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Educational Controversies in India.

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EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSIES IN INDIA

Those whom Rome subdued, became twice subject by their slavish acceptance of her language; and those who subdued Rome were only saved from vassalage to her learning by the free genius of their political institutions.

—Hodgson.

EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSIES IN INDIA

The Cultural Conquest of India under British Imperialism

BY

B. K. BOMAN-BEHRAM, M.A., LL.B.

Author of "the Rise of Municipal Government in the City of Ahmedabad."

PART I

ANGLO-ORIENTALIST CONTROVERSY

PART II

ANGLO-VERNACULARIST CONTROVERSY

D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & CO.,

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PREFACE

The chief object of the following pages is to give a somewhat fuller account of the educational controversies in the days of the East India Company than is usually given in works on the history of Indian education. Considering the historical importance of the controversies in question, it is sometimes surprising to note how lacking in illuminating details or in sympathetic insight the treatment of them by writers on Indian education is. They are often regarded as entirely things of the past without any practical concern or interest for the present.

But little more than a century has elapsed since the voice of the controversialists was silenced. And it is important to remember that a controversy may die down, but the issues involved may not die out. Phœnix-wise, they rise again and again out of the ashes of dead controversies demanding a better and more comprehensive solution under altered circumstances. They have a vitality which survives rough and ready solutions and make-shift arrangements or compromises. The controversies dealt with in the succeeding pages involved issues of this abiding nature and hence their interest for the present no less than for the past.

Those issues were briefly two. First, whether European or "Oriental" learning and knowledge was to form "the stuff" of education to be imparted under official auspices. And, secondly, whether the English or the Oriental or the vernacular languages were to be the means of communication of learning, European or Oriental. The first issue may to all appearance be a dead one now and may seem to superficial eyes settled once for all. Yet in our own time there have been powerful reactions to the official settlement of it as manifest in the rise of institutions aiming at resuscitation of Indian culture and rejecting the theory of the superiority of European knowledge or science. And certainly one cannot dismiss as negligible the volume of opposition that continues to exist to the basic principles of our educational system from the time those principles were first propounded.

As regards the second issue, it would not be an exaggeration to say that it remains alive to this day, though the novelty and exciting interest which it once possessed have disappeared. Opinion still remains as sharply divided on our educational language-question as it was divided a century ago, and the feeling is far from uncommon that the question must needs be one day reopened with a view to arrive at a more satisfactory settlement. Moreover, it is certain that those who imposed the settlement of the question as actually in force to-day did not intend it to be a final and permanent one.

No apology seems therefore to be needed for the present humble attempt to bring to life century-old controversies. Believing as the author does that several of the outstanding questions in the field of Indian education are, in substance if not in form, a legacy of the generation that witnessed the controversies, he thinks some useful purpose may be served by a retrospective survey of the genesis and development of those questions and the circumstances and the manner in which they were threshed out and settled. But he has aimed only at a historical delineation and has thought it best to leave the discussion of the abstract merits of those questions and their possible solutions to abler hands.

Such a survey brings out one important fact, among others, which must be kept in view throughout for a proper understanding of the educational controversies dealt with in these pages. It is that the period of the controversies was essentially an experimental period. That period witnessed on the part of Indians the establishment of incipient contacts with European civilization and the resultant intellectual attacks by them on the ancient traditions and institutions of the land. It witnessed on the part of British rulers the beginning of an organised attempt to impose European civilization, chiefly through the medium of education. It should be noted, however, that the British rulers, with very imperfect knowledge and experience of the people they governed, could not but be conscious of the tentative nature of their first incursions in the field of Indian education. Difficulties had to be overcome, problems solved, views tested, the foundation had to be laid and the kind of foundation to be laid determined on. Hence the ample instances of mistakes committed, of failures of

designs, of the fecundity of plans and their criticism and sometimes hyper-criticism, and even of enthusiasm without a clear discernment of the proper ends and means. Hence the frequent clashes of views and opinions which constitute a very prominent characteristic of the period. And through the welter of fiercely opposed opinions and doctrines the authorities responsible for the final decision of the matter picked their way to certain working conclusions which have ever since governed, with some modifications, the course and conduct of our educational system.

But it is important to bear in mind that those conclusions were working conclusions dictated by practical considerations and the peculiar circumstances of the period. They were far from constituting a final and permanent solution of the questions at issue, though they may appear to do so at this distance of time. And if the narrative of the controversies from which those conclusions emanated succeeds in making the point clear, one of the main purposes of this book will have been served.

The book has also another purpose and that is to analyse the idealogical background of the educational policy of the British Government in India. After all, a true history of education is more a history of ideas and ideals than of institutions. Hence the author has repeatedly dwelt on the motives, ideas and influences that bore on the formation of the policy which continues with variations to rule Indian Education. The author believes that if we look for a master conception without which it is not easy to explain some of the obscure or dubious aspects of that policy, we shall find it in the British conception of the cultural conquest of the country.

For the materials of the book the author has drawn extensively on the original, unpublished official records—the best and largest source at present available. This has of course entailed the tedious task of poring over the numerous mouldy files on the subject both in the Record Office of the Government of Bombay and in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta. But the labour has not been without its compensations, and the greatest compensation would certainly be the Reader's appreciation, if the author can dare hope for it.

The Author.

BOMBAY, 13*th July* 1943.

ABBREVIATIONS

Pub. Cons. (Dept./Progs.)	..	Public Consultation (Department/ Proceedings.)
H. Pub. Cons. (Dept./Progs.)	..	Home Public Consultation (Department/Proceedings).
Poll. „ „ „	..	Political „ „ „
Judl. „ „ „	..	Judicial „ „ „
Genl. Dept.	..	General Department.
As. Jour.	..	Asiatic Journal.
Sels. E. R.	..	Selections from Educational Records.

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PART I.

THE ANGLO-ORIENTALIST CONTROVERSY

Chapter I.

THE PIONEER.

§ 1.

If a pioneer in doctrine be not the direct or immediate cause of a controversy, he is usually the precursor of one. It will be evident from the following pages that Charles Grant—in certain respects the pioneer of Indian education—was far from engendering or even foreseeing the subsequent educational developments in the land of his evangelistic dreams; but that all the same his utterances bore in them the sparks which bespoke the later polemical blaze.

Of Scottish descent, Grant came to India at an early age to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his family, served under the Company, accumulated a handsome fortune and retired with it to England to indulge in philanthropic schemes. In India he experienced a revolution of religious feeling which directed his thoughts towards evangelising work for the Indian people, but his schemes bore no immediate fruit. In England he became one of that small band of humanitarians of which Wilberforce was the acknowledged leader and which later came to be denominated the Clapham Brotherhood. There his plans met with the needed encouragement as a result of which he was stimulated to produce his pioneer work on Indian education.

Grant's elaborate tract, written in 1792, was entitled "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the

Means of improving it."[1] The title gives a pretty clear indication of the scope and object of the work. We find Grant devoting himself in the first three chapters to an examination or exposition, supported by an imposing parade of what he believed to be unquestionable facts and authorities, of the degraded condition of the social and religious life of the Indian people. These chapters are a sort of prolegomena to the final one which deals with the ways and means of remedying the evils and "disorders" that, according to the author, had penetrated deep into the vitals of Hindu social existence and stood as an obstruction to "every species of improvement among them." It is the concluding chapter that possesses interest as an important document in the early history of Indian education. As for the preceding chapters, their historical value is extremely dubious, to say the least. The dark picture of Indian society presented in them is on the face of it one-sided and exaggerated, if not totally false; and it is quite understandable why Grant should have been led, unconsciously perhaps, to dip his brush in the darkest colours for depicting the social condition of the Indian people, when the immediate object with which his treatise was written is borne in mind.

That object was to draw attention to the harvest that lay to be reaped in this country by Christian evangelizing zeal and to induce the

[1] Printed in "General Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16th August 1832." For the circumstances in which the tract originated and its subsequent success, *vide The Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, 1845, pp. 221-22, footnote, and Morris' *Life of Grant*, pp. 324-29.

Directors of the Company and the Government in England to permit missionaries and school-masters free access to India by a legal provision to be embodied in the Charter Act of 1793. Though the motive of Grant's exertions was doubtless philanthropic and evangelistic, yet, when philanthropy is devoid of sympathetic insight, it tends to unduly magnify the festering sores of others' social system or even one's own in order to excite attention to the object of its pity. Philanthropy can thus at times be a saviour and a slanderer. The fact explains incidentally why Grant's discussion of his proposals for the amelioration of the people of India is preceded by a nauseating account of the circumstances of their general social life. To enter on an examination of the facts (or what were supposed to be so) and the statements and half-truths with which that account bristles would be beyond the scope of these pages; nor does it seem to be necessary at this time of day when the modern literary successors of Grant —those at least possessed of open and honest minds—seem to have improved considerably in a knowledge of the country and its people. We may therefore at once turn to that part of Grant's work which has an immediate bearing on the present subject.

§ 2.

After laying bare what he conceived to be the degenerate state of the Hindus, Grant proceeds to ask: How was "a healing principle" to be applied to rid their social organism of the diseases which, as he viewed the prevalent state of things, appeared to have become "inveterate" in it?

"Shall we resort to the power we possess", he asked, "to destroy their distinctions of castes, and to demolish their idols? Assuredly not. Force, instead of convincing them of their error, would fortify them in the persuasion of their being right; and the use of it, even if it promised happier consequences, would still be altogether unjust." His diagnosis pointed to a different treatment. He stressed the Hindu's "ignorance" as the primary and principal cause of his moral and social degradation, and knowledge as the true and natural remedy. "The true cure of darkness, is the introduction of light. The Hindus err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed, from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us." In short, the remedy proposed by Grant was the introduction of the Protestant Christianity of England and the arts and sciences of Europe. It is his insistence upon the efficacy of what he called the "superior lights" of the West that gives him, historically, the position of a herald of Anglicism in India.

Logically, Grant was next led to a consideration of the *medium* through which the "superior lights" were to be communicated to the people of India. And here it may be observed that Grant was careful to make a distinction between what he termed the "principle" and the "mode" of imparting Western knowledge—an important

distinction which was sometimes overlooked at a subsequent period. The principle regarded by him as indisputable was that no other than Western knowledge could be effectively counteractive of the evils of Hindu society and that, therefore, the "matter of instruction" was to consist of that knowledge. But he recognised that there might be differences of opinion regarding the "mode" of communicating it—that is, as he intended the term to mean, the language or languages in which this was to be done—and thus foreshadowed, though faintly, the controversies of a later period on the question of the most suitable medium of instruction for India. "There are two ways," he said, "of making this communication: the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries; the other is, by the medium of our own." And, though he expressed a decided preference for English, Grant may on the whole be said to have preserved an open mind on this specific question. "Upon this subject," he declared, "it is not intended to pass an exclusive decision here; the points absolutely to be contended for are, that we ought to impart our superior lights, and that this is practicable; that it is practicable by two ways, can never be an argument why neither should be attempted. Indeed no great reason appears why either should be interdicted, since particular cases may recommend, even that which is in general least eligible."

What he considered "in general least eligible" for the purpose in view were the languages of India. He preferred the English to the vernacular medium. His reasons for the preference were simple and such as might have occurred to anyone

even on a superficial view of the subject. One of these may be quoted here in his own words. He observed: "The acquisition of a foreign language is, to men of cultivated minds, a matter of no great difficulty. English teachers could therefore be sooner qualified to offer instruction in the native language, than the Indians would be prepared to receive it in ours. This method would hence come into operation more speedily than the other; and it would also be attended with the advantage of a more careful selection of the matter of instruction. But it would be far more confined and less effectual; it may be termed a species of deciphering. The decipherer is required to unfold, in intelligible words, what was before hidden. Upon every new occasion, he has a similar labour to perform, and the information obtained from him is limited to the single communication then made. All other writings in the same character, still remain, to those who are ignorant of it, unknown; but if they are taught the character itself, they can at once read every writing in which it is used. Thus superior, in point of ultimate advantage, does the employment of the English language appear; and upon this ground, we give a preference to that mode, proposing, here, that the communication of our knowledge shall be made by the medium of our own language."

Besides, Grant was not one of those who regarded as visionary and impracticable any scheme for diffusing widely a knowledge of English among the people of India. "In general," he remarked, "when foreign teachers have proposed to instruct the inhabitants of any country, they

have used the vernacular tongue of the people, for a natural and necessary reason, that they could not hope to make any other mean of communication intelligible to them. This is not our case in respect of our Eastern dependencies. They are our own, we have possessed them long, many Englishmen reside among the natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely."

Having thus set forth his opinion on the question of the medium to be used, Grant proceeded to outline a plan of education. Under his plan, English was to be the channel for the communication of the "superior lights." He said: "....it is perfectly in the power of this country (England), by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions, upon a variety of subjects; and, let not the idea hastily excite derision, *progressively* with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine and at length subvert the fabric of error; and all the objections that may be apprehended against such a change, are, it is confidently believed, capable of a solid answer. The first communication, and the instrument of introducing the rest, must be the English language; this is a key which will open to them a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands."

But Grant's preference for English was not restricted to its employment as medium of education. He argued on practical grounds the neces-

sity of another innovation closely connected with the success of his general plan, and that was a change in the language of administration. Dwelling on the abuses accruing from the use of a language unknown to, or at best imperfectly understood by those who ruled the country, he was inclined to think a suitable opportunity had been allowed to pass on the acquisition of the Dewannee to substitute the use of English for that of Persian in the transaction of public business. Now, in 1792, he strongly advocated the substitution of the one for the other, not merely for the sake of administrative convenience and facility, but also for the sake of the impetus it was calculated to give to the study of English among the people. Herein, again, he anticipated the later Anglicists who demanded the employment of English in the conduct of administrative business in order that the study of it might spread abroad widely. Grant seems to have been at one with them in thinking that the school-master needed the co-operation of the administrator in his task of broadcasting the English language among the people of India.

The plan of education, as proposed by Grant in outline, was a simple one. Once again his own words may serve to unfold it. "It would be extremely easy for government to establish," he propounded, "at a moderate expense, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English: multitudes, especially of the young would flock to them; and the easy books used in teaching might at the same time convey obvious truth on different subjects. The teachers should be persons of knowledge, morals and discretion;

and men of this character would impart to their pupils much useful information in discourse: and to facilitate the attainment of that object, they might at first make some use of the Bengalese tongue. The Hindoos would, in time, become teachers of English themselves, and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of government. If they wish it to succeed, it can and must succeed. The introduction of English in the administration of the revenue, in judicial proceedings, and in other business of government, wherein Persian is now used, and the establishment of free-schools for instruction in this language, would insure its diffusion over the country, for the reason already suggested, that the interest of the natives would induce them to acquire it. Neither would much confusion arise, even at first, upon such a change: for there are now a great number of Portuguese and Bengalese clerks in the provinces, who understand both the Hindostany and English languages. To employ them in drawing up petitions to government, or its officers would be no additional hardship upon the poorer people, who are now assisted in that way by Persian clerks; and the opportunity afforded to others who have sufficient leisure, of learning the language of the government gratuitously, would be an advantage never enjoyed under Mahomedan rulers."

With the aid of such means as were comprised or indicated in his plan, together with that

of the printing press, Grant saw little difficulty in transplanting the arts and sciences and mechanical inventions of the West into India. Though his cautious nature did not indulge in hopes of any immediate advent of a millenium thereby, yet he did entertain pleasant anticipations of the material prosperity and moral happiness that the adoption of his plan was to bring to the people. "It is not asserted," he said, "that such effects would be immediate or universal; but admitting them to be progressive, and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity, and internal peace of society among the Hindoos: Men would be resorted to the use of their reason; all the advantages of happy soil, climate, and situation, would be observed and improved; the comforts and conveniences of life would be increased; the cultivation of the mind, and rational intercourse, valued; the people would rise in the scale of human beings; and as they found their character, their state, and their comforts improved, they would prize more highly, the security and the happiness of a well ordered society. Such a change would correct those sad disorders which have been described, and for which no other remedy has been proposed, nor is in the nature of things to be found."

