction is required in the vernacular language. For what is meant by teaching a foreign language? Surely this, the teaching him what words in the foreign language correspond to certain words in his own vernacular language, then enabling him to translate from the foreign language into his own vernacular language and vice versa”\textsuperscript{149}

\textsuperscript{148} P. Hartog—Some Aspects of Indian Educ., 77.

\textsuperscript{149} Smith—Duff I, 192-3.
But before Adam could submit his report, the Anglo-Oriental controversy reached its climax. The immediate occasion for this was the discussion on the question of re-organising the Agra College on the model of the Anglo-Indian College and of converting the Calcutta Madrassa into an institution for the cultivation of English language and European science and literature. This soon led to a discussion of the whole question of the future educational policy of the Government and as the members of the General Committee failed to come to an arrangement among themselves, the matter was referred to the Supreme Government.

As early as 1833 the General Committee had proposed to apply the large surplus of the Agra College Fund to the improvement of that College by introducing the study of English on a large scale and abolishing stipends. The local Committee when consulted not only signified its assent but showed very great enthusiasm for the scheme. It suggested to the General Committee, "that the College be at once thrown open to the public, native or European—to every class of Society indeed the only qualification being a desire of improvement and that each student enrol himself in the English Department, with liberty however of attending such of the oriental classes as the Superintendent might approve of". The Local Committee, however, suggested that the study of Arabic and Sanskrit should be abolished from the College, because it thought that instead of wasting time on these subjects the students would better employ their time on "the most useful branches of knowledge". Finally, it declared "as we cannot redeem the past, we may, at least, be permitted to correct our errors for the future, and to abolish instruction in the dead language of India co-evally with the establishment of the improved courses of English education". 150

The members of the General Committee, however, disagreed as to the expediency of introducing such far-reaching changes. The majority of them approved of the proposed

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alterations, but they all disapproved of the total rejection of Sanskrit and Arabic, "being unanimous in this, that qualified Professors should be entertained to instruct students desirous of receiving tuition in those languages". The majority of the Committee, therefore, proposed that "such monthly sum as the Agra Committee may find available . . . be devoted to purposes of oriental instruction and appropriated to imparting improved instruction in Hindee and Oordu, the vernacular languages of Upper India, care being taken that the teachers selected for these Departments be qualified to teach respectively Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian to persons desirous of prosecuting those studies and that as soon as the Rule can be introduced with reference to the existing system of tuition in the institution, the scholarships be restricted to proficiency in English literature and science, combined with a superior degree of purity, correctness and elegance in the use of the vernacular language above provided." 151 The matter was referred to the Government which wanted to know the specific nature of the endowment, the terms of the deed, the grounds on which the Committee objected to the change, whether the people desired such a change and whether the Committee had any evidence of an increasing desire on the part of the people for instruction in English science and literature, and the actual number of students in the various departments. 152

The General Committee, accordingly, asked the Local Committee to supply detailed information on those points. The Local Committee, in reply, assured it that the proposed change would be agreeable to those whom it concerned. "A desire for the acquisition of English", it declared, "has been strongly expressed and unequivocally proved by the adoption of the means even at present available to that end. Instances have lately occurred of Thakores of rank, respectable zemindars and wealthy merchants applying to the Committee for English

instructors for their sons and relatives." In further support of its contentions, the Committee drew the General Committee's attention to the establishment of an English school at Kotah by the Indians, the increasing sale of English books, and above all the proportion of students studying in the Agra College itself.153 This rapidly growing popularity of English they ascribed to the belief current among the people that its acquisition was going to be made the condition of employment in Government Services. The Local Committee, however, observed that Indians would be favourable to the retention of Sanskrit and Arabic along with other branches of study154. These views were communicated to the Government, together with the General Committee's assurance that the College endowment had emanated from the Government, because although the property had originally belonged to one Gangadhar Pandit, his claims had lapsed with his death and the property had been appropriated by the Government for establishing a collegiate institution, in which the study of English had been postponed only for the time being; hence the Government was completely at liberty to apply the endowment for whichever purpose they liked.155

But before a decision was taken on the question of the Agra College, the question of converting the Calcutta Madrassa into an English institution cropped up, and immediately assumed unexpected proportions; and the general Committee was faced not with the problem of re-modelling one or two already established institutions, but with the general problem of the future educational policy of the Government of Bengal.

On 26th April 1834, the Sub-Committee of the Madrassa had held a meeting and passed the following resolution:

"The Committee, being of opinion that the time had

153. Sanskrit 42, Arabic 28, Persian 236, English 110.
arrived for encouraging more openly and decidedly the study of English in the Madrassa. Resolved that from the present date no students be elected to a scholarship unless on the express condition of studying English as well as Arabic”.

In this meeting only Shakespear and Colvin were present. H. T. Prinsep, although a member of the Sub-Committee was not even invited to take part in the proceedings. Consequently, when informed of what had taken place, Prinsep took strong objection to the Resolution on the ground that if it were allowed to stand it would convert, “an Institution established and endowed specifically for the revival and encouragement of Arabic literature, for the education of the Kazees and Maulvis into a mere seminary for teaching English”. He described the resolution as hasty and indiscreet, which if acted upon would lead to only the perversion of funds and declared that it “not only gives a preference to those who study English, but gives them a monopoly of Jageers...the next step would be to transfer the professors' allowances to teachers of English and then will follow in due course the voting of Arabic to be dead and damned”.

Shakespear denied that his action was in any respect hasty, and pointed out “that it has been in view for some years since the commencement of an English class in the Madrassa, and declared that the accusation that the measure was “calculated to convert the College into a mere seminary for the teaching of English appears...wholly unsupported by any of the objections urged”. He further drew the Committee's attention to the fact that when the decision was taken, no member except Bird and Colvin was present at Calcutta and that Bird subsequently declared himself to be in favour of the course adopted. But although at pains to defend his action, Shakespear had since the passing of the Resolution greatly changed his mind. The annual examination of the Madrassa had shown the deplorable result of attempts to teach people of an advanced age the mere elements of English, and

as one of the officials present there Shakespear had witnessed that. This had greatly impressed him, and he wanted the matter to be brought before the General Committee.\textsuperscript{157}

Bird had already fallen in line with Shakespear and Colvin and he defended the diversion of the funds of the Madrassa for a different object by stating that "the endowment took place nearly half a century ago, since which things have greatly changed, and it now appears to me that it is incumbent on us for the welfare of the Mohammedan students themselves to do all we can to prevail on them to qualify in English as well as in Arabic, for most assuredly the time is approaching when their law and Arabic literature will be of little use to them without it. He also wanted the matter to be referred to the Committee.\textsuperscript{158} Colvin emphasized that the time had come when a decided policy should be adopted, that latitudinarianism in such matters would seriously tell upon the educational development of the country and that it was not wise to leave the students to choose their own branch of study. He not only advocated that the question should be considered in the General Committee, but that the Government should be approached "to guide...with certainty...in future".\textsuperscript{159}

Prinsep, although in a minority of one in the Sub-Committee refuted to yield. Finding his contentions hotly challenged by others, he declared that the Sub-Committee should not have decided such an important question without first submitting it through the General Committee to the Government. He completely agreed with the desire on the part of the Sub-Committee to diffuse English education, and pointing out that he had been one of the first to propose the establishment of an English class, declared, "I should more desire to see than that the taste for the language and science of Europe should be communicated to the rising generation

\textsuperscript{157} Shakespear's Reply, 10th July 1834, Ind. Pub. Cons. 10 of 7th March 1835.

\textsuperscript{158} 30th July 1834, \textit{Ibid.} Ind. Pub. Cons. 10 of 7th March.

\textsuperscript{159} 14th Aug. 1834, \textit{Ibid.}
of the faith of Mohammed and deeply planted amongst them". But he strongly objected to making the study of English compulsory in a College meant specifically for Mohammedan learning, "as if it were to be made a rule to refuse a degree to a student of medicine unless he attended the drawing master's lessons, the laudable purpose being to encourage the fine arts!" Prinsep especially deplored the attitude of the junior members of the Committee who revelled in disparaging the learning of the east and extolled the merits of cramming the English alphabet. He concluded by asserting his uncompromising opposition to any sweeping innovation like the one just suggested, especially because in that case "the scholarships instead of being open as at present to the competition of ardent scholars from all parts of India, young men of high principles and independent minds, will be confined exclusively to the fawning, flattering sycophants who put their names down to the English class in order to carry favour with the powers that be."\textsuperscript{160}

The matter was now transferred to the General Committee, but before this was done the question was to some extent modified. Both Shakespear and Prinsep agreed as to the desirability of doing "everything... short of the trenching on... the right of the Mohammedan population to the benefits of the College as conferred upon them by Government, to encourage the learning of English". But while the Anglicists wanted to make the acquisition of English compulsory, Prinsep wanted simply to encourage its dissemination without resorting to any type of compulsion.\textsuperscript{161}

In the General Committee the question was discussed point by point at great length. Every topic which could possibly have a bearing on the subject was fully thrashed out from various angles by the two parties. The members ultimately lined themselves up on different sides in equal numbers. The Orientalists at first were in a minority; because most of the

\textsuperscript{160} 15th Aug. 1834, \textit{Ibid}.
original members had by this time left India and the Committee was composed mostly of young men. They were all for compulsory English Education and in this they were supported by Shakespear. Hence in the beginning they had a majority; but Shakespear soon changed sides and as the debates dragged on there were further defections on both sides, until when the voting took place there was a tie.

When the question was brought before the Committee, all the members agreed “that an entire change of system is required in many of the most important of existing Government Institutions in order to render them at all efficient instruments for the objects towards which all the efforts of the Committee are professed to be directed”. But as to the exact nature of the changes there was a profound difference of opinion. The Anglicists asserted “the paramount value and obligation of communicating direct instruction in English literature and science in the seminaries of higher education”. This involved two considerations namely “the obligation of communicating through whatever medium, instruction in English literature and science with a decided habitual preference of such instruction to that in any of the Oriental Systems, and the other the advantage of conveying this instruction through the direct medium of the English language”. The Orientalists professed their appreciation of “the importance of creating a taste for English science and literature among the Natives”, which they hoped could not but “contribute to a wider diffusion of European knowledge in the vernacular dialects”; but they deemed it to be their first duty to revive and extend the cultivation of the literature of the Country and regarded “the introduction of the science and literature of Europe as an improvement to be engrafted thereupon, rather than an object to be pursued exclusively, or with any marked and decided preference”. Apart from the champions of these extreme views, there were a few others in the Orientalist camp who took a more moderate attitude. They were

162. Of the original members only Shakespear, H. T. Prinsep and J. C. C. Sutherland were on the Committee.
generally of opinion that it was, "not necessary or advisable that the Government should manifest a preference for any particular system of learning" and therefore recommended that "as the most wise and becoming course for its observance, ... it should afford an indifferent and equal encouragement to all systems, as instruction in them might appear to be demanded by the state of opinion and feeling among the people themselves".

There was one factor, namely popular feeling which had necessarily to be taken into consideration. Regarding this the Anglicists declared that it was the duty of the Government especially one like that of the British in India "not passively to follow those feelings but to endeavour to form and influence and direct them by every proper and well considered means to all just and enlightened ends". The Orientalists, replied that the Indians had a right to claim equal opportunities for learning their own literature and science and declared that "the truth should yet be allowed to make its own way, as its reception will be more honourably secured by the effects of conviction alone, than by the withdrawal of the means of instruction in the system which it is desired to supersede".

The question of the medium to be used in disseminating English Education aroused no less controversy. This question had been much debated for a long time past and the claims of English had been stoutly championed by many persons of importance. The Anglicists took much the same attitude as their predecessors. They argued that it was idle and even useless to attempt a wide diffusion of English learning among Indians through translations into the classical Oriental languages; because the preparation of a complete course of translations was a hopeless task; and because such translations could not convey the real spirit of the original works; consequently, they would fall in their primary object of effecting the moral uplift of the people. Moreover, the Anglicists pointed out that the use of a common language would help to link up the people with their rulers. Against this the Orientalists raised two objections. They declared that a knowledge of English without other acquirements "would prove a source of
embarrassment and loss to their possessors" since the practical business of the country was not conducted in English and since no one believed that English would become the general language of the Country. Moreover, they pointed out that the use and cultivation of the classical languages would lead to the improvement of the vernaculars which could then be used for educational purposes. The question of cultivating the vernacular languages, they alleged, had escaped the notice of the parties simply because it was considered to be an object of secondary importance.

In reply the Anglicists contended that "in asserting the paramount claims of English Education, it can never be proposed to neglect in the Government Seminaries any studies, which may be indispensable for the immediate purposes of life. In whatever language it may be determined by the State that its public business may be readily communicated without weakening the attention paid to English as the only real means of moral and mental improvement and similarly whatever may be the language of business, a marked preference might indeed be most unobjectionably enjoined by the Government in all sections for officials employ for those who prefer to super-add the benefit of Superior English acquirements to the ordinary recommendations or the public service". They fully admitted that the great body of the people must be educated in their own tongue; but considered it most imperative, "to provide by every most ready and effective means available for the communication of true knowledge and the most sound and enlarged course of instruction, to the educated classes of the Community to render those classes competent, by their own attainments, and character to act with effect as the guides and teachers of their Countrymen". They also assured the Committee that "whatever knowledge of the Sanskrit and Arabic language be requisite for the gradual improvement of the vernacular tongues will always be found readily at

command”. “The foreign literature”, they pointed out “must be studied in itself and if it be stored with superior knowledge and capable of imparting new vigour and capacity of thought, an indigenous and independent literature will arise from it and become the medium for diffusing knowledge through the body of the people, in the forms most suitable to their national circumstances, character and wants”.

On the strength of these arguments the Anglicists asserted that “it is the bounden duty of the Government to see that the revenues thus appropriated by it are, most employed for the most useful and beneficial purposes practicable”. This contention raised the question of the nature of the endowments and of the Fund set apart for education. The Anglicists held that this Fund was a “Sacred Trust”, which must not be wasted on unworthy objects; moreover the people could not have any right “to acquire..... an erroheous system of education at the expense of the State”. Regarding the endowments made for the different institutions they declared that they could regard “no appropriations of this description as of the nature of permanent endowments or pledges in favour of an erroneous system of Education. There were no engagements expressed or implied with any party or section of the population, at the periods when the appropriations were made”. The real and only character of the appropriations, they believed to be “that of grants made under the circumstances and feelings of the time, the regulation and management of which may now be arranged as may be thought most fit under altered circumstances and altered views”.

The Orientalists, however, considered the special endowments to be of a permanent nature which could not be diverted to these purposes. Not only that, they even claimed the annual parliamentary grant to be of a specific nature which should mainly be appropriated for Oriental education. They contended that the “purposes of that assignment were revival and improvement of the literature of the Country and the

cultivation of Science”. In support of this view they declared that “the reason for the provision having been introduced into the Act is known to have been because the Court of Directors had checked the Bengal Government in a grant it had proposed, to make on the proposition of Mr. H. T. Prinsep for the support of the Sanskrit College at Nuddea and Benares”. They also contended that the Committee to which the application of the grant was entrusted laid down two principles, namely, (1) To win the support of the educated Indians in the revival and improvement of the literature of the country; and (2) whenever the funds were inadequate, to help the existing higher seminaries. They pointed out that the success of Hindu College and the cooperation of people showed the success and wisdom of the Committee’s policy in not thrusting not only Christianity but European science. The Orientalists, however, admitted “that it is for the advantage of the people that the means of learning English and so obtaining acquaintance with the science and literature of Europe should be readily presented to them”. But they declared that if the general teachings of English was considered so urgent then a separate fund ought to be established for that purpose; because out of the existing funds only so much could be given to English Education as was testified by the desire of the people to learn it.

This insistence on the teaching of Oriental learning led the Orientalists to put forward a defence of its merits. They stated that because the Arabic Mathematical books were based on the erroneous Ptolemaic theory, it did not necessarily mean that the communication of Newtonian system through that language was impossible; they further added that moral teaching could not be taught in a purer way than through Goolistan or Hitopadesha and asked in retort “If the admixture of error is a sufficient cause for consigning to oblivion all literature, however beautiful, what would have become of the splendid monuments of Greece and Rome which are to this day so carefully preserved.”

166. The Orientalists meant Sanskrit College.
The Orientalists also pointed out that the Sanskrit College at Calcutta and Benares and the Madrassa were meant to teach Law officers and the latter in particular was not maintained from the Parliamentary grant but as a Government Institution.\textsuperscript{167}

The Anglicists in reply assured the Committee that far from destroying the source from which the Law Officers were recruited, the change would enable the body of the people to acquire a knowledge of the laws which had long remained locked up from them, being accessibly only through the medium of Sanskrit and Arabic, and declared that "while the present state of things may continue, a full provision for the instruction of a competent body of Law Officers is one of those objects of special utility, against the sacrifice of which it is requisite to guard."\textsuperscript{168}

Regarding the practicability of teaching English, the battle raged anew. The Anglicists put the whole blame on the Committee, by declaring that had it not been for the vacillation and lukewarmness of that body, the local Committee would by this time have greatly furthered the cause of English Education in Bengal.\textsuperscript{169} The Orientalists retorted that the cause espoused by the Anglicists was "not that of Science and literature at all but of rudimental English as a means of eventually pursuing the course into literature and Science should life be long enough and the inclinations last", and asserted that it would be "highly impolite and unjust" to give preference to candidates with a knowledge of English in Government Services.\textsuperscript{170}

During the course of these debates, further alignments took place in the Committee, Shakespear had gradually been changing his position ever since the last annual examination of the Madrassa, where he had witnessed the ridiculous and

\textsuperscript{167.} Sutherland to Prinsep 22nd Jan. 1835, Ind. Pub. Cons. 14 of 7th March 1835.
\textsuperscript{168.} Ibid., 21st Jan. 1835, Ind. Pub. Cons. 7 of 7th March 1835.
\textsuperscript{169.} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{170.} Ibid. 22nd Jan. 1835 Ind. Pub. Cons. 14 of 7th March 1835.
deplorable attempts of grown up students to memorise the elements of English. He now tried to back out of a position which he himself had created and made worse through his obstinacy. He admitted that it was difficult to determine how far the Sub-Committee was authorized to interfere with the rules of the Madrassa without first obtaining the sanction of the General Committee, but in self-defence he pointed out that it had formerly been customary to do so and that without such discretion the efficiency of the Committee would be "injuriously circumscribed". He met Prinsep's accusation that compulsory study of English should not have been introduced without the leave of the Government by pointing out that the Committee's proceedings were always submitted annually to the Government and that none of the students had objected to the new regulations. He, however, found a pretext for abandoning his none too enviable position, in the aforesaid examination of the Madrassa, and declared: "I should be acting disingenuously if I did not give my opinion that the Resolution had better be withdrawn and the Rule imposing it cancelled". As an alternative he suggested that the Committee could "safely go so far as to declare that when the qualifications of rival candidates are in other respects equal, a knowledge of English should be allowed to turn the scale".179 Saunders and Macsween agreed with him.172

But although Shakespear made a volte face, English Education found a strong champion in G. A. Bushby. He felt strongly convinced of the necessity as well as the practicability of introducing gradually but effectively the study of European science and literature and of combining "the acquirements of the English language with the learning for...the natives if unassisted and undirected will long retain a most pernicious possession". He believed that the Indians were ready to adopt "any agency of improvement"; that they would not feel offended at any innovation and that suspense in such

172. 2nd September 1834, Ibid.
matter would only be detrimental to the cause of education. He did not agree with Seakespear's idea of making a knowledge of English the deciding factor, but wanted it to be made an indispensable condition.\textsuperscript{173} Trevelyan supported Bushby.\textsuperscript{174}

Prinsep was satisfied at Shakespear's offer to withdraw the Resolution and declared that in that case there was no need for reference to the Government. "Encourage English and European science, say I", he said emphatically, "as earnestly as the hottest of the enthusiasts of fewer years and less experience. But my word is encourage, and the means I recommend all that falls within the meaning of that word. Promote is the word of the opposite party and their means of promotion are restrictions, disabilities, cramming and compulsion and the withdrawing of collegiate rewards and even of state employ from those not out of their Primer."\textsuperscript{175}

But the settlement was far from being in sight. Bushby and Trevelyan took up an uncompromising attitude. In fact they were determined to force an issue, whatever its result might have been, Prinsep, therefore, suggested a compromise. "I really begin to think", he declared, "that each Institution should be kept entirely distinct, the Hindu, the Mohammedan and the English, with free ingress in the latter for all classes who have the desire of learning English, separate endowments, no clashing of salaries and jealousy among masters, no difficulty in defining our own duties—each system of education to be fostered and promoted as the public demands render necessary." He, however, thought that it was now impossible to come to any definite decision without the help of the Government, and hence urged that the same should be approached immediately.\textsuperscript{176}

But the Anglicists not only refused to yield, but adopted a militant attitude. "Did we come to India for the purpose

\textsuperscript{173} 30th Aug. 1834, \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{174} 2nd Sept. 1834, \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{175} 3rd Sept. 1834, \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{176} 21st Oct. 1834, \textit{Ibid}.
of encouraging Mohammedan learning”, asked Bird. “Is the Arabic language the medium through which there is the remotest hope of introducing, I will not say ‘European Literature and Science’, but sound moral principle and practical knowledge in any of its branches? He also wanted that the Government should be asked not only to express its opinion on the Madrassa affair but “to determine generally the principle on which native education ought in future to be conducted and that the Committee should then be so constituted as to give full effect whatever it may be to that determination.\textsuperscript{177}

The Committee divided on the question, Bushby, Colvin, Trevelyan, Bird and Macnaughten voted for the Resolution, while Shakespear, Saunders, Macsween, H. T. and J. Prinsep voted against it.\textsuperscript{178} Thus there was a deadlock and a reference to the Government became an imperative necessity. Shakespear, seeing to what a pass the Committee has been brought through his rashness, resigned the Presidency of the Committee and suggested the appointment of Macaulay to that post.\textsuperscript{179} It seemed indeed as if the Government had been waiting for such a development and hence it lost no time in accepting Shakespear’s resignation.\textsuperscript{180}

This incident of Shakespear’s resignation and his recommendation to appoint in his place a person who had hitherto, taken no part in the controversy, was rather mysterious. The tenor of his letter as well as the nature of the reply from the Government suggest that the whole thing was pre-arranged and that Shakespear’s resignation was nothing but a matter of official formality. Prinsep indeed says: “When T. B. Macaulay arrived to be the new legislative member of the Council of India, his high literary reputation induced the Government to appoint him President of the Council of Education, and the English Party, as it was called, entertained high hope that

\textsuperscript{177} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{179} 27th Nov. 1834, Ind. Pub. Cons. 14 of 8th Dec, 1834.
\textsuperscript{180} Prinsep to C. C. P. I., Ind. Pub. Cons. 15 of 8th Dec, 1834.
his influence and authority would turn the scale against me and my supporters." Moreover, Macaulay's close friendship with Bentinck, on whom he exerted a very great deal of influence, tends to support this view.

So the whole question was sent to the Government for further deliberation and for a definite decision. In the Supreme Council the battle was fought all over again, step by step, point by point, by the protagonists of the two policies. But while the deliberations were taking place in the Council, agencies outside the Government circle were also exerting their influence in favour of the dissemination of English education.