Such was the dream (if it may be so called) of Grant. No doubt, his views were not free from liability to criticism on several points. In the first place, the manifold practical difficulties to the execution of a plan of education such as was proposed by him were not easy to dispose of. Again, the resisting forces of Hindu social institutions and culture were entirely beyond Grant's

ken. His knowledge of the life of the people and of their past history was too partial and restricted and the mental limitations to which he was subject with his age too dominant, to afford him even an inkling of the resistance that might be made to the impact of European ideas and knowledge or civilisation. Above all, if he meditated making English the general language of India, as he seems to have done, he certainly failed to realise the chimerical nature of the project; though it has to be remembered at the same time that Grant spoke in 1792 with reference to the portion of territory under the Company's rule at the period. But, notwithstanding all that can be said in discount of the intrinsic value of Grant's views or plan of education, the fact remains that no impartial man can deny praise to the pioneer attempts of this eighteenth century philanthropist to induce those on whom the responsibility for the administration of the country rested to give it an organised system of Western education. The root principle of his scheme, that of the introduction of Western knowledge through the English language, was definitely accepted by the Government of India in 1835, and is with some modifications in operation to the present day. And what is further noteworthy is that Grant's proposals went much further than what was implied in the endeavours of the early European educationists of India like Ziegenbalg, Grundler, Schwartz, Bell, Kerr, Stevenson, Kierander and Briercliffe or was probably dreamt of by them: for Grant came very near to proposing what the Anglicists headed by Macaulay and Trevelyan professed much later as one of the grand aims of their efforts—the Westernisation of India by means of education.

Chapter II.

EVOLUTION OF THE ORIENTALIST POLICY.

§ 1.

Charles Grant's proposals for the introduction of the knowledge and science of the West into India remained embalmed between the covers of the blue book for a long time before the Company's administrators in India deemed the time ripe for turning their hand to the framing of an educational policy for the Company's possessions. But when the time did arrive, they approached their task with an altogether different attitude of mind from that of Grant—nay, an attitude almost antithetic to his. We can clearly perceive a new mental trend governing the official outlook on things educational. Grant proposed a mental and moral reform of the Indian people by a radical method—namely, by the propagation amongst them of a foreign religion and foreign knowledge through a foreign medium. But in India there prevailed the voice and counsels of men whose Indian experience had made them conservative and cautious and who were apt to regard schemes like that of Grant as of more academic than practical interest under the conditions as they perceived them to exist. More than a generation elapsed before our pioneer came into his own.

It was not, however, only the conservatism and cautiousness of the ruling authorities, or individuals connected with them, which prevented

ideas and suggestions of the nature of those propounded by Grant from finding acceptance as the basis of an official educational policy. There was another factor distinctly unfavourable to the influence of Grant's views, and that was the prevailing literary tendency of the period. During the latter part of the eighteenth century Europe was in the grip of an enthusiastic vogue for Oriental languages and classics. To minds jaded with the outworn forms and models and themes of the Greek and Latin classics and with the endless changes rung on them by later scholars and commentators and imitators, the products of the research of European scholars into ancient Oriental lore came as a surpassingly stimulating mental food. As an illustration of the fact the rapturous lines of Goethe on 'Shakuntala' may at once occur to one's mind. A writer in the Calcutta Review for 1845, who was however an uncompromising opponent of Orientalism, describes in a florid vein the first reactions of the European mind to the discoveries in Oriental literature and philosophy and religion. "Now," he says, "men of education and literary accomplishments, imbued in different degrees with the peculiar spirit and wants of their age, had gone forth to India, but unendowed with those commanding powers that could distinctly articulate their own thoughts and feelings, or create for themselves new schools of literature and philosophy to supersede the old. Here, however, was the very turning point, or rubicon, which determined their future destinies. What Rousseau and his co-adjutors achieved, by the emanations of original genius, for the literary republics of the West, the European adventurers on the plains of India found already achieved for

them by the poets and sages of that gorgeous land. When the portals which, for unknown centuries, had guarded the entrance to these flowery realms, were thrown wide open, it seemed like the revealing of new gardens of delight,—the discovery of new and more glorious worlds. It seemed as if the fountains of the great deep of an unfathomable antiquity had been broken up—disclosing pearls of inestimable price. It seemed as if the primeval sources, whence had welled forth such copious rill of story and heroic song—of language, philosophy, and science—among the Western nations, had been unsealed. It seemed as if the innermost shrine of all ancient heathen wisdom, with its recondite lore and mystic symbolisms, had been at length unveiled....The whole seemed so new, so fresh, so original, so unlike all the antiquated types and models of the West, that the mind was at once aroused and enraptured."[1]

In India too the influence of the vogue for Oriental literature pervaded the literary and governing classes among Europeans. And one practical outcome of the prevailing tendency was that, when the British rulers had their attention directed to the duty of improving the intellectual and moral condition of the Indian people, they turned to the "revival" and encouragement of Oriental[2] literature and learning as the most appropriate mode of fulfilling that duty under the circumstances as they believed them to exist.

[1] The Calcutta Review, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 229-30 (Art: The Early or Exclusively Oriental Period of Government Education in Bengal).

[2] The term "Oriental" is used in a restricted sense to signify the literature and learning contained in the Sanskrit and Arabic languages.

Hence the experiment of the education of the people of India commenced, under the Company's auspices, not so much with endeavours on the part of the Government to introduce the "superior lights" of the West which Grant advocated, as with endeavours to raise Oriental learning from the state of decline to which it was observed to have been reduced at the time.

Moreover, this particular literary drift coincided admirably with the contemporary political and administrative exigencies of the Company's Government. Circumstanced as the British Rulers were, with no bond of race, religion, culture or colour between them and those whom they ruled, it was often a matter of anxiety to them to conciliate and attach the people to their rule. "We are among the people, but not of them," said William Adam, "We rule over them and traffic with them, but they do not understand our character and we do not penetrate theirs. The consequence is that we have no hold on their sympathies, no seat in their affections."[1] It was to draw the sympathies and affections of the people to themselves, that the British rulers early perceived the expediency of patronising Oriental literature, or in other words, of manifesting a regard for what their subjects prized and cherished. Again, the Company's administration stood in need of a class of judicial officers, and it was the expectation of raising such qualified officers that often furnished a motive for the institution of seminaries for the cultivation of Oriental learning.

1 Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar* (Third Report), p. 340, (edn. 1868).

Hence the educational possibilities of the idea of a "revival" of Oriental literature and learning came to possess an attraction peculiar to the period. The fact brings us to a point at which it would be convenient to trace the development of the Orientalist policy in education from its earliest beginnings.

That policy was adumbrated in the establishment of two institutions for Oriental learning (the earliest of their kind) under the direct patronage of the Company's government. In 1780, at the request of a number of Mahomedans of distinction, Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madressa, or Mahomedan College, at his own private expense, which was reimbursed to him two years after by the Company who thenceforth bore the charges of the institution. It may be noted here that Hastings was but instrumental in establishing the Madressa; the idea of the institution did not originate with him, as is evident from the immediate circumstances under which it was founded. To quote Hastings' own words: "In the month of September 1780 a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussulmen of credit and learning, who attended in a body for that purpose praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mudgid O'din who was then lately arrived at the Presidency to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law, and in such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Madressa or College, and

Mudgid O'din the fittest person to form and preside in it, that Calcutta was already become the seat of a great empire, and the resort of persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan, that it had been the pride of every polished court and the wisdom of every well regulated Government both in India and in Persia to promote by such institutions the growth and extension of liberal knowledge, that in India only the traces of them now remain, the decline of learning having accompanied that of the Mogul Empire, that the numerous offices of our Government which required men of improved abilities to fill and the care which had been occasionally observed to select men of the first eminence in the science of jurisprudence to officiate as judges in the criminal and assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature, and....the belief which generally prevailed that men so accomplished usually met with a distinguished reception from myself afforded them particular encouragement, to hope that a proposal of this nature would prove acceptable to the actual Government."[1] Accordingly, Hastings sent for the learned scholar referred to by the petitioners and prevailed upon him "to accept of the office designed for him." Mudgid-o-deen opened a school about the beginning of the following October, and conducted it with an ability which soon earned for it success and reputation. Apart from Government's good will towards their subjects which his patronage of the institution manifested, the professed object of Hastings in founding it seems to have been "to promote the study of the Arabic and Persian

[1] Minute, 17th April 1781: Selections from Educational Records, Pt. I, pp. 7-9.

languages," and of the Mahomedan law, with a view, more especially, to the production of well qualified officers for the courts of justice."[1]

The other institution was a Hindu College at Benares founded during the regime of Earl Cornwallis. In 1791 Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, proposed to the Governor-General the appropriation of a portion of the surplus revenue of the province (about Rs. 20,000 per annum) to the establishment and maintenance of a Hindu College or Academy " for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of that nation, at this centre of their faith, and the common resort of all their tribes."[2] Incidentally, it is interesting to note the apologetic comment of Nicholls, the chronicler of the College, on the object of the proposed institution as stated by Duncan. " The above proposition," says Nicholls, " of cultivating the Hindoo religion may appear startling to some, but it will be found that the proposition was subsequently very materially altered, so that even at this period, the charge, so frequently brought forward, of Government supporting Hinduism, will fall to the ground."[3] The alteration to which Nicholls refers was contained in the words of Duncan himself who subsequently stated the object of the institution

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1 Fisher's Memoir: Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee I Public—16th August 1832—p. 196. Arthur Howell states the particular object of the institution to have been " to qualify the sons of Muhammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, even at the date largely monopolised by the Hindus."—*Education in British India*, p. 1.

2 Letter from J. Duncan to the Governor-General-in-Council, 1st January 1792: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 10-11.

3 G. Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, p. 1.

to be "the cultivation of the Laws, Literature and, *as inseparably connected with the two former, the religion of the Hindus*...."[1]

Duncan, however, anticipated great advantages from the establishment of the proposed institution. "Two important advantages," he wrote to the Governor-General, "seem derivable from such an establishment, the first to the British name and nation in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindoos; by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their system, the care shewn even by their own native princes; for although learning has ever been cultivated at Benares, in numerous private seminaries, yet no public Institution of the kind here proposed ever appears to have existed; to which may, in a considerable degree, be attributed the great difficulty of now collecting complete treatises (although such are well known to have existed) on the Hindoo religion, laws, arts, or sciences; a defect and loss, which the permanency of a college at Benares must be peculiarly well-adapted to correct, and recover by a gradual collection and correction of the books still to be met with (though in a very dispersed and imperfect state) so as with care and attention and by the assistance and exertions of the possessors and students to accumulate at only a small comparative expense to Government, a precious library of the most ancient and valuable general learning and tradition now perhaps existing on any part of the globe." "The second principal advantage," he went on to say, "that may be derived from this Institution will be felt in its effects more imme-

[1] Ibid., pp. 1-4 passim.

diately by the natives, though not without being participated in by the British subjects, who are to rule over them, by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindoo Law and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders thereof, to assist the European judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people." Lord Cornwallis, not only immediately gave his sanction to Duncan's proposal, but generously enough gave permission that in case no surplus revenue accrued on account of the unfavourableness of the season (a contingency feared by Duncan at one time), the whole expenditure of the institution might be charged to Government.[1] The Resident, in pursuance of his design, having selected a certain number of "professors" in the principal Hindu sciences, and a house having been hired for their reception, they met for the first time on the 28th of October 1791. The Resident paid his first visit to the new college on 17th November 1791.[2]

At both those colleges the courses of instruction laid down were purely Oriental and sought to embrace practically the whole range of learning contained in the Arabic and the Sanskrit languages. And in the case of the Benares College it was expressly laid down as a rule that the discipline

1 Letter from Governor-General-in-Council to J. Duncan, 13th January 1792 : Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 12-13.

2 There seems to be a slight incongruity in dates. Both Fisher's Memoir and Nicholls agree in giving 1791 as the year of the establishment of the college. But the dates of the documents on the subject printed in Mr. Sharp's "Selections from Educational Records" (Pt. I, pp. 10-11, 12-13) would lead one to take 1792 as the year in which the college was founded.

of the college was "to be conformable in all respects to the Dharma Sastra in the chapter on education."

Those institutions were the prototype of others that were subsequently projected or established and they set the type of education which, with some modifications, Government considered it prudent and expedient to impart for about the next forty years. They foreshadowed an educational policy, the object of which was for the most part to communicate to the Hindus their own learning through the medium of Sanskrit and to the Mahomedans their own learning through the medium of Arabic and Persian. So it was a fairly well marked track that Lord Minto trod when in 1811 he proceeded, with an illustrious member of Council, H. T. Colebrooke, to project two new institutions for Hindu learning. The Governor-General was induced to do so by the sad state of decay in which he observed the science and literature of India to have fallen. "The number of the learned," remarked his Lordship, "is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrine of the people." The prevalent state of things he attributed to the inevitable withdrawal of the patronage and encouragement of learned men which followed the supplantation of the Hindu and Mahomedan rulers by the British. Impressed by these circumstances Minto wrote: "It is seriously to be

lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the Empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature." And also: "It is not, however, the credit alone of the national character which is affected by the present neglected state of learning in the East. The ignorance of the natives in the different classes of society, arising from the want of proper education, is generally acknowledged. This defect not only excludes them, as individuals, from the enjoyment of all those comforts and benefits which the cultivation of letters is naturally calculated to afford, but operating as it does throughout almost the whole mass of the population, tends materially to obstruct the measures adopted for their better government. Little doubt can be entertained that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery, so frequently noticed in the official reports, is in a great measure ascribable, both in the Mahomedans and Hindoos, to the want of due instruction in the moral and the religious tenets of their respective faiths...." And, like Grant, he declared that the seeds of the many evils frequently remarked upon (and frequently exaggerated too) could only be destroyed by a general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people.[1] But, besides the promptings of those laudable motives, what acted as a further inducement to Lord Minto to extend encouragement to Oriental learning were the general beneficial results he had witnessed "from the prosecu-

[1] Minute, 6th March 1811: Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16th August 1832, pp. 325-28.

tion of Oriental studies at the College of Fort William and through the medium of the learned works produced by the Serampore press."[1] So it was he proposed the establishment of two institutions of the type of the Benares College at Nuddea and Tirhoot—once famous seats of learning—and the remodelling of the Benares College itself as its affairs had not gone well for a long period. He desired also equal encouragement in the same manner to be given to Mahomedan learning provided the Court of Directors permitted further extension of the plan proposed by him.[2] But nothing substantial came of his proposals till 1823.

Lord Minto's Minute represents the divergence before alluded to from the ideas and views of Grant in its completest form. There is no mention made therein about the introduction of the English language or of European knowledge in the country. But more than that, it will be observed, the Minute associates the moral improvement of the country with the resuscitation of Oriental learning to its former flourishing state. In other words, it impliedly attributes a moral efficacy to Oriental learning which Grant insisted upon attributing to European knowledge alone. As such, the Minute marks the peak of stark, unadulterated Orientalism in the educational policy of the state at the period.

The next event of importance after Minto's project was the parliamentary recognition in the Charter Act of 1813 of the Company's duty towards the people of India in the matter of their

[1] "*Lord Minto in India*," by the Countess of Minto, pp. 374-75.

[2] Minute, 6th March 1811.

mental and moral reform. An earlier attempt by Wilberforce and Grant in 1792-93 to obtain such recognition had failed.[1] Their opponents among the Court of Directors, who advocated the withholding of enlightenment as the best means of keeping the Indian people in subjection to British dominion, and to whose arguments in support of their peculiar doctrine Grant intended his treatise to be an effective rejoinder, had then successfully argued "that the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed." But twenty years later, on the renewal of the Company's charter, the endeavours of the philanthropists met with a better fate. Some sop had perhaps to be given to Wilberforce who, since 1792, had been "inconveniently vocal in the Commons on measures for the moral and religious instruction of the natives."[2] A clause was inserted in the East India Company Act of 1813, which required the Company to allot annually a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees out of its surplus revenues to the education of their Indian subjects. As the interpretation of this clause formed the subject of a great dispute later on, it may be worth while to quote it here in full:

> "And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General-in-Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues

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1 For an account of the circumstances of the failure, *vide The Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, pp. 219-24. (Art: The Early or Exclusively Oriental Period of Government Education in Bengal).

2 Mayhew: The Education of India, p. 10 (1926).

and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil, and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other parts of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such Regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General in Council, subject, nevertheless, to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries; provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships, and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the governments within which the same shall be situated."[1]

This clause of the Charter Act is worthy of careful note from the point of view of the development of the Orientalist educational policy. Here is to be found, practically for the first time, the revival and encouragement of Oriental learning authoritatively coupled with the introduction of European knowledge, as two distinct objects desired to be conjointly pursued. Certainly, it is by no means quite clear what were the sciences the British legislature desired the knowledge of to be promoted; but, on a strict construction of the word "introduction" used in connection therewith, it does not seem unreasonable to deduce an intention on its part to refer to European science and knowledge.

[1] 53 Georgii 3, cap. 155, sec. 43.

Nor was the point elucidated in the Court's letter of instructions to the Government of India on the subject of the clause. At best, that letter affords but a vague indication of the intentions of the Legislature with regard to the introduction of European learning and science in India. But one thing seems certain, and it is that the interpretation of the terms of the clause in the practical language of the Court of Directors set the seal of approval on the Orientalist educational policy as hitherto pursued.

In June 1814 the Court for the first time conveyed to the Supreme Government in India their views and sentiments as to the mode in which they wished the enactment to be given effect to.

"In the consideration of it," said the Court prefatorily, "we have kept in view those peculiar circumstances of our political relation with India which, having necessarily transferred all power and pre-eminence from native to European agency, have rendered it incumbent upon us, from motives of policy, as well as from a principle of justice, to consult the feelings, and even to yield to the prejudices, of the natives, whenever it can be done with safety to our dominions." They then proceeded to suggest to the Supreme Government certain general measures of education that might be taken in pursuance of the Charter Act. Adverting to the principal object of the clause of the Act, they said: "The clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration: first, 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." But the Court thought that neither of those objects could be attained through the establishment of public colleges on the model of those at the European universities, because they apprehended "natives of caste and of reputation" would not be amenable to "the subordination and discipline of a college." Under such circumstances the Court doubted whether it was feasible to devise any specific plan which would promise "the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration." Hence the import of all their suggestions was to indicate simply the manner in which indigenous learning and methods of instruction might be aided and encouraged. The Court said :

> "We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance.
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> "In a political point of view, considerable advantages might, we conceive, be made to flow from the measure proposed, if it should be conducted with due attention to the usages and habits of the natives. They are known to attach a notion of sanctity to the soil, the buildings, and other objects of devout resort, and particularly to that at Benares, which is regarded as the central point of their religious worship, and as the great repository of their learning. The possession of this venerated city, to which every class and rank of the Hindoos is occasionally attracted, has placed in the hands of the British Government a powerful instrument of connection and conciliation, especially with the

Mahrattas, who are more strongly attached than any other to the supposed sanctity of Benares.

"Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we desire that your attention may be directed in an especial manner to Benares, and that you call upon your public representatives there to report to you what ancient establishments are still existing for the diffusion of knowledge in that city; what branches of science and literature are taught there; by what means the professors and teachers are supported; and in what way their present establishments might be improved to most advantage."

The Court next referred to the peculiar village system of instruction prevalent throughout India, and which had supplied Dr. Bell with the main principles of his famous system. They desired that system to be supported by the village teachers being afforded the protection of Government "in all their just rights and immunities;" for most of those teachers were believed to have sustained themselves on endowments of land or money from former Hindu and Mahomedan rulers, which had been lost sight of under the British Government. The Court also desired some mark of distinction to be conferred on individuals of superior merit or acquirements amongst the teachers.

The Court then turned to the question of encouragement of higher learning, especially Sanskrit learning, and this was what they had to propose regarding it: "We are informed that there are in the Sanskrit language many excellent systems of ethics, with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to

those natives who may be destined for the Judicial department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit we are told on the virtues of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner, and there are treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra, which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of Engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences." Hence "with a view to these several objects we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed under your authority, for this purpose, may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have made some proficiency in the sciences in question, and that their recompense should be liberal." And of particular interest are the Court's concluding words on the subject: "We encourage ourselves to hope, that a foundation may in this way be laid for giving full effect in the course of time to the liberal intentions of the Legislature; and we shall consider the money that may be allotted to this service as beneficially employed, if it should prove the means, by an improved intercourse of the Europeans with the natives, to produce those reciprocal feelings of regard and respect which

are essential to the permanent interests of the British Empire in India."[1]

It is apparent that the manner in which the Court suggested the clause of the Charter Act to be given effect to could necessitate no substantial departure from the course pursued before the Charter Act. It was on the encouragement of Oriental learning that the Court laid predominant emphasis; and they referred but vaguely to the promotion, perhaps at some distant date, of European scientific knowledge in connection with Sanskrit learning.

In 1814, the year of the Court's letter of instructions, the Orientalist policy is found formulated nearly in the form in which it eventually came to be made the basis of official educational operations in Bengal. Mr. J. H. Harington, who was subsequently appointed a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction, instituted by Government in 1823, wrote a paper, dated June 19, 1814, entitled "Observations suggested by the provision in the late Act of Parliament for the promotion of science and literature amongst the inhabitants of the British possessions in India." In that paper Mr. Harington dealt with the question whether the English or the learned and vernacular languages of India were more suitable media for the communication of knowledge to the Indian people. He expressed the conclusion which he reached on the subject in these terms: "My own idea, on an imperfect

[1] Public Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General-in-Council of Bengal, dated 3rd June 1814; Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16th August 1832, pp. 329-31.

consideration of so extensive a subject, is that both of the plans noticed have their advantages and disadvantages; that neither the one nor the other should be exclusively adopted, but that both should be promoted so far as circumstances may admit. To allure the learned natives of India to the study of European science and literature, we must, I think, engraft this study upon their own established methods of scientific and literary instruction; and particularly in all the public colleges or schools maintained or encouraged by Government, good translations of the most useful European compositions on the subjects taught in them, may, I conceive, be introduced with the greatest advantage."[1]

The idea of 'engrafting' the knowledge of Europe on that of India, expressed by Mr. Harington, constituted the quintessence of the Orientalist theory or policy as subsequently followed in Bengal.

§ 2.

Although the Charter Act of 1813 directed the Company to set apart a minimum of one lakh of rupees annually for purposes of education, no appropriation of it was actually made till the year 1823. The intervening decade is not distinguished by any marked activity on the part of Government in the field of education, except in so far as it consisted of encouragement to certain private educational institutions and societies by grant of pecuniary assistance. None the less,

[1] Quoted in Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, p. 310 (edn. 1868).

the period was not barren of educational enterprise. However, the educational activities witnessed at the time owed their impulse not so much to Government as to various unofficial agencies. It was during this period that a most interesting event in the history of education in Bengal occurred. It was the rise of the famous Hindu College or Vidyalaya of Calcutta.

That event but reflected an intellectual stir within the Hindu society of Bengal of the last century. The factors that created the stir were manifold; but we shall indicate a few broad ones here. At the principal seats of Government, and notably at Calcutta, Indians were brought into contact with European civilisation, and in the result they could not fail to be struck with European superiority, at least on its material, if not quite on its intellectual or moral, side.[1] Moreover, a new mental horizon was opened up to them though the literary exertions of philanthropic individuals among Europeans, and this produced an intellectual awakening which assumed a widely different direction from that followed by intellectual or spiritual "revivals" in the past history of Indian thought. As has been pointed out, "Nothing strikes a man so greatly as his contact with a person who possesses qualities other than his own, and the Bengalis are a race who owing

[1] Sir E. Perry observed in 1855: "As a general rule, the natives, I think, are not disposed to yield the same pre-eminence to their European lords in wisdom and intellectual qualities that they willingly admit in mechanical arts and physical powers. So far as my means of observation enable me to form an opinion, the Hindus look upon the English as a race who have admirable contrivances for applying combined labour to the purposes of life, who are reckless and daring in war, "those English devils," as the Chinese called us, but who are inferior to themselves in diplomacy, civil wisdom, and government." *A Bird's-eye View of India*, pp. 94-95.

to their keen intellectual powers can at once enter upon a new field, as soon as it is presented to them. European hand-books and manuals took them by surprise. They disclosed a world to them of which they knew nothing. They saw in the civilisation of Europe a success and acquisition of power which struck them with wonder and they became willing disciples of the new teachers. In the passionate sincerity of our race to acquire new knowledge, they forgot their home, their literature, their wonderful success in metaphysical learning, and their great spirituality, and felt that they were dwarfed in the presence of that great materialistic civilisation which, armed with thunder and lightning and with the tremendous power of steam, stood knocking at their door—demanding audience."[1]

Naturally enough, this contact with an alien civilisation roused a curiosity regarding the source or sources of the European superiority observed by Indians; and one principal source of it they were led to seek in the knowledge and science of Europe. "The Natives have an idea," observed Mr. W. W. Bird of the Bengal Government to a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1853, "that we have gained everything by our superior knowledge; that it is this superiority which has enabled us to conquer India, and to keep it; and they want to put themselves as much as they can upon an equality with us. Therefore they come to us, and are desirous of obtaining this knowledge on any terms; they do not mind the consequences; they go to the Missionary schools, where they learn the Bible, and run the risk of being converted for

1 D. C. Sen: *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 882.

the sake of obtaining the knowledge which they obtain there."[1]

Intimately associated with the Hindu social and religious life of the time was another contributory factor in the shape of the reformist movement of the great Rammohun Roy. Of the personal part taken by Rammohun Roy in the educational affairs of his day something will have to be said later on. But here it will suffice to refer in passing to the stimulating effect of his literary and reforming activities on the low-sunk mental condition of his countrymen. "The movements in various fields of enlightenment started by the Raja," it has been remarked, "have borne ample fruit. The educated community have followed his lead in the general awakening of the intellect observed throughout the country after his advent."[2]

One evident result of the operation of those various factors was to create an interest in European literature and science. And it was but a further step in the process of intellectual awakening for that interest to pass into a desire for the acquisition or mastery of the medium which supplied access to the knowledge that was believed to be the mainspring of European superiority. Hence there spread a vogue among Indians for a knowledge of the English language; while other circumstances, such as the much-prized qualification which an acquaintance with that language conferred for public and private employ-

1 Evidence, 30th June 1853: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence, session 1852-53—Q. 7183.

2 D. C. Sen: *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 987.

ment as also the sheer fact of its being the language of the ruling race, went to reinforce its importance in Indian eyes. Thus a knowledge of English came to possess, not only a cultural, but also an utilitarian value with Indians; and the perception of its dual worth lent a strong impetus to its general study amongst them.

Of the desire or curiosity that was thus aroused for European knowledge, and particularly of the desire for conversancy with the English language, there is no dearth of recorded testimony. The missionaries early perceived the new tendency of the times and it stimulated their exertions in the furtherance of their cause.[1] "I may be fully justified in saying," declared Rammohun Roy in 1824, on the occasion of answering certain queries from a Unitarian Minister of Harvard College (Cambridge, United States) on the subject of the prospects of Christianity in India, "that two-thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning."[2] Whilst Rammohun's estimate of the extent to which the people were prepared to receive European knowledge through the medium of English may be demurred to by some, it appears undeniable from testimony from other quarters that a state of things had been brought into existence which was markedly favourable to the diffusion of European learning through English, at least at the seat of government. The Calcutta School Book Society, which was in a position to judge of the prevailing literary

1 Bryce: *A Sketch of Native Education in India*, Ch. I, p. 15; Ch. II, pp. 54-55, 62-64 passim; Ch. III, pp. 104-105 passim.

2 Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 59-60 passim.

taste from the sales of their publications, pointedly referred in their fifth report to the Indian willingness to imbibe European knowledge. The Society found "European teaching" to be "highly acceptable to the natives;" and proceeded to remark: "What was before speculation is now matter of fact. It is no longer doubtful whether the natives will receive help from us; it is ascertained that they will gladly avail themselves of our aid; they flock to the schools; they advance in their learning; they prove, to a demonstration, that if the European will condescend to labour for their good, the native will gladly receive the aid offered."

Further, the increased use into which English came as medium of instruction in private educational institutions furnishes testimony of no small value. In a school founded in 1818 at Benares by the munificence of Joyanarain Ghosal, and to which children flocked for instruction, the English language was taught along with Hindustani, Persian and Bengali.[1] Again, in a report submitted to Government in February 1823 on the progress of the Cawnpore Free School which was established about the year 1820, it was stated that "the English, Hindoo and Mahomedan lads, who were all educated together, mutually assisted each other in the acquisition of their several languages, and particularly in the correct pronunciation of them; *that the native children flocked to the school in pursuit of the English language, with an ardour of mind truly gratifying;* and particularly that several 'sepoys from the

[1] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—pp. 208-9.

corps of the station, as well as a number of Mahomedan and Hindoo grown-up lads of the most respectable families, had become class fellows with the English boys in reading the Bible, without discovering the slightest objection on the score of the prejudices in which they were born, and that among those who thus read the Bible, and appeared vehemently desirous of understanding what they read, there were some who had not only acquired a wonderful facility in the rules of English cyphering and arithmetic, but were read in Arabic and in Euclid's Elements."[1] Nor was that all. Schools had sometimes to be discontinued because the English language was not taught in them; for, it was observed that "the desire to obtain a knowledge of the Engish language has been so great that a school in which this was not taught was sure to dwindle away."[2]

Lastly, a striking and interesting proof of the new intellectual tendency in Bengal is to be found in the rise of the Calcutta Hindu College or Vidyalaya, designed chiefly for the promotion of a knowledge of European literature and science through the English tongue. As it has been remarked before that this institution was an outward expression of the change that had commenced beneath the apparently placid surface of Hindu society, its origin deserves to be mentioned at some length. It may also be remarked at the same time that, while the governing authorities of the period felt a great deal of hesitation on the question of the introduction of European

[1] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—pp. 211-12.

[2] Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, (First Report), p. 25 (edn. 1868).

learning and science and the English language into India and continued to cuddle their pet notions of "revival" of Oriental learning and engrafting of European knowledge on it, their Hindu subjects, by projecting the Vidyalaya on their own initiative without offiicial countenance or encouragement, may be said to have taken that question out of their hands and to a certain extent decided it for themselves. That was probably why it was said at a subsequent date that "English education was in a manner forced upon the British Government; it did not itself spontaneously originate it."[1]

The idea of founding the Calcutta Vidyalaya originated under interesting circumstances. It was first mooted at a meeting called by Rammohun Roy and his friends "for the purpose of establishing a society calculated to subvert idolatory." David Hare, a philanthropist and intimate friend of Rammohun Roy, attended the meeting uninvited. There he "submitted that the establishment of an English school would materially help their cause. They all acquiesced in the strength of Hare's position, but did not carry out his suggestion." But Hare's zeal for the cause of Indian improvement led him to confer on the subject with Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, whose benevolence of disposition inclined him favourably to the former's views. At this point Sir Edward steps into the narrative and, moreover, occupies a more prominent position in it than those from whom the original idea of the institution emanated;

[1] Rev. A. Duff's Evidence, 3rd June 1853: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, &c, (1852-53), Q. 6098.

for, he was principally instrumental in carrying the idea into execution. Rammohun Roy abstained from associating himself with the measures subsequently taken for the establishment of the college as his active participation was likely to arouse opposition from the orthodox class of his countrymen to whom his name was an offence.[1]

It may be mentioned here that Sir E. H. East, in several letters to Mr. Harington, senior Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adalut at Calcutta, then absent in England, gave a simple but vivid account of the origin of the institution and of the part played by him in founding it.[2] Writing under date 18th May 1816, Sir Edward narrated the circumstances in which the project of the Vidyalaya was formed :—

> "An interesting and curious scene has lately been exhibited here, which shows that all things pass under change in due season. About the beginning of May, a Brahmin of Calcutta, whom I knew, and who is well known for his intelligence and active interference among the principal Native inhabitants, and also intimate with many of our own gentlemen of distinction, called upon me and informed me, that many of the leading

[1] Collet : *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 20-22. *Vide* also Duff's evidence on 3rd June 1853 in Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, (1852-53) —Q. 6098.

[2] Extracts from these letters were worked by Sir E. H. East into a paper on the subject of the Hindoo College which was read before the Lords Select Committee on Indian Affairs by Mr. W. W. Bird in the course of his evidence on 30th June 1853 and printed in the Committee's Report. Mr. Bird said of this paper : "It was given by Sir Edward Hyde East to Sir Charles Trevelyan a short time before his death, in order, he said, that having been principally instrumental in establishing that institution, the information it contained might not be lost to the world. Sir Charles Trevelyan, hearing that I was summoned to-day to be examined, put it into my hands, and I should be glad to read it if the Committee will give me leave."—Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, &c. (Session 1852-53) : Q. 7097-98, pp. 235-38.