The Church of Scotland, which since 1830 had been very active in disseminating English education and propagating Christianity, now approached the Government for financial assistance. The statement they submitted on the progress of their school showed clearly to what extent English education had become popular among Indians in Calcutta. Ever since its first establishment in August 1830, the institution had imparted instruction to 2,000 Hindu boys and had at the time of its application (December 1834) more than 500 boys on the roll, comprising all classes and castes. The school authorities believed that the number of students would have been double had it not been for the limited nature of accommodation available. The Government, however, had to refuse the application for want of funds. On December 13, 1834, the Presbytery drew up another Memorandum soliciting the aid of the Government for the school as well as for establishing a Central College where pupils of other Colleges would be admitted. Rev. J. J. Bryce, the moderator of the

Presbytery at Calcutta, drew the Government’s attention especially to the importance of creating a class of school masters who would in time be “the instruments of conveying Christian knowledge to the native population in the character and status of native missionaries.” He also pointed out that “until native instruments can be employed on the work of native education little can be effected”. In conclusion, he declared that the establishment of Normal Schools all over India had become an obvious necessity, and that the Government should devise the best means of carrying it into effect. Bentinck asked the Memorandum to be officially sent to the Council, but the Government had in the end to refuse assistance because the project was of a description for which the Government had no funds available, and it could not extend any help from the public revenue.

Indians themselves were no less enthusiastic about the spread of English education in Bengal. The parents and guardians of the students of the Anglo-Indian College petitioned the Government early in 1835 to make the use of English admissible in all the local tribunals of Bengal and in the Sudder Dewany and Nizamat adalats. They drew the Government’s attention to the fact that the study of English had of late been greatly popular in Bengal, chiefly owing to the encouragement given by the Government and the prevailing conviction that English would soon be made the official language. They believed that the Government was desirous of “extending the culture of English as the most efficient means of disseminating European science amongst their countrymen”, and therefore requested the Government to remove all the restriction on that language to make it the official language of the country. They remonstrated against the monopoly of Persian and pointed out that it was as foreign to the Bengalis as to the English and that it was inferior to English as a polished and cultivated language, and in respect to adaptation to general business; in addition, the latter had the

advantage of being expertly read and written by all the functionaries of the State. They, further, claimed that there was a numerous ever increasing class of Bengalis who made the acquisition of English literature and science the chief object of their education, and who offered a choice of respectable candidates for office, were proficient in English and fully competent to execute in that language those duties now performed in Persian by native officers, Readers and Mukteers. On those grounds they urged the Government to make the use of English admissible in the Courts. The Government itself also showed strong sympathy for European education and an apathy for the system of classical education as was then imparted. This was clearly proved by the establishment of the Calcutta Medical College and the appointment of Adam, to which reference has already been made.

Thus the course of events left little doubt as to which side the Government's sympathy would lie. But the champions of the cause of Oriental Education were determined to have another trial of strength with the Anglicists in the Council. Macaulay, the recently appointed President of the Committee, threw his whole weight on the side of the Anglicists. He had refrained from taking any part in the deliberations in the Committee in order to avoid taking a party view of the question there. Moreover, he was not sure whether in the Committee his opinion would count for much or anything at all. Another reason for his silence was that Bentinck was absent from Calcutta at that time, and as Macaulay relied for the success of his scheme on his influence on Bentinck, he thought it wise to refrain from taking any part in the controversy until the arrival of Bentinck from Ootakamond. "He was a mere silent observer, however, for some time until Lord William Bentinck had resumed his place at the seat of Government, then one day without mooting the matter at all.

in the Council of Education, he prepared an elaborate Minute proposing not only to withhold any further grant of public money from institutions for conferring instruction in native literature of any kind, but even to abolish the existing Sanskrit and Madrassa College to which Government had made grants many years ago."\(^{189}\) He declared that the Act of Parliament "contains nothing particular about the particular language or sciences which are to be studied", and that "Learned Native" did not mean one versed in ancient Indian lore. Hence he asserted that "this lac of rupees is set apart, not only for 'reviving literature in India, the phrase on which their whole interpretation is grounded, but also 'for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British Territories, words which are alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend': If the Council did not agree with this interpretation he contended, then a legislation would have to be enacted rescinding the clause of the Act. In order to justify this diversion of funds from objects hitherto patronised, Macaulay asked in his characteristic language: "We found a sanatorium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanatorium there if the result should not answer our operations?"

Regarding the promises and pledges, alleged and real, which the Government had given when it had first begun to establish educational institutions, Macaulay observed: "These promises of which nobody claims the performance, and from which nobody can grant a release, these vested rights which vest in nobody, this property without proprietors, this robbery which makes nobody poorer, may be comprehended by persons of higher faculties than mine. I consider this plea merely as a set of words, regularly used both in England and in India, in defence of every abuse for which no other plea can be set up."

The claims of Oriental literature Macaulay rejected summarily by declaring that "a single shelf of good European

\(^{189}\) Extract from Prinsep's Unpublished Diary, Sel. Educ. Rec., II, 132...
Library was worth the whole Native Literature of India and Arabia.” This opinion, he declared, was the outcome of his study of the translations of Sanskrit and Arabic works, and pointed out that even the Orientalists admitted the intrinsic superiority of Western literature. Macaulay also declared that the Government would have to educate a people who for the present could not be educated by means of their mother tongue; therefore they must be taught through a foreign language which must necessarily be English, because of its being not only the language of the ruling class and its popularity throughout the East, but because of its superiority even among the languages of the West. Thus, and thus only, he proclaimed, could the moral and intellectual improvement of India be effected. In support of this he cited the example of Russia.

Regarding the attitude of the Indians, he was equally dogmatic. “We are withholding from them the learning which” he declared, “is palatable to them. We are forcing on them the mock learning which they nauseate”. This, he contended was proved by the fact that the students studying Arabic and Sanskrit had to be paid. While the students studying English were ready and willing to pay for their tuition. When told of his lack of local experience and of the fact that it was customary for the students in India not to study at their own charge, Macaulay retorted that “the people of India do not require to be paid for eating rice when they are hungry”; and pointed out that “the children who learn their letters and a little elementary arithmetic from the village school-master are not paid by him”.

In order to prove the apathy of the Indians to the Oriental system of learning, Macaulay drew the Council’s attention to the petition, made by the students of the Sanskrit College to the Committee the year before (1834), in which they stated that they had studied for ten or twelve years but had little prospect of bettering their condition thereby. The tenor of such petitions was that the type of education imparted to them had done them more harm than good and that it was the duty of the Government to redress it. “We do not stand neuter”, Macaulay declared, “in the contest between truth
and falsehood...we add great difficulties of our own making. Bounties and premiums, such as ought not to be given even for the propagation of truth we lavish on false taste and false philosophy”. He further warned the Government that “By acting thus we create the very evils which we fear. We are making that opposition which we do not find...It will be headed by persons supported by our own stipends and trained in our Colleges”.

In further support of his advocacy of English education he pointed out that the General Committee had spent about one lac of rupees on printing Oriental books, but practically all of them lay unsold. They contrived to get rid of some portion of their vast stock by giving books away free, but they could not give as fast as they printed! The School Book Society on the other hand, Macaulay observed, were selling 8,000 volumes of English books a year, which not only paid the expenses of printing, but realised a profit of twenty per cent on the outlay.

Regarding the contention of the Orientalists that the maintenance of the Oriental Colleges were necessary for the training of the Law Officers, Macaulay replied that the work of the Law Commission, when finished, would render the retention of these institutions useless. As regards the sacred literature of the Indians written in Sanskrit and Arabic, he declared that although “it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious question”, that did not mean that it should encourage false literature. “We abstain”, he contended, “and I trust we shall always abstain from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting the natives to Christianity, and while we act thus can we reasonably or decently bribe men out of the revenues of the State to waste to their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass, or what text of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat?”

In reply to the contention of the Orientalists that the choice lay between a profound knowledge of Hindu and Arabic
literature and science and the rudiments of English; Macaulay pointed out that there were many Indians who could speak English very fluently and could discuss the educational controversy with a liberality which would do credit to any member of the Committee.

In one respect, however, Macaulay agreed with his opponents. He admitted that it was impossible to train the mass of the population. "We must at present do our best", he contended, "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the Country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."

Macaulay, however, was ready to respect some of the existing interests and declared: "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." He advocated that the printing of the oriental works should be stopped, all Oriental Colleges except that at Delhi and Benares—they being chief seats of Oriental learning—should be abolished and all stipends should be discontinued. Macaulay loosened his last shaft at oriental education by declaring that "the present system stands not to accelerate the progress of truth but delay the natural death of expiring errors", and threatened to resign if his suggestions were not approved.190

Bentinck gave his concurrence to the sentiments expressed by Macaulay.191 Though this practically decided the fate of the controversy, no official decision was yet taken, and the members went on debating the question in the Council.

191. Rejoinder, Ibid.
A. Ross entirely agreed with Macaulay, but wanted an efficient staff of Sanskrit and Arabic teachers to be maintained in the Colleges in which they existed, to impart knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic literature to those who might want them and were ready to pay for them. If it was found that the study of such subjects were not in demand they should be discontinued. Prinsep once more came forward as the champion of Oriental education, and pointed out that Macaulay had misunderstood the whole situation and declared that just as the Pasha of Egypt did not want to revive mummy literature, so in India his party did not want to encourage anything which was not in existence. He repeated that the Parliamentary grant was meant for the revival and encouragement of Indian literature, but this time he did not feel very sure of his case; so he declared that the arguments of the inviolability of funds had never been applied to institutions supported by the annual grants, but the Madrassa was established and maintained by special endowments and was managed by the Madrassa Committee which was later merged into the General Committee because the latter were deemed to be the fittest organ for the management of funds as visitors. He considered it unwise to abolish the Madrassa and observed that "In behalf of the Madrassa, more claim to the permanency has not been asserted than is allowed elsewhere to similar institution and seminaries." He did not deny the superiority of English literature and science, but stated that "the whole question is—have we it in our power to teach everywhere this English and this European science? It is in doubting nay, denying this that those who take the opposite view maintain the expediency of telling the Natives to pursue their present course of instruction and endeavouring to engraft European science." He pointed out the falsity of drawing an analogy between Latin and Greek and English. "Latin and Greek were to the nations of Europe," he declared, "what Arabic and Persian are to the Muslims and Sanskrit to

the Hindoos—to the great body of the people of India English is as strange as Arabic was to Knights of the dark ages.” To this Macaulay retorted “it cannot be more strange than Greek was to the subjects of Henry the English”. Prinsep considered the Analogy of Russia to be less convincing as the Russian literature developed through intercourse with foreigners and through teaching German compulsorily. Macaulay, however, disputed this and declared that Russians acquired education by means of English, French and German and were now imitating them. Prinsep thought it untrue that the Indians did not want to learn Sanskrit and Arabic and in support of this contention drew attention to the fact that every year keen competition and high proficiency were evinced by about 300 students for 80 scholarships, and that this fact alone was sufficient to refute the charge that the students had to be bribed to learn their own literature and science. This, Macaulay met by repeating what he had heard from such a prominent person as Radhakant Dev, who had told him that no one would study Sanskrit unless he was paid for it. Prinsep, in defence of stipends, declared that the stipends given at the Madrassa and the Sanskrit College and elsewhere were in all respects similar to the scholarships given in the Universities or to the foundation scholars of the public schools of England. “The fact there are paid scholars on the establishment on foundation of any Seminary”, he asserted, “affords no grounds for assuming that none would learn if they were not paid” and pointed out that even in the Madrassa there were scholarships for English! He further explained that the students paid for receiving tuition in English, because the Christian teachers demanded fees while Maulvis and Pandits were in the habit of teaching gratis; he expressed his surprise that so little had hitherto been realised from the students.

Prinsep further challenged the Committee to prove that there had ever been any widespread desire among the Mohammedans to learn English. To this Macaulay replied that this could not have been so as there was no good English School for them and that this proved that it was the duty of the Government to establish one. Prinsep then took up the
question of the petition presented by the students of the Sanskrit College and declared "surely the disappointment of the too sanguine hopes of any class of persons as to their future provision in life affords no evidence that the knowledge they have acquired is useless." He pointed out that the educational system was passing through a period of transition and that patient toil would be needed to find out what would assure their future. But this petition, he declared, had no bearing on the question of the Madrassa as the students of that College had not complained. He further drew attention to the fact that there was still prejudice against English Education and that the best chance of its success lay in letting the Indians cultivate their own literature and then to engrft ultimately the better one. He ridiculed the contention of the Anglicists that unless the old system was violently overthrown, the introduction of the new system would be greatly retarded. "Now this argument", he believed, "on the very face seems to assume that the possessors of the old literature are necessarily opposed to the new, it seems to build upon the impossibility of reconciling the two and yet in the same breath we are told that all the world is anxiously seeking the new and attaches no value to the old." So Prinsep declared that "if at this time the desire for European science and literature is extensively felt and is still on the increase, the cause of it is to be found in the manner in which the Government interfere with the work of education which was commenced and has hitherto been carried on, and in particular to the strict observance of the principle of encouraging every course of education that is followed by any extensive class of the population and doing violence to no existing feelings whether of prejudice or prepossessions." This, he felt would surely reconcile all the parties and would ultimately lead to the engrfting of a better system of education.

Prinsep admitted that the Oriental books were not in demand; but this, he explained, was due to the exhorbitant prices of the books. Moreover, English books cost less and were purchased by the Christian population and Missionary schools and enjoyed the patronage of the Committee and
Mofussil institutions. He, however, agreed that Oriental books were no more to be translated as before.

Prinsep violently protested against the assertion that the Orientalists wanted to continue the Oriental Colleges simply because they were connected with religion, and pointed out that the real reason for the maintenance of the institutions was the preparation of Law Officers, a fact which even the Law Commission had admitted. Lastly, he again, drew the Council's attention to the fact that if the Anglicists were allowed to have their way, it would mean the substitution of the study of English alphabets for higher studies. Macaulay after perusing Prinsep's arguments declared, "I retain (not only) unshaken but confirmed (in all my) opinions on the general question...I do not retract the substance of a single proposition I have advanced." 193

In the Supreme Council, Prinsep did not stand alone. Lt. Col. William Morrison came to his help with a long experience of Indian affairs. He pointed out to the Government the veneration which Indians felt for Sanskrit and Arabic and warned that any sudden change would arouse mistrust and alarm. He, however, was far from "thinking that the teaching of English should be discouraged" and declared, "every facility that can be given to it consistently with the degree of patronage essentially due to other languages should be afforded and it may be advisable for that purpose after a sufficient notice as to time that the use of the English language should be allowed in......Courts of Justice, in common with the Persian; but without any preference whatsoever at all events for many years yet to come." He then drew attention to the essential necessity of studying Sanskrit." "Our teaching English to the Natives," he observed, "will enable a few of them to obtain public employ, and a few more of the wealthy who may be desirous of acquiring it, to study it with advantage provided they are already versed in Sanskrit or in some other

193. Prinsep's Minute (with marginal notes by Macaulay) 15th Feb. 1835, Sel. Educ. Rec., I. 117...
comprehensive language into which the English may be transmitted, without impairing its force and true meaning, of which the common vernacular tongues of this part of India are generally understood to be altogether unequal.” To drive his point home, he cited his own experience of Indians, and stated that all the Indians who were well versed in English and English literature have been Sanskrit scholars.

He, further, pointed out that persons proficient in Sanskrit and Arabic were held in high esteem by the people and challenged the advocates of English education to state that the same could be said of people versed in the English learning. Any radical change of system, would, he believed, produce grave evils; because those thus educated would only “have their heads filled with English words instead of Oriental”, and declared “a knowledge of the English language, does not necessarily lead to a knowledge of the Arts and Sciences” and asked partly “how many thousands of our own Countrymen, who after what is deemed a liberal education are wholly destitute of any such acquirements”. Finally, in support of the importance and greatness of Sanskrit language he cited the opinion of Sir William Jones.154

Morrison was, also, alive to the political implications of any sudden change. “If the Empire we have raised”, he observed, “has acquired any stability, the principal prop of the fabric is toleration, but it seems a mockery to say that we are still tolerant and the same time take away the small pittance, now devoted (though with utmost advantage) for the purpose of keeping alive the ancient national literature”. Such want of toleration he thought would lead to bad effects and feared that the Government would not “escape the imputation of having denied to Oriental learning that degree of support even which it obtains in almost every petty German State”. This would, he stated deter the English people in India to learn the Indian languages and thus the link between the ruler and the ruled would be severed, the consequences of which, Morrison

thought, was fearful even to contemplate. He quoted Munroe to the effect that "Our great error in this Country during a long course of years, has been too much precipitation in attempting to better the condition of the people, with hardly any knowledge of the means by which it was to be accomplished and indeed without seeming to think that any other than good intention were necessary. ... The ruling vice of our Government is innovation and its innovation has been so little guided by a knowledge of the people that though made after what was thought by us to be mature discussion, it must appear to them to be little better than caprice". Morrison ended his exhortations with a stern warning, "if in the pride of our Supremacy we trample upon the sacred learning of the Hindoo and the Mussalmans, if we tell them that the language of the Vedas and the Koran contain nothing but what is false and spurious, if we do this which the intended measure would do... we shall—which nothing else could have achieved but on our own impolicy, enlist in Common Course of detestation to our rule, the two great classes of our subjects in whose irreconcilable divisions our own safety has hitherto consisted." Finally, he urged that a reference should be made to the Court of Directors.\textsuperscript{195}

In the Council, however, the wind was blowing against the protagonists of Orientalists Cause. So Morrison made one last effort. In a second Minute, he observed that encouragement of English Education would not achieve the object the Government had in view. He, once more, questioned the right to appropriate any of the funds for the purpose of English Education. He contended that a knowledge of European science and literature could be disseminated more successfully through the learned languages of the Country. He further pointed out that Sanskrit in India held the same position as Latin in Europe and observed that though errors might have been made in translating and compiling books, that did not mean that endeavour should not be made properly

\textsuperscript{195} \textit{Ibid.}
to educate those people who did not want to learn English through the classical languages. In the end he again exhorted the Government to show no preference to English and not to divert funds from their original objects.\textsuperscript{196}

But the Orientalists were fighting for a lost cause and their arguments were of no avail. Bentinck had already given his "entire concurrence" to the sentiments expressed by Macaulay in his Minute of February 2. But as he had taken no steps to put those proposals into practice, the Orientalists still cherished a lingering hope that the decision might still be in their favour; or even if it went against them, its tone and tenor might be moderate. But their last flicker of hope disappeared on 7th March 1835 when Bantinck officially adopted a Resolution which sealed the fate of the Orientalists Cause.

Due to the important nature of the Resolution, its text is given in full.

"The Governor General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary of the Committee of Public Instruction dated the 21st. and 22nd. January last and the papers referred to in them.

First,—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 Natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English Education alone.

Second,—But it is not the intention of his Lordship in Council to abolish any College or School of Native learning, while the Native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the Institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in Council decidedly objected to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only

\textsuperscript{196} Minute 3rd March 1835, Ind. Pub, Cons. 18 of 7th March 1835.
effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of events would be superseded by more useful studies; and directs that no stipends shall be given to any students that 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 be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

Third.—It has come to the knowledge of the Governor General in Council that a large sum of money has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

Fourth.—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; and His Lordship in Council request the Committee to submit to Government with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.197

So ended the first phase of the struggle between the rival claims of Oriental and European system of learning. This outcome, however, was not in the nature of a surprise. The developments of past years, both in England and in India had clearly shown that the educational policy of the Government of Fort William had been moving to this end. Already in 1829, the Government had declared itself in favour of English Education but had decided for the time being to tolerate the study of Oriental literature. This had met with the approval of the Directors. Since then, the demand for English Education had increased and the Government had taken steps, inadequate though they might have been to meet and to some extent foster that demand. But that alone was not sufficient,

it was necessary for the Government to take more active and vigorous steps to further the cause of English Education and both the contending parties admitted it. By 1835, however, the stage had been reached when it was obviously necessary for the Government to define their policy and to act upon it, and this was done by the Resolution of Bentinck. The importance of Macaulay's Minute in this respect has been rather over-rated. It did little more than precipitate the decision in favour of the Anglicists. It did not originate or formulate an altogether new policy; but championed with vigour the cause which had already been adopted by the Government.\(^{198}\)

Moreover, an analysis of the Resolution will, also, show that the policy adopted by Bentinck was more the logical culmination of past development, than a blank cheque for English Education as advocated by Macaulay. It did not abolish the Oriental Colleges as advocated by Macaulay, but provided for their maintenance so long as the Indians would desire to attend them. It did not order the immediate abolition of the stipends, but provided for their gradual discontinuance, which had been advocated many a time before. Lastly, the Resolution did not provide for the immediate diversion of the funds of the Oriental Colleges for the purpose of English Education; but only such amounts as would be available through reforms or retrenchments.

Hence, there was nothing startling about the decision taken by Bentinck. Macaulay, no doubt exerted a great influence on Bentinck; but he alone did not bring about any radical change in the Government Educational Policy. Any other decision taken by Bentinck would have been a contradiction of the policy hitherto advocated and to a great extent followed by the Government.

It may be asked, whether the introduction of English Education on a large scale was desirable or possible. There can be no doubt that the Bengalis especially the inhabitants

\(^{198}\) In this connection it is interesting to remember that as early as 1823 the Government had asked the General Committee to undertake the dissemination of English education among the Indians.
of Calcutta had for a long time been showing a keen desire to study the language, literature and science; and the officers of the Government had borne testimony of that. It had also been recognised that a real knowledge of European learning could be acquired only through the medium of the English language. But the Indians though keen for English Education, were not ready to see their own literature and classics, treated as chattels; moreover, the loud proclamations and feverish activities of the missionaries naturally led them to think that the discontinuance of help to their institutions would in the end lead to a greater interference by the Government into their tradition, culture and religion. Hence they became so apprehensive later on.

It must also be admitted that the Oriental Classics were not so worthless rubbish as Macaulay, with an utter ignorance of facts, had declared them to be. Moreover, it is rather curious that Macaulay, a great classical scholar though he was, failed to realise the essential necessity of the study of national classic in any sound system of national education.

It was, however, not possible to introduce immediately the dissemination on a large scale of English Education through English language. It would naturally have taken a long time to do this. Moreover, the Government would first have had to train numerous teachers and provide the young students with means of acquiring a knowledge of the English language, by establishing Preparatory English Schools. Otherwise, as often happened, the students spent too many years of their academic life in learning the elements of the language and by the time they acquired a sufficient knowledge of English, they had lost their enthusiasm for education, and had to seek the means of earning livelihood.

But in spite of all its defects the Resolution adopted in 1835 proved to be a landmark in the history of education in India, in as much as laid down officially for the first time the policy the Government was henceforth to follow with regard to the development of education in India. This policy was greatly modified in future, but was never revoked and hence it forms the first milestone on the tortuous path which educational policy followed under the Company's Government in India.
CHAPTER V

THE ECHO OF THE ANGLO-ORIENTAL CONTROVERSY
AND
AUCKLAND'S SETTLEMENT
(1835-1839)

The Resolution of 7th March 1835 did not settle the disputes between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. The Orientalists kept up a ceaseless agitation for the modification of the Resolution and for giving oriental education its due share of patronage and support; in this they were supported by a large number of Indians, both Hindus and Muslims who, though they had been in favour of English education before, now thought that the exclusive patronage of English education would be the first step towards the ultimate Anglicisation and conversion of the people. Moreover, however much they might have been anxious for English education, they were never in the least ready to see all patronage and support withdrawn from their own literature and science. Hence they ceaselessly petitioned the Government, praying that the Resolution be modified. Meanwhile the system established by Bentinck and Macaulay was put to the test and all its defects became at once obvious. It was found impossible to work the system and a change, or rather some modification, was found necessary. It fell upon Lord Auckland to effect the change which he did by his celebrated Minute of 24th November, 1839.