Hindoos were desirous of forming an establishment for the education of their children in a liberal manner as practised by Europeans of condition; and desired that I would lend them my aid toward it, by having a meeting held under my sanction. Wishing to be satisfied how the Government would view such a measure, I did not at first give him a decided answer; but stated, that however much I wished well, as an individual, to such an object, yet, in the public situation I held, I should be cautious not to give any appearance of acting from my own impulse in a matter which I was sure that the Government would rather leave to them (the Hindoos) to act in, as they thought right, than in any manner to control them; but that I would consider of the matter, and if I saw no objection ultimately to the course he proposed, I would inform him of it; and if he would then give me a written list of the principal Hindoos to whom he alluded, I would send them an invitation to meet at my house. In fact, several of them had before, at different times, addressed themselves to me upon this topic, but never before in so direct a manner.

"After his departure I communicated to the Governor-General what had passed, who laid my communication before the Supreme Council, all the members of which approved of the course I had taken, and signified, through his Lordship, that they saw no objection to my permitting the parties to meet at my house.

"It seemed indeed to be as good an opportunity as any which could occur of feeling the general pulse of the Hindoos, as to the projected system of national moral improvement of them recommended by Parliament (and towards which they have directed a lac to be annually laid out) and this without committing the Government in the experiment. The success of it has much surpassed any previous expectation. The meeting was accordingly held at my house on the 14th of May 1816, at which 50 and upwards of the most respectable Hindoo inhabitants of rank or wealth attended, including also the principal Pundits; when a sum of nearly half a lakh of rupees was subscribed, and many more subscriptions were promised. Those who were well acquainted with this people, and know how hardly a Hindoo parts with his money upon any abstract specula-

tion of mental advantage, will best know how to estimate this effort of theirs. It is, however, a beginning made towards improvement which surprises those who have known them the longest, and many of themselves also. Most of them, however, appeared to take great interest in the proceedings, and all expressed themselves in favour of making the acquisition of the English language a principal object of education, together with its moral and scientific productions.

"I first received some of the principal Hindoos in a room adjoining to that where the generality were to assemble. There the Pundits, to most of whom I was before unknown, were introduced to me. The usual mode of salutation was on this occasion departed from; instead of holding out money in his hands for me to touch (a base and degrading custom), the chief Pundit held out both his hands closed towards me; and as I offered him my hand, thinking he wished to shake hands in our English style, he disclosed a number of sweet-scented flowers, which he emptied into my hand, saying that those were the flowers of literature, which they were happy to present to me upon this occasion, and requested me to accept from them (adding some personal compliments). Having brought the flowers to my face, I told him that the sweet scent was an assurance to me that they would prove to be the flowers of morality, as well as of literature, to his nation, by the assistance of himself and his friends. This appeared to gratify them very much."

Before the business of the day commenced, the conversation turned on Rammohun Roy, when the orthodox animus against him was freely voiced by an individual at the meeting who hoped that no subscription would be accepted from the famous heretic. But Sir Edward's tact was equal to the occasion and matters proceeded amicably. The meeting next proceeded to the principal business for which it had been called:—

"The principal objects proposed for the adoption of the meeting (after raising a subscription to purchase a handsome piece of ground, and building a college

upon part of it, to be enlarged hereafter, according to the occasion and increasing of funds), were the cultivation of the Bengalee and English languages in particular; next, the Hindustani tongue, as convenient in the Upper Provinces; and then the Persian, if desired as ornamental; general duty to God; the English system of morals (the Pundits and some of the most sensible of the rest bore testimony to and deplored their national deficiency in morals); grammar, writing (in English as well as Bengalee), arithmetic (this is one of the Hindoo virtues); history, geography, astronomy, mathematics; and in time, as the fund increases, English belles lettres poetry, &c. &c."

Sir Edward then goes on to refer to the features of the memorable meeting which particularly struck him:—

"One of the singularities of the meeting was, that it was composed of persons of various castes, all combining for such a purpose, whom nothing else could have brought together; whose children are to be taught, though not fed, together.

"Another singularity was, that the most distinguished Pundits who attended declared their warm approbation of all the objects proposed; and when they were about to depart, the head Pundit, in the name of himself and the others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated in their country with considerable success, but which were now nearly extinct) was about to be revived with greater lustre and prospect of success than ever.

"Another meeting was proposed to be held at the distance of a week; and during this interval I continued to receive numerous applications for permission to attend it. I heard from all quarters of the approbation of the Hindoos at large to the plan; they have promised that a lakh shall be subscribed to begin with. It is proposed to desire them to appoint a committee of their own for management; taking care only to secure the attendance of two or three respectable European gentlemen to aid them, and see that all goes on rightly."

A second meeting was accordingly held on 21st May 1816. Meanwhile, nearly a lakh of rupees had been subscribed for the purpose of establishing the intended college. But there was some delay in carrying the intention of the parties concerned into effect, as no contribution or aid from Government, eagerly expected by all, was forthcoming. The attitude of the Government of the day in the matter was to all appearance curious. Writing under date the 21st May, Sir Edward says:—

> "The completion of the institution has been retarded in deference to the opinion of one of the Members in Council, who thought that the Government should not show any outward marks of countenancing any plan of this description, by giving patronage, land or money (all of which the subscribers wished), which might give umbrage to the Hindoos in the country, though it was desired by all the principal Hindoos in Calcutta. The intervening time, however, since the plan was set on foot, has shown how groundless this apprehension was; for, not long after, the Rajah of Burdwan, one of the greatest Hindoo landowners under the Company, sent in a subscription of 12,000 rupees, with an offer of much more if the plan succeeded; and other sums have been subscribed by the Hindoos in the different provinces, who have their agents in Calcutta; many, indeed, of the principal Hindoos in Calcutta who were the promoters of the institution, are themselves considerable landowners, by purchase, in different parts of the country. The committee appointed amongst themselves have framed their general rules, and take the active management of it on themselves, and intend opening their underschool in January next. They still hope that the Government will patronise their endeavours, and assist them, either with land or money, to build their college, and encourage their efforts to acquire something more of a classical knowledge of the English language and literature than they are able individually to acquire in general by private instruction. When they were told that the Government was advised to

suspend any declaration in favour of their undertaking, from tender regard to their peculiar opinions, which a classical education, after the English manner, might trench upon, they answered very shrewdly, by stating their surprise that any English gentlemen should imagine that they had any objection to a liberal education; that if they found anything in the course of it which they could not reconcile to their religious opinions, they were not bound to receive it; but still they should wish to be informed of everything that the English gentlemen learnt, and they would take that which they found good and liked best. Nothing can show more strongly the genuine feeling of the Hindoo mind than this clinging to their purpose, under the failure of direct public encouragement in the first instance. Better information as to their real wishes, and accumulating proofs of the beneficial effects of an improved system of education amongst them, will, I trust, remove all prejudices on this subject from amongst ourselves, with some of whom they actually exist in a much stronger degree than amongst the Hindoos themselves."

In the end, though the Government refused to give the scheme countenance, a college was established, styled the Hindoo College of Calcutta or the Calcutta Vidyalaya. In the rules originally framed and dated 27th August 1816, it was provided that the college was to include a school (pathshala) and "an academy" (mahapathsala); the former to be established immediately, and the latter as soon as practicable. The primary object of the institution was declared to be "the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos, in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia." One noteworthy rule was that the English language was not to be taught to boys under eight years of age, without the permission of the managers of the institution in each particular instance. At a meeting of the Managers on 8th February 1817, it was ordered

"that 17 free scholars should forthwith be admitted, under the patronage of the committee, into the school of the institution."[1] On 28th May 1817 Sir Edward Hyde East wrote to Mr. Harrington in England: "I send you the enclosed rules of our Hindoo College as a curiosity....; it is making progressive improvement, and is very popular with the Hindoos, who have subscribed nearly a lakh of rupees, and have paid up above two-thirds of the subscription. If it be approved at home, the Hindoos will consider themselves much honoured by the subscriptions of their friends in England."

The establishment of the Hindu College was not the only manifest sign of the intellectual awakening in Bengal. Almost synchronously with it was founded the Calcutta School Book Society. In the letter just quoted from Sir Edward went on to communicate the following piece of information: "This plan (of the Hindoo College), having taken so well, has encouraged the formation of another for the providing books of moral and amusing and scientific instruction, for Native youths of all descriptions; in which plan the Hindoos and Mussalmans have united with English gentlemen." In the prospectus of the Society it was stated that "a few individuals engaged in establishing schools for the instruction of Native children having found a great obstacle to their exertions in the want of lessons and books, in the Native language, suited to the capacities of the young, or at all adapted for the purposes of enlightening their mind, or improving their morals, proposals

[1] Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories (Session 1852-53), pp. 250-52 passim.

have been circulated for a subscription, for the publication of elementary books in the Bengalee and Hindoostanee languages. The favourable reception which the plan has met with, has encouraged its friends to propose an immediate extension of it, so as to include the several languages, English as well as Asiatic, which are or may be taught in the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort William."

The Society was formed on the 6th of May 1817. While the objects of the Society were broadly laid down to be "the preparation, publication, and cheap or gratuitous supply of works useful in schools and seminaries of learning," it was also explicitly declared in the preliminary rules "that it forms no part of the design of this institution to furnish religious books—a restriction, however, very far from being meant to preclude the supply of moral tracts, or works of a moral tendency, which, without interfering with the religious sentiments of any person, may be calculated to enlarge the understanding and improve the character." The affairs of the Society were entrusted to a committee composed of English gentlemen, of whom Sir E. H. East was one, and Hindus and Mahomedans of distinction.[1]

§ 3.

Thus two cross-currents are distinctly perceptible in the stream of educational activity of the early period of the nineteenth century. On

1 Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, (Session 1852-53), pp. 252-253 passim. *Vide* also Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee I Public—16th August 1832, pp. 210-11.

the one hand, there was a group of individuals, closely associated with the Government of the country and so capable of influencing its decisions, who were evolving an Orientalist formula that was soon to be translated into action. On the other hand, there were events in train that were ultimately to produce a change of a character and complexion out of harmony with Orientalist ideas and principles. Considering the opposed trend of the two currents, it is not surprising that in the end there should have resulted a hard conflict of views and ideas, historically known as the Anglo-Orientalist controversy. As it was, the conflicting nature of the tendencies of the time came to the surface at the very moment at which the Government stepped forward to organise educational measures in pursuance of the Charter Act. On that occasion the new tendency in Bengal found its protagonist in Rammohun Roy.

By a Government Resolution, dated 17th July 1823,[1] a committee was appointed, called the General Committee of Public Instruction, to which was entrusted, subject to the general control of Government, the education of the country. The annual sum of one lakh of rupees, which was required by the Charter Act to be appropriated to the purposes of education, was placed at the disposal of the Committee. Moreover, as it was considered desirable that the Committee should possess at starting a considerable fund to enable it to carry out the measures it might think fit or necessary to undertake, without being stinted in the means of doing so, it was resolved by Government that the assignment of one lakh of rupees

[1] Sels. E R., Pt. I, pp. 53-54.

should take effect from 1821-22. Accordingly, for each of the years 1821-22 and 1822-23, the sum of Rupees 83,200 (which remained after deducting the expenses of certain existing schools at Chinsurah, Rajpootana and Bhaugulpore that were charged on the one lakh) were carried to the credit of the Education Fund.[1] The arrears from 1813 to 1821 were not accounted for to the Committee.[2] The first members of the Committee were men with Orientalist views and ideas or with strong predilections for them ;[3] and the profound Sanskrit scholar, Dr. H. H. Wilson, was appointed its secretary.

In its letter of instructions to the Committee, dated 31st July 1823,[4] Government referred "to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction of useful knowledge including the sciences and arts of Europe, and to the improvement of their moral character" as the grand object to the attainment of which the Committee was to direct its endeavours. There was no explicit reference in the letter to Oriental learning or literature. Consequently, the set form of words used in it appears to have led later on to the notion that the Government of the day did not contemplate an Orientalist basis for its educational

1 General Letter from the Governor-General-in-Council, in the Dept. of Pub. Instn., to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826, paras 6-8.

2 For the reasons usually given for non-appropriation of the lac during the period, see Evidence of Holt Mackenzie and Charles Lushington on 22 March 1832 and 8th March 1832 respectively : "Evidence on East India Affairs : Select Committee of the House of Commons—I. Public or Miscellaneous"—Q. 695 & Q. 935. (1832).

3 The Committee was composed of—H. J. Harrington, J. T. Larkins, N. B. Martin, N. B. Bayley, H. Shakespear, Holt Mackenzie, Henry Prinsep, A. Stirling, J. C. C. Sutherland and H. H. Wilson.

4 Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 54.

policy and that it was in favour of education in European knowledge, but that the General Committee with its Orientalist prepossessions was responsible for the different course actually pursued.[1] But the notion was incorrect. The broad lines of the future policy of the Committee were clearly indicated in a "Note," dated 17th July 1823, by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, secretary to Government in the Territorial Department, which appears to reflect the views of Government on education on the eve of its embarking on measures for its promotion, and which, moreover, is said to have led to the appointment of the General Committee itself.

Although the general question of the best mode of education for the Indian people was invested with much uncertainty to Government, its mind seems to have been at the cutset made up on two outstanding features of the educational policy as followed and developed subsequently. The first was that the education of the people was to commence with the higher, and not the lower, strata of society. The second was that the higher and influential classes were to be instructed in Oriental learning and were to be gradually introduced to European knowledge and science according as they evinced a desire for the same.

The adoption of the first principle of the policy in question can only be fully understood in conjunction with the circumstances that prompted it. Its adoption was induced by three broad considerations. Those were (1) that the best method of approach to the people for the purpose of educating them was for the Government to

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 98-99.

address itself in the first instance to those who were by their position and influence in society fitted to become their teachers. As Holt Mackenzie said: "But my present impression is, that 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. These objects being provided for, the support and establishment of colleges for the instruction of what may be called the educated and influential classes seem to me to be more immediate objects of the care of Government than the support and establishment of elementary schools; though these in particular places may claim attention;"[1] (2) that the education of the great body of the people was not feasible in the circumstances then extant. Besides, it was believed that the indigenous means of education were not insufficient, though they might be in many respects deficient, for the ordinary purposes of the life of the poor; and (3) that, when once the influential classes had been educated, the learning and culture of which they were possessed would seek a downward course and permeate the masses, somewhat as water collected on a mountain might roll down to the plain below. Since Government recoiled at the magnitude of such an undertaking as the direct education of the vast poverty-stricken population of India, it was content for the time being to leave their enlightenment to what was believed to be a natural process bound to set itself in operation sooner or later.

1 Note, 17 July 1823: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 59.

This was the theory of the downward filtration of knowledge. In Holt Mackenzie's words, "Further, the natural course of things in all countries seems to be that knowledge introduced from abroad should descend from the higher or educated classes and gradually spread through their example. We surely cannot here, at least expect the servant to prize a learning, which his master despises or hates. The influence of Europeans, if they use not the influential classes of the native community, must necessarily be very confined. What is taught in our schools will only be thought of there. Our scholars, if of the common people when they enter the world, will find no sympathy among their fellows, and until the lessons of the master, or professor become the subject of habitual thought and conversation, they cannot touch the heart, they will little affect the understanding. The acquirement will be an act of memory, with little more of feeling or reflection than if nonsense verses were the theme."[1]

As for the second principle, that of instruction in Oriental learning and the gradual engraftment of European knowledge on it, nothing more need be said here about it than that it was in a manner implied in the first. Since the best course was thought to be the education of the influential and leisured classes before all others, and the prevailing official notion was that Oriental learning was most acceptable to them, it followed that Oriental learning must be the primary object of Government's attention and encouragement. So it was that Holt Mackenzie gave it as his opinion "that the limited classes, who are now instructed (with

[1] Note, 17 July 1823: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 59-60.

great labour certainly whatever may be the use) in the learning of the country, should be the first object of attention. This, of course, implies the association of Oriental learning with European Science, and the gradual introduction of the latter, without any attempt arbitrarily to supersede the former. It implies too the support and patronage of existing institutions, so far at least as the furnishing them with Masters and supplying them with translations. And further, if our 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."[1]

The mental certainty exhibited in the expression of these views did not extend to the allied and no less important question of the introduction of the English language in the country. Mr. Mackenzie's ideas on the question of the medium through which European knowledge was to be communicated seem to lack definiteness. He spoke of "translations into the native languages;" but whether they were to be in the classical or colloquial languages of India does not appear to have crossed his mind. As for making English directly the medium for imparting European knowledge he had no definite opinion to give. He expected that Government would hold out some encouragement to "induce natives to acquire the English language so as to qualify themselves to become translators and teachers." And he remarked further: "As to instruction in the English language, it is not easy to fix the limits,

[1] Note, 17th July 1823: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 60.

to which it should be attempted. Community of language seems to be the surest means, perhaps the only sure means, of creating community of ideas, and I confess that I am disposed to think the difficulties of the attempt are generally overrated. Persian, it should be recollected, is essentially a foreign language. It may be doubted whether what is recorded in that tongue is much better understood by the generality of the parties interested, than it would be if recorded in English."[1] But he clearly perceived that "it would scarcely be consistent to make any effort at general instruction in English, unless the gradual introduction of it as the official language of the country were contemplated."[2]

Finally, it will suffice to refer in Mr. Mackenzie's words to another aim, distinct from that of the intellectual and moral amelioration of the people, which inspired Government in its undertaking. "In framing any rational scheme of public instruction, we must necessarily consider in a general way, at least, how far our other institutions are suited to the state of things, which the diffusion of knowledge may be expected ultimately to produce, and more immediately,

[1] In the course of his evidence on 2nd March 1832 before the Commons Select Committee Mr. Mackenzie said: "Persian cannot in any part of the provinces belonging to the Bengal Presidency, be said to be almost as foreign to the natives as English. In Bengal proper, indeed, it is I believe unknown to the great bulk of the people, I mean of those who read and write....In Behar, and in the Western Provinces, most men, whether Musselmen or Hindoos, of any pretence to education, understand Persian; and although it be unknown to the great bulk of the people, who are agriculturists following the plough, and do not read or write at all, speaking only their local dialect, still the Persian is known to a great multitude of persons, not only in the chief towns, but throughout the country."—Evidence on East India Affairs—Select Committee of the House of Commons—I Public Q. 706.

[2] Sels. E. R. Pt., I, pp. 60-61 passim.

how the acquirements of the students at the public seminaries can best be rendered subservient to the public service, and how the constitution of public offices and the distribution of employments can be made the means of exerting to study and rewarding merit. To those points, therefore, the attention of the committee (*i.e.*, the General Committee of Public Instruction) will be particularly directed; and I should, with some confidence, anticipate from their labours, a great accession, within a moderate time, to the number of persons, who can now be looked to as good instruments of civil government, of which the details must, I apprehend, though our service were multipled tenfold, be left to the natives of the country."[1]

Such were the guiding aims and principles sought to be kept in view at the outset of the experiment of educating the Indian people. The Orientalist trend is unmistakable. Even some time previously to the appointment of the General Committee, Government had proceeded to revive the project of Lord Minto for the establishment of Oriental colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot. Since 1811, when the project was first approved by Minto's Government, no serious step had been taken to carry it into execution. Committees of superintendence had been then appointed at both places to investigate and report on the existing state of learning and generally to devise means for giving effect to the design of Government. But the Committees seem to have carried on the work entrusted to them in a languid manner. The report of the Committee at Nuddea appeared to doubt the success of the contemplated college in

[1] Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 62.

view of the prevailing conditions in the district.[1] Consequently, the scheme remained in abeyance till it was finally abandoned in 1821. In that year, on the suggestion of Mr. H. H. Wilson, Government were persuaded to redeem the "pledge" given in 1811 for the establishment of the colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot, by instituting a Sanskrit College at Calcutta. On 21st August 1821 Government recorded its decision to that effect. The carrying out of the necessary arrangements was entrusted to the General Committee of Public Instruction which was soon after established; and the institution was opened on the 1st of January 1824.

The event, however, is not by itself of so much importance to the history of education as for two memorable protests which the establishment of the college called forth. One was from the Court of Directors; the other from the indefatigable Rammohun Roy. These protests for the first time unmistakably called in question the educational policy of Government, and the protest of Rammohun Roy is more important as the first shot fired in the Anglo-Orientalist conflict.

The Court of Directors, to judge from their tone, were by now thoroughly disappointed with the results of the Orientalist policy, so far at least as those results were evidenced in the case of the Benares Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Madrissa. They were now made aware that the principal objects with which those institutions had been founded—namely, the conciliation of the people and promotion of "useful learning"—were yet far from being achieved. In fact, their Indian

1 Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Committee—I Public—16th August 18

Government had confessed that "it must be feared that the discredit attaching to such a failure has gone far to destroy the influence which the liberality of the endowment would otherwise have had." Hence their protest against the founding of a new institution on the model of its predecessors. They now propounded their own views on the kind of learning they desired to see imparted. And in doing so they were led into making inaccurate assertions regarding the contents and character of Oriental learning. "With respect to the sciences," they said, "it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the Oriental books. As far as any historical documents may be found in the Oriental languages, what is desirable is, that they should be translated, and this, it is evident, will best be accomplished by Europeans who have acquired the requisite knowledge. Beyond these branches what remains in Oriental literature is poetry; but it has never been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry, nor is it certain that this would be the most effectual expedient for the attainment of the end." Consequently, they were inclined to believe that the plan of the Oriental institutions was "originally and fundamentally erroneous;" for, they affirmed that "the great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning," and added further that "no doubt, in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos, or Mahomedans, Hindoo *media* or Mahomedan *media*, as far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed, and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted, while every thing which

was useful in Hindoo or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing, under these reservations, a system of instruction, from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing, on the other hand, to establish seminaries for the purposes of teaching mere Hindoo, or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned." But the feeling of caution was as strong with the Court of Directors as with their Indian Government, and so, immediately after their diatribe against Oriental learning, they hastened to assure the latter that thereby they did not intend or suggest any radical innovation in the system of instruction pursued. "We think," they stated, "that you have taken, upon the whole, a rational view of what is best to be done. In the institutions which exist on a particular footing alterations should not be introduced more rapidly than a due regard to existing interests and feelings will dictate; at the same time that incessant endeavours should be used to supersede what is useless, or worse, in the present course of study, by what your better knowledge will recommend." They hoped that the principle of utility would be paid more attention to than heretofore in prescribing a course of study for the Sanskrit College.[1] The Benthamite made himself plainly heard in the educational affairs of India.

[1] Revenue Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated 18th February 1824; Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16 August 1832, pp. 331-32.

Of course, the strictures of the Court of Directors did not go unanswered. On their being communicated to the General Committee of Public Instruction, the Committee vindicated the course that had been hitherto pursued. Its vindication rested mainly on two grounds: that the people were not prepared to be instructed in anything, except Oriental learning and that means were not available for the introduction of European knowledge on a large scale. It first tried to make out that the establishment of institutions in which Oriental studies were exclusively pursued had been a case of necessity. As, according to the Committee, the people, or at least the influential classes ("the learned and Brahmanical caste"), were willing to accept only Oriental learning or nothing, the only obvious course for Government to take was to afford them the means of acquiring that learning. "Any other offer," declared the Committee, "would have been useless; tuition in European science, being neither amongst the sensible wants of the people, nor in the power of Government to bestow." The argument was a specious one; and not difficult to understand to some extent when it is remembered that the Orientalists in the Committee appear to have derived their impression of the state of public feeling from the Maulvies and Pundits with whom they usually came in contact. And yet, curiously enough, so far back as 1816, Sir E. H. East had expressly noted that the learned Pundits who attended the memorable meeting at his house had warmly approved of the project of imparting Western knowledge, and that too through the English language, to the children of respectable and influential classes. At the same time, how-

ever, the Committee could not entirely ignore the rising tide in favour of European knowledge and the English language; but then that body appears to have been under the influence of the tendency, always produced in controversy, to be little inconvenient facts when it proceeded to state, as a general proposition, that the learned as well as the unlearned classes in India at the time held "European literature and science in very slight estimation." "A knowledge of English," they continued, "for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, is, to a certain extent, a popular attainment, and a few of the natives employed by Europeans, accustomed to an intimate intercourse with their masters, may perceive that their countrymen have something in the way of practical science to learn. These impressions, however, are still very partial, and the Maulvi and Pundit, satisfied with their own learning, are little inquisitive as to anything beyond it, and are not disposed to regard the literature and science of the West as worth the labour of attainment. As long as this is the case, and we cannot anticipate the very near extinction of such prejudice, any attempt to enforce an acknowledgment of the superiority of intellectual produce amongst the Natives of the West could only create dissatisfaction, and deter those whose improvement it is most important to promote as the best means of securing a more general amelioration, the members of the literary classes, from availing themselves of the beneficence of the Government, by placing themselves within the reach of instruction."

But, in the next place, the Committee argued that, "supposing that the disposition of the native mind was even as favourable as could be desired,"

the means were lacking by which such disposition could be fully taken advantage of. As the argument had not only considerable force in view of the limited resources at the disposal of the Committee, but stated incidentally a leading principle on which their proceedings were based, it may be well to quote it here at some length. "The Hon'ble Court," the Committee pointed out, "admit the necessity of employing Hindu and Mahomedan media, but where are such to be obtained for the introduction of foreign learning? We must teach the teachers and provide the books and by whom are the business of tuition and the task of translation to be accomplished? Until the means are provided, it would be premature to talk of their application, and 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, however, 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 upon the minds of their countrymen." As for the ignorant dicta of the Court of Directors on the quality and compass of Oriental learning, it was easy for the Committee, the reputations of some of whose members were founded on their Oriental acquirements, to refute them; and they did not fail to do so.[1]

[1] Letter, dated 18th August 1824, from G. C. P. I. to the Governor-General in Council: Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, etc., Minutes of Evidence, pp. 18-20 (8th August 1853). The letter was delivered in by H. H. Wilson in the course of his evidence before the Select Committee on 18th July 1853.

More spirited than that of the Court of Directors was the protest of Rammohun Roy, and, because of his extensive acquaintance with Oriental erudition, his attack against it more pointed. On 11th December 1823 he forwarded his famous letter or "address" to Bishop Heber to be placed before the Governor-General in Council. In his letter of March 1824 to Sir Wilmot Horton, Bishop Heber referred to Rammohun's letter in these terms: "Rammohun Roy, a learned native, who has sometimes been called, though I fear without reason, a Christian, remonstrated with this (Orientalist) system last year, in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst's hands and which for its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic." And Collet, the biographer of Rammohun, in quoting these words, adds the comment: "The patronizing tone of these remarks reveals only too plainly the unfortunate attitude which Christian missionaries, even the most devout, assumed towards the natives of India, who were, to say the very least, certainly not their inferiors." [1]

In that letter Rammohun expressed profound disappointment with the Government's measure in founding the Calcutta Sanskrit College. A reformer to the core, he did not expect of the British Government a step that seemed designed to perpetuate an antiquated system, when it could have afforded his countrymen the means of acquiring the knowledge and enlightenment through which Rammohun hoped to see the prevalent

[1] Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 71-73 passim.

evils and superstitions of Hindu society exterminated. Instead of planting in Asia the Arts and Sciences of modern Europe, he said, "we now find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindoo Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This Seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtilities since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India." And he proceeded to expose the kind of learning that the Government had set out to support by establishing the Sanskrit College. Of special interest are his disparaging observations on the Vedanta. In fact, a careful perusal of his criticism of Oriental learning leaves behind the impression that both Rammohun Roy and the Court of Directors were agreed on one great point, namely, that Oriental learning was not "useful," or, in other words, of no practical value so far as the amelioration of society was concerned. They both looked to the strong solvent of Western knowledge to effect the desired amelioration. "If it had been intended," declared Rammohun, "to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be

the best calculated to keep this country in darkness if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus." [1]

Of course, it is a question how far some of the sweeping dicta in his letter to Lord Amherst represent the real views of Rammohun Roy on Oriental learning and whether he was not carried away by the ardour of his enthusiasm for European enlightenment into an undue disparagement of the former. In connection with it, two facts deserve to be noted. First, almost at the same time that he penned the letter to Lord Amherst, he was busy defending the Vedanta in a theological controversy with the missionaries. Secondly, hardly two years after the date of the letter, he founded about 1826 a "Vedanta College" in which a few youths were instructed by a Pundit in Sanskrit literature with a view to the propagation and defence of Hindu unitarianism. It was also further stated that he was willing to introduce in the "college" instruction in European learning and science, provided it was conveyed in Bengali or Sanskrit language. Certainly, the inconsistency of these

[1] Address, dated 11th December 1823, from Raja Rammohun Roy on English Education, Sels. E. R., Pt. I., pp. 99-101.

proceedings of Rammohun Roy with his animadversions on Vedanta and Oriental learning contained in his letter to the Governor-General is apparent, but, like several inconsistencies of his character, not irreconcilable on a closer view. A detailed treatment of this point would be, however, outside the scope of these pages.[1]

It may be remarked in conclusion that with those two protests against the establishment of the Sanskrit College one turns the first page of the Anglo-Orientalist controversy.

1 *Vide* Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 73-74 passim.

Chapter III.

THE ORIENTALIST POLICY IN ACTION.

§ 1.

Till, however, that historical controversy reached the vigour of its climax, the Committee of Public Instruction carried on for several years undisturbed their experiment in Oriental education. During those years the Committee established several important institutions and tried to reform the old ones which were placed under their superintendence. They also printed a number of Oriental works and translated several important scientific works from English into the Oriental classical languages. Into the Oriental institutions under their control they introduced, to an extent consistent with the constitution and character of those institutions, European learning and knowledge of the English language. The Anglicists, in fact, never did justice to the Committee's endeavours either on behalf of European knowledge and science or on that of the English language.

Enough has already been said regarding the main principles which guided the Committee; and something more it may be necessary to say when their educational policy as a whole comes to be examined. Meanwhile, it will be useful to observe those principles actually at work in the proceedings of the Committee. A review of the commencement and progress of their educational operations during the years 1825-30 will serve a

two-fold purpose. It will, in the first place, elucidate and illustrate the principles and policy of the Committee perhaps better than any mere statement of them can. It will, in the second place, show the growing importance which the question of the introduction of English as medium of education came to acquire during the period. Incidentally, it will also make clear the attitude of the General Committee towards that question.

The first measure of the Committee on their appointment was to address, in September 1823, certain Circular Queries to the Local Agents in the various districts of the Bengal Presidency, with the object of ascertaining the existing state of education in each district, the existence of any peculiar circumstances which might be favourable or otherwise to its further promotion, and the existence and condition of any former endowments capable of being utilised for the maintenance of schools and learned men.[1] But in a number of cases no answers seem to have been returned to those queries; and in very few of those received, were any detailed particulars of information or general views furnished which could in the least aid the labors of the Committee. A creditable exception occurred in the case of the Local Agency of Delhi, whose Secretary, Mr. J. Taylor (an uncovenanted Servant of the Hon'ble Company) submitted "a full and interesting detail of the circumstances relating to the state of Education amongst the population of that City."[2] Nor does the General Committee appear to have been

1 Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 69-71.

2 Educational Despatch from the Governor-General-in-Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 20).

persevering in their inquiry; for, it must be remembered, the education of the masses formed no important part of their present plans.

It is in the proceedings with regard to the institutions for higher learning that the Committee's aims and principles are best exemplified.

And it would be appropriate to begin with the earliest of such institutions—the Calcutta Madrissa of Warren Hastings. From an early period since its foundation, the affairs of that institution continued in an unsatisfactory state. There was a recurrence of abuses in its management, neglect of studies, and a general condition of inefficiency. Government introduced measures of reform now and again, of which two important ones were the appointment of a Committee of Superintendence in 1791, consisting of European Government officials, and the appointment of an European Secretary in 1818. In October 1820, when the Governor-General in Council sanctioned some Regulations for the government of the Madrissa as proposed by the Committee, the system of examinations seems to have been for the first time introduced. The Committee's report of an annual examination held on the 15th of August 1821 showed the institution to be in a favourable state of progress. The Committee stated that the happiest effects "appeared to result from it in dissipating the ancient prejudices of the institution against examinations, and, together with those prejudices, much of the lethargy and indolence which had so long tended to depress it, and to degrade its character." The report of the next annual examination also exhibited favourable results; but the Committee

represented " that the prejudices of the preceptors opposed considerable obstacles in the way of reform," and requested the Government to sanction the employment of " a native assistant under the secretary, with a view to the counteraction of those prejudices." Government approved of the proceedings of the Committee, but advised caution in the introduction of reforms.[1]

In June 1823 Government resolved to remove the Madrissa from its original site to a place called Kalingah, and subsequently denominated Hastings Place. It was decided to house the Madrissa in a specially constructed building, which was commenced early in 1824; and the Government informed the Court of Directors in 1826 that it promised soon to become " no less an ornament to the City, than a striking monument of the interest taken by the Brtish Government in the welfare and moral improvement of its subjects and the importance which it attaches to the flourishing and respectable condition of an Institution destined for the education of one of the principal and most influential classes of the Native population."[2]

This was the first event of importance in the career of the Madrissa on its passing under the control of the General Committee. In connection with the new Madrissa the Committee proposed to Government in May 1824 an important arrangement recommended by a former " Mudrissa Committee." In view of the inadequate means

[1] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16 August 1832, pp. 196-200.