The first protest from the Indians came when the controversy was still in progress in the Council. Macaulay's Minute, though kept a secret, had somehow leaked out, and "in three days a petition was got up and signed by no less than 30,000 people, on behalf of the Madrassa and another by the Hindus for the Sanskrit College."1 The Muslim petitioners drew the attention of the Government to the fact that it was its

1. Princep's Unpublished Diary, Sel, Educ, Rec, I, 133-4
duty to encourage the learning of the people and warned it against the danger of vexing their spirit, stating that it was "necessary for the Government to enlist the goodwill and support of the Mussalmans, as it was through them and from them that the Government had got their Indian territories."²

The Government did not reply until the controversy was settled. Then they informed the petitioners that the Madrassa would be kept in its existing footing so long as the Muslims would resort to it for educational purposes; they also declared that "no one while he conducts himself with propriety will at any time be deprived of any stipend." The Government, however, declared at the same time that the instruction imparted there would be adapted to future needs, and expressed surprise at the needless alarm excited.³

The students of the Sanskrit College hearing the rumour that the Government wanted to withhold Scholarships and support from the Students, petitioned the Government,⁴ which in reply declared that the pecuniary grants would be continued to the present incumbents, although no new grants would be made in future.⁵

The protagonists of Oriental Education refused to yield. Macnaughten took the lead and recorded a long Minute re-stating the Orientalist cause and declared that the falling off of the number of students is no criterion for the abolition of professorships and scholarships, because such a diminution might be of a temporary nature. He also pointed out that if this criterion were adopted, it should apply to the English classes as well. He then pointed out that the Government's reply to Muslims was inconsistent with the tenor of the Resolution of 7th March 1835, and also observed that, in spite of the Government's intention to abolish stipends they have been re-instituted at the Calcutta Medical College. Macnaughten

2. Ind. Pub. Cons. 9 of 13th March, 1835 (The petition was written in Persian.)
3. Ind. Pub. Cons. 10 of 13th March, 1835,
5. Ibid., No. 45.
further advocated the importance of using the Indian languages as the medium of education, in order to conciliate the orthodox section of Indians and declared "the grand object...to be kept in view in giving instruction in] the English language is not so much that the few who make themselves masters of its invaluable treasures should be enlightened, but that through their means the light should be diffused over the whole surface of the society." He, therefore, advised the Government to approach the Directors for further grants, with which schools and colleges should be established at all the large stations for both English and Oriental Education, whereby a knowledge of the literature and science of Europe could be gradually engrafted upon Indians. H. Shakespeare and J. Prinsep fully agreed with these views. The Government in reply, drew Macnaughten's attention to the Resolution of 7th March and declared that it had no intention of reopening the question. As a result, Macnaughten resigned his membership of the General Committee.

James Prinsep now found himself in a delicate position, and felt it his duty to offer his resignation as well. But before doing so, he once more tried to persuade the Government to change its policy. He asserted that the whole system of education in Bengal was built upon the Minute of Lord Minto. He also pointed out that although English Education was superior to Oriental Education yet English could never be made the language of the masses and ascribed the popularity of English to the opportunity it offered to students to procure employment and gaining social distinction and equality with the rulers.

He declared that the cultivation of Indian languages and literature was essential for understanding the people, and observed that if widespread conversion was desired it could be done best by preaching the Gospels in the Indian classical languages. He, therefore, considered it incumbent on the Government to maintain institutions for instruction in

classical and vernacular languages, and at some principal places in the English language, literature and science; to continue the publication of Oriental books and translations and to co-operate zealously with the School Book Society in distributing books to the native schools, thereby helping the growth of elementary education. Prinsep ended by declaring that unless his suggestions were accepted, he would resign from the Committee. The Government preferred to accept his resignation.

H. T. Prinsep, however, refused to let the matter drop there and carried on his agitation. In a minute recorded on 20th May, 1835, he pointed out that the Parliamentary Grant was meant for both European, and Oriental Education which were "to be combined and prosecuted in concert", and declared "never yet has there been anyone who has gone to the length of the Government's Resolution and expressed the opinion that all the funds set apart by the Act of Parliament for different objects therein declared ought to be employed on English education alone, to the exclusion of even the vernacular dialects of the country", nor had anyone, he stated, advocated the withdrawal of funds already assigned to the Oriental Colleges. Prinsep signified his entire concurrence with Macnaughten and bitterly attacked Macaulay and Bentinck who, he declared, would not allow any reply to Macaulay's arguments appear on record. He ended by indicting the late Governor-General with making nominations, before his departure, to the General Committee, in order to ensure a majority for the Anglicists. The Government, now under the administration of Metcalfe, simply decided to send a copy of the Minute to the Directors.

The Asiatic Society also strongly protested against the Government's action. After repeating the arguments of the Orientalists, the Society pointed out that as the Government was drawing revenue from the people, it would be unjust on

10. Ibid., No. 13.
12. Ibid.
the part of the Government and a blow to a civilization to remove patronage from Oriental Studies. It concluded by requesting the Governor General to ask the Court to grant pecuniary assistance to the Asiatic Society to publish oriental literature or at least to help it to finish the works that have already been undertaken. The Government in reply simply sent the Resolution of 7th March to the Society and refused to solicit the Court's aid. It, however, signified its readiness to hand over to any organisation the unfinished oriental works for completion as was already suggested by the General Committee. The Asiatic Society agreed to take over the unfinished copies and the Committee handed those over to it.

But although the Government and the Committee were determined to adhere to the Resolution of March 1835, yet by the end of that year they had to modify their policy slightly and in December of 1835 they abolished the English class at the Sanskrit College. This step met with the approval of a large section of Indians, who were glad to see the College once more transformed into a seminary for the exclusive study of Hindu literature. The Government, also, had to introduce certain modifications into the Regulations of the Madrassa. According to a rule recently introduced, every stipendiary of the Arabic department had to learn English and those who did not learn English had to pay Rs. 2 per month for the Arabic class. This arrangement filled the English class with "unwilling scholars who were too old to acquire a correct pronunciation and devoted too short a time to the study to be able to make more than a very limited progress in it." To rectify this a change of system was resolved upon in 1835. The students of the Arabic Department were no longer com-

17. Sambad Patre Sekaler Katha (Beng) II, 6.
pelled to learn English, and those who wished to learn it were allowed to do so without paying any fee. This led to an increase in the number of students from 31 to 36, all of them being young men.18

Soon afterwards a change occurred in the Governor Generalship of India. In March 1836, Lord Auckland arrived at Calcutta and took over the charge of administration. Freshly arrived from England, he had not been affected by the recent controversy. For the time being he followed the Government’s policy based on the Resolution of March 1835, whilst he carefully examined the educational problem. Auckland prudently decided to exercise caution as can be seen from his attitude towards the missionaries. He early refused to do anything which might hurt the religious susceptibilities of the people and thus incurred the displeasure of, and even evoked abuse from missionaries who often emphatically declared Auckland’s policy towards education to have been characterised by “evasion and intrigue.”19 Duff was no less bitter about Auckland and described his administration as “remarkable for its omissions, commissions—remarkable chiefly for its concessions and its compromises—remarkable above all for its education without religion, its plans without a providence, its ethics without a God”20

Conscious of the danger of any hasty or rash step, Auckland refused to countenance a memorial forwarded by the Bishop of Madras, dwelling on the subject of religion and literature. He complained, in fact, of the bitter language of the Memorial and declared that “the parties to it should have been sensible that the difficulty of effecting the objects at which they aim must be greatly enhanced when their representations are couched in a spirit and language which the Government is compelled decidedly to disapprove.” He declared that “perfect protection will invariably be extended to all classes of our subjects, and that religious sentiments

19. Mathew—Christianity and the Govt. of India, 115.
20, Smith—Duff, I. 431.
and usages of all classes will ever be held safe from insult or outrage." This he considered to be absolutely necessary, before interference in the religious festivals of Indians in the nature of collecting pilgrim taxes and turning out troops, could be withdrawn.21

Auckland has often been accused by the champions of the Missionary cause, such as Kaye, for not paying prompt attention to the abolition of the Pilgrim Tax. Nothing can be further from truth. Ever since his arrival in India he had been thinking of the best means of executing the Board of Control's injunctions on this subject and had kept himself in constant touch with Hobhouse, then President of the Board. As early as May 1836, he wrote to Hobhouse, "I am anxious as soon as possible to apply myself to the subject of the Pilgrim Taxes and of the interference of the Government in the religious ceremonies of the natives...with which I strongly feel the difficulty of dealing. I dislike the question because it is one in which much of fallacy and much of exaggeration have been mixed. I should like to relieve our Government from every appearance of interfering with or administering to the worship of the natives—but the scandal of so administering ought not to be given to many acts which for the preservation of order, for the works of charity, for the protection of endowments, in the execution of trusts and in the paramount duty of toleration are absolutely necessary and cannot, until there shall have been a great change in the social condition of India, be transferred or abandoned. I would not yield to all that misdirected zeal might call upon us to do, but it would be well if without alarming any feelings of jealousy we could take at least one step and relieve our civil officers from the necessity of some of those acts of agency in religious matters which, contrary to every just feeling of propriety, have been imposed upon them. I wish to do this but I cannot yet say with what ease or to what extent it may be done."22

Soon afterwards in June 1836, Auckland wrote a paper for the consideration of his Council proposing the abolition of the Pilgrim tax and prepared an Act to that effect, but waited for a report from Cuttack, which was one of the chief places of Pilgrimage under the Presidency. 23

Auckland, however, soon changed his mind. He considered the whole case to have been misrepresented by the zealots of the Christian cause and declared “that the abolition of Pilgrim tax” would no more diminish the assemblage of Pilgrims than the oblation of turnpikes would discourage travelling.” Moreover he considered the time to be inopportune as the Muslims were already in bad humour and the Hindus could easily be excited. 24 Later in April 1837, he informed Hobhouse privately, “The subject of religious toleration in India is one which, if too publicly and uncautiously agitated, may lead us into extreme danger’ * * * If I reject the agitators I know the storm which I may raise on one side; if I encourage them even to the limited extent with which I feel with them, a mistrust on the part of Government, from which I never will depart, will be at once excited.” He, therefore, decided to transfer the collection of the taxes to the Hindus, instead of abolishing them, declaring “We deprecate every abrupt change from customs long established.” In the same letter, in a confidential note he complained of the excessive proselytising zeal of the missionaries and some officers in Madras, and observed that the time might come when it would be necessary to disqualify such people from holding Government offices. 25

Auckland, ultimately decided to place the temple at Puri under Indian management, hoping that this would go some way towards “breaking down” the pilgrim taxes. 26 But the agitation about religious questions did not subside. The protagonists of the Missionary cause kept up a ceaseless

23. Auckland to Hobhouse (Private) June 20, 1836. Ibid. ff 76...
24. Ibid. 17th Nov. 1836. ff 103.
26. Ibid, 14th July, 1837.
clamour and Auckland had occasion to complain that it only hindered him from adopting a sensible and proper policy.\textsuperscript{27} Opinion, however, began to grow in England that concession should be made to the demands of the Missionaries and this only enhanced the difficulty of the Governor General.

Regarding the question of military parades on religious occasions to which strong objections had been taken by the Missionaries Auckland declared, "There may be cases where the attendance of the military on such occasions may be modified or dispensed with, but there are others where this last denial of outward respect to fallen greatness would be felt with extreme bitterness—and it is only in monstrous misrepresentation and perversion of feeling that it could be required." In further justification of his policy, Auckland aptly pointed out that if the Indian soldiers by turning out on Sundays to show respect to the Governor General on his way to the Church could remain Muslim or Hindu, why should not a Christian Governor show an equal amount of charity in religious matters. Regarding the trusteeship of religious endowments and the protection given to them by the Courts of Law, Auckland declared, that it was the duty of the Government to protect the lives and properties of the people over whom they ruled.\textsuperscript{28}

The Government at home, however, was more sensitive to missionary pressure and on 8th August, 1838, on the initiative of Hobhouse, the directors sent a despatch to the Government of India, asking the latter to make arrangements "for relieving all our servants, whether Christian, Mohammedan or Hindu, from the compulsory performance of acts which you may consider to be justly liable to objection on the ground of religious scruples."\textsuperscript{29} The Government, therefore, issued orders prohibiting the attendance of troops or military bands at Indian religious festivals and the officers from taking any part in such ceremonies.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid, 10th July, 1838.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid, Aug. 23, 1838.
\textsuperscript{29} Kaye—Christianity in India, 428-9.
\textsuperscript{30} C. H. I. VI, 126.
The religious policy of Auckland clearly indicated the spirit in which he would tackle the question of education. He was determined to pay due consideration to the susceptibilities of Indians and although greatly desirous of diffusing a knowledge of European learning and English language among them, he was not unmindful of the claims of the literature and the language of the people. He was, however, in no hurry to tackle the educational problem and decided to let the system set up by Bentink, have a fair and proper trial during which he would be able to make the necessary adjustments and modifications. His attitude is perhaps best illustrated in a letter he wrote soon after his arrival in India to J. R. Carnac.

"I shall be sorry," he said, "if by any new order you should revive the differences upon which so much heat prevailed at the beginning of last year in regard to the appropriation of the funds destined to purposes of education. With the Mohammedans whatever there was of jealousy and alarm has entirely subsided... Unhappily in the discussions upon this subjects there was much of heat and exaggeration and in the expression and the manner with which the measure was effected something of roughness and want of conciliation, but all this is nearly forgotten, except with a few... I cannot say that I attach much importance to ancient Oriental literature, but nevertheless I think that assistances might fairly be given by us towards the printing in translation of any work to which interest or curiosity might be attached. At the same time I shall think it strange if you compel us to spend large sums upon these branches of literature and education, whether they should be useful or useless, sought after or neglected."

But Bentinck's policy had in the meantime met with severe criticism in England. Glenelg had left the India Board and James Mill had died; and the Directors thus freed from their influence and fearing the reaction of Indians, had ordered the

preparation of a despatch criticising Bentinck's policy and ordering its immediate reversal. The draft was accordingly drawn up by John Stuart Mill. Meanwhile, Auckland's warning against any sudden and precipitate change of policy had reached J. R. Carnac and Hobhouse and the latter acting on that rejected the draft which was withdrawn.

Auckland's attitude towards educational matters was demonstrated soon after his arrival in India. On March 29, 1836 the General Committee suggested to the Government that in order to simplify the financial arrangements it would like to consolidate the sums in the hands of the various Government Agents in one account and the income from other sources in a separate one. These funds, the Committee requested should be placed at its disposal without any restriction other than those imposed by the Resolution of Bentinck. The Governor General suspected these proposals, which if sanctioned would abolish the separate existence of the various funds assigned to the Oriental Colleges and thereby pave the way for their appropriation for English Education. He, therefore, decided not to "lose sight of the pledges...given against the abolition of any school of native learning whilst the native population appear to be inclined to avail themselves of its advantages" and refused to attach any importance to the Committee's proposals. Both H. Shakespeare and T. C. Roberson agreed with the Governor General and the latter in particular very pointedly drew the Government's attention to the fact that the Committee at that time consisted only of Anglicists, and if their request was granted it would appear that the Government was showing partisanship towards

33. Bearce—British Attitudes Towards India, 284.
34. Ballhatchet, 228.
35. These included the Parliamentary Grant; grants for [Madrassa; Sanskrit College, Benares College and the escheat Fund at Delhi.
the pro-English group, which would not enhance the Government's prestige. So the General Committee's proposals were rejected. ⁴⁸

Auckland's Government was, however, far from being averse to the spread of English education in Bengal and its neighbourhood. On a request from the Committee the Government sanctioned the establishment of English schools at Bareilly, Furrackabad, Ajmere and Rajshahi. The Committee had already in the course of the year 1835 established schools in Pooree, Gouhatee, Dacca, Patna, Ghazepore and Meerut. ⁴⁹

The gradual development of English Education and the decrease in popularity of Oriental Education was also shown by the proceedings of the several institutions under the Committee. The examination of the Oriental Department of the Calcutta Madrassa for 1836, showed that none of the students were proficient enough to merit any reward. The class of General Literature also showed a considerable decline in number. The progress of the English class, on the other hand, although not very great was satisfactory to the Committee, in spite of the fact that only a small portion of the students' time was assigned to the study of English. So, in order to facilitate the spread of English Education among the Muslims, the Committee established an English school and attached it to the Madrassa in 1836; a Bengali class was also introduced into this school which by the end of 1838 had 75 students on the roll. ⁴⁰

In some of the provincial seminaries, the popularity of English was equally marked. Benares English Seminary was a striking example of this. At the end of 1834 there were only 89 students in this College; by the end of 1837 it rose to 147. ⁴¹

⁴¹. Rep. 1837. In this College stipends were given only to a very limited number of students. Of the students in this College 75 were Bengali Hindus,
At the end of 1837 of the 64 students in the Oriental department of the Allahabad school, 53 also belonged to the English department. The Committee, therefore, decided to abolish the Oriental department of this school and to concentrate on the cultivation of English education and the vernaculars.\textsuperscript{42} In the Agra College the number of students in the English Department rose from 75 in 1836 to 157 in 1837, and the Persian class dwindled from 192 to 113.\textsuperscript{43} This was, no doubt, partly due to the loss of the official value of the Persian language. The Committee, therefore, decided that the Persian and the Hindi classes of the College should be closed down.\textsuperscript{44}

At Delhi, however, English education was not flourishing. Delhi was too far away from the Metropolis and was still the centre of Muslim tradition and orthodoxy. Moreover, the people there had little inducement to learn English. Consequently, the abolition of stipends from 1836 led to a sharp decline in the number of students and the roll fell from 188 in 1836 to 88 in 1838. The Local Committee, therefore, suggested the re-institution of stipends, but the General Committee refused to countenance it. It however, decided to reduce the establishment and to provide for the higher education of students already well-grounded in English. It also, drew the Government’s attention to the desirability of awarding scholarships to successful candidates and of giving them preference in the selection for Government service.\textsuperscript{45}

In Calcutta, the Anglo-Indian College, which had recently suffered a set-back, once more showed signs of great popularity and its roll increased from 345 in 1834 to 475 in the beginning of 1839.\textsuperscript{46}

Such, in brief, was the progress of English education in the Seminaries established before 1835. The institutions estab-

\textsuperscript{42} Rep. 1837.
\textsuperscript{43} Reports 1835; 1837.
\textsuperscript{44} Report 1837. The number of students in Sanskrit Class was 22; and in the Arabic Class 20. The Committee decided to encourage them so long as they would be in demand.
\textsuperscript{45} Report 1838-9, Ind, Pub. Cons. 26 of 8th July, 1840.
\textsuperscript{46} Report 1835 and Report 1838-9,
lished since that year were as yet in a preliminary stage and consequently could not be expected to show any great sign of progress.

Although English education had been making rapid progress, yet nothing had so far been done to provide a greater scope to the Mohammedans of Bengal for the cultivation of English education. The Government was unable to do much to supply this deficiency, because they were not willing to incur any expense on this account. But an opportunity soon came. Haji Mohammad Mohsin, a rich business man of Hooghly, had left his entire fortune, for various charitable and pious purposes. The trustees, however, mismanaged the estates and the Government consequently took over the whole property. It was found that from these estates Rs. 57,600 could be appropriated for a Collegiate institution and Rs. 14,000 for buildings and repairs. The General Committee, therefore, suggested that a College should be established at Hooghly, consisting of English and Oriental departments and that it should be open to all classes. They rejected the idea of giving stipends, but proposed that prizes and honorary marks of distinction should be given to the meritorious students. The College was opened and immediately about 1,000 students applied for admission. By the beginning of 1837 there were 1114 students in the English department and only 209 in the Arabic.

Encouraged by this the Committee established a Branch School for the preliminary Education of the students and by 1839 it had 299 students in the English department and only 65 in the Oriental.

The progress of English education was not confined to the field of general learning only. Specialised branches of science, such as medicine, also made rapid progress. The new Medical College had begun functioning from the beginning of the year 1836. The benefits of this College were highly appreciated and Babu Dwarkanath Tagore, a leading Bengali of Calcutta

47. Ind. Pub. Let. 7th Sept, 1836.
and one of the patrons of the College, donated Rs. 2,000 for three years for awarding prizes to foundation students and Indian bonafide students of the College. But the study of Medical Science was greatly hindered, due to the absence of any Clinical Hospital where the students could get practical training. In 1837 the Committee, therefore, on a request from the College Council, recommended the establishment of such a Hospital to the Government, and it was established in the following year.

Various other proposals for the advancement of Medical Science among Indians were also advocated. Hare, the veteran educationalist, now Secretary of the College Council, suggested the establishment of a school of Clinical Medicine and Surgery, and of Dispensaries throughout the provinces; increase in the salary of the doctors and the conferment of degrees on successful students. He pointed out the detrimental effect of subjecting Indians to the habits of military life and urged that the students selected from distance parts of the country for the College should first be put into some English seminary where they would acquire English language and be given a small stipend.

Auckland, himself, was anxious to improve the state of medical education and decided that "everything within reasonable bounds" should be done to secure for at least a portion of the successful students, admission into the public services. The establishment of Dispensaries, the improvement of the medical service for Indians in the Army and the institution of Hospitals for the practical training of students he thought would serve as stimuli. He, however, did not think it possible to undertake any work on a large scale, due to the want of funds. But the necessity of establishing a General Hospital in connection with the Medical College became so obvious that Auckland at last had to give his sanction.

The success of the Medical College led the Committee to support the recommendations of the College Council to the effect that a subsidiary school should be established for teaching the vernaculars to the students, and that a few meritorious students should be sent to England to complete their studies and return with Diplomas which would place them on equal footing with the Company's medical officers. The Government sanctioned the establishment of a subsidiary school, but rejected the proposal for sending meritorious students to England, chiefly on account of expense.\textsuperscript{56} The Government, however, realised the necessity of improving the state of medical service and laid down exhaustive rules relating to admission and the terms of service which were to take effect from 1st October 1839.\textsuperscript{57}

During this period a beginning was also made in the study of Civil Engineering in the province. At this period qualified surveyors were much in demand in the judicial and revenue departments, particularly in the Lower Provinces. But surveying was taught only in the Anglo-Indian College and at the Madrassa.\textsuperscript{58} The students, however, made little progress, because surveying was taught only as a subsidiary subject; moreover, there were not sufficient instruments available and the students were not offered any inducement to devote much time to it. The Committee, in order to encourage the cultivation of the study of surveying, requested the Government to institute Native Surveyors in every Zillah. The Government referred the matter to the Bengal and Agra Governments,\textsuperscript{59} but nothing was done. The Government, however, on a request from the Madrassa Committee, sanctioned the establishment of a separate class in that College for Practical Surveying and Projection of Plans.\textsuperscript{60}

In 1837 the Government again turned its attention to the question of extending this facilities for acquiring a knowledge

\textsuperscript{58} Rep. 1835.  
\textsuperscript{59} Ind. Pub. Cons. II of 20th May, 1835.  
\textsuperscript{60}, \textit{Ibid.}, 2-3 of 22nd July, 1835.  

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of Civil Engineering. On 10th May, 1837 H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government, asked the opinion of the General Committee on the best means of effecting this object. The Committee suggested establishment of a separate institution in Calcutta, to be controlled by a Committee of Professional gentleman in communication with the Committee. The matter was referred to the Revenue and Judicial Department, but no notice of it was taken for a long time.