[2] Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 39).

which existed of communicating to Mahomedan youth "a liberal elementary education," the General Committee proposed the establishment of a "day school" attached to the College, "under the same superintendence, preceptors and books being supplied, but no pecuniary allowance to the scholars," such as was given to the students of the Madrissa. At the same time, the Committee took the further step of recommending to Government, as preparatory to the diffusion of European science among the people, the employment of an individual named Abdoor Raheem "as a translator from English Works of Science into Persian and Arabic, under the superintendence of the Secretary of the Madrissa, at a monthly salary of Rs. 100." "The Committee stated also that it appeared equitable to reimburse Dr. Lumsden (the secretary of the Madrissa) the expense he had incurred in securing the residence of the above individual in Calcutta during 13 months at a cost of Rupees 60 per mensem, under the hopes and expectations of his being eventually employed at the public charge. They added that this disbursement was the more warranted as Dr. Lumsden had transferred to them the translations of two works executed by Abdoor Raheem; one the Article Geometry, from the Encyclopædia Brittanica, rendered into Persian, and the other on Arithmetic from the same authority, and Hutton's Course of Mathematics rendered into Arabic."[1] To those works Abdoor Raheem subsequently added a translation of Bridge's Algebra into Persian. Government acceded to both the propositions of the Committee, relating to the opening of a

[1] Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (paras 35 & 38).

day school subordinate to the Mudrissa and the employment of Abdoor Raheem.

The results of the annual examinations in 1824 and 1825 showed the Madrissa in a state of progressive improvement. The Committee had been successful in bringing the institution up to the requisite point of efficiency. The reports of the examiners exhibited "the most unexceptionable proofs of the efficient and respectable state of the institution, the spirit of emulation and study prevailing among the scholars, and the progress made by them in the acquisition of useful knowledge." And it says something for the impartiality of the reports that the body of examiners consisted of men who were not connected with the daily duty of instruction in the Madrissa, such as the examiners of the College of Fort William, the principal Mahomedan officers of the Sudder Dewanny Adalut, and other European gentlemen of learning who voluntarily assisted at the annual examinations. The principal subjects in which the students were examined were Mahomedan Law, General Literature (Arabic and Persian), Logic and Rhetoric, and Mathematics—all taught according to the Oriental system, with some departure here and there in favour of modern European science. In regard to the last mentioned branch of study, a few words are necessary.

Although Geometry and Arithmetic were specifically included among the branches of knowledge to be taught at the Madrissa by the Madrissa Committee of 1791, yet the active pursuit of the study of Mathematics in the institution dated from the appointment of Dr. Lumsden as

Secretary in 1822. Dr. Lumsden strove to render the study a favourite one among the students, and he was not unsuccessful. In 1823 a few students only were examined in the first Book of Euclid, in 1824 the classes passed a satisfactory examination in the four first Books and in 1825 they exhibited "considerable proficiency" in the six first Books. In a letter to Dr. Lumsden, dated 27th January 1825, the Rev. Mr. Thomason, who had examined the students in Mathematics at the annual examination, wrote: "Several of the students have learned the whole of the six Books (of Euclid) published by the School Book Society, and nothing of the kind can be more pleasing than the proficiency manifested by them. It is plain that they are capable of learning anything that is placed before them, comprehended in a Course of Scientific Study, but they are in a manner at a stand for want of Books, and except a system of regular teaching be adopted, they cannot advance much further, and so the Students will go on, from year to year, in a limited sphere pursuing a cycle of mere elementary learning, without attaining to any thing like maturity."

And he pointed out one main reason for the limited progress of the students in mathematical science—the lack of direct access to a higher knowledge of it through the medium of the English language. In the Mudrissa, instruction in mathematics was conveyed by means of Persian and Arabic translations or imperfect original Arabic works on the subject. "It appears to me," said Mr. Thomason, "that Mathematics and Natural Philosophy claim a very large share of our attention, as a peculiarly important portion

of that knowledge by which the mind is opened, and labours of public utility are conducted with effect. Much of the difficulty which is in the way may be traced to a want of the material for any enlarged system of instruction. To provide the means of study for the students of the two colleges, 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 point therefore would be gained, if instead of translating Books into the Eastern languages, Scientifical Instruction were conveyed in English. A multitude of Books would be at command, admirably fitted for every kind and degree of Mathematical learning, from things elementary, to the most profound treatises. We seem to have arrived fully at the period when it would be at once easy and popular to treat the English language as a Language of Science, at the Hindoo and Mussalman Colleges. A sufficient acquaintance with our Language might be soon obtained, considering the facilities for acquiring it which now exist, and thus, not only would encouragement be afforded to the study of our language, but much time and labour will be spared, which must otherwise be consumed in the preparation of useful Books." He concluded by suggesting that a Mathematical Professor be procured from England for the purpose of instructing the classes in the Madrissa and in the Sanskrit College, if a qualified person could not be found in India.

In similar language the Rev. Mr. Mill referred to the question of the use of English as

medium of scientific instruction. In January 1825 an examination was held for the first time in Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometrical mensuration as taught in an Arabic (?) work called the Kholasset-ool-Hisaab. Mr. Mill conducted the examination in that branch of the studies of the Madrissa. He was greatly satisfied with the proficiency displayed by the students, and with the great interest evinced by them in the subject; but he could not help regretting that larger scope was not afforded for their intellectual expansion. He arrived at the same conclusion as the Rev. Mr. Thomason regarding the restrictive effects of the employment of Arabic and Persian as vehicles for the communication of scientific instruction. In his letter dated 3rd February 1825, he said: "Indeed it is impossible to witness the vivid interest which they all, without exception, take in the subject (greater than what I have usually found in the same number of European students of the same age in far more favourable circumstances); and the manner in which their minds are evidently fitted for the study without regretting that they have not better books to assist them. The Kholoasset-ool-Hisaab, tho' a treatise not without merit in its kind, only gives the system of the Arabs 1000 years since; the only advantage of this over the older system of the Greeks, that of the decimal notation, is much impeded by the awkward mode of managing it. Even in the common rules of multiplication and division, the cumbersome Algebraical Symbols already noted, prohibit all approach by this path to the higher branches of Analysis; while the manner in which in this Treatise, the rules for measuring surfaces and solids are given (*i.e.*, as

mere Rules without any demonstration or any intimation to the learner that they are merely approximations tho' ingenious ones) tends to defeat the purpose of Geometry as an useful discipline of the mind altogether. The Arabic translation of Bridge's Algebra (which appears correct and perspicuous as far as I have been able to examine it) will do something towards the remedy of this evil and a few other plain Treatises of the same kind following it, on Fluxions for instance, and the curvelineal Geometry built upon it, would doubtless do much more, but it certainly appears to me (as it does to Mr. Thomason) that we should not depend upon Translations for this most desirable object, but that the proper channel for requiring Native learners to become acquainted with the European Mathematics, is only thro' the English Language. A very slight knowledge of any language is sufficient to read Mathematical Books in it, and the students are evidently not deficient in the curiosity that would animate them to such a pursuit. When sufficiently instructed by this means, it will be for themselves to consider what English books they might translate with advantage, for the benefit of their countrymen."

Thus the necessity for the use of English as medium of instruction in scientific knowledge made itself felt at a very early date. It may be remarked that the question of the medium of instruction was not raised with regard to other branches of study—Law, Literature or Logic and Rhetoric—and the progress of the students in them was very favourably reported on.

In the course of 1824 the General Committee introduced the study of the English Language

into the Madrissa. But the experiment does not appear to have been quite a success at the commencement. In reviewing the operations of the General Committee in the year 1827, the Bengal Government observed to the Court of Directors: "We noticed, however, with regret that instruction in the English language had not yet become a part of the Madrissa course of study, and considering that the omission should be supplied without further delay, we directed the General Committee to give their best attention to the means of carrying into execution the highly important and desirable object of introducing English tuition into our principal Seminary for the education of youth of the Mahomedan persuasion."[1] In 1828, however, the results of the experiment were somewhat assuring; and the Government wrote to the Court: "In the Mahomedan College of Calcutta we have at length succeeded in establishing an English Class, on a footing which promises permanent results, and we are given to understand that the number of Youths of the Moslem persuasion who attend it, already amounts to 42."[2] Later on, in 1830, the success of the class was referred to in terms of satisfaction. "We informed the Committee," wrote the Government, "that we had perused with much satisfaction the report of the first Examination of the English class of the Madrissa, and were disposed to afford every encouragement to the disposition thus evinced by the Mahomedans

1 Letter from the Governor-General in Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 8): Home Dept., Public General Letters to Court, 1826-30 (G. I. R.).

2 Letter from the Governor-General in Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 37): Home Department, Public General Letters to Court, 1826-30 (G. I. R.).

of Calcutta to acquire the English language;" and proceeded to make the further interesting remarks.: "We were not, however, prepared to adopt the Committee's suggestion that we should pass a formal resolution to give a preference in the appointment of Government Vakeels in the several Courts and of Agents with the several Commissioners to those who had acquired our language being otherwise duly qualified, but we authorised the Committee to acquaint the students that in selecting officers of the class alluded to, a familiarity with English would on all occasions be considered by the Government to constitute a recommendation to preference where acquirements of Candidates did not otherwise offer any marked and special grounds for deviating from that rule."[1]

Like that of the Calcutta Madrissa, the early history of the Benares College was remarkable for nothing more than for the failure of the intentions of its founders. For a long period the institution existed, not because of any inherent vitality in it, but because the Government wished it to exist. Its languid existence was marked by intervals of conspicuous decline alternating with periods of "reform." But the reforms introduced by Government from time to time were calculated more to correct and check abuses than to infuse life into the institution; judging from actual results, they touched its external organisation rather than its inner spirit. Moreover, the reforms were seldom of permanent effect. The consequence was that the College soon fell into disrepute

[1] Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 27th August 1830 (Para 3): Home Dept., Public General Letters to Court, 97, 1826-30 (G. I. R.).

among the inhabitants of Benares. As early as 1804, Mr. F. Brooke, then Second Judge of Benares, wrote, in his capacity of Acting President of the College Committee which had been formed in 1798 by the orders of Government on discovery of serious maladministration of the affairs of the institution, as follows: "The college instead of being looked up to by the natives with respect and veneration, is an object of their ridicule; instead of an assemblage of learned Hindus, it resembles a band of pensioners supported by the charity of Government." [1]

At last, on 4th February 1820, Government called for a thorough investigation into the condition and affairs of the College, its past operations and future prospects. [2] To aid in the investigation Mr. H. H. Wilson and Lieutenant Fell, a Sanskrit scholar, were associated with the College Committee. The committee submitted an exhaustive report, dated 17th March 1820. The Committee, to judge from their report, did not consider the college an unmitigated failure. They were inclined to believe that of the two principal objects with which it had been founded by Duncan, one at least had been attained. "Whatever may have been the defects of the institution," they wrote, "or however limited its utility, the motives that led to its foundation, never can have been mistaken, and the appropriation of a liberal fund to the cultivation of Hindu Literature, and encouragement of its professors, cannot have failed of producing a suitable impression on the minds

1 Minute, 7th January 1804: Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Pathshala or Sanskrit College*, pp. 9-11.

2 *Ibid*,. p. 24.

of the Hindu population. So far, therefore, one important object has been attained, and the existence of the Hindu College is a measure that must tend to endear the Government to the people." It is not clear, however, on what grounds the Committee arrived at the supposition. On the contrary, it is difficult to see how an institution, that aroused no enthusiasm or interest among the people, could tend to endear the Government to them. Two years later, on the 4th January 1822, the College Committee reported a donation of Rs. 1,000 to the College from the Raja of Benares on the occasion of the "public disputations," and Nicholls makes the following significant remarks: "This appears to be the first time that the native gentry of Benares showed any apparent interest in the college, and it is lamentable to have to remark that....it is extremely problematical whether their liberality arose from an appreciation of the merits of the institution, or from a desire to obtain a place in the good graces of the authorities; it is much to be feared that the latter was the prevailing motive, for it will be found that at subsequent periods when the college was in as flourishing a state, if not in a more flourishing one, the annual donations decreased to a most insignificant sum."[1] And yet the committee of 1820 almost attributed to the people a feeling of attachment for the Government, because it had established an institution in which they took little or no interest.

With regard to the second object, the Committee admitted the failure of the institution to realise it. "The second advantage has as

1 Minute, 7th January 1804: Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, p. 49.

certainly not been realised," they said, "the college has not furnished on more than two occasions expounders of Hindu law to the English Courts, and, from the report of the examination, comprehends at present no pupil calculated in the lowest degree to discharge such an important function. We are not disposed, however, to consider the failure anything more than might have been expected; the objects of study in the Hindu College even if successfully cultivated are not particularly legal, but are general and literary; and so we conceive they should remain; there is no special inducement held out to the cultivation of Law, and even the appointment of the pupils to vacancies in the Courts would in many cases be an objectionable measure, and as a general one, could not, we imagine, be enforced." Again, a little further on they said: "The failure in the department of legal study, which we have thus noticed, is not the only one that has occurred; in fact from the report of the examination it appears that a corresponding want of acquirement pervades all the other classes, and that the college has done little more than contribute to the maintenance of a certain number of Pundits and pupils, amongst whom Literature and Study have merely served as pleas for securing a maintenance. The special cause of this failure we cannot doubt has been the want of effective control, the absence of which has led to a total deficiency of arrangement in the order of study, and utter want of diligence and zeal in its prosecution."[1] In the end, the committee concluded its survey of the state of the college by suggesting certain

[1] Minute, 7th January 1804: Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, pp. 28-37 passim.

reforms with a view to the introduction of effective superintendence and reorganisation of the various departments of study. The suggestions of the Committee were given effect to by a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, and on the basis of it rules were framed for the future government of the college.[1] It was of these reforms that the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General in their despatch of 18th February 1824: "We are by no means sanguine in our expectation that the slight reforms which you have proposed to introduce will be followed by much improvement; and we agree with you in certain doubts, whether a greater degree of activity, even if it were produced, on the part of the masters, would in present circumstances, be attended with the most desirable results."

The college being so recently reformed, the General Committee did not introduce any particular change or innovation when it was placed under their control. It was doubtful even whether during 1824-25 serious attempts were made "to carry into effect the system of progressive and general study which was part of the anticipated reform."[2] Lord Combermere, however, in a Minute of 20th August 1827, reviewing the operations of the General Committee for the past year, referred to the Benares College in the following terms: "The Benares College continues to exhibit the same diligence in the cultivation of studies purely national, that it has displayed for some years past. Arrangements have been also made

1 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

2 Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 32).

to encourage to a greater extent, the useful and necessary study of the Laws of the Hindus at this institution, as well as to obtain a more general and finished conversancy with the Sanscrit language."[1]

Here may be related two facts of the history of the Benares College which aptly illustrate what may be called the dual aspect of the policy of the General Committee. In 1827 Captain C. Thoresby, the Secretary of the College, proposed the abolition of the "Veda classes", of the progress of which he gave a very unfavourable report at a meeting of the College Committee held on the 19th of February of that year. The College Committee concurred in Captain Thoresby's suggestion; but, on its being communicated to the General Committee, they took occasion to express their views on the subject in general, which may be best set forth in their own words. The General Committee said: "The Local Committee has concurred in the recommendation of Captain Thoresby, to abolish the Veda classes and, constituted as they have hitherto been, we see no objection; the sole object of tuition having been the recitation of such parts of the ritual, as are still in use, agreeable to fixed cadences and intonations, without any attempt to explain the sense of the original passage. As observed by Captain Thoresby, the only end of this institution was to enable indigent and ignorant Brahmans to gain a livelihood, as underling priests. Although however, we concur in the arrangements adopted by the Local Committee, we should regret to see

1 Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829.

the study of the Vedas altogether excluded from the Government Colleges as it would be by its abolition at Benares, there being no Veda classes in the Sanscrit College at Calcutta. The act itself might be misconstrued into a design to obliterate that which is the basis of the original Hindu system, and it would certainly contribute to the total loss of works, which are valuable for the light they throw upon the history of the Hindu religion, and Sanscrit language. The Veda exercise but little influence upon the present practices of the Hindus, and much of their language is obsolete; if wholly neglected therefore they will soon become unintelligible. Without therefore attaching undue importance to the study, we should wish it to be cultivated to a sufficient extent to provide a few Pundits able to explain the ancient text. We should accordingly propose to keep one class for the perusal of the Vedas, with the commentaries attached to them, not with the same object as hithertofore, but for the purpose of understanding their purport, and interpreting their language."[1]

It was probably such solicitude for antiquarian learning that led the Anglicists subsequently to accuse the General Committee of having behaved as if it had been a subordinate branch of the Bengal Asiatic Society.[2] But if the Committee's policy during this period be viewed as a whole, and not in individual instances of patronage of antique lore, the charge will be found to have been not entirely true. Revival of the

[1] Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, pp. 64-65.

[2] Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, Ch. III., pp. 53-55.

ancient learning of India, which the Charter Act of 1813 contemplated, was no doubt a part of their policy. But their immediate educational aim was to impart in their institutions such parts of "useful" Oriental learning, selected for the purpose from the rest of the useless mass, as were calculated to lead up to the easy and gradual introduction of Western arts and sciences. From the very nature of the aim it was inevitable that greater emphasis should have been placed in the beginning upon Oriental learning. And, again, it must be noted that what made the Anglicists impatient was the slow, and rather circuitous, process of enlightenment involved in the carrying out of the Committee's Orientalist policy. The Committee could not show quick results in the "intellectual and moral improvement of the natives;" and when, later on, the Anglicists assumed control of educational affairs, they frequently pointed out by way of contrast the rapid progress made under their guidance. But what the Anglicists seem to have overlooked was that the rapidity of progress exhibited under their management was possible because they pursued a limited and exclusive aim compared to that of the Orientalists and contributed all their energies and resources to its fulfilment. They forgot that comprehensive aims—such as the Orientalists undoubtedly had in view—are not the quickest achieved.

In March 1829 Captain Thoresby recommended to the General Committee the establishment of a class or classes for instruction in European knowledge through the English language on various useful subjects commonly taught in

English schools. In submitting his proposals to the Committee, Captain Thoresby indulged in certain observations of a general nature which deserve quotation at some length, as they bear upon the attitude of the Orientalists towards the question of the introduction of Western knowledge and the English language in this country.

"The propriety and expediency of imparting a knowledge of the English language and of European literature to the natives of India," he said, "appears to be so fully recognised by Government as well as by most individuals, who have considered as well the subject of education, with reference to the peculiar circumstances of the question as it occurs in this country, that it is superfluous for one to dwell upon the good which according to my apprehension would be affected by a successful prosecution of the measure.

"I wish it to be understood that I consider the communication of sound practical knowledge the true point of aim; an attempt to diffuse suddenly through all classes merely an imperfect knowledge of the English language might be of a dubious tendency; possibly it might be attended with immediate mischief, besides being in a great measure impracticable; but no doubt can be felt as to the result of a careful instruction of the children of families respectable from their situation in life.

"I therefore propose that one or two classes should be established at Benares for the cultivation of the English language and literature to be communicated through the medium of it, which shall be open to a select number of scholars who are respectably connected, without reference to their general place of abode.

"Of the feasibility of the plan I entertain no doubt, for not only does no prejudice exist in the neighbourhood against the English language and literature, but I believe there is a general desire to be acquainted with both.

"I must here state my conviction that the unaided medium of translation superintended by Europeans, however well these may be qualified for the task by comparison and indefatigable in labour, will ever be inadequate to produce any great result among the native population of India; as the work of foreigners, they must be generally faulty and harsh in language and sometimes obscure, and thence must arise the prejudice against it; then they are merely detached links of the great chain, and it is unreasonable to expect them, thus imperfect, to have any great weight with minds pre-occupied and biased or to be considered otherwise than as curiosities and not as the repositories of a literature worthy to support, or make up the deficiency of their own. By educating youth in the English language and thus enabling them to imbibe at the foundation head, numerous difficulties are avoided, and favourable impressions become indelible.

"In after-life the former student may become instructor, if he has the inclination, and communicate the foregoing learning he has acquired to his countrymen in that way in which he knows will be most engaging and useful."[1]

The General Committee agreed with the suggestion of Captain Thoresby. But the English classes were not to form an appendage of the Sanskrit College. For reasons to be noted later on, the General Committee had by this date come to prefer the plan of establishing wherever practicable an English seminary on a distinct foundation. The Governor-General in Council sanctioned the establishment of "an English College at Benares" at an expense not exceeding Rs. 800 per mensem which was to be defrayed from the general Education Fund. As the Local Committee at Benares objected to the General Committee's suggestion for the appointment of an

[1] Letter from Capt. Thoresby to the General Committee, dated 25th March 1829: Nicholls' "Sketch," pp.67, 72 passim.

European master, with "two native assistants," to the school, the services of two students of the Calcutta Vidyalaya were requisitioned. The school was opened on the 15th June 1830. As Nicholls tells us, "in June 1830, two pupils from the Hindu College in Calcutta, Babus Guru Charan Mittre and Eshwar Chandar Dey, were appointed teachers to the English seminary which was dignified with the title of the Benares Anglo-Indian Seminary, which title it retained until November 1836, when it was called the Benares English Seminary or the Benares Government School." It was finally united to the Sanskrit College in 1844.

It is thus evident that if the Orientalists of the General Committee, were, on the one hand, solicitous regarding the extinction of the study of the Vedas, they were, on the other, not reluctant to encourage the diffusion of European learning and the English language among the people they sought to educate. But the demands of their policy were too great for the resources at their disposal and imposed strict limits on the extent of encouragement they could afford.

One fact more remains to be noted in conclusion. Soon after the establishment of the English School, it was intimated to the Local Committee in July 1830, that Government had been pleased to authorise it to communicate to the students of the Benares College that in the nomination of Government vakils in the Courts and agents with the Commissioners, familiarity with English would on all occasions be considered to constitute a recommendation to preference when the acquirements of candidates did not

otherwise offer any marked and special grounds for deviation from that rule. In dealing with the Calcutta Madrissa the circumstances which induced Government to take the above step were touched upon. Its effects were, however, dubious at least in regard to Benares. Nicholls remarks: "This order was calculated to encourage the study of English among the pupils of the College, but it had not the expected effect, nor indeed do I believe it was ever acted upon."[1]

The origin of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta has already been noted. At a very early period Government expressed its intention to make some provision for the introduction of "European science" into the institution in addition to the study of the Sanskrit language and literature. A convenient opportunity offered itself when in 1823 the Managers of the Vidyalaya sought pecuniary assistance from Government and applied for a Lecturer to teach the elements of European science. Government decided to endow a professorship of Experimental Philosophy for both the institutions. It was sought to combine the Sanskrit College and the Vidyalaya so far as to give their students jointly the benefit of philosophical instruction. Nor were the means for such instruction entirely lacking. In 1823 "an extensive philosophical apparatus" had been placed at the disposal of the Sanskrit College by the British India Society in London.[2] It how-

1 *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, etc., p. 73.

2 A list of articles of which the apparatus consisted will be found in Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—1 Public—16th August 1832, pp. 213-214.

ever remained unutilised for want of a qualified professor or lecturer on experimental philosophy.

The proposal of Government relating to the endowment of a professorship in "experimental philosophy" was warmly supported by the General Committee. They anticipated from the measure "advantages of the most important description," particularly with reference to the Sanskrit college. "The diffusion of sound practical knowledge," they said, "amongst the able and respectable individuals of whom its members will consist; of men, who by their Brahmanical birth, as well as by their learning, exercise a powerful influence on the minds of every order of the community, cannot fail to be attended with beneficial effects. That the curiosity and intelligence of these individuals will be excited, we can scarcely doubt, when we advert to the interest, which is inherent in the subjects of the lectures, and the improved means of verification, which they will possess in an extensive apparatus, and amusing as well as instructive experiments. The chief advantages however are, that as the connexion will be effected in an unobtrusive manner, it will not be likely, in the first instance, to give any alarm to the prejudices of the Brahmanical members of the college; and as it may be expected to become attractive by its own merits, it is probable, that with proper regulation it will spontaneously ripen into intimate association. 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 be thus successfully and extensively promoted."

The particular subjects which the General Committee desired to see embraced in the course of instruction to be given by the professor were: Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Electricity, Astronomy and Chemistry. They, however, wished Chemistry to be separated from the rest and a practical course appropriated to that science alone.

The arrangement which the Committee recommended for the purpose of affording the benefit of "philosophical instruction" both to the Sanskrit College and the Vidyalaya was, in their own words, as follows: "The pupils of the philosophical school are to be those of the first class of the present native college (*i.e.*, the Vidyalaya); upon all of whom, it would be made obligatory to attend one course of philosophy, a further continuance should be made a matter of favour and granted only when the desire and capability of learning were undoubted. The duration of the period of study may then be regulated, only by the wish of the parties and the report of the professor. The lads of the native college should not be permitted to attend the philosophical class, until they are well grounded in the English language; a qualification, it might be supposed, it is unnecessary to provide for by any other condition, than that of their entering the first class of the present college." It is here interesting to note that, in regard to the pupils of the Sanskrit College, the Sanskrit or the vernacular language seems to have been the medium of instruction contemplated by the Committee. "Their num-

ber will consequently not much exceed a dozen at a time," continued the Committee, "and the professor will be able to extend the benefit of his instructions to at least an equal number of the lads in the upper classes of the Sanscrit College, when he shall be qualified to communicate with the pupils either in Sanscrit or some of the vernacular languages; to the acquisition of which his attention should be immediately addressed and in the study of which he should be aided with teachers and books at the public expense."[1] It may be added that a Lecturer on Natural and Experimental Philosophy for both the institutions was found in a Mr. Ross, Foreman to the Calcutta Mint, who was stated to be "a gentleman possessing considerable scientific acquirements."

Further steps towards the introduction of European learning into the College were taken during 1827 when two important innovations were made. A medical class was instituted for imparting to the pupils instruction in "the first elements of European anatomy." And an English class was established for affording the advanced students of the College tuition in the English language. The success of these classes as evidenced in the results of the annual examination in 1828 seems to have been very gratifying to the General Committee. "Several of the Medical students," they observed in their report, "described at the examination, with great readiness, either in English or Bengali, the organs of the human body, and others maintained conversation in English with tolerable facility. They have

[1] Letter from the General Committee of Public Instruction, to the Governor-General in Council, dated 6th October 1823 : Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 86-91.

also displayed a very respectable conversance, in the English in Translations from Thompson and Milton into Sanskrit verse. At the same time we cannot expect that the English class will ever possess that command of the language which is attained, where, as in the Anglo-Indian College (the Vidyalaya), it is the exclusive object of attention, and where it is commenced at an early age, and laboriously cultivated through a series of years. The English students in the Sanscrit College have their Sanscrit studies to attend to and with reference to their character as Brahmins, and their prospects in life as expounders of the Hindu Literature, Sciences and Law, actually give the preference to that course of study, on which their reputation and subsistence depend—such attention, however, as they do pay to the English, cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence upon their minds, and will liberalise their feelings, and enlarge their views, and in a few individual instances of superior Talent and Industry will form a substantial and highly advantageous acquirement. The ability to consult the English Translations of the Law books is of itself an important benefit and the importance of English in the Medical class is already sensibly felt, the best English Scholars being invariably the best Anatomists."[1]

It has previously been seen how the Vidyalaya came into existence in 1816. Till 1823 Government avoided all interference with the institution. Its affairs were under the control of a Managing Committee consisting of Europeans and Indians.

1 Quoted in Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 38).

But mismanagement reduced the institution to sorry straits and necessitated applications to Government for assistance. The Bengal Government wrote to the Court of Directors in 1826 that "owing to an injudicious outlay at starting, and to the reduction in the rate of interest on all public securities, the funds of the institution experienced a considerable decrease and applications were on more than one occasion made to Government by the Native Managers for pecuniary aid."[1] In 1823, when the very existence of the institution seems to have been in jeopardy, an application was made (and forwarded through the General Committee under date 7th April 1824) to Government by the managers, requesting "an allowance for house-rent and the aid of a person competent to teach the elements of European Science until the completion of the new college and the permanent appointment of a Lecturer." Government expressed its willingness to grant the assistance solicited, but in return demanded a certain degree of authoritative control, to be exercised with the consent of the managers, over the concerns and management of the institution. To this stipulation the Indian managers demurred; but after some discussion, it was finally settled, with the concurrence of the parties concerned, that the General Committee were to exercise "a regular inspection and supervising control as visitors of the Anglo-Indian College (another name for the Vidyalaya) through the medium of such of their members as they might from time to time appoint." Mr. Wilson, Secretary to the General Committee, was the first

1 Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 56).

Visitor selected "to act as the organ and representative of the General Committee in the discharge of that duty." It was further agreed that reports of the condition and progress of the institution were to be from time to time furnished to the General Committee, and that all recommendations proceeding from that body relative to the conduct of the affairs of the institution were to be acted upon by the Managers unless sufficient reason were shown to the contrary in writing. Government then decided to allow a sum of Rs. 300 per mensem for house-rent; and the arrangements that were made in compliance with the request of the Managers for a professor in European science have already been noticed. Thus it was, in short, that the Vidyalaya was brought partially under the control of the General Committee.

Having for its primary object the diffusion of European learning and the English language, the Vidyalaya excited a keener interest in the Government as well as the General Committee regarding its progress and success than perhaps any of the Oriental institutions. And its progress within the next few years was such as to evoke encomia from all who witnessed it. It soon came to be looked upon as "a most important and efficacious instrument for raising the moral worth and improving the intellectual condition of the Native subjects of the Hon'ble Company." Mr. Wilson reported in his visitorial capacity on the annual examination of the college for 1825 in these terms: "I am happy to state that great improvement has been made this year in the command of the English language, and that by

enforcing attention to written translations the Senior Pupils are now able to express themselves in writing with tolerable accuracy. Considerable progress has been also made in their Arithmetical studies and the whole of the classes, except the very youngest, are now engaged in this useful acquisition. The senior classes are advanced in fractions. The more particular attention to this branch of Education is of so recent a date, that greater progress could not have been looked for." At the same time he added: "The greatest advance, however, has been made in the Department of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and the Senior class has acquired singular conversancy with the elements of the several sciences. Their acquirements reflect great credit on their application and on the pains taken with them by their Instructor Mr. Ross." And the General Committee, in corroborating Mr. Wilson's report in respect of the attainments of the scholars, added some interesting observations. "It is equally gratifying to find," they remarked, "that the most respectable classes of the Native Community of Calcutta have evinced a disposition to secure the benefits of the Institution to their children, and have sent so many scholars who pay for their education since the last annual examination. The evident superiority of the Institution and the low rate of charge, have no doubt their weight in operating this improved state of native feeling, but we are satisfied that much may also be attributed to the diffusion of liberal ideas, and to confidence felt by the parents of the pupils in the present system of management." With regard to the ultimate good which the institution was calculated to effect, were its scope

enlarged, the Committee said: "The importance of the extended activity of the Anglo-Indian College will admit of no doubt, and as long as a body of two hundred boys, most or all of whom are respectably connected, can be trained in useful knowledge and the English language a great improvement may be confidently anticipated in the intellectual character of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta. This must, however, be the work of time and will depend upon the consistency to be given to the operations of the College by a steady and prudent attention to the object of its institution." The favourable progress to which these reports attested induced the Government, on the recommendation of the General Committee, to authorise the endowment of scholarships in the institution, to an extent compatible with the prevailing circumstances and the state of the funds.[1]

During succeeding years too the progress of the Vidyalaya was all that could be desired or expected under the circumstances. In a Minute of 26th July 1826 Lord Amherst remarked that "by the report of the annual examination in January last (1826), it appeared that 196 pupils, of different ages, the sons of the most respectable members of the Native Community, were in course of instruction at this seminary, in the English language and literature, and in European science; and the knowledge of the senior pupils reflected the highest credit upon their talents and application and upon the system of tuition by which they had been instructed. At present there are

[1] Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826.