Another interesting feature of this period was the attempt of the Committee to establish a system of vernacular instruction in the province. During the heated discussions over the Anglo-Oriental Controversy, the claims of the vernaculars had been summarily rejected, because they were not thought to be sufficiently developed to act as the media of instruction. The Resolution of Bentinck also did not make any mention of the vernacular languages. The Committee, however, did not give up the idea of enriching and using them for educational purposes. In its Report for the year 1835, it declared "it would be our aim, did the funds at our command admit of it, to carry the...process on until an elementary school for instruction in the vernacular languages should be established in every village in the country." This was a deviation from the policy laid down in the Resolution of Bentinck and the Committee, therefore, tried to justify its policy. It pointed out that the point at issue in the controversy was the rival claims of Oriental and English systems of education, and, therefore, the Government's decision did not prevent it from cultivating the vernaculars. The Committee, also, observed that even if the Government had decided in favour of the former, the mass of the people would have to be educated through their own tongues; and declared "the formation of a native literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed." To achieve this, they

62. Ibid., 15 ; 16 of 16th Aug. 1837.
63. Report 1835.
64. Ibid.
thought it necessary, for the time being, to cultivate "some learned foreign tongue," for improving the minds of the people, so that the best educated among them would be able to translate English words into the vernaculars. In pursuance of this object, the Committee attached teachers of vernacular languages to many of the institutions. Meanwhile, Adams had submitted his first report, which is described later, and the Committee thought that if his suggestions were put into force, the cultivation of vernacular education would be greatly promoted.65

This deviation in the Committee's policy, once more brought the champions of Oriental education into the field. Prinsep violently attacked the Committee's policy and tauntingly remarked, "The Government's precise order in favour of English, must, therefore, it is maintained be understood as including the fifty vernacular languages of India in the words "English alone" and only excluding two or three learned ones." He, also, declared that "the simple fact that there are more villages under the Presidency than we have Rupees annually at disposal is, of itself, an unanswerable argument against attempting anything in aid of village schools;" and in explanation pointed out that the arrangement made by the Committee for vernacular education was almost negligible. Prinsep, however, was very glad to see the Resolution being thus modified and promised his wholehearted support to the Committee.66 H. Shakespeare also declared the Committee's policy to be incompatible with the Resolution of Bentinck and observed that if a clause acknowledging the claims of the vernaculars had been inserted in it, much heart-burning among Indians and much discord among the members of the Committee would have been avoided.67

The Committee pursued its new policy vigorously and in its report of 1837 declared that although the main object of the Committee was to disseminate English education, yet it should not be done in such a way as to preclude the efficient

67. Minute 2nd Aug. Ibid., No. 15.
cultivation of the vernacular dialects. It, accordingly, informed the local Committees that one-third of the time of the students should be devoted to it, and by 1838 teachers of vernacular languages were attached to all the seminaries under the Committee. Meanwhile, the Government had taken two steps which produced far-reaching effects on the development of vernacular education; one was the removal of the restrictions on the press in 1835 by Metcalfe during his short tenure of Governor Generalship and the other was the substitution of the vernacular for Persian in the lower courts.

These changes were very significant in as much as they showed that the Resolution of 1835 could not be worked without modifications. Moreover, in the heart of the controversy the Anglicists had forgotten the necessity of cultivating the vernaculars, through which alone education could be diffused among the masses. The people could not possibly have been educated either through the classical languages or through English, because it would have taken them years to acquire a sufficient knowledge of those languages, and by that time all their enthusiasm for study would have vanished. The students often spent 10 or 12 years to acquire merely an elementary knowledge, and very few students could afford to do that. If this was the case in Calcutta, how very difficult would it have been in the interior or remote parts of the provinces? Moreover, it was neither possible nor in the power of the Committee to establish Oriental and English Seminaries all over the country and supply them with suitable teachers. Hence, the only alternative was to teach the people through the vernaculars and to achieve this it was necessary to give a high English education through English to some meritorious students who could be trusted upon to act as translators and teachers, to convey the European learning to the people through the vernaculars. The Committee realised this only when the heat of the Controversy was over and the decision taken. Hence this deviation in the Committee's policy.

In 1838 the Committee was again compelled to outline and defend its policy with regard to vernacular education. The Hindus of Calcutta, unaware of the modifications made by the General Committee regarding educational policy submitted a petition to the Government of Bengal, praying for a modification of the Resolution of Bentinck and requesting the petition to be sent to the Directors. Prinsep forwarded the petition to the Committee asking for an early reply especially with reference to vernacular education. The Committee stoutly defended its policy and enumerated the steps it had already taken to promote the cultivation of vernaculars.

This once more brought Prinsep into the field. He declared that the Committee’s professions were at variance with its practice and pointed out that the amount spent by the Committee on vernacular education was insignificant. The Government, however, decided to postpone discussing the matter for the time being.

The question of vernacular education was again taken up by the Committee at the end of 1838, when it took into consideration the three reports submitted by William Adam. His first report, submitted in 1835, shortly after he was commissioned to investigate the condition of vernacular education, was based chiefly on secondhand information. In this report he declared that there were 1,00,000 elementary vernacular schools in Bengal and Behar. He based his conclusion on the fact that “a distinguished member of the General Committee... expressed the opinion, that if only one rupee per mensem were expended on each village school in the Lower Provinces, the amount would probably fall little short of 12 lacs of rupees per annum.” Adam supported this view by stating that accord-

76. See the three reports of Adam, 1835, 1836, 1838 (Lont’s Edition). For a Lucid and Critical analysis of Adam’s Reports see Sir P. Hartog’s “Some Aspects of Indian Education” 77-91. 77. Long 18.
ing to official estimate there were over 1,50,000 villages in the Lower Provinces and most of these villages had a school each.

He also gave detailed descriptions of the schools which he divided into the following classes, namely, elementary indigenous schools, established and maintained by the Indians themselves; non-indigenous elementary schools, indigenous schools of Hindu and Mohammedan learning and Native Female Schools established by Missionaries and enterprising bodies.

Adam's Second Report submitted in 1836 was based on his personal investigation in Rajshahi, with special reference to the sub-division of Natore, which he considered to be the most advanced sub-division in the district. Adam carried on a detailed survey and found most of his former observations, based as they were on second-hand sources, to be incorrect. There was no sign of female education, and only a little over 11 percent of the boys between 5 and 14 received any kind of education. But he discovered that a certain amount of elementary domestic education was given in the families.

Adam's Third Report was more detailed and contained complete statistics of the number of schools in South Bihar, Tirhoot, Beerbhom and Burdwan. It is not necessary for our present purposes to enter into the statistical details of the Reports and we should confine ourselves to the suggestions made by him for the improvement of vernacular education. Adam considered it impossible to introduce compulsory education and also rejected the idea of instituting model schools on a graded system, beginning from the village schools and ending with the Government Zillah Schools. In order, therefore, to encourage education without compulsion, he recommended a plan of "payment by result". According to this system, rewards were to be awarded as a result of examinations. The teachers were to be the first to be examined. For the examination of these teachers Adam suggested the appointment of examiners well-versed in European as well as Indian education. All the teachers appearing for the examination were to receive travelling expenses and the successful ones were to be given certificates of distinction,
made eligible to enter Normal Schools and finally appointed Inspectors and Examiners. Adam also suggested that each teacher should be allowed to recommend some of his pupils for examination and those students who would distinguish themselves in the highest class should become eligible for filling vacancies in the English School of the district. From his close investigations Adam had realised that want of discipline greatly handicapped the progress of the vernacular schools. To rectify this he suggested three methods, namely, written directions, practical examples in the examination of the teachers and their students and the precept and example combined in the Normal Schools. Adam also proposed the use of the vernacular classes of the English Seminaries as Normal Schools. "As a final reward, Adam suggested the endowment of each teacher suitably qualified under his system, and recommended by two-thirds of the landowners, tenants and householders of the village to which he belonged, by a grant of land of an annual value not exceeding half the average annual income of a vernacular teacher of the district. A teacher might be deprived of his land, on complaint of not less than one-fourth of the persons who had petitioned for the endowment and after independent Government enquiry."  

Being a missionary himself, Adam did not overlook the necessity of moral teaching in the schools; but he rejected the idea of introducing moral text books and declared that the best means of inculcating religious education, without arousing apprehensions would be "without employing any direct forms of religious inculcation to cause the spirit of religion—its philanthropic principles and devotional feelings—to pervade the whole body of instruction on other subjects."  

Adam also proposed that the landowners and others should form a "village school association", which might develop as a nucleus for the "purposes of Municipal government, village police, local improvement and statistical knowledge"; but he declared that before putting the scheme.

78. Hartog 89.
79. Long 271.
into operation the Government should take a census and make an educational survey of the districts selected for the purpose. The Committee, however, did not think that the best means of improving and extending education were the indigenous village schools. This plan, it declared, was opposed to the principle according to which the proceedings of the Committee were regulated. Apart from this the Committee considered the plan to be impracticable and too expensive. Moreover the Committee's policy was still guided by the idea of filtering education from the upper and middle classes to the masses. It, however, agreed to experiment with rural education on a limited scale and suggested that this experiment should be limited to about 20 schools near Calcutta and that two Inspectors should be appointed to report on the progress of the schools. The Committee also suggested that the scheme should be tried for three years, after which if no progress was witnessed, the scheme should be given up. But the Government rejected the proposal and Adam resigned his appointment. The Directors also, in their Despatch of 23 February 1842, confirmed the Government's resolution, but declared that when sufficient means had been provided for the education of the higher and middle classes and a complete set of vernacular text books had been prepared "then Mr. Adam's proposals might be taken up on a liberal and effective scale with some fairer prospect of success."

Another important question tackled by Auckland's Government was the remodelling of the stipendiary and its gradual replacement by scholarships. The system of stipends was so closely connected with the spread of oriental education that discussion on it naturally re-opened the question of the Government's attitude towards the latter. The General Committee took up the question of stipends in 1836 in connection with its report for 1835. It tried to ascertain through the various local committees the nature of the stipends and the number of stipendiaries in various institutions. In the

81. Hartog 90.
82. Howell—Educ. in r. India 32.
Calcutta Madrassa the number had by 1836 diminished from 85 to 62 through lapses of stipends; while the number of non-stipendiaries had remained much the same. But although the stipends were prospectively abolished, yet the students of the Madrassa received free lodging. From May 1835 to April 1836 the number of stipendiaries in the Colleges under the Committee diminished from 805 to 677, and the corresponding reduction in expense was from Rs. 2,959 to Rs. 2357. Regarding the stipendiary system the Committee observed, "Justice ... seems to require that each individual who avails himself of the benefits afforded by the public seminaries for the education of his children should contribute as much as he is able to their support and that what cannot be supplied from this source should alone be paid out of the General Revenue." 83

Meanwhile the Muslims of Bengal, whose fears had been set at rest by the assurances given by Bentinck, now took alarm at the abolition of stipends at the Madrassa and petitioned to the Government for their continuance. In justification of their request they pointed out that stipends were being given in the recently established Medical College and that its abolition would greatly inconvenience most of the students who came from distant parts of India. They also asserted that the students who resorted to the English seminaries belonged to the lowest classes and hence did not represent the real Muslim population. In conclusion, they warned the Government that the abolition of the stipends would be greatly detrimental to its prestige. 84 The students of the Sanskrit College also submitted a similar petition. 85

The Governor General while re-affirming the pledges already given, declared that the Government had no desire to give any artificial stimulus to education by "general system of pecuniary bounty", because that would only lead to grave abuses. Moreover he pointed out that the state of funds

83. Report 1835.
85. Ibid., No. 18.
would not permit the authorities to waste any part of it on "a measure of at least questionable advantage." Regarding the stipends in the Medical College, he observed that they were allowed there as an exceptional measure to popularise the study of a subject hitherto unknown in India and that soon they would be discontinued there as well. 86 A. Ross agreed with Auckland while another member 87 dissented and described the Governor General's statement to be impolitic. He drew the latter's attention to the travelling Fellowships in England and suggested that the abuse of stipendiary system could be prevented by making its continuance dependent on the progress of the holders in periodical examinations to be held for the purpose. H. Shakespear also denounced the abolition of stipends and with Morrison suggested that the Government should wait for the Directors' sentiments before taking any final decisions. 88

The Governor General agreed to wait for the Directors' orders, but in order to avoid any misapprehension pointed out that there was a wide distinction between stipends, which meant "indiscriminating payment of allowances to students to induce them to attend a place of instruction" and scholarships which were given for a limited period of time only to the best students after a fair and severe competition, and which should be considered "as amongst the best stimulus to emulation and learning." He, therefore, observed that he would not be sorry if the Directors ordered the establishment of scholarships in the institutions, although he was doubtful whether it would be advisable to appropriate any amount from the education fund for this purpose. 89

Meanwhile the Governor General had been in private communication with Hobhouse on the question of educational policy. Both of them had agreed as to the wisdom of the policy laid down by Bentinck; but they had realised that the

87. Only his initials—H. F. (T. ?) are given in the Minute. Perhaps
he was Henry Torrens.
policy could not be pursued without some modification. Moreover, they had thought it necessary to relax the system to certain extent in order to meet the popular demand, especially in regard to the question of stipends, which had provoked a great deal of discussion even in the Government circle. The suggestion for instituting scholarships in the Madrassa seems to have come from Hobhouse as the following lines would show: “We have been liberal,” Auckland wrote to Hobhouse, in reply to Hobhouse’s letters of 25th October and 15th December, 1836, “in the publication of oriental works, and I should not object to your relaxing so far, as to enable us to conciliate the Mahomedans by the creation of a few scholarships in the Madrassa, but any complete change of system would be fatal to the progress of improvement in India.”

While the Government was waiting for the Directors’ orders, it was again compelled to consider the question of stipends and this time it had to modify the policy as laid down by Bentinck. In April 1837 the Committee had to consider the claims of certain students to an increase of their stipends. The Committee requested the Government to state whether by the Resolution of 1835 it was meant that the pupils still receiving stipends were to be allowed the benefit of increasing stipends to the end of their studentship, according to the system of their respective institutions or whether it was intended that the stipendiaries of that date should receive their actual stipends without any increase on promotion. The Government decided to interpret the Resolution liberally and sanctioned the increase of stipends.

Early next year, the Hindus of Calcutta drew up a petition and sent it to the Government requesting that it should be sent to the Directors. It dealt with four points, namely, the encouragement of the cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature; the cultivation of pure Bengali; the revival of stipends to students of the Sanskrit College and the resumption

92. Ibid., No. 34.
of the printing of Sanskrit and Bengali books.\(^{93}\) The second point has already been dealt with in detail in connection with the question of vernacular education and hence we should confine ourselves to the rest. This petition was forwarded to the General Committee.\(^{94}\) The Committee took it for granted that the Government had no desire to re-open the controversy and therefore declared its adherence to the Resolution of 1835. It, however, reiterated its desire to maintain the Sanskrit College so long as the Hindus would manifest sufficient desire to use it for educational purposes and pointed out that free tuition was still given in that College. The Committee also declared that it was not opposed to the establishment of scholarships, provided they were given as a reward of merit. Regarding the printing of Sanskrit books, the Committee signified its readiness to supply all the books required for the use of the students and drew the petitioners' attention to the fact that the Asiatic Society had already undertaken to print them.\(^{95}\)

Prinsep, however, recorded his strong dissent from the Committee's sentiments. He pointed out that it had already deviated from its original policy by encouraging vernacular education and now it wanted to deviate further by introducing stipends in the form of scholarships in oriental Colleges and supplying Sanskrit books. He, however, welcomed the change and warned the Government not to neglect the petition. Prinsep also took this opportunity of restating his views on educational policy and declared that he was not opposed to the experiment of the policy, laid down by Bentinck's Resolution, in the newly established institution; but objected to its application to the old institution. Defending the system of stipends, he drew the Government's attention to the success of the Medical College and vehemently denied that the success of English education was as great as the Committee had claimed.\(^{96}\) The Government, however, entirely agreed with

\(^{93}\) India Pub. Cons. 29 of 21st Feb, 1838.

\(^{94}\) Ibid. and No. 30.

the modifications made by the Committee and declared that no distinctions should be made in the allotment of scholarships and that a due share would be assigned to the oriental colleges in proportion to the number of students and the amount of funds at their disposal. The Government was encouraged to sanction this measure because it thought that the funds of the several oriental colleges would be sufficient for the purpose.\textsuperscript{97}

The Committee, however, decided to give the students of the English departments a larger share of the scholarships and in justification pointed out that the Resolution of 1835 prevented it from doing otherwise. It also declared that except the Hoogly and the Nizamut Colleges, no other institution had any funds which could remain as appropriations to them and asserted that their proposals had nothing to do with any modification of the Resolution.\textsuperscript{98} Bird and Prinsep again dissented and the former strongly protested against the alienation of the funds of the Oriental Colleges which was implied in the Committee’s statement. Bird, also advocated that proportionate scholarships should be given to oriental students and believed that fair play would show the superiority of English education. Prinsep entirely agreed with him.\textsuperscript{99}

The Government, still waiting for the orders from home, suggested that if the scholarships were established, a proportionate share should be given to the Oriental seminaries and re-affirmed its decision to maintain those institutions so long as they would be in demand. It also declared that its funds should be kept as separate assignments and that the appropriations from lapses of stipends should be consistent with the pledges and assurances given by the Government.\textsuperscript{100} The Committee decided to act accordingly pending the receipt of the Court’s Despatch, but resolved that while the funds of the Oriental Colleges would be kept as separate and special assignments, any surplus accruing from them should be appropriated as might appear “most equitable with reference

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., No. 15.
\textsuperscript{98} Ind. Pub. Cons. 59 of 27th Feb., 1839.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., No. 60.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., No. 61.
to the orders of Government dated 7th March 1835 and the pledges and assurances...given by Government."\textsuperscript{101}

Prinsep, however, suspected the last proposition of the Committee and accused it of attempting to convert the Oriental Colleges into seminaries of English education.\textsuperscript{102} But, Prinsep stood alone in the Committee; so when the matter came before the Government, he again stated his case at great length and ended with an appeal to the Government to save the separate existence of the Oriental College.\textsuperscript{103} This started a discussion in the Council where Bird this time took the side of the Committee and defended its proposals.\textsuperscript{104} Prinsep, however, was not the person to accept defeat so easily and he again stated his case in a lengthy Minute; but he had to change his attitude to certain extent. He insisted that the Madrassa should be maintained on a permanent footing not exclusively as an institution of Oriental learning, but as a college for the education of the Muslims, irrespective of the course of study chosen by the students. He did not in the least object to the dissemination of English education; on the contrary, he bore testimony to the rapidly growing desire among the Muslims to learn English language and European science, but he took care to point out that what they disliked was compulsion and the means adopted by the Committee.\textsuperscript{105} Prinsep, however, went unsupported, Robertson having signified his approval of the Committee's proposals.\textsuperscript{106}

The President in Council, however, considered the Committee's proposals to be incompatible with the Resolution of Bentinck and the pledges and assurances given to the Indians by the Government. The Committee was informed accordingly,\textsuperscript{107} and the matter was also referred to the

\textsuperscript{101} Ind. Pub. Cons. 18 of 31st July, 1839.
\textsuperscript{102} Ind. Pub. Cons. 19 of 31st July, 1839.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., No. 20.
\textsuperscript{104} India Pub. Cons. 21 of 31st July, 1839.
\textsuperscript{105} Ind. Pub. Cons. 22 of 31st July, 1839.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid. No. 24.
Governor General for final decision. Auckland had delayed taking any decision on educational matters, because he had been closely watching the working of the policy laid down in 1835, and did not want to take any measures without mature consideration. He now thought that the time for taking decision had arrived and, therefore, asked his private secretary, J. R. Colvin, for opinion. Colvin submitted his observations in a lengthy note in which he gave a panoramic review of the development of education in the different provinces and declared himself in favour of European education through English language. But he also pointed out the importance of the Indian languages and drew special attention to the success of Wilkinson, the Agent in Bhopal, where he had successfully experimented with imparting European education through the Indian languages.

Colvin's opinions greatly influenced the Governor General who gave his decision and laid down the future educational policy in his celebrated Minute of 24th November, 1839. Auckland quickly realised, what was obvious, that the root cause of the trouble was the insufficiency of funds and declared that once the right policy had been formulated and fit persons found to execute it, the Government would be ready to make such additional grants of money as might be necessary. Regarding the disputes about the Oriental Colleges, he declared that the Government's policy had been to discontinue the stipends but to maintain the Colleges, so long as the people would use them for educational purposes, and took a very liberal view about oriental education and the funds assigned for that purpose. He saw "nothing but good to be derived from the employment of the funds...assigned to each oriental seminary" for oriental education and declared, "I would give a decided preference, within these institutions, to the promotion in the first instance of perfect efficiency in oriental instruction and only after that object shall have been properly secured, in proportion to the demand for it, would I assign the


funds to the creation or support of English classes.” Thus while deciding to give a fair share of patronage to oriental education, he rejected the contention of the Orientalists that the funds of the Oriental Colleges were irrevocably assigned to them. He, however, ordered that the General Committee must procure the Government’s sanction before alienating any of the funds. As regards the stipends, Auckland proposed to replace them by scholarships. He also expressed his desire to procure the services of best available professors for these Colleges to improve these institutions and to encourage the preparation of useful books and translations into oriental languages. He also suggested that an efficient scheme should be formulated for giving English education to Muslims at the Madrassa.\textsuperscript{110}

The other topics discussed by Auckland included the question of vernacular education as planned by Adam. He declared that “the period has not yet arrived when the Government can join in these attempts with reasonable hope of practical good.” Still obsessed with the idea of filtration, he observed that in the beginning all efforts should be concentrated on the education of the higher and middle classes and declared that Adam’s plan should be undertaken only when a sufficient number of school books had been prepared and when the scheme could be tried on a liberal scale under proper managements.

The rest of the Minute was confined to the consideration of means of improving the moral and intellectual condition of the people. This, Auckland asserted, could be effected only through the dissemination of European science and literature, which, he thought, could be done only through the medium of English, because the transmission of English education through translations must necessarily be slow and limited in extent. He admitted that the exaggerated hopes of people regarding

\textsuperscript{110} Sel. Educ. I. 147......
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid. 152-3.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid, 153-61.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid. 161-65.
\textsuperscript{114} Minute of Auckland 24th Nov. 1839. Sel. Educ. Rec. I. 165-68
the success of English education had not been fulfilled, but declared that "the cure ... will come with time". He pointed out that the chief inducement to acquire English education was still the prospect of earning a good livelihood and referred to the question already mooted of training and employing educated Indians as assistants to the zillah judges in the capacity of moonsiffs.112

Auckland also discussed the necessity of establishing gradually a school at every zillah and discussed the question of the utility and practicability of using the vernaculars as the medium of instruction in these schools; but he considered such a step to be rather premature because of the absence of suitable vernacular text books and of qualified teachers. To remedy this serious defect, he proposed that original works as well as translations from English books into vernaculars should be compiled and a Committee appointed to draw up plans for achieving this object. Auckland, also suggested that the Government of Bombay should be consulted on this matter. When the means had thus been provided, the students were to be allowed to choose between English or vernacular education.113

Auckland, further, proposed to link the proposed zillah schools with Central Colleges to be established at head stations by a comprehensive system of scholarships so that the ablest students of the former might prosecute a higher course of study in the latter, without being hampered by financial considerations. He left the formulation of the scholarship system to the General Committee, but declared that the ratio between the English and Oriental Colleges should be equal. These scholarships were to be tenable for four years.

Auckland, however, informed the Committee that if it doubted the expediency of attaching scholarships, it should make alternative suggestions. Auckland's policy was greatly influenced by the filtration theory and he, therefore,

111. Ibid. 152-3.
112. Ibid. 153-61.
113. Ibid. 161-65
emphasized to the Committee that preference should be given “to rendering the highest instruction efficient in a certain number of Central Colleges, rather than employing ... funds in the extension of the plan of founding ordinary zillah schools.” He selected Dacca, Patna, Benares or Allahabad, Agra and Bareilly as the places where the Central Colleges were to be established. These places were chosen because they had a large population and were conveniently situated. Auckland also desired to extend the scope of the existing institutions by introducing into them the study of jurisprudence, Government and Morals, and by remodelling the existing system of scholarships in the Hindu College so as to enable the students to stay there longer. One of the objects of these Colleges was to raise a class of “inferior schoolmasters”. As a further step for the improvement of education, the Governor General decided to encourage the use of the College Libraries. He concluded his observations by declaring that “the day may come when unity and efficiency of supervision will better be secured by having a single Superintendent of Government Seminaries with an adequate establishment than by retaining the existing large committee of Members, acting gratuitously in the intervals of other laborious duties, and so numerous as necessarily to cause a frequent inconvenience in the dispatch of business.”

Although Auckland’s Minute has received much less notice than is its due, yet its importance is self-evident. Unlike the Minute of Macaulay or the Resolution of Bentinck, it was not written during a period of heated controversy. The Governor General, who had necessarily been outside the controversies of 1835, had been able to watch dispassionately the working of the system established by Bentinck. That system, whatever its merits, was of a partisan type and could not be expected to work smoothly. It was frankly based on the negation of the cherished tradition and desires of the people who, although anxious to acquire a knowledge of the European arts and sciences, were not ready to see their own

114. Minute of Auckland 24th Nov. 1839, Sel. Educ. Rec, II, 165-68,
literature and learning excluded from the Government seminar-
ies. They also feared that the withdrawal of the Govern-
ment's patronage from oriental education was only the first
step to the ultimate interference with their customs, tradition
and religion. Moreover Bentinck's Government had grossly
underestimated the difficulties of which beset the path of English
education and had paid no regard to the claims of the
vernaculars and the necessity of providing for some type of
pecuniary inducement for the students. It had not tried or
claimed to lay down any comprehensive policy, but had simply
settled the dispute between the rival claims of Oriental and
English education. The Government, however, tried to
act according to this Resolution and found that it could not be
worked. It realised that the two systems of education should
be kept distinct and cultivated separately, hence it abolished
the English class in the Sanskrit College. It found that
Indians were not ready to sacrifice their own system of
learning, so it had to maintain the existing oriental colleges
and also in certain cases to continue the stipends on the
former scale as happened in the case of the Madrassa. The
authorities also had to assign an adequate share of the
proposed scholarships to the oriental colleges. Lastly, the
Government was convinced that it was not possible to spread
education among the masses through the English language and
that it could be done through the vernaculars only.

Auckland watched these developments for four years and
grapsed the whole situation. Although just as desirous as
Macaulay and Bentinck to see the widespread diffusion of
English education, he gave to oriental education what was its
due, and drew the Committee’s attention to the necessity of
developing the vernacular literature of the country. He
re-affirmed the prospective abolition of stipends but substituted
Scholarships instead, because he realised that it was necessary
to offer financial inducements to the students. Auckland
also realised that sporadic and unsystematic efforts would have
but little effect on the development of education, so he laid
down a comprehensive and graduated system of education
comprising of schools, to be set up in every district, and which
were to be linked up by scholarships with the Central Colleges which were to be established in all important stations. He was thus the first Governor General to set up a real and comprehensive educational policy which, with certain additions and alterations, worked until 1854. Auckland realised also that literary education alone was not enough to effect the educational improvement of the people. So he improved the state of Medical education and laid the foundation of the study of Civil Engineering. Auckland, however, could not put his plan fully into operation, because of the outbreak of the Afghan War and his departure from India, but he took care to see that his plan was adopted by the Government and the necessary financial provisions made for the purpose.
CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL POLICY TAKES FINAL SHAPE

(1839-54)

The Committee communicated its sentiments on the Minute of Auckland on 30th October 1840. It submitted a detailed account of the Institutions under its control, the expenses incurred in them and suggested various reforms and adjustments. It pointed out that in order to render the existing seminaries effective, and to extend their scope a further sum of Rs. 1,40,471 per annum would be necessary. The Committee also stressed the necessity of procuring suitable professors for Ethics, Political Economy and Jurisprudence. These courses of study it wanted for the present to be confined to the Anglo-Indian College (Hindoo College) alone, because it thought that the other institutions had not yet improved to the required extent. The Committee had realised that the establishment of Scholarships would create a demand for higher learning and for that reason had already written to the authorities in England to send two young professors. The necessity and importance of raising a class of Indian school-masters had also become obvious by this time, and the Committee had recently suggested “the appointment of ten youths of approved character and qualifications to form a normal class to be attached to the Hindoo College where they would be employed in teaching under the eye of an experienced master and attend the lectures of the Professors during another part of the day”. Now, however, it thought such a scheme to be unnecessary “in consequence of the proposed scholarships affording us the prospective services of superior young men, many of whom will be ready to enter our schools and colleges from the encourage-ment we shall be able to hold out to them of advancement”. But until such students were ready to take up the duties of school-masters, the Committee proposed that one or two supernumerary masters should be appointed to the Hindoo, Hugly, and eventually to other Colleges where they would
study the higher branches of learning and be instructed in the duties of teachers. These Masters, the Committee further suggested should execute bonds to serve the Committee for five years.¹

It is important to note that this was the first occasion on which the Committee made a definite suggestion for the training of a class of teachers. But the Committee's attitude was rather timid. It did not propose to establish separate Normal Schools, and not even separate normal classes, but simply to arrange a few lectures for prospective teachers. This could have produced but little effect, because these lectures would have been considered to be of secondary importance by the students and consequently neglected. Nevertheless, this suggestion, if put into force might have been the beginning of a well-organised scheme for normal training; but nothing however was done until the year 1847. This was due no doubt to the Afghan war and the departure of Auckland from India, and also to a great extent to the re-organisation, whereby the Committee's power was greatly curtailed.

The Committee also submitted a comprehensive plan for establishing scholarships in the Colleges under its supervision. The scholarships were to be divided into two classes, Senior and Junior. The Junior Scholarships were to be valued at Rs. 8 per month in the English Institutions. In order that the scholarships might be available to the most meritorious students of the district schools as well as of the Central Colleges, the Committee proposed that one Junior Scholarship should be assigned for the competition of the students of each district school and six to the scholars of each Central College. These were to be tenable for four years and under particular circumstances could be prolonged for a further period. The junior scholars were expected to compete with others for the Senior Scholarships which were to be valued at Rs 30 per month for the first two years, and were to be subsequently raised to Rs 40 a month. The Committee was

compelled to advocate such high amount in order to induce the students to remain long enough in the Colleges, and as a further inducement they proposed that "some mark of distinction or scholastic degree" should be given to those who passed their Senior Scholarship examinations with credit, "so as to distinguish them in society as men of learning". The Committee also suggested that the Dacca School should be immediately raised into a Central College and eventually the same should be done to the school at Patna.²

The Committee further proposed that Junior and Senior Scholarships of the same aggregate pecuniary amount should be established in the Oriental Schools, in which Oriental languages were alone studied as well as in the Central Colleges where Arabic and Persian were taught.

The competition for Scholarship was to take place annually before the heads of the Institutions assigned by the Local Committee and any other competent persons at the station. The question papers were to be sent from the Office of the Secretary of the General Committee and were to be answered in writing without any help, sealed, and returned to the Secretary with the names of the candidates, whom the Local Committee would consider to be eligible. These answers were then to be submitted to a Sub-Committee of the General Committee and the names of the successful candidates forwarded to the Secretary of the Local Committees. Scholarship thus granted could be forfeited if proper advancement was not recorded by the holders in the annual examination. The following was to be the number, amount and scale of scholarships in the Oriental and English Departments:

Oriental Institutions:

98 Junior Scholarships
    @ Rs. 8 per month = Rs. 784.

72 Senior Scholarships:
    48 @ Rs. 15 per month = Rs. 720
    24 @ Rs. 20 " " = Rs. 480

2. Ibid.
In the English Colleges:

71 Junior Scholarships:

@ Rs. 8 per month = Rs. 568

52 Senior Scholarships:

26 @ Rs. 30 per month = Rs. 780

26 @ Rs. 40 = Rs. 1040

These Scholarships were estimated to cost Rs. 52,464 per annum, but the Committee expected to save Rs. 17,988 per annum which at that time were being spent on stipends and prizes, thereby leaving the additional expense to be incurred annually at Rs. 34,476 only. The Committee believed that as all the scholarships would not be filled up for the time being, the present expenses would be probably Rs. 80,196 per annum.³

The other suggestions made by Auckland in his Minute also received the Committee's notice. To encourage the use of the Library, the Committee proposed that the teacher in charge of each class should keep a register of the "degree of knowledge acquired by each student after finishing each work" and that a Gold Medal should be given annually to the most advanced student of each college and a silver medal to the most advanced student of each Preparatory School. The cost of this was estimated at Rs. 1,000 per annum.⁴

The Committee further decided to spend a yearly sum of Rs. 1,200 on the publication of Oriental works, and to procure Arabic translations of English works from Egypt. The preparation of vernacular class books also received the Committee's "most serious attention", and it pointed out the necessity of communicating with Bombay and Madras Governments on this subject. It agreed with the Governor General that it should "in the first place be compiled in the English language and that a Committee of gentlemen consisting of Europeans and Natives should be engaged to translate the English class books into vernacular languages." With this end in view, the General Committee appointed a Sub-Committee

³. Ibid.
⁴. Ibid.
to report on the question and invited Mr. Wilkinson of Bhopal, who had made a successful experiment in vernacular education, to give his opinion.

The Committee concluded its observations by drawing the Government's attention to the apathy of the Local Committees and the necessity of organising a more efficient system of supervision, especially for the Preparatory Schools, which, the Committee proposed, should be visited and reported on by the Principals of Central Colleges. Finally, it asked the Government to sanction a further grant of Rs. 1,49,740 per annum in order to enable them to carry out the measures they had proposed.\(^5\)

The General Committee's suggestions caused a great deal of discussion in the Governor General's Council. Auckland desired to postpone the improvement of primary education for the time being and to turn the Committee's attention to rendering the higher institutions more efficient and to connect them with the Zillah Schools by a system of scholarships. Although approving the scheme of scholarships as suggested by the Committee. Auckland did not like the idea of confining the scholarships only to the students of the Government seminaries, but desired that some of them should be thrown open to free competition. This, he hoped, would encourage even those who were not educated in one of the Government Institutions.\(^6\)

The Governor General was "startled" at the amount of expense suggested by the General Committee, but thought it necessary for the improvement of education. Regarding the importance of the subject, Auckland declared, "It is not in the quality of our administration, at least in its higher parts, that we are faulty, but it is in its quantity and in the absence of those qualifications in our secondary officers of Justice and Revenue, which command respect and confidence, and I know not how the deficiency can be supplied, otherwise than

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by such institutions as those which the Committee have had under review and in which not only are morals and knowledge to be taught, but in which also a well-directed emulation is to be promoted and even in early life a just valuation of public character."

W. W. Bird, although disapproving of the manner in which the scholarships were to be distributed, welcomed the new arrangements suggested by the Committee. He hoped that the new plan would place "an instructed native gentleman on a level with...best European officers", and would "lay the foundation of a system of national education." He considered it "not in the least extravagant to expect that the influential inhabitant of the interior...will become so deeply impressed with the advantages to be derived from it as not only to seek instruction for themselves and their families, but will unite to establish schools at their own expense for the improvement of the people at large." Bird also drew attention to the necessity of raising a class of Indian school-teachers.

Prinsep was highly satisfied with the Committee's proposals "The plan submitted by the Committee of Public Instruction under the orders of the Governor General", he observed, "goes even further than was asked or expected by the supporters of the seminaries of Oriental learning." He also drew special attention to the want of suitable teachers and of proper European superintendence for the seminaries in the distant station, and suggested that eventually it would be necessary to appoint paid superintendents for the institutions in the interior.

As a result of these deliberations, Auckland sanctioned most of the proposals made by the Committee, but did not think it advisable to confer marks of distinction on scholars without ascertaining the feelings of the people. He also granted an additional sum of Rs. 1,50,000 to the Committee for educational purposes. It was, however, not until 1845

7. Ibid.
10. Ibid No. 28-29.
that the Government seriously started to put these proposals into operation. This was no doubt due to the departure of Auckland from India and the Afghan War.

Auckland's decision marked the beginning of a new period in the history of educational development in Bengal. It was now that the modifications of Bentinck's policy, as proposed by Auckland in his Minute, were finally adopted. Thus the period of controversy between the rival claims of Oriental and English education was definitely brought to a close. Apart from this, these proposals of reform and improvement were of far-reaching importance. The Resolution of Bentinck was merely an attempt to settle the controversy. It did not lay down any detailed or comprehensive educational policy. But now the policy was laid down in detail.

The Directors had not yet declared their sentiments either on the Resolution of Bentinck or on the Minute of Auckland. The Governor General, therefore, without waiting any longer adopted the measures proposed by the Committee and informed the Court accordingly. The Court were obviously watching the course of events in Bengal and in January 1841, till unaware of the measures taken by the Government in Bengal, they communicated their approval of Auckland's suggestions. They deliberately refrained from re-opening the controversy, but while ordering that the funds of the Oriental Colleges should be used exclusively for those institutions, declared that the great object of the Government should be to disseminate English education as laid down in the Resolution of 7th March 1835. They, however, refrained from expressing any opinion as to the best mode of doing this, because they thought that the experience hitherto gained did not "warrant the adoption of any exclusive system." But they approved of the plan proposed by Auckland and authorized him "to give all suitable encouragement to translators of European works into the vernacular languages and also to provide for the compilation of a proper series of vernacular class books."
There was nothing new in this Despatch. The Directors, as usual, simply confirmed the Governor General's policy. Their declaration in favour of English education was simply a repetition of their former protestations; they did not lay down any scheme for effecting the diffusion of English education, but left it to the Government. Their policy, if any was as always one of waiting for rather than guiding or anticipating events.

Meanwhile, the Government was putting its scholarship scheme into operation in Calcutta and in the Upper Provinces. In the latter, this caused a little hitch. Thomason, Visitor to Delhi and Agra Colleges, in order to attract students, proposed a monthly stipend of Rs. 3 to pupils under 20 years of age, provided they were capable of passing a very easy examination. He also proposed to modify the scholarship scheme and lower the standard. Thomason did not wait for the Committee's approval, but published the new scheme in the "Urdu Gazette" thereby pledging the Government to a certain extent.13 The Local Committee at Delhi, being apprehensive of the effect of the stipendiary system on the English institution, adopted a similar measure. The General Committee, when informed, strongly objected to these proceedings, but decided to continue the stipends until the coming scholarship examination. Regarding the standard of examination, there was a difference of opinion in the Committee and Bird and Colvin advocated that, due to the inferior state of education in the Upper Provinces, the standard in the Delhi and Agra Colleges should be temporarily lowered.14 The Governor General was surprised at these developments and re-affirmed the principles formulated by the Committee regarding the scholarship system: but he sanctioned the temporary lowering of standard in the above-mentioned Colleges.15

The educational organisation, meanwhile, underwent a

13. India Pub, Cons. 19 of 30th June 1841.
great deal of reconstruction. The proper relationship between
the General Committee and the Local Committees had not
previously been adequately defined. The General Committee,
therefore, in 1841 decided that "in the superintendence of the
establishments for public instruction, as in other departments
administration there should be a central uniform control...with
a liberal confidence in the local directing officers; but yet
reserving the decision in all important questions affecting the
interests of education throughout the Country to the highest
authority placed in direct communication with the Govern-
ment," It, therefore, drew up a detailed series of regulations
which gave to the Local Committees only the power to
make suggestions and representations to the General
Committee. The step, it took specially to prevent unauthori-
sed actions like that of Thomason regarding the remodelling
of the scholarship system. The Agra Committee strongly
protested against these regulations, and even refused to
conduct the annual examination of the Agra College, but
Government fully endorsed the General Committee’s action.

But although the General Committee thus tightened its
control over the local authorities, yet it itself was soon to
undergo radical transformations. The increase of the activities
of the committee as well as of its funds, led the Government
to consider the possibility of bringing educational matters more
directly under its own control. The resignation of E. Ryan,
the President of the Committee, in January 1842, provided the
occasion for effecting the change. Whilst highly appreciating
the past services as well as the importance of such a body,
the Government decided to relieve the Committee of a portion
of its duties especially because it did not think it desirable
"that financial details, and the details of an extensive and
growing correspondence should be imposed upon a numerous

3rd Nov. 1841.
19. Letter from Ind, Pub, Gen, Dept. 25th May 1842.
and irresponsible body, however distinguished that body may be by the character; ability and station of its members.'"

The Government, therefore, directly assumed the general and financial business of the Committee, which was thenceforward to be maintained as a Council of Education "for purposes of reference and advice upon all matters of important administration and correspondence (maintaining in a great degree its accustomed care of the Institution at the Presidency)". The Secretary to the General Department was to deal with the correspondence and arrangements were made for the appointment of a Deputy Secretary in that department who was to be the ex-officio Secretary of the Council of Education. These measures the Government hoped would be conducive to economy and help to expedite educational matters. In April 1842, these arrangements were slightly modified by the appointment of a special Secretary to the Council of Education and the transfer of all Schools and Colleges in the Upper Provinces to the Government of Agra. These, however, did not satisfy the Council which rightly disliked responsibility without power. Hence, in January 1845 it requested the Government of Bengal that all the institutions in the Presidency should be placed "directly and without reference to higher authority under the control of the Council of Education". This, the Council declared, "would ensure uniformity of system in all respects in every institutions, it would facilitate and expedite considerably the dispatch of business, the issue of order as well as the promptitude of carrying them into effect, together with augmenting the wholesome restraint that would be exercised over each institution by a knowledge that the power now supposed to check and control, could immediately furnish and enforce obedience to its orders". The Government acceded to these proposals, but reserved to itself the appointment of the Professors and Principal of the

Medical College as well as the fixing of the time for the scholarship examination.²²

Some of these arrangements were necessary as well as beneficial. The dissemination of education had by this time become an important part of the Government's activities, yet the organisation responsible for it was one of the most undeveloped departments of the Government. A body of unpaid amateurs could hardly be expected to supervise, direct and control effectively the various educational institutions and organisation over such a large territory. They had little knowledge of the conditions of the different parts of the country and of the needs and sentiments of the people. So, they had to depend on the Local Committees which were also composed of Government officials who were not paid for their educational work and showed little zeal for it. These Committees were hampered by the fact that their relation with the central organisation was never defined. Moreover, most of them being too far away from Calcutta could not keep themselves in regular touch with the General Committee. Consequently, they could not develop a consistent and well-defined policy. They had often to wait long for the approval of the General Committee, before they could take an important step, as happened when they wanted to introduce English education in the Upper Provinces. When they took any step on their own initiative it often proved to be contrary to the policy adopted by the Committee, as was the case with the remodelling of scholarship system in Delhi and Agra.

These difficulties were greatly removed by the transference of the educational institutions in the Upper Provinces to the Agra Government, which had better knowledge of local affairs and could exercise greater control over educational organisations there. This arrangement relieved the Education Committee of a great part of their burden and enabled them to concentrate on educational activities in the Presidency where they were helped by their local knowledge. The new arrangements also brought educational matters more completely under

the Government. But absolute control of the Government over educational matters would have reduced the Council of Education to merely a secondary position and thereby stifled the progress of education. Moreover, the Government, being too busy with other administrative measures, could not devote much time or attention to education. This was realised by 1845; hence the modifications were made. Henceforth, the Government continued to take greater interest in education and to exercise a more wholesome control over the Council's activities. This led to the rapid progress of education and the growth of a more uniform educational policy in Bengal.

The necessity of providing for the proper inspection and supervision of the various institutions under Government had been recognised for a long time, but no effective steps had yet been taken. The Council of Education in the Report for 1842-43 again drew the attention of the Government to this matter. 23

As a result the Government of Bengal requested the Governor General to sanction the appointment of an Inspector of Schools and Colleges and assured him that the funds already at its disposal would be sufficient for the purpose. The Government of Bengal also apprised the Governor General of the duties which were to be assigned to the proposed Inspector. They were as follows:

1) To provide the means of diffusing a high standard of moral and intellectual education through English in the Government Seminaries,

2) To facilitate the acquisition by the students, at the same time, of a sufficient mastery of the vernaculars to enable them to communicate properly, to the people, the knowledge acquired by them in the Central Colleges.

3) To extend the means of instruction in the districts by establishing vernacular schools or improving those which already existed, in the more populous towns throughout the Presidency.

4) To prepare a complete series of varnacular class books, and
5) to introduce a more uniform and systematic course of study and to improve the discipline at all the Government institutions.²⁴

The Supreme Government sanctioned the appointment of an Inspector on 15th June 1844.²⁵

This appointment of an Inspector and the transfer of the Institutions in the Upper Provinces to Agra Government were the only important measure sanctioned by Ellenborough’s Government for the development of education in the province. He was much too occupied during his short tenure of office with the War in Afghanistan and was glad to leave educational matters alone. But a great change came with the arrival of Hardinge as the Governor General of India. Although distracted by war with the Sikhs, the last great political opponent of the Company in India, Hardinge was able to devote a great deal of attention to educational matters and to initiate reforms and innovations of far-reaching importance.

The need of properly qualified teachers had been a stumbling block to any improvement or progress of education in Bengal, and the importance of raising a trained body of teachers had often been stressed. Auckland, in his Minute of November 1839, had drawn attention to the necessity of providing for the training of teachers, and the Committee had suggested a plan for that purpose. But nothing was done. In its Report for 1842-43 the Council of Education again drew the Government’s attention to the necessity of establishing Normal schools, and suggested that the system of Normal schools in Prussia, Switzerland and England should be consulted before such schools were established in India.²⁶ Next year it proposed that as a first step to the establishment

of a normal school, Chairs of Natural Philosophy and Architecture should be attached to the Hindoo College, where future teachers could be trained. The Government of Bengal, however, wanted the Council to draw up a detailed plan of a Normal School “especially adapted to the peculiar state and want of education in the Country”\(^\text{27}\) The Council consulted various educationalists and drew up a detailed plan. They wanted to utilize the School Society’s school,\(^\text{28}\) for that purpose, because it could also be transformed into a Model School; moreover it was under the immediate control of the Council of Education, contained a large body of advanced pupils, and paid a great part of its own expenses. Apart from this, its proximity to the Hindoo College enabled its students to use the Library and Scientific Apparatus of that institution.\(^\text{29}\) In the Normal School the pupils were to be taught not only the art of teaching but also general control and management of pupils “both as respects discipline and instruction, so as to render the institution selectecd as perfect a model school as possible.” The class for persons seeking employment in the educational department was to consist of twenty students from different parts of India and they were to be given a monthly stipend of Rs. 12 each; besides these a limited number of free students were also to be admitted.

The former were to be chosen from physically fit young men of good conduct between the age of 16 and 24, and they were to be required to enter into an agreement to serve in the education department for at least three years, after obtaining their certificates of qualification. The candidates for admission, resident in Calcutta, were to be examined by the Committee of examiners and those who belonged to the Moffusil, by the Inspector of Schools and Colleges or the Local Committee. None of the students were to be allowed to stay in the school


\(^{28}\) This school managed by D. Hare and after his death in 1842 was taken over by the Council and attached to the Hindu College.

for more than two years. The course of studies in this Normal school was to be the same as that pursued in the Government Colleges. After the Normal School had started functioning fully, the Indian teachers were to be recruited only from the successful students of this institution.

The Government of Bengal, however, pointed out that the School Society's school could not be used as a Normal School because it was open only to the Hindus and moreover the number of students there was too large to admit of its being used as for that purpose. It emphasised the necessity of making the proposed Normal school also a Model school and for that reason asked the Council to open a separate school with 150 pupils to be trained to take charge of Zillah schools; the Normal class was to consist of 20 stipendiaries on Rs. 12 per month each. The Council accordingly opened a school in Bowbazar in 1847. The model school consisted of 75 students who were required to pay Rs. 2 per month each. At first only students of inferior merit applied for admission; but soon the school became highly popular with Christians and Hindus. The rush for admission was so great that the school had to be moved to a spacious house in Upper Circular Road.

The school, however, did not fulfil the expectations of the authorities and the working of the second year clearly proved that there was "something radically wrong" with the institution. The Council, therefore, thought that "it would be useless, and a waste of the public funds to continue it in the footing then existing." The school was therefore closed in 1849 and the Council decided to attach a normal class to the Hoogly College, where, it was thought, it would prove successful. But at this very time, the Council was directed to reduce its expenses and thus the scheme had to be abandoned. The Council, however, resolved that when the funds would

allow, normal classes would be attached to different Colleges under its control. But nothing was done. Thus, one of the most important measures for the improvement of education had to be abandoned for the sake of expenses, and the progress of education continued to be hampered. This was clearly shown by the failure of the vernacular schools, which was no doubt greatly due to the absence of able teachers.

But one of the most important matters mooted during Hardinge's period of administration was the question of establishing a University at Calcutta. The Council of Education, in their Report for 1844-5, drew the Government's attention to the necessity of establishing a University with faculties of Arts, Law and Civil Engineering. This necessity, they declared "is now beginning to be severely felt and to force itself upon our attention", especially because of the "absence of any efficient mode of affording extended professional education to advanced students, who have passed through the regular College curriculum." On 25th October 1845, the Council under the presidency of Charles Hay Cameron, decided that "the present advanced state of education in Bengal Presidency......renders it not only expedient and advisable, but a matter of strict justice and necessity", to confer upon the successful students "some mark of distinction, by which they may be recognised as persons of liberal education and enlightened minds, capable of entering upon the active duties of life." It thought that the only means of accomplishing this object was to establish a Central University on the model of London, which would grant degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, and Civil Engineering, and which would be "incorporated by a special Act of the Legislative Council of India and endowed with the privileges enjoyed by all Chartered Universities in Great Britain and Ireland". The Council therefore drew up a detailed plan of the proposed University, was to consist of a Chancellor and Fellows, and the Faculties

of Science, Law, Medicine, Surgery and Civil Engineering, and a Faculty of Arts for general control and superintendence. The Examination for the conferment of degrees was to be held each year, conducted by Examiners chosen by the Senate. In order to induce the Government, the Council enumerated the various benefits which the people would derive from the University and declared that "the option of the plan would only be attended with a very trifling expense to Government in the commencement; for in the course of a few years the proceeds of the Fee Fund would be more than sufficient to defray every expense attended upon the University". Concluding, the Council asserted "that the time for such a measure has arrived, is fully proved by the standard of excellence attained in the Senior Scholarship Examinations of the Council of Education, and the creditable skill and proficiency exhibited by the graduates of the Medical College, whose examinations, in extent and difficulty, are much greater than those of any of the Colleges of Surgeons in Great Britain, and from a purely professional point of view, nearly on a par with those required from the Medical graduates of most British Universities." 35

The Council forwarded its plan to the Government of Bengal with the request that Royal Assent should be procured for the scheme. 36 The Government, although it did not altogether think that the time for such a measure had come, yet wanted the scheme to receive the favourable attention of the authorities at home. One of the main reasons which induced the Government to favour the establishment of a University was "the great and increasing difficulty of providing suitable tests for the selection of candidates for public employment". The plan was, therefore, sent to the Governor General for procuring Royal assent through the Directors, especially because two of the Judges of the Supreme Court declared this to be necessary. 37

The Governor General recommended the scheme to the Court, but he admitted to them that the Government would have to bear the initial expenses. Nevertheless, he hoped that the Directors would sanction the scheme. The Directors, however, refused their sanction, but did not advance any reason for that. Their attitude was no doubt determined by the considerations of finance. Their rejection of this plan was no doubt a great blow to educational development. The Government in Bengal had at long last begun to establish and operate a comprehensive educational policy and this plan would have greatly helped the process because it would have given a great impetus to other branches of education such as Medicine, Engineering, and other scientific subjects, to which hitherto comparatively little attention was paid. It would also have systematized the existing of education and thereby helped its further development. The establishment of the University on the model of London would have obviated any difficulty arising out of the religious or racial prejudices of the student who would have been greatly encouraged by the conferment of degrees. But the Directors' refusal postponed this logical development of events for another twenty years, and in the absence of any Central Institution the educational policy in Bengal continued to develop in a haphazard and unsystematic way.

The necessity of having a central examining body for ensuring a uniform standard of education and a uniform system of examination for the various schools and colleges had become obvious by this time. Consequently, on August 16, 1847, when the question of establishing a University was still under consideration, the Council of Education had proposed that "with a view to securing some degree of uniformity" in the award of scholarships, the answers of the candidates recommended by the Local Committee might be sent to Calcutta for scrutiny by the Government Inspector of

Colleges or any other persons selected for the purpose.\(^{40}\) The Government, however, had refused to sanction the proposal on the ground that it would be unfavourably viewed by the local Committees and would thus be detrimental to the cause of education.\(^{41}\)

But after the rejection of the plan for establishing a University, the Council of Education repeated its suggestion and on June 21, 1848 submitted to the Government of Bengal a detailed scheme for a Central Body of paid Examiners. It proposed that the Committee of Examiners should consist of at least 5 members to be selected annually by the Council of Education and appointed by the Government; the selection was to be made "preferably from among the Principals, Professors and Head Masters of the Colleges and Schools of greatest reputation in and near Calcutta or those who have recently filled such situations including both those which are under the Superintendence of the Council of Education and those which are denominated private schools". These Examiners were to receive Rs. 300 each. The total number of marks allotted to each subject of examination was to be decided by the Council while the particular questions were to be set and valued by the Examiners, each of whom were to be held exclusively responsible for the portion entrusted to him. After the examination when each Examiner had finally completed his separate award, the Examiners as a body were to meet to compare the results of their several enquiries and to draw up their joint report to the Council. This joint report of the Examiners, the Council suggested should be final and on it the award be based.\(^{42}\) This scheme was estimated to cost Rs. 1500 per year.\(^{43}\) The matter was referred to the Supreme Government. The Governor General although averse to authorising any extra expense, finally sanctioned a further annual grant of Rs. 1500 to the Education Fund.\(^{44}\)

41. Ibid No. 28
42. Mouat—Halliday 21 June 1848, Beng. Educ. Cons. 3 of 19th Aug. 1848,
of Directors when apprized of the measure approved of it but asked the Government not to extend the plan any further and incur any new expenses.\(^{45}\)

Another important measure adopted by the Government during Hardinge’s period of Governor Generalship was the introduction of vernacular education into Bengal. Adam’s proposals in this respect had for the time been shelved; but the Government had not forgotten them altogether, and Auckland in his Minute of November 1839 had emphasised the importance of vernacular education. His sentiments as well as the proposals of Adam had been communicated to the Directors who had also decided to postpone taking any decision.\(^{46}\) In February 1842, they, however, communicated their opinions at length to the Governor General. They fully concurred with Adam that the fittest way of improving education was through the existing Native Institutions; but declared that the educational wants of the higher and middle classes should be provided for before any steps were taken for the education of the lower classes. They also agreed with Auckland that first a sufficient quantity of suitable text books should be prepared and the Government of Bombay and Madras consulted before vernacular education could be given a fair trial, and that when it should be tried, it should be done on a liberal and effective scale, under proper superintendence.\(^{47}\) The matter had thus been temporarily dropped. But certain individuals had meanwhile been advocating the cultivation of vernacular Education in Bengal. The most important among them was B. H. Hodgson of the Company’s Civil service and resident in Nepal from 1833-44. As early as 1835, he had published two articles “on the Education of the People of India”. In these he had refuted the contentions of Macaulay, and had asserted that the issue was not between English and the classical languages but between English and the vernacular languages of India. He gave it as his firm


\(^{47}\) Pub. Desp. to India, 23rd Feb. 1844.
conviction that “if any scheme of public instruction were really to reach the Indian peoples, it must take as its basis their mother tongues”.

Hodgson’s opinions on the possibility of using English for educational purpose was saner than those of others, “No one asserts”, he observed, “that it is impossible to change the speech of this vast continent. It is only contended that the attempt, is of all others the most difficult, and one for which your means are enormously disproportionate to the end. You are a drop literally in the ocean, and a drop too, separated from the mass of waters by the strongest antipathy.” He did not believe that the people were eager to learn English, and pointed out the danger of educating the higher classes to the exclusion of the mass of the population. “I cannot help thinking”, he declared, “that the dilettante as well as exotic character of the steps we have taken in the Educational Department could not have had any other result than that of sending forth grandiloquent grumblers, as able to clamour as unable to work.” He also advocated that the preparation of vernacular text books and the improvement of vernacular schools should receive, at least, as much attention as English Education.

The Scheme propounded by Hodgson for the dissemination of vernacular education was threefold, namely, the cultivation of vernacular education along with English and Oriental education; the preparation of improved text books in vernacular and the training of teachers by Normal Schools and “a Normal Vernacular College for School Masters and translators.”

These views Hodgson propounded in a series of letters published in the journal, “Friend of India” between 1835 and 1848; and his views naturally helped and supplemented the

52. Ibid No. IV (1843) 320.
propositions of Adam, who in his third Report emphasised the importance of Hodgson's Scheme. Hodgson received support from many other sources as well, John Wilson of the Scottish Missionary Society in Bombay declared, "Mr. Hodgson's advocacy of the vernaculars is most convincing. They must be the medium of the regeneration of India, as they have been in every Country on the face of the globe."\textsuperscript{54} His cause was also championed by the "Calcutta Englishman" and the Friend of India."\textsuperscript{55} Hodgson's advocacy for vernacular education did not prove to be a cry in the wilderness: its influence was most strongly felt in the matter of establishing Normal Schools\textsuperscript{56} and his "proposals became the basis of Indian Public instruction through the medium of vernacular tongues, as adopted by the Court of Director's Despatch of 1854, and as finally recognised by the Education Commission of 1882".\textsuperscript{57}

The Government, however, could not long remain indifferent to the question of vernacular education. The first step in this direction was taken in October 1844, when the Government of Bengal decided to establish 101 vernacular schools.\textsuperscript{58} The Government was encouraged to undertake this step because the account of the education Fund had lately shown a monthly surplus of Rs. 3005.\textsuperscript{59} of which Rs. 2103 per month was still available for educational purposes. The Government, therefore, decided to establish 101 village schools for imparting "useful and sound elementary education" through vernacular language. These schools were to be distributed as follows.—

17 in Patna Division; 17 in Bhaugulpore; 17 in Moorshidabad; 15 in Dacca; 19 in Jessore; 11 in Cuttack; and 8 in Chittagong. The establishment of teachers was

\textsuperscript{55} Hunter 321-2.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, 321.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, 311.
\textsuperscript{58} Beng. Educ. Cons. 1 of 18th Dec. 1844.
estimated to cost Rs. 1865 per month. The Government decided to charge the Collectors of Revenue with the supervision of these Schools. These Collectors were to report to the Government through the Commissioners. The Schools were to be established in towns or large villages, provided the inhabitants would agree to build a School house and keep it in repair. The Government also declared that anything that might be construed as interference with or opposition to indigenous schools already existing should be carefully avoided. 60

This scheme was, however, regarded as experimental and the Government declared that if the result proved to be successful, they would approach the Supreme Government for help to extend the scheme further. The Sudder Board of Revenue was entrusted with the establishment of these schools and in order to ensure uniformity of instruction, the Government Inspector of Schools and Colleges asked to draw up a detailed scheme of study. In these schools the students were to be charged not only for the books supplied to them but also for tuition. 61 The Inspector, E. Lodge, prepared a detailed scheme of instruction and a long list of vernacular books which could be beneficially used. 62

By July 1845, effect to the scheme was given to a certain extent in Behar and Cuttack. 63 But in many places, specially in the Lower Provinces, the establishment of Schools was greatly retarded owing to the difficulty of procuring suitable teachers because most of the persons approached refused to go to the distant destinations. As a remedy, the Collector of Bogra suggested that those teachers, who, when selected, would refuse to go to their stations, should be altogether barred from entering the Government Service in future. Mouat, the Secretary of the Council of Education, however, was of the opinion that the real reason was the small amount of remuneration offered to the prospective teachers, and

suggested that an examination should be held by the College of Fort William and particulars should be published in the Bengal Gazette and otherwise made known by the distribution of hand bills, stating the number of teachers required, the names of the villages selected for their location, the salary and other necessary details; and that it should be distinctly intimated that none should apply who were not ready to proceed immediately to the places to which they might be required to go.\textsuperscript{64} The Government referred these matters to the Sudder Board of Revenue but no effective plan was adopted.\textsuperscript{65}

By the end of 1846 only 12 out of the 17 schools allotted to the Jessore Division had been established. The attendance in these schools was very poor and the Board of Revenue ascribed this to the existence of Missionary Schools which absorbed large number of students. In the Dacca Division only 4 schools were opened; in Moorshidabad the number of schools established were 2 out of the projected 17, the main handicap in this region being the want of teachers. In Bhaugulpore the Board succeeded in opening 5 Schools, in Pabna the main difficulty was the want of Funds, because inhabitants there showed great unwillingness to contribute anything for the schools, as well as apprehension of the Government’s motive, so only 4 schools were opened; the want of teachers was also keenly felt there. Cuttack showed the greatest promise of success and here all the schools were opened during the year 1845. Thus by the end of 1846 the Board had established 34 schools with 999 pupils; while 35 were in a state of progression and required teachers. One of the reasons that hampered the development of these schools was the apathy and at times even the antipathy of the people. This was specially the case in Nattore and Dacca. The Board declared that in Bengal this feeling was caused by the absence of any provision for instruction in English in these Schools,

\textsuperscript{64} Mouat—Halliday. 24th Oct. 1845 Beng. Educ. Cons. 9 of 5th Nov. 1845.

\textsuperscript{65} Beng. Educ. Cons. 10 of 5th Nov. 1845.
Regarding the failure of the schools in Behar, the Commissioners of Bhaugulpore and Patna, pointed out that the Government scheme though good for the Lower Provinces was not suitable for backward areas; and the latter suggested that the Government instead of establishing new schools should improve village Patshala, while the former proposed to offer inducements to the students.  

Some of the officers charged with the supervision of vernacular schools also drew the Government’s attention to the need of supplying a better class of teachers for the schools, without which, they thought, no improvement could be effected. The Commissioner of the Chittagong Division suggested that means should be taken to improve the intellectual attainments of the village teachers and for this proposed to utilise 5 per cent of the proceeds of the ‘Khas Mahals.’  

E. Lodge, the Government’s Inspector of Colleges and Schools, while speaking of the state of vernacular education at Gaya, stated that the teachers, although very industrious, could do little for the improvement of the students because of the limited nature of their own education.

Although during the year 1847 the Board opened a few more schools, yet the result of the scheme was not on the whole encouraging. The Board, however, did not think that the scheme ought to be abandoned altogether; on the contrary, it declared that “good must result from thus directing local attention and enquiry to this most important subject and as attention is apt to flag and enquiry to become vague and desultory when employed upon matters purely speculative it is very essential to maintain for the present, some at any rate of these substantive establishments.” The Board, however, drew the Government’s attention to the want of trained teachers and suitable text books. It also pointed out that one of the reasons which retarded the progress of these schools

67. Beng. Educ. Cons. 16 of 24th Feb. 1847,
68. Ibid. 18 of 24th Feb. 1847.
was the existence of the indigenous schools in most of the places selected by the Board, and declared that competition with these schools should be avoided where they are preferred by the people.\(^\text{69}\)

The Government, however, did not feel so sure of the success of the schools as the Board and observed that “the General impression left by the Reports from Behar is so unfavourable, that it will be imperative to reduce the number of schools in that province, by abolishing at once those where success is most hopeless.” Regarding the rest, the Government declared that they should be located in the largest and most popular places. “It is not the design”, it stated, “to supply the means of education in every village. It is the design of the Government to afford models for the mass of schools and so to extend generally an improved system of elementary instruction”. The Government also, asked the Board not to open any more schools without its sanction.\(^\text{70}\)

But as the vernacular schools did not flourish, the Board, in 1848, decided to close down 22 of the 73 schools then existing and declared that it thought the fate of the plan to be sealed. It, however, was not ready to abandon scheme “so long as any vitality remains,” and proposed to “allow the existing system to linger on, encouraging zeal in the cause where shown, but making no further endeavour to force the matter where all are unwilling or indifferent,” and hoped that “after a time, when the superior books and superior teachers shall be procurable, and perhaps, too, increased funds available, possibly vernacular schools under a visitor, instead of under the Commissioners and Collectors may succeed”.\(^\text{71}\)

The schools continued to deteriorate and in 1851 the Board asked the Government to transfer them to the Council of Education. Consequently, in January 1854 the Board was

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\(^{70}\) Beng. Educ. Cons. 3 of \text{14th March} 1849.

relieved of its unenviable task and the Council was charged with the future management of the schools.\textsuperscript{72}

At this time Lord Dalhousie was the Governor General of India. A man of great energy and ability he made his influence felt in educational matters and wanted to see a sound system of vernacular education established in the province.

The Council first turned its attention to ascertaining the exact state of the schools and to discuss the real cause of their failure. It sent its Secretary to the North Western Provinces to examine the state of vernacular Education there, before taking any steps. After naturally considering his Report, the Council declared that it fully concurred with the opinion expressed by Auckland that if any scheme for vernacular education were tried, it should be tried on "a liberal and effective scale" and that no such measure should be undertaken until the Government could provide for "a thoroughly zealous and qualified superintendence". The Council also pointed out "that any scheme of vernacular education for Bengal to be successful, must be based upon the existing Institutions of the Country". It did not believe that there was any chance of improving the village school masters but expressed its confident belief that by establishing model vernacular schools, introducing systematic instruction by well-selected books, constant supervision "and the spreading abroad of the large number of Natives educated in Colleges and Zillah schools, the old and ignorant teachers will soon be replaced by men of a higher stamp; and that a steady and solid advance in vernacular education will thereby, ere long, be produced". The Council also observed that if the Revenue System in Bengal had been the same as that in the North Western Provinces, Thomason's scheme of vernacular education could be immediately introduced. It, therefore, proposed to establish in each Zillah, in which the experiment was to be tried, four model vernacular schools; to arrange for the supervision of the existing vernacular school.

the instruction of the teachers; to reward the best students, to supply books to the schools, and to introduce gradually a uniform plan of study of a higher order.” The Council first selected Hoogly, Burdwan, Beerbhom and Jessore for the experiment and proposed to employ an Inspector, Zillah visitors, Pergunas visitors, and a superior class of vernacular school masters. To encourage the Model Schools it suggested that the successful candidates should be awarded certificates which should serve to him as a passport if he applied for public employment.

The Council could not give any estimate of the cost and thought that it could be ascertained only when the plan had been put into operation. 73

The Government of Bengal recommended these proposals to the Government of India in November 1854, and suggested that if even for the lowest offices preference was given to persons capable of reading and writing “there can be no doubt that a great stimulus would be given to the desire for education which already exists in Bengal.” They also suggested to encourage vernacular education by distributing approved books through the schools and by establishing libraries in ‘fit places.’ In the absence of any information from Behar, the Government suggested that a capable Civil Officer should be selected for organising a system of Model Schools there, similar to those in the North Western Provinces. The cost of the whole scheme for the Lower Provinces was estimated at less than 2 lacs of Rupees per annum, but the Government hoped that by introducing paying system and grants-in-aid this expenditure would be greatly reduced. It, therefore, requested the Supreme Government to sanction an annual grant of Rs. 50,000 for Behar and Rs. 21,000 for Bengal. 74

The Supreme Government approved of this Scheme in February 1855. 75 But by that time the Director’s Despatch of 19th July 1854 had reached India.

The establishment of these vernacular schools marked a new stage in the Government's educational policy in as much, this showed that the Government had by this time overcome their exaggerated attachment for filtrating education and had realised the importance of educating the masses. It is also important to note that this was the first time that the Government laid down a scheme for educating the people at large, especially the people of the interior. But unfortunately the execution of the plan was entrusted to the Civil Servants who were more pre-occupied and less experienced than even the amateur educationists who composed the Council of Education. It would have been useful to employ them for investigating the state of education and popular feeling thereon in their respective districts, but it was a great mistake on the part of the Government to trust them with the working of the system. The Government also should have confined its experiment in the beginning to a few schools near Calcutta instead of formulating and executing a plan for the whole of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. It could thereby have closely watched the progress of the experiments and if it had proved successful could have extended it gradually and cautiously to other parts of the province. These schools should also have been established near the Sudder Stations where they would have been under better management, and should have served the purpose of Model Schools rather than of ordinary institutions. Further, the first step in the improvement of rural education should naturally have been the improvement and reform of the existing village schools; because, they were intimately connected with the life of the villagers; and this would not have aroused any antipathy and apprehension. The authorities should also have employed an adequate staff of visitor and Inspectors, especially charged with the supervision of these schools. But above all, the Government should first have raised a class of trained school masters and provided for a proper supply of text books. But as no consideration was given to these questions before the establishments of the schools, the scheme ended in a failure.

In 1841, the General Committee appointed a Sub-Committee
for preparing vernacular books which comprised E. Ryan, H. T Prinsep, Mullet and J. C. C. Sutherland. It opened correspondence with the Governments of Bombay and Madras and decided to act "in concert" with them. The Sub-Committee decided that the books should first be prepared in English and then translated into various vernacular languages, because that would "impart a character of uniformity to the whole system". Bombay Government agreed with the Committee. It was also decided that books selected should, first, receive the approval of the Governments concerned before being translated. It was well-known that any scheme which involved a large outlay of funds would not receive the sanction of the Government. The Committee fully realised this and, therefore, suggested a less costly plan. It suggested that competent people should be invited to undertake the preparation of books with the assistance of learned Indians who should be paid at the rate of Rs. 1000 for an ordinary sized volume, and that the work should be supervised by an examiner appointed for the purpose. 76

The General Committee adopted these suggestions. 77 The task of translating books was entrusted to capable people like Marshman of Serampore, Rev. K. M. Bannerjee, a former student of Duff's Institution, F. Boutros, Principal of Delhi College and others. The work, however, proceeded very slowly, although a comprehensive list of books was drawn up. In November 1843, the Council of Education was relieved of the duty of preparing vernacular class books and the Government took over all the correspondence on the subject, but declared its willingness to receive suggestions from the Council. 78 Little, however, was done to give full effect to the scheme. This was no doubt due to the fact that the work was commenced on a very big scale and the authorities could not find persons who had either capacity or leisure for this vast undertaking. A few instances would be sufficient to prove this

77. Sel. Educ. Rec. II. 80......
fact. The Council originally decided to compile “an Ethnological View of the Rise, Progress and Fall of Kingdoms and Empires”,... “a stupendous work”, says Kerr, a contemporary Education Officer “which no European in India has time to prepare”. In the same way K. M. Bannerjee undertook to prepare an “Encyclopaedia Bengalensis”, which was never completed. The managers of the Patsala attached to the Hindu College also decided to prepare learned works on Law, Political Economy and Morals, but succeeded only in producing a few elementary books of a very ordinary type.\footnote{Kerr 173-4.} Finance also greatly handicapped the operation of the scheme. The authorities were not willing to invest any large sum of money for this purpose. Moreover, the demand for these books was also confined chiefly to the schools and the people did not show much interest in them, no doubt, due to the high price of 4 rupees charged for each book. The failure of this scheme was greatly detrimental to the progress of education in Bengal and the want of proper school books was felt mostly when the vernacular schools were established.\footnote{Kerr 173-4.}

Higher education, however, advanced with rapid strides during Lord Hardinge’s period of administration. Auckland had proposed to establish a comprehensive system of combined English and vernacular education comprising the formation of Zillah schools and Central Colleges, but nothing had been done to put this scheme into operation, due no doubt to the termination of his period of Governor Generalship and the political disturbances in Afghanistan. On 19th April 1845, Beadon, Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, drew up a Memorandum stating the best means of executing the scheme of Auckland. He stated that the General Fund was sufficient for the purposes of existing institutions, but that no new measures could be undertaken without an assurance of additional support from the Supreme Government. He observed, that in extending further the system of education, the principal object should be the sub-ordinate connection of the zillah schools with, and their entire dependence on the
Central Colleges. He stated that the standard of instruction in these schools need not be higher than that of the lower classes of the Colleges, because this would enable even those not educated in the Government Colleges to compete for the scholarships. These scholarships, Beadon suggested, should be tenable only at the Central Colleges, and pointed out that this part of the General Committee's suggestion should never be dispensed with, because if the pupils were allowed to enjoy their scholarships at the zillah schools they would look upon that as the completion of their study and take the earliest opportunity of getting into a petty clerkship. He also suggested to increase the number of scholarships in those schools. For the further education of the students Beadon proposed to establish five Central Colleges at Krishnagar, Moorshidabad, Chittagong, Bhaugulpore and Cuttack, and suggested that for the recruitment of students for these Colleges, schools should be established in every district in subordinate connection with these Colleges. With this end in view he proposed to divide the province into the following circles:—

Calcutta Circle, Hooghly Circle, Krishnagur Circle, Moorshidabad Circle, Dacca Circle, Chittagong Circle, Cuttack Circle, Bhaugulpore Circle, Behar Circle. He estimated the cost of each College at Rs. 30,000 per annum, but believed that for the present Rs. 22,000 only would be needed. The cost of maintaining a Zillah school, he thought, would be Rs. 3,600 per year; of this he hoped Rs. 600 would be realised from the fees paid by the students. He therefore estimated that Rs. 1,55,600 per year would be needed to give full effect to the whole scheme. This expenditure, however, could be reduced to Rs. 1,35,600 by making the Nizamat College available for all classes of people, and by appropriating the bequest of one Raja Krishnanath Roy. Beadon suggested that the scheme should first be tried in Hoogly and Krishnagar at an annual cost of Rs. 32,000, and proposed that the circle scheme should start to operate from 1st May 1845. 80

On receipt of this Memorandum, Hardinge declared that the Government had been developing the views set forth by Auckland and that "it would not fail to convince the native population of the determination of the Government to persevere in their system of making the study of English literature and science the ground work of Indian education and thereby to stimulate the students in its pursuit by assuring them as far as the Government has the means that learning and integrity would lead to useful, profitable, and honourable employment in the service of the state." He, however, did not fail to point out emphatically the need for cultivating the vernacular, because he felt sure that the knowledge of European science and literature would eventually have to be communicated to the people through their own language, and the agency for doing this would be the students who have received a thorough training not only in European learning but also in the vernaculars. He, therefore, sanctioned the scheme. He also sanctioned the immediate establishment of a College at Krishnagar and 4 zillah schools in connection with it at an annual cost of Rs. 32,000. The Court of Directors, when informed of the measures taken, approved of them but drew the Government's attention to the necessity of regulating expenditure according to the means at its disposal.

Hardinge realised that it was necessary to throw open the public offices to educated Indians, not only to induce them to take advantage of educational institutions, but also to raise a body of subordinate officials at a reasonably moderate cost. He, therefore, resolved, on 10th October 1844, that the Council of Education, the Local Committees and other bodies charged with education should submit "each year returns...of students

84. Ind. Pub. Let. 15, 26th May 1846.
who may be fitted according to their several degrees of merit and capacity for such of the various public offices as, with reference to their age, abilities and other circumstances, they may be deemed to fill. The Council was also authorised to procure from private institutions similar returns of meritorious students. These returns were to be circulated to the heads of Government offices who were ordered to “omit no opportunity of providing for and advancing the candidates thus presented to their notice”, and to show these people “an invariable preference” over those not possessing superior qualifications. The Governor General also declared that even in the lowest offices preference was to be given to those who could read and write.\textsuperscript{86}

The Council, consequently, framed rules to give effect to this resolution. It decided that “the minimum standard of qualification for employment should be the same as that for gaining a Senior English scholarship. The Examinations were to be held in Calcutta and at each of the Central Colleges, and the answers of the candidates were to be examined by the Council of Education or by persons appointed by the Council.” This selection, however, was not to be taken at a guarantee of employment.\textsuperscript{87}

The Council arrangements were thus somewhat different from the tenor of the Resolution which wanted the selection to comprize a number of candidates of different degrees of merit and capacity, while the council set up a high and uniform standard for all.

These provisions were communicated to the Court of Directors\textsuperscript{88} who disapproved of them and observed. “It appears to us 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.” They therefore thought that this Resolution would discourage the acquisition of English, because those who could not hope

\textsuperscript{88} Pub. Let. No. 17., 21st May 1845.
to pass this test would not pay attention to English. They also did not consider a high degree of scholastic knowledge essential for public service and declared that a “moderate and practical knowledge of English, with a thorough command of the vernacular language and testimonials of regularity, steadiness, diligence and good conduct” should be sufficient. The Directors, however, were ready to allow a few posts to be given to people of high scholastic attainments as a reward of their merit. “But”, they declared, “we would not insist throughout all India on even a moderate acquaintance with the English language,...but would allow a knowledge of the English language to give a claim to preference. The Directors also objected to the holding of examinations at Calcutta and to the charging of fees from the candidates. They also drew the Government’s attention to the fact that the Resolution debarred the students of Oriental Colleges from competing in the test examination, and observed that “an equivalent standard should be decided on to test the acquirements of this class of students” who would be required to have only “a moderate practical knowledge of English.”

The Government communicated the Directors’ sentiments to the Council of Education, and asked for its opinion. The Council declared that the chief aim of the Resolution was not the training of Civil Servants, “but rather the general improvement of the great body of the people.” It observed that sufficient or perhaps, even undue preference has been shown to Oriental languages and asserted that “it would be in direct contradiction to all that has been done for education in India during the last thirteen years...if a step were now taken which would amount to a virtual admission that in the estimation of the examiners, the study of Sanskrit or Arabic is as valuable and as well worth the time and trouble bestowed on it as that of English.” The Council also pointed out that arrangements had already been made for combining vernacular with English education. The Council, however, consulted

the authorities of several private institutions on the matter. The proprietors of the Oriental Seminary approved of the Resolution. The Christian institutions held a meeting under the presidency of Duff, and asked the Government to make due provision for students educated in "ancient classical literature" or "English Christian literature." Duff even proposed the withdrawal of Government interference from educational seminaries and the apportionment of the funds to private bodies. The Council of Education, to whom these proposals were communicated, refused to alter the existing rules and emphatically declared, "The present standard has been, and can be, readily attained by the pupils of any efficient and well-organised public or private school. To reduce it would tend to encourage pupils to become contented with a superficial knowledge, and to enter upon the active duties of life before the maturity of their reasoning faculties, the formation of their character, and the principles implanted by a more extended course of study had time to produce their full effect."\(^1\)

The matter rested there, but the system gradually fell into desuetude and appointments to the Government service were made "without reference to the Council's register." Kerr, a contemporary officer in the education department, declared in 1853 that it had become "a byword that Lord Hardinge's Resolution was a dead letter."\(^2\)

The Resolution no doubt was the outcome of a desire on the part of the Government to raise a body of Indian officers and thereby effect economy in administration. This policy had been propounded as early as 1825 and the General Committee, the Government and Directors had since then made several declarations on that point, but no final decision had been taken. Hardinge was thus the first person to lay down definite rules for executing the scheme. But the Council of Education interpreted the Resolution as designed to encourage

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the spread of secular English education. Hence, they laid down one uniform standard without paying any attention to the diverse systems of education which existed in the province. Such an arrangement could not possibly work properly, and it helped only the students educated in the Government seminaries. Thus the large body of students educated in private institution were excluded from its benefit.

By this time Hardinge, the author of the Resolution, had left India and the Government of Dalhousie, being unaware of the real intentions of the former Governor General, accepted the Council's interpretation. The Council, however, was actuated by a praiseworthy motive. It had for a long time been advocating uniformity in educational policy. With this in view it had proposed the establishment of a University and when that had been rejected, had suggested the formation of a Central Examining Body. Now it carried this policy a step further and hoped to bring the Government, as well as the private seminaries under one system of examination, and thereby establish a systematic and uniform educational standard. Many of the Government officials also thought this to be the object of the Resolution and Halliday even considered it to be the germ of a University. Council's policy would have been successful and beneficial if it was applied only to the Government institutions or if the Council was able to prescribe the standard of education and the course of study in the private institution. But in the absence of any such provision the plan could not but fail.

"Prior to the receipt of the Despatch of 1854 from the Court of Directors, female education was not recognised as a branch of the State System of education in India". But that did not mean that the education of the girls was altogether neglected. The problem was tackled by enterprising individuals, private organisations and Missionary bodies. Some reference to it has already been made in the earlier chapters and it will be sufficient for the sake of convenience to give an outline of the development of female education until 1850 when it first

received the serious attention of the officers of the Government.

The Ladies Society for Native Female Education was established in Calcutta in March 1824, and had as its Patroness, Lady Amherst, the wife of the Governor General. The schools of the Church Missionary Society were made over to this body, and they were superintended by Mrs. Wilson (late Miss Cooke), wife of Rev. J. Wilson of the Church Missionary Society. By the end of 1824, there were about 500 students in these schools and they all had to read the Bible. In May 1826, a Central School was erected by this Society and the cost was mainly defrayed from public contribution, the largest subscription being that of Raja Baidya Nath Roy who contributed Rs. 20,000. The work of this school started in April 1828 with 58 girls, under the charge of Mrs. Wilson, and soon had an average daily attendance of 150 to 200 girls. Immediately connected with this Society and on the same plan as the Central School there were 4 other schools in Calcutta and its vicinity with 310 students.

Another important organisation for Female Education was the Calcutta Ladies’ School for Native Females which was established in June 1825. It soon applied to Government for a grant of Rs. 10,000 to enable them to erect a Central School. The Government, however, refused to help on the ground that the object of the Society was the propagation of Christianity. Some of the members of the Council, especially Harrington and Fendall, dissented from the Governor General’s action and the matter was referred to the Directors, who confirmed the attitude adopted by the Government.

William Adam while reporting on his investigation bore testimony to the spread of female education in Calcutta. According to him in 1834, there were 3 schools in Calcutta connected with the Baptist Female Society (formerly Calcutta Female Juvenile Society) with about 210 pupils who were

instructed by Indian women teachers educated in these schools. In these schools the girls were taught reading, spelling, geography and the Scriptures, and in two of them English was also taught. Adam, also, reported that in 1835 there were three schools in Calcutta connected with the London Missionary Society where 108 students were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and needlework. 97

The Church of Scotland also took up the question of Female Education, and unlike other Missionary bodies, specially assigned Missionaries for the supervision of its schools. In 1838 there were two such schools, in Calcutta. 98

The Indians themselves, although they had shown their appreciation of female education by munificent donations and active supervision of these schools, did not undertake any measures to establish schools for girls, until 1849. In August of that year Joykissen Mookerjee and Rajkissen Mookerjee of Uttarpara (near Howrah) submitted a plan to the Council of Education for the establishment of a school for girls in that locality, for which they solicited Government’s patronage. They estimated the cost at Rs. 120 per month, and offered to bear half of it, as well as half of the expense of erecting a building which was estimated to cost Rs. 2000; the rest they hoped would be defrayed by the Government. The course of instructions in this school was to be confined to “reading and writing the Bengali language, painting, drawing and needle-work with this proviso that English Education should be imparted to such of the pupils, whose parents or guardians may desire it by written application.” This application was refused because the school established by Bethune, the President of the Council had aroused the antagonism of Indians and Bethune thought that it would be unwise to connect the Government with such a measure. Moreover, at this time the Council was compelled to restrict its field of activity for want of funds and therefore could not render any assistance to the proposed

97. First Report by Adam, 33-5.
school. The Mookerjees, however, started the school on their own account.

John E. Drinkwater Bethune was the first Government Officer to take an active interest in Female Education. Bethune had realised that in order to induce respectable Indians to send their daughters to schools, it was necessary to establish an exclusively secular institution on the model of the Government schools. Consequently, he established an experimental school at Calcutta in May 1849, on his own responsibility, for the education of the Indian girls in "Bengali and in plain and fancy work", English being taught only to those whose parents wished it. Lord Dalhousie, when informed, approved of the step taken by Bethune. But this school excited great opposition among Indians, probably because they had not been consulted at first and, consequently, the school started with only 11 students. A few Indians, however, stood staunchly by Bethune they were Ram Gopal Ghosal, a well-known merchant of Calcutta, who was Bethune's principal adviser in this matter and procured the first batch of students; Dakhina Ranjan Mookerjee, a Zamindar, who offered the site of the building valued at Rs. 10,000 and Pandit Madan Mohun Tarkalankar of the Sanskrit College who sent his two daughters to the institution and offered his services gratis. The majority of Indians, however, adopted an attitude of active hostility, especially, against these three; but on the death of the chief antagonist the school revived and soon had 31 pupils on the roll. The question of granting stipends as encouragement was mooted but given up. The Indians themselves soon began to show a keen interest in the school and at Baraset a school was established which soon attracted over 20 girls chiefly of Brahmanical caste. Bethune offered to help this school, but its managers refused to accept it for the time being. Similar cases of Indian enterprises were also shown in Sooksgar and Jessore.

All these developments persuaded Bethune to suggest to the Government that the time had come when all that was needed to secure the success of female education was a "declaration on the part of the Government that it looks on them with a favour-eye." He did not think that any opposition would be raised against the declared wishes of the Government, and therefore requested the Governor General to ask the Council of Education "to consider its functions as comprising also the superintendence of Native Female Education and that whenever any disposition is shown by the Natives to establish female school,...to give them all possible encouragement and further their plans in every way." He also suggested that Magistrates should prevent the persecution of people taking part in this operation. Regarding his own school, he wanted to bear its cost so long as he remained in India and hoped that he would find someone to take his place when he would leave. He, however, thought that it would be really gratifying if the Court would request the Queen to take the school under her patronage and give her name to it.\(^{102}\)

The Governor General fully concurred with Bethune, and decided to communicate Bethune's proposals to the Council of Education and the Directors.\(^{103}\) In the Council, Major General Sir H. Littler opposed Bethune's scheme, but Sir F. Currie and J. Lowrie, endorsed his views and fully agreed with Dalhousie.\(^{104}\) The Government of Bengal was therefore asked to communicate the proposals to the Council of Education.\(^{105}\) The Council intimated the Government's desire to all persons connected with Government's educational policy and hoped that they would be able to enlist the support of liberal and educated Indians.\(^{106}\)

The Directors, also, signified their approval of the sugges-

tions made by Bethune, but enjoined the Government to be prudent and cautious. They, however, thought it undesirable to associate the name of the Queen with the school. 107

After Bethune's death in August 1851, the school was taken over by Lord and Lady Dalhousie who decided to maintain it at their own expense during their stay in India, but Lady Dalhousie, also, died soon afterwards and as the time for the expiration of Dalhousie's Governor Generalship was drawing near, he requested the Directors to sanction a monthly Grant of Rs. 700 for the maintenance of this school after his departure. The success of the school induced the Directors to sanction this grant, but they ordered that a schooling fee should, in future, be levied from all students except the children of deceased officers and indigent persons. They, also, decided to relieve Dalhousie of the expenses. 108

The Governor General and his Council, however, doubted the expediency of charging school fees and, therefore, kept this matter in abeyance. Dalhousie, also, refused to be relieved from the expenses he had incurred. 109

The attention of the Government during Hardinge's period of administration was not confined to the diffusion of a high type of literary education alone. The Government paid due consideration to the improvement and extension of professional education as well. In 1844, the Government had decided to introduce changes in the Secondary School of the Calcutta Medical College, with a view to raising the qualifications of Native doctors educated at that institution. The Court approved of this change and suggested that more effective European tuition and superintendence should be provided for the Medical students. 110 Medical education, however, did not prove to be as attractive to the Indians as the authorities had expected. One of the chief reasons for

this was that the Resolution of October 1844 opened a door for lucrative appointment to Indians, many of whom, on account of their religious prejudice against Medical education, preferred to enter in Civil Departments. Moreover, the demand for educated young men in Mercantile and other offices, the lower rate of pay in the Medical Service, the lengthy period of study, as well as the delay in getting jobs, acted as a deterrent to the promotion of Medical education. The Government of Bengal, therefore, in order to encourage the study of Medicine among Indians proposed a plan for improving the future prospects of sub-assistant surgeons. They proposed that these surgeons should be entitled to a pension on the same scale as other servants of the State. For the encouragement of the students of the Upper Provinces to resort to the Calcutta Medical College, the Government suggested that "for this purpose youths might be examined in the Colleges of Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, and Benares in the same books and on the same subjects as are the youths in Calcutta and that their examination papers being submitted to the Council of Education and subjected to scrutiny and comparison with examination papers of youths educated in Calcutta, the vacant studentship should be awarded according to merit without any reference to the place of education."

The Government, also, proposed that if sub-assistant surgeons were attached to magistrates situated in remote places, this would provide a stimulus as well as the means of livelihood for the successful students. The Government of Bengal communicated these proposals to the Supreme Government as well as the Council of Education's suggestion that a special scholarship for every Moffusil College, tenable for five years in the Medical College, should be established. The Government of India took a favourable view of the proposi-


tion, and drew up detailed Rules and Regulations for the admission of the students into the Medical College and their appointment to the Medical Service, but nothing was done to give effect to the suggestions.

The foundation was also laid during the period of Hardinge’s administration of a system of Engineering Education in Bengal. The adoption of such a measure had for long been advocated, but nothing, except arrangements for a few lectures on plan drawing and surveying in the Calcutta Colleges had been done. The Council of Education, like the General Committee, kept on repeating the request for the diffusion of a knowledge of Engineering among the Indians. In 1844, the Government decided to establish professorships of Natural Philosophy and Civil Engineering in the Hindu College on condition that the lectures were to be thrown open to all without distinction. The professors were to be paid Rs. 300 per month each and also half of the fees received from the students, who were to be charged at the rate of one Gold Mohur each.

The Chair of Civil Engineering at the Hindu College, however, remained vacant, as no professor could be found. In May 1847, the Council of Education again drew the Government’s attention to the importance of Engineering Education and requested that a permanent Professorship of Drawing and Surveying should be attached to the Hoogly College. But the Bengal Government refused it for want of funds.

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121. Ibid, No. 9.
In July 1847, the Government of Bombay formulated a plan for the establishment of a subordinate branch of Engineers, which was to consist of three grades, namely Assistant Engineers, Surveyors and Builders and Assistant Surveyors and Builders. The Government of Bengal sent this plan to the Council of Education for report. The Council reported favourably but pointed out that until the scale of pay was considerably increased, Indians could not be expected to show any inclination for acquiring a knowledge of Civil Engineering.\textsuperscript{122}

By this time Dalhousie had assumed the Governor Generalship of India. A man of great ability and energy, he was sure to take vigorous steps to supply the deficiency of Civil Engineers which had been a great hindrance for so long. The provisions of Engineers was an imperial need, and he was moreover encouraged by the approval of the Court of Directors of the steps taken by the Madras Government, as well as by the success of the College at Roorkee. He, therefore, approached the Court for permission to make arrangements for the training of a class of Civil Engineers at each of the Presidencies.\textsuperscript{123} But nothing came out of this proposal. In March 1854, the Council of Education again submitted a plan for establishing a School of Engineering as a separate department of the proposed Presidency College. In May of the same year, Lt. Col. H. Goodwin advocated the establishment of an Engineering College as well as the immediate formation of a training school "as a nucleus and preliminary adjunct to the College.\textsuperscript{124} The Government of Lord Dalhousie, after mature consideration, again approached the Court for permission to establish a College at Calcutta.\textsuperscript{125} The Directors signified their approval on 2nd May 1855, but the celebrated Despatch of 19th July 1854 was already before the Government of India.

(No orders on this communication are traceable).
\textsuperscript{125} Letter to the Directors, 1st Sep. 1854, \textit{Ibid}. 342.
Reference has already been made to the arrangements made in the different Government seminaries for the study of Law. In fact, the main purpose of the Calcutta Madrasssa and the Benares Sanskrit College was to train a body of Indian lawyers. The study of Law in these seminaries, however, was confined to the ancient classical Laws, which were still unedited and in a rather chaotic state. This defect was not remedied until the Law Commission, which was established in 1833, completed its work. Meanwhile, however, the study of the Government rules and regulations had been introduced into some of the Colleges, and in 1832, on the advice of Wilson, arrangements had been made for the study of jurisprudence in the Hindoo College.

The study of Law received the Government’s serious attention in 1839, when Auckland, in his Minute, asked the General Committee to devise the means of introducing the study of Law into the “superior Colleges”. The General Committee in their Report for 1839-40 proposed the appointment of a permanent lecturer in Law and soon afterwards a barrister of the Supreme Court was appointed to the post; but after a short time he was discharged. In 1843, Cameron again stressed the necessity of employing a Professor of Law, and in November J. E. Lyall, the Advocate General, volunteered his services gratis. His lectures were attended by the students of the Hindu College, College of Fort William and Hooghly College.126 This arrangement, however, was of little use, because one person, however capable, could not possibly teach all the branches of Law. Moreover, the students of Hoogly could not be expected to come regularly to attend these lectures. The best and most effective scheme, therefore, would have been to attach Law classes in the different Government Colleges and when the study of Law had sufficiently developed, to establish a separate College as was done for Medical education. This plan, however, was not adopted, no doubt on account of the want of suitable teachers and books and, above all, for want of funds.

126. Kerr I, 60-1.
However, after Lyall’s death in March 1845, the professorship remained vacant until 1847, and even after that, the study of Law made little progress. It was not until 1854 that the study of Law received final recognition. In that year the Council of Education declared that “Law should have a place in the annual examination for senior scholarships.”

Thus by 1854, the educational policy of the Company’s Government in Bengal had reached a high stage of development. The dissemination of European science and learning had been finally accepted to be the object of the Government’s educational policy: the English language had been adopted as the medium of instruction, but the Government had declared in unmistakable language that the education of the mass of the people could be effected only through the vernaculars, and it had made arrangements for the cultivation of vernacular languages in the seminaries under its control. The Government had also abandoned its attachment for the filtration policy and had formulated and tried schemes for the education of the people at large. It had ensured to Oriental education its due share of patronage, and had made arrangements for the dissemination of professional education in Law, Medicine and Engineering. Professional education was, however, still in a state of infancy. But this was due to the fact that the attention of the Government had been concentrated mainly on the intellectual and moral improvement of Indians, and it was not until this had been effected that the Government could turn its attention to other spheres. Moreover, in the beginning, the Government only wanted officers for Civil administration and had therefore not paid much attention to raising a class of technical experts. The restricted nature of progress in the study of Law and Medicine had also been due to the fact that the authorities for a long time had persisted in teaching those subjects according to the traditional and obsolete Indian system. But the Government had later realised that any comprehensive system of education must necessarily comprize the study of professional and technical subjects,
because all the students could not be expected to acquire a high type of literary education. Moreover, it was necessary to afford the educated young men the greatest possible opportunity to earn a living, and this could not have been done through the hitherto prevalent type of education alone. But what ultimately had persuaded the Government to turn attention to professional education was the need it had begun to feel for technical experts, especially in Medicine and Engineering, who could be employed in subordinate positions on smaller salaries than Europeans. Thus, the question of professional education was not seriously taken up by the Government until 1835, when the Medical College was established.

Yet by 1854, the foundations of professional education had firmly been laid. Female education, which had been neglected in the beginning, had also received the Government’s patronage before 1854. The systematisation and standardisation of education through the establishment of a University had also been discussed but abandoned. But the Government had instituted scholarships and established a Central Board of examiners and had thereby connected the educational institutions from the lowest to the highest and had provided for a certain amount of uniformity in the standard of education. It had, also, arranged for the better management of educational institutions by the re-organisation of the educational machinery and the appointment of Visitors and an Inspector. Thus by 1854 the Government had developed a vast scheme of education of an absolutely secular character, which was all but complete and only required a finishing touch.

While educational policy in Bengal was thus taking final shape, events in England were greatly facilitating this development. The Company’s Charter was due to expire in 1854 and the Parliament, as usual, set up two Committees to enquire into the administration of the Company’s territories in India. Various important persons, both official and missionary, were examined at length on different aspects of Government’s policy, before these Committees. One of the most important propositions discussed was the question of establishing Universities in India. The originator of this
proposition was C. H. Cameron, under whose presidency the Council of Education had drawn up the plan for a University at Calcutta in 1845. He presented a petition to the Parliament on 30th November 1852, requesting the establishment of one or more Universities in British India. Cameron pointed out that the education of Indians was greatly retarded owing to the absence of any organisation for granting Degrees to successful students, and also because the European teachers in Indian Colleges, not being members of the covenanted service, did not command the respect of the people. He, also, pointed out that religious prejudices did not allow Indian students to proceed to England for higher studies. He, therefore, solicited Parliament to create a Covenanted Education Service and to establish secular institutions in England where the Indians could without prejudice to their religious susceptibilities qualify for the Civil and Medical Services of the Company. Cameron further elaborated his plan before the Select Committee of the Lords, and suggested that the Universities should be established at the four linguistic centres, namely, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Agra, where besides English language and literature and science, the vernaculars should be studied.

Charles Trevelyan supported Cameron, and suggested that in the proposed Universities not only English and Oriental literature and science, but also Law, Medicine, Surgery and Engineering should be studied, and considered that "a distinct relation and channel of communication should be established for the purpose of transferring young men who pass the best examination in Law to the public service. J. C. Marshman recommended that the Universities should be established on the model of London University and declared that this would put the Government institutions on the same footing as the Missionary Colleges.

129. Mahmud—Hist. Eng. Educ. in Ind., 82-3
131. Ibid. 124.
H. H. Wilson, however, opposed this scheme. He did not consider that any good would accrue from it. "The Natives", he declared, "could not appreciate the value of titles; it would be of no advantage to a young man to be called a Bachelor of Arts amongst the Natives of India, who could attach no positive idea to it; it would be inconvenient if it gave him place and precedence amongst Europeans". Wilson, therefore, thought that Certificates and Diplomas given to successful students would be sufficient proof of their eligibility to office. F. Halliday also expressed great doubts as to the success of the University. He pointed out that the Government Colleges being far superior to missionary and other institutions, it was impossible to set up a high common standard of examination and in justification drew the Committee's attention to the failure of Hardinge's Resolution, which he declared was the germ of a University and was meant to be so.

The question of establishing a system of grants-in-aid was also discussed at length. Marshman pointed out that it was not possible for the Government to "undertake the care and responsibility of managing all the institutions which will be necessary for the diffusion of knowledge". He, therefore, proposed that the Government should give pecuniary help to the institutions not connected with the Government, to enable them to extend their scope of activities, and should prescribe the course of study to be pursued and the books to be used in them. He, also, suggested that the Government should appoint an Inspector to supervise these schools, and that the Government aid should be "proportioned according to the report made by the Inspector." This grant was to be given to schools both missionary and secular, but Marshman declared that Government should leave religion alone and that the Inspector should examine the students only in secular subjects. He, also, pointed out that the introduction of grants would

132. Ibid, 269.
be no innovation, because it had already been given in connection with the vernacular schools, but proposed that it should now be extended to the higher English institutions as well. He declared that the Government of India was ready to institute the system on a large scale and, therefore, solicited that arrangements should be made by the home authorities. ¹³⁴

Halliday, also, strongly recommended the adoption of the system of grants-in-aid for helping "individuals and bodies of men employed or desirous to be employed in extending education judiciously in the Country, both English and vernacular." ¹³⁵

The question of extending further the system of English and vernacular education was also dealt with at length by the witnesses before the Committee. Halliday proposed that at least one good English and vernacular school should be established at every Zillah station, as well as a few more Central Colleges in the chief centres of the Province. He also wanted "to see a systematic effort made for the establishment of vernacular schools in the interior for the teaching of that enormous mass of people who cannot be expected, at any conceivable time, to come within the sphere of...larger schools and colleges". He also declared that the people of Bengal were ready and even craving for an extension of English education, and pointed out that even in obscure villages the people were trying to establish schools for that purpose. This desire among the Bengalis, he believed to be sincere and to be actuated often merely by a thirst for knowledge. To promote this further, he suggested the institution of grants-in-aid scheme. ¹³⁶

Wilson declared that it was impossible to give an English education to the mass of the people, and therefore suggested that means should be taken to improve vernacular education, specially, instruction in reading, writing, accounts and such knowledge as would enable the pupils to take care of their

¹³⁶. Ibid, 53-54.
own interests. He, further, recommended that the Scheme followed in the North Western Provinces should be adopted in Bengal. Wilson, however, advocated a greater cultivation of the Oriental languages, through which alone, he thought, a good knowledge of European learning could be spread among the people. He was not averse to the cultivation of English; on the contrary, he advocated that English should be cultivated by all means, but concurrently with a knowledge of the learned languages and the vernaculars. English, he pointed out, could not be taught to all; moreover, a knowledge of English only was not held in much respect by Indians. Wilson further pointed out that the vernaculars could be improved only through the classical languages. 137

Rev. J. Tucker questioned by Sir Charles Wood declared that English and vernacular education would not make any appreciable headway unless actively fostered by the Government. He also observed that the success of education would depend on the measures that the Government would take for the training of teachers. He, therefore, suggested that the whole system of inspectors and training schools as existing in England should be adopted in India without delay. Tucker wanted that the Government should go even further than the Privy Council and send out trained teachers to India. 138 Halliday, also, stressed the importance of having a class of well qualified teachers and recommended that the teachers of the Government institutions should be formed into a separate service, with higher pay, and the advantages of social rank, pension and furlough. 139 The cause of vernacular education also found a champion in Duff who advocated the parallel cultivation of English and vernacular, because otherwise the benefits of education would be restricted only to a few. 140

As usual on such occasions, the question of Government’s relation with religious teaching was also discussed before the

137. Ibid, 5-8.
139. Ibid.
Select Committees and the missionaries took a prominent part in the deliberations. The system of education pursued in the Government seminaries had so far been absolutely secular and the Government had on all occasions tardily refused to interfere in religious matters. This had led to the fostering of a spirit of atheism among the students, especially those of the Hindu College. The missionaries had naturally welcomed this as it offered them an opportunity of filling their spiritual vacuum with the doctrines of Christianity. The Indians themselves had also realised the danger of atheism and many of them, under the leadership of Ram Mohun Roy, had established the Brahma Samaj for preaching the doctrines of Vedic Monotheism. But conversion had not been so easy as many had expected.

Halliday, when examined by the Committee of the Commons, stoutly opposed the introduction of the Bible into the Government schools. He declared that the Government should pursue its policy of neutrality in religious matters and observed that the success of the missionary bodies was due to the belief prevalent among Indians that their endeavours were wholly of a private nature. He believed that Government interference "might produce a very serious convulsion, which would throw the Missionaries back a great number of years."\(^{141}\) Trevelyan believed that the advance of English education would naturally promote the cause of Christianity in India.\(^{142}\) Halliday endorsed his views.\(^{143}\)

Marshman on the other hand considered that "the union of religious and secular instruction was absolutely indispensable". He pointed out that in India religion was "completely identified with education"; yet he declared that the introduction of the teaching of the Bible into the Government seminaries would be disastrous. He was also averse to any such steps because most of the European teachers were indifferent towards Christianity and the educated Indians did not acknow-

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\(^{142}\) Mahmud—69,

ledge it as of divine origin. Hence he thought it would be a profanation to introduce the Bible into the Government institutions.\textsuperscript{144}

Some of the Missionaries, also, spoke against the introduction of the Bible into the Government seminaries. Rev. J. Leechman of Serampore thought that for political as well as religious reasons the Bible should not be introduced into the Government institutions, but desired that the teachers should be given liberty to teach the Scriptures after school hours to those who might be desirous of learning them.\textsuperscript{145} Rev. J. Kennedy of the Church Missionary Society also thought that Government interference would be harmful to the promotion of Christianity.\textsuperscript{146}

Alexander Duff, the veteran Scottish Missionary, however, came forward as the champion of the missionary cause. He deplored the fact that while "true literature and science" had been substituted for "false literature, false science, and false religion", nothing had so far been done to introduce "the only true religion," that is, Christianity.\textsuperscript{147} He warned his examiners of the danger of creating a spiritual vacuum among the students and emphasised the need of disseminating Christianity among those who have renounced Hinduism. He also declared that it was only through the dissemination of Christianity that the moral and intellectual improvement of India could be effected.\textsuperscript{148}

The question of female education was also discussed and people like Trevelyan and Marshman drew the Committee's attention to its deplorable state in Bengal and also of the apathy and even antipathy of the people towards it. They both emphasized the need of improvement in this sphere.\textsuperscript{149}

From the Parliamentary enquiry into the educational matters and the evidences produced, as well as the suggestions

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid, 172.
\textsuperscript{147} Sec. Rep. H. L. (1852-53) 414.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid, 200-1 and Sixth Rep. H. C. 44.
made before the Parliamentary Committees, it was quite clear that the educational policy of the Company's Government in Bengal had reached a very advanced stage of development and it was obvious that the time had come when the home authorities should regulate, co-ordinate, and systematise the various trends of educational developments in India and thereby lay down the policy which the Government in India was to follow in future. The task of doing this fell on Sir Charles Wood, President of the Control. Wood found that his task was by no means an easy one, so he asked Dalhousie "to prepare a report showing existing matters as they are and also what is feasible in the way of extension".\textsuperscript{150} In reply, Dalhousie pointed out that the various sources of information already in the possession of the Board and added, "Trevelyan is a Pandit on education, and will at once point out what is wanted."\textsuperscript{151}

Sir Charles Wood, thereupon, consulted all those who could be considered as authorities on Indian education and the outcome was the celebrated despatch of 19th July, 1854. It was shown to Macaulay, Glenelg (Charles Grant) Bayley, Prinsep, Duff, Beadon and others and received their approval.\textsuperscript{152}

"It imposed on the Government of India the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education from the primary school to the University."\textsuperscript{153} The Government of India was told that it was "peculiarly important" "not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust." Spread of education was also necessary in the "material interests" of England as it would enable Indians to develop their vast resources and would "secure to us a larger and more certain

\textsuperscript{151} Lee-Warner II, 207.
\textsuperscript{152} Wood to Dalhousie, 24th July 1854, Ibid 208.
\textsuperscript{153} Hartog, 18.
supply of many articles necessary for our manufacture and
extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well
as an inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour.”

With regard to the type of education to be imparted the
Despatch “emphatically” declared that it was to be the
“improved arts, sciences and literature of Europe” and
categorically stated that the eastern systems “abound with
grievous errors.” But the authorities had no desire to abolish
oriental institutions as such studies were valuable for “histori-
cal and antiquarian purposes” and also because the cultiva-
tion of the oriental languages was necessary for the study
of Hindu and Muslim laws and for the improvement of the
vernaculars. The scheme of study pursued in the Oriental
institutions in Bengal was, therefore, to be improved and
rendered useful.

English was to be the medium of higher education, but it
was not to be substituted for the vernaculars.” It is indispen-
sable,” the Despatch declared, “that in any general system of
education, the study of them should be assiduously attended
to, and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge
which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people
— whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a higher
order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome
the difficulties of a foreign language — can only be conveyed
to them through one or other of these vernacular languages.”
Thus, filtration policy was definitely abandoned.

The progress of education and the requirements of
European and Anglo-Indian communities had convinced the
authorities in England that had come for the establishment
of Universities. They, therefore, agreed with the earlier
recommendation of the Council of Education and that they
should be established at Calcutta and Bombay and also at
Madras and other places if there were sufficient institutions
suitable to be affiliated to them. These Universities were to
be modelled on the University of London “as being best
adapted to the wants of India. “They were to confer degrees
of candidates from affiliated institutions according to prescribed
rules. The examinations were not to include any religious
subjects; but institutions conducted by all denominations could be affiliated, if they imparted a sufficiently high degree of education in the subjects examined. These affiliated institutions were to be periodically visited by Government Inspectors.

Professorships were to be established for imparting instructions in advanced degree, especially, in Law and Civil Engineering. It was also suggested that if Professorships were established in vernacular and classical languages, that would greatly encourage the study of the former. But the chairs in the latter were not to be used for the study of religious subjects.

The authorities were also prepared to assist in the establishment of more Medical and Engineering Colleges, but admission to those were to be based on merit alone.

The Despatch also emphasised that vernaculars should be cultivated in the Anglo-vernacular Colleges and English in the vernacular and Oriental institutions with a view to “that general diffusion of European knowledge which is the main object of education in India.”

In place of the Council of Education an Education Department with full-time paid officers were to be established in each province to assist the provincial Governments in educational matters.

Now that the filtration policy was being given up the authorities were to consider how best “useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life,” could be made available to the great mass of the people. Such expansion was not possible by Government effort alone because of the vastness of the task and the enormous expenses necessary. Therefore, it was resolved to resort to the grants-in-aid system which had been so successfully adopted in England. This aid was to be given on the basis of complete religious neutrality to all schools imparting a good secular education under satisfactory local management and Government inspection.\textsuperscript{154}

\textsuperscript{154} To preserve the policy of complete religious neutrality the President deleted from the Original Draft a paragraph extolling the work of the missionaries among the uncivilised races and offering to “freely
As gratuitous education was everywhere held in little esteem, it was decided to levy fees from students to encourage greater exertion and regularity in attendance. The fees thus collected could also be utilised for the benefit of the schools concerned.

It was hoped that in this way education provided entirely by government would ultimately stop and government institutions, especially, of a higher type, could be transferred to local management while receiving aid from the government.

It was also decided to carry out more fully Auckland’s scheme of connecting Zillah schools with Central colleges by a system of scholarships and to extend it to schools of lower descriptions as well in order to encourage talented students. Stipends were to be discontinued.

The question of providing trained school teachers and suitable text books was also paid attention to; and it was decided to establish in each presidency Normal Schools and classes as soon as possible on the model existing in England. With regard to the question of providing text books, the Despatch approvingly quoted the view of Adam that the aim was to be “not to translate the words and idioms of the native languages but so to combine the substance of European knowledge with native forms of thought and sentiment as to render the school books useful and attractive”.

The progress of education, it was hoped, would not only provide the government with able efficient and faithful servants but that the possibility of such appointments would also act as an incentive to the progress of education.155

This Despatch did not introduce any starting innovation into the educational policy of the Company’s Government in Bengal. The new elements introduced by this Despatch were the proposition for the establishment of a University and the

extend the benefits of...grants-in-aid” “to schools for civilizing such, races” “without the same reservation with regard to religious instruction which we have thought necessary as respects all classes not included in this exception to maintain.” (Draft No. 585 of 1854)

creation of a department for the administration of education. But it must be observed in this connection that the proposal for the establishment of a University was first made by the authorities in Bengal and it was the Directors who had rejected the scheme.

But the Government subsequently appointed a Central Body of Examiners which to a certain extent served the purpose. The foundation of the education department had, also been laid with the establishment of the General Committee and was developed later by its transformation into the Council of Education and the appointment of an Inspector. The Grants-in-aid system also was not altogether new. The help rendered to the Hindu College was by grants of this nature. This was also true of the vernacular schools especially those of the Upper Provinces. The education of girls was also undertaken by the Government; previous to the receipt of this Despatch. Much has already been said about the other points dealt with in this Despatch; hence it is needless to recount them, and it will be sufficient to repeat the words of H. R. James, about this Despatch; "what goes before leads up to it; what follows flows from". 156

156. James—Education and Citizenship in India 42.
CONCLUSION

The importance of Wood's Despatch lies in the fact that in it the home authorities for the first time clearly laid down in detail the policy they wished to be followed with regard to the dissemination of education in India. Hitherto, the Government in Bengal had adopted different measures on different occasions on its own and had then communicated them to the Directors for approval. The Government in Bengal had consequently been greatly handicapped on account of the absence of any clearly defined policy. The want of a separate department charged exclusively with educational matters had been another great obstacle to the development of a uniform educational policy. The General Committee, and the Council of Education which succeeded it were, both composed of men unacquainted with educational matters, moreover, they were high Government officials with little time to spare for their unremunerative task. So, they seldom took their duties as seriously as the importance of the task demanded or met in conference and mostly transacted their business by writing minutes, which were circulated among the members for comment. Consequently, their policy was one of indecision and vacillation and the measures they adopted were of a sporadic nature. They never consistently pursued any policy and often waited for rather than anticipated and guided events. Even in this respect they were far from being active and they often lagged behind popular opinion and popular demand. The Government had to rely on this body for educational matters and consequently they could do little to improve education. Yet, helped by some of their enterprising officers, the Government succeeded, to a certain extent, to overcome the vacillation of the Committee. Much also depended on the Governor General and men like Auckland and Hardinge paid a great deal of attention and thought to the development of education in Bengal.

Another deciding factor in educational matters was finance. According to the interpretation wrongly put by the authorities
on clause 43 of the charter of 1813, the Governor General was allowed to spend only 1 lac of rupees per year on education. This amount was obviously too small for such a vast undertaking, and both the Government and the General Committee were reluctant to appropriate any large part of even this small amount. Consequently, at times, the authorities, even after the formulation of a plan, could not put it into operation for want of funds. Not only that, the Committee even withdrew financial assistance from some of the elementary schools like those at Chinsurah.

The Directors, never laid down any policy for the guidance of the Bengal Government. Their part in the formulation of educational policy was confined mostly to approval or at times—which was not very frequent—to rejection of the plans adopted or suggested by the authorities in Bengal. They, however, were clear and definite on one point, namely, the need for the dissemination of English education among Indians and in this they were greatly influenced by utilitarian thought. But their advocacy of English education was dictated by financial and administrative consideration. By 1830, the Directors had passed completely under the control of the Private Traders who thought that by anglicising the Indians they would be able to create a greater demand among them for English manufactures. Moreover, the Directors were obsessed with the idea of economy and believed that by employing Indians in subordinate posts, they would be able to effect economy in administration. Hence they wanted to promote English education. Their desire for economy also prevented them from urging the encouragement of Oriental education; because that would have involved an extra expenditure from the Government’s exchequer. This obsession for economy, the Directors carried beyond reasonable limits and even asked Bentinck to retrench or to retire. The Directors were also not very prompt in replying to the correspondence of the Government and they did not communicate their opinion on Bentinck’s Resolution until 1841. This often proved to be a great hindrance to the adoption of any new measures or policy.

Under these circumstances the authorities in Bengal could
do little but indulge in experiments which in the beginning were taken up half-heartedly, and were often abandoned without a fair trial. Hence, until 1835 the Government’s policy was one of indecision and vacillation. In 1835 Bentinck’s Resolution finally decided between the rival claims of English and Oriental education; but it did not lay down any comprehensive policy. This Resolution, with modifications guided the educational policy of the Government until 1839, when Auckland after mature consideration of past developments and the actual working of Bentinck’s System laid down, for the first time a comprehensive scheme of education. The development since that date was to a very great extent a necessary corollary of his famous minute in which he formulated his scheme. But still the educational policy was far from being adequately defined and the Government still had to rely on the approval of the Directors for any step they might take. Moreover, although the Government made extra-grants for the development of education, they were by no means sufficient. Besides, the Directors went on reminding them of the necessity of economising. Apart from this, the too great emphasis laid by the authorities on economy led them to confine their educational activities to the higher education of the higher and middle classes; because they thought that the limited nature of funds at their disposal would not allow them to undertake the education of the masses, and believed that those who received a higher education in the Government Seminaries would in time be able to act as teachers to their countrymen. But, they forgot that in order to do that it was necessary to raise a special body of trained teachers and publish suitable textbooks. The authorities realised this omission rather late and even when they set about to supply this deficiency, they were hampered by want of funds and proper supervision. The Government, however, specially during the administration of Auckland and Hardinge tried to tackle this problem and considering the circumstances, their endeavour was praiseworthy; in fact they laid the foundation and started the working of the educational policy which reached its completion in 1854. In that year
Sir Charles Wood's Despatch arrived in India. The Government now knew where it stood, and what was expected from it and what course it should follow in future. This Despatch thus put an end to the period of waiting on the part of the Government in India for the approval of the Directors. Briefly speaking, this Despatch put the finishing touch to the structure of educational policy which had been in the process of evolution ever since the beginning of the Missionary activities about the year 1790 and which by 1854 was all but complete.
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ERRATA

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8 read Dundas for Dundus
52 (first line) European learning among Indians for European Indians

65 read community for Community
79 ,, same
80 ,, Indian society for Indian Society
82 Close quotation in the 11th line after the word extensive
87 read Mohammedans for Muhammedans
90 ,, Iradutmud for Iradtumud
110 ,, science for Science
128 ,, nearly for mearly
143 ,, Ullee Oollah for Ullee Collah
145 ,, general expediency for General expediency
145 ,, rupees for Rupees
152 ,, De Rozio for Derozio
169 ,, committee of education for Committee of Education
170 ,, Trevelyan for Travelyan
188 ,, Shakespeare for Shakespear
189 ,, institution for Institution
190, 191, 192 read Shakespeare for Shakespear
201 read Henry the Eighth for Henry the English
205 ,, analogy for Analogy
205 ,, Munro for Munroe
206 ,, Bentinck for Bentink
211 ,, students for Students
219 ,, Bentinck for Bentink
227 ,, Adam for Adams
266 ,, educational fund for education Fund
286 ,, monthly grant for monthly Grant
299 ,, President of the Board of Control for President of the Control

The pagination for pages 236 and 237 has been wrongly printed as 136 and 137.