280 scholars; of which 190 contribute to defray the expense of their own education; of the rest, 60 are upon the foundation, and 30 are supported by the School Society." And his Lordship went on to add: "It is to this establishment that Government especially looks for the successful diffusion of that knowledge which is equally applicable to the purposes of active and contemplative life, and which unites reason and philosophy with the happiness and improvement of Society." So also, in the following year, Lord Combermere, in the Minute already qouted from, said: "It is in the Vidyalaya, however, that the study of English is most successfully prosecuted. At the public examination held also in January last (1827), the Senior classes were examined in Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry, and proved their acquaintance with the language of Shakespear, by declaiming several of his scenes. Since then the first class has been introduced to the elements of Mathematical knowledge, and to the acquirement for Drawing, which may be of service to them in after life. The progress made by the pupils of this college, is highly creditable to their own talents and assiduity, and the care with which their studies are superintended. The number of scholars is between 4 and 500; of whom those on the original foundation and that of the School Society (altogether ninety) remain as before. Subscribers to the Education Fund have been permitted to add to these one free Scholar for every 10,000 rupees subscribed, and from part of similar donations, small scholarships have been attached to the College for a number of the pupils of the first class, to contribute towards defraying their maintenance, and obviate any

urgent necessity for their premature removal from studies of so much interest and importance to themselves, and to the diffusion of useful information."[1]

In connection with the Vidyalaya the General Committee put forward at an early date an interesting proposal. Although the Vidyalaya was termed "a college," the knowledge imparted in it was of an elementary character; nor were the teachers men of sufficient acquirements in the English language and literature to lead the pupils beyond the elementary stage. The General Committee were convinced that, if the standard of instruction was to be raised and the cultivation of the English language extended, qualified teachers had to be procured from England. Again, the General Committee were constrained to admit the difficulty of the attempt to accomplish either of those objects by translations from the English into the Oriental languages. In these circumstances, the Committee, in submitting in April 1825 their report of the annual examination of the Vidyalaya, seized the occasion to urge upon Government the formation of a distinct institution "for the admission of a certain number of the most advanced pupils from both the Hindu and Mahomedan seminaries for gratuitous instruction in Literature and Science through the medium of the English language." In short, they proposed the establishment of a real College where a higher degree of European knowledge through the medium of English would be obtainable to young men of promising talents, after the

1 *Vide* Education Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829.

necessary preliminary attainments had been acquired in the English classes attached to the Oriental seminaries. In laying the Committee's proposal before the Court of Directors the Governor-General in Council referred to the motives in which the proposal originated. Said the Governor General: "An arrangement of this nature they (the Committee) observe is obviously calculated to introduce the native youth, to a much more thorough conversancy with the actual state of European intellect, than the circumscribed education which they now receive, and which, whilst it communicates words, imparts but very scantily ideas. It is due also, they very justly add, to the British Government that they should uphold a public seminary for the instruction of their subjects in that knowledge which their enlightened judgment knows to be most worthy of attention. Justice has been done to the learned part of the Native Society, in the encouragement of the studies which they most value, and both Mahomedans and Hindus have been provided by the Government with facilities for pursuing Literature and Science in sources which they respectively venerate. Having accomplished this, it is now incumbent on us to open to them a channel for acquirements of a more elevated description and which when duly appreciated and diffused, must exercise a powerful and ameliorating influence on the intellect and morals of our Indian Subjects."[1]

The General Committee expressed their readiness to appropriate Rs. 2,000 per mensem to the

1 Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826.

maintenance of an English College on the footing proposed by them. But the aid of competent instructors from England was a great desideratum. Two such were for the present urgently required —one for Mathematics, and another for instruction in "general literature and composition." As for their emoluments, the Governor-General informed the Court that "the rate of salary proposed for the preceptors is besides certain contingent advantages, about rupees 400 per mensem, the state of the Education Fund not admitting of a larger offer being made, but should not this prove an adequate inducement, the Committee trust that your Hon'ble Court may deem it proper with reference to the importance of the end proposed, to sanction the separate grant of a sufficient addition to the amount specified with a view to secure the services of two individuals of the required character and qualifications and of whose fitness in all respects you may be pleased to approve."[1] As the Government entirely concurred in the proposal for an English College, it joined with the Committee in the above request to the Court of Directors.

The Court of Directors, satisfied with the manner in which the educational operations of the Committee were conducted, were willing enough to co-operate in the measure for the promotion of higher European learning in India. They wrote to the Governor-General: "We shall immediately take steps for procuring two preceptors, who, besides having the necessary literary attainments, may unite discretion and

1 Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826.

good sense with an ardent zeal for the work in which they are to be engaged. The supply of books and of instruments, the expense of which it is proposed by the Committee to defray out of the Education Fund, will also be attended to, and you will receive due notification as soon as the objects have been effected."[1]

But the project of establishing the proposed English College at Calcutta was not carried into effect. It seems to have been tacitly abandoned about 1829, as the Vidyalaya was stated, under proper superintendence, to have been found capable of answering the end for which an English College had been sought to be established.[2]

So far those educational institutions which existed, with the exception of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, prior to the establishment of the General Committee in 1823, have been treated of. Even the Sanskrit College, as was seen, had been projected before the Committee was instituted, There remain now two important institutions to be noticed which were founded after the Committee began to function and founded through its instrumentality. These institutions were the Oriental Colleges at Delhi and Agra.

It was noted at the commencement of this section that Mr. H. J. Taylor, an uncovenanted servant of the Company, had submitted, in answer to the Committee's Circular Queries of September 1823, a detailed report on the state of education in the City of Delhi. Mr. Taylor

1 Public Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated 5th September 1827 (para 22).

2 Public Letter from the Court to Bengal, dated 29th September 1830 (para 12).

represented that public education stood in great need of encouragement in that city: that the ancient endowments there had fallen into neglect and ruin; and, that, whilst the circumstances even of the respectable portion of the community did not permit of their incurring the expense of providing education for their children, they had not obtained any assistance from the public fund. Such assistance was needed; and opportunities of affording it were particularly favourable. For, the old seminaries still existed in a condition that could be rendered easily available "to the accommodation of a new seminary," and "many individuals could be found familiar with the business of instruction and highly competent to afford it." Though their acquirements were confined to Mahomedan literature and science, yet it was considered possible to introduce "an improved course of study at Delhi," through the agency of those persons, when suitable means for doing so were placed at their disposal.

Under the circumstances represented in Mr. Taylor's report, the General Committee recommended to Government the formation of a "Literary Establishment" to be designated the Delhi College. A fund of about Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 3,500 per annum, applicable to the support of such an institution, was reported to exist by the Local Agency of Delhi; and the General Committee proposed to contribute Rs. 600 per mensem out of the Education Fund for its maintenance. The Committee, "satisfied that without proper superintendence it would be wholly useless to establish any institution whatsoever," re-

commended that Mr. Taylor should be appointed superintendent, under the control of a Local Committee, with "a small allowance of Rs. 150 per mensem payable from the College Fund." The establishment of the College was to consist of one preceptor at Rs. 100 per mensem, five Maulvis at Rs. 50 each, and 89 scholars who were to receive a stipend of Rs. 3 each per mensem.' The proposals of the Committee having received the sanction of Government, the Delhi College was founded in 1825.

The principles on which the institution was to be conducted were broadly indicated in the letter of instructions addressed by the General Committee to the Local Agents at Delhi. "In the present want of Books and Teachers," said the Committee, "it is not possible to suggest any innovation in the course or objects of Tuition 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 Mahomedans consider the higher branches of learning, Arabic, Philosophy and Theology. The attention of the students, in the opinion of the General Committee, should be especially directed, in the first instance, to a command of their own language, and to Composition in a classical and unaffected style of Hindoostany. The next step 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 conversancy with the Language of

Arabia. In the progress of the Students through these gradations, opportunity should be taken to convey a knowledge of Arithmetic and Mathematics. In Hindoostany, perhaps, little exists but works of light reading; but if any of a historical character can be met with, they should seem to merit preference. It might be expedient to give the students some knowledge of the division, notions and peculiarities of the Hindoos. In Persian also, in addition to works of imagination, Historical works should be chiefly studied. In Arabic the student should begin with those works read in the Calcutta Madrissa, as best calculated to impart a knowledge of the Language; and his attention should then be directed to such parts of Mahomedan Jurisprudence, as may qualify him to be serviceable in the Courts. This is as much as may be considered the regular College course, although, if the Scholars are disposed to learn, or the Professors to teach, any other branch of knowledge, and such tuitions do not disturb the established series, the arrangement may be sanctioned."[1]

In his Minute of 26th July 1826 the Governor-General expressed satisfaction with the progress made by the College within a year of its establishment. "The first Annual Report from the College of Delhi," he said, "states the number of resident scholars to be 120, of whom the classes more advanced are engaged in the study of the Arabic language, Mahomedan law, and the elements of Euclid; and the junior in the cultivation of Persian and the elements of the Arabic language.

[1] *Vide* Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826.

The Report of the Local Committee is highly favourable to the zeal with which the Teachers and the students of this seminary have been animated; the diligence with which it has been superintended; and the popularity which, even in this early period, it has attained; and these circumstances have determined Government to extend the beneficial operation of the College, by placing more liberal allowances at its disposal, and thus opening a door to a greater number of pupils; of whom, from the advantageous situation of Delhi, there is likely to be a considerable resort from the Upper and Western Provinces of Hindoostan."

In 1827 it was stated there were 40 students in Arabic, 50 in the higher classes of Persian, 97 in elementary classes, and 17 in Sanskrit, making in all 204. Moreover, the elements of Astronomy and Mathematics on European principles were introduced, although the principal objects of study in the college were the Arabic language and Mahomedan Law.[1] Shortly after, the study of the English language was also added. But the introduction of the study of English into the Delhi College led to interesting and important developments which must be considered in some detail.

In their report of the annual examinations for 1828 of the Delhi College, the Local Committee expressed themselves as follows with regard to the English class of the College: 'Altho' the Delhi College gives sufficient opportunity to a limited number of students, of attaining the

1 Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829.

rudiments of the English tongue, yet it affords at present, neither the means of acquiring that degree of advancement in the language, without which no useful result is to be expected, nor of teaching any European learning or Science; and persuaded of the paramount advantages of such proficiency and instruction, the Committee solicit in the most earnest manner the timely appointment of a qualified Professor of the European Sciences and literature; private intimation alone, that of the two Professors expected from England for the Hindu College (the Vidyalaya), the services of one would be rendered available to this Institution, having prevented an earlier application on this account."

But the Local Committee, not satisfied with the modicum of knowledge of English which was all that could be imparted in an Oriental institution, put forward bold proposals for the extensive diffusion of a knowledge of the language among the people at large. In two communications addressed to the General Committee they advocated in as impressive a manner as possible the extension of "English tuition" in the Upper Provinces and the gradual introduction of the English language as the language of public business throughout the British dominions in India. The General Committee did not admit the soundness of all the views and able arguments advanced by the Local Committee; but they expressed themselves "fully disposed to concur in their general conclusion, and to recommend the adoption of such arrangements as their means would permit in furtherance of the important object contemplated." The General Committee

accordingly recommended the formation of "a separate English class at Delhi," at an expense not exceeding Rupees 800 per mensem to be defrayed from the General Education Fund. But, having regard to the particular object in view, the General Committee, it must be noted, were not in favour of the course pursued at an earlier date in similar cases of appending an English class to the existing Oriental college. The reasons for which they recommended a separate English class are interesting to note as indicating their views at this date on the subject of English education.

> "As a part only, and subordinate part of the course of study followed in a Native College," the General Committee observed in their report, "the acquirement of English can be only a secondary object, and will be pursued with inferior zeal and assiduity. The acquirement is also more difficult than the Local Committee seems to apprehend. Although the grammatical rudiments of the language be simple, its structure in written composition is complicated, and the whole body of expressions and ideas so unlike those to which Asiatics are accustomed, that they can only become familiar to the Native mind by a long and laborious course of study. Tuition in English also is not intended to be confined to the language. The more important object is instruction in History, Ethics, and Science, and the various branches of the latter alone, whether physical or abstract, leave but little opportunity for the cultivation of Native literature. Where they are prosecuted together, one must be comparatively neglected, and in a Seminary established for Oriental studies, the portion of time and attention devoted to the English class must be too trifling to afford any hope of considerable proficiency. The almost exclusive demand which the study of English on a liberal scale, must necessarily form upon the time of the pupils, constitutes an objection of some weight to its introduction in the present condition of the people of India, as a knowledge of English alone will be of much

less value as a means of gaining a respectable livelihood, than either Sanskrit or Arabic. At the same time we trust it will be found practicable even where English is made the main scope and end of the course of study to engraft upon it a subsidiary cultivation of the Native languages; that shall be sufficient for all practical purposes.

"However this may be found practicable, we are decidedly of opinion that if the study of English is to be beneficially extended, it should be effectively prosecuted. A mere smattering of broken English, will lead to no improvement in the intellectual or moral character of the Native population. With this view therefore we would propose to establish an English College at some Chief City or Cities in Hindustan, on similar principles to those which regulate the Anglo-Indian College of Calcutta. We should not have selected Delhi for the experiment, but the locality comes powerfully recommended by the considerations adduced by the Delhi College Committee, by the testimony they bear to the popular feelings in favour of the study, and above all by the reliance we may place in their zeal and judgment, in carrying into effect any arrangement for the establishment of an English College and superintending its conduct."

Government concurred in the views of the General Committee. In their educational despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829,[1] they said: "We expressed ourselves decidedly favourable to the policy of disseminating our language, science and literature throughout India, to the utmost extent, which the Funds available for the purpose, and the obligation incumbent on us of cherishing the Native learning of the country, will permit-concurring with the General Committee in their view that the best mode of encouraging and promoting the study

1 Home Dept.: Public General Letters to Court, Vol. 97, 1826-30 (G. I. R.)

would be the formation of separate English Colleges rather than the attaching of classes for the cultivation of that language to Institutions already existing, We entirely approved the plan of the new Seminary proposed for Delhi....."

So what was sometimes known as the Delhi Institution was founded "by the appointment of teachers, provision of elementary books, and the assembling together of 68 pupils."[1]

The Agra College originated under the following circumstances:—

One Gungadhur Pundit, who died in 1813, "held certain villages in the Agra and Alygarh districts rent-free under some grant for Public and Charitable purposes which lapsed his demise. On the 5th January 1816 the Government in reply to a reference from the Western Board resolved that ¾th of the produce of the Estates should be applied to such purposes. The Local Agents of both districts were charged with the Management.

"Some correspondence and a variety of suggestions were interchanged between the Local Agents of Agra and the Board as to the application of the Funds and after much delay it was agreed that a Collegiate Institution should be established at Agra for the instruction of natives.

"When the General Committee was formed in July 1823, Government referred to it all the correspondence with intimation that the fund

1 Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee, I Public—16th August 1832, p. 254.

was to be applied to Public Education and with direction to consider the subject....."[1]

The Committee submitted a report dated 24th October 1823. The proceeds of the lands in question were stated to amount to nearly Rs. 1,50,000, capable, when laid out at interest, of yielding an annual income of Rs. 20,000. The Committee considered the fund adequate to the maintenance of a collegiate establishment on a liberal scale. They, therefore, strongly recommended that "the funds should be applied to the maintenance of a single institution, and that this should be established in the city of Agra, under the designation of the Agra College."

As for the principles on which the institution was to be founded, the General Committee considered the existing Government seminaries exclusive in their character, "each being confined to studies belonging to peculiar classes, and more or less connected with their religious persuasions; but it appeared to them very desirable to place the new Institution on a more liberal footing and to direct its instruction to general purposes of business and of life."[2] Another feature of the projected institution was that it was to be open to all classes of the population.

Hence the Committee placed before Government the outline of a rather comprehensive plan

[1] Letter from Secy. G. C. P. I. to Secy., to Government in the General Dept., dated 21st January 1835; Public Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 7. (G. I. R.). Mr. Sutherland's version as above of the origin of the College has been followed, as that given in the General Committee's printed report of 1831 was stated to err in a material particular.

[2] Education Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 12).

of the college. In it Persian and Arabic, as the languages of the courts of justice and of Mahomedan literature, were to form part of the subjects of study; while Hindee and Sanskrit, as the languages of common life and of the literature of the Hindus, were deemed equally necessary. In consequence, the Committee proposed that "the whole of these languages should be taught in the College." The introduction of the English language was postponed. In regard to it the Committee observed: "Hereafter it may be desirable to provide the means of teaching English, but we could not consider this necessary in the first instance, and do not, therefore, offer any recommendation on this head. We must at 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. Nothing, it is evident, can be expediently taught, in which the people do not take an interest, and a considerable period must elapse before new Books can be supplied. Although, therefore, 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 to be at least premature to establish separate classes for any of the several branches of it. In like manner it is not our purpose to urge the students generally to pursue the abstruse parts of Native Science." A teacher of Arithmetic was, however, included in the plan, "as indispensible under the most popular scheme." In the course of instruction in the Sanskrit and Arabic languages for the higher classes respectively, was to be included a general acquaintance with "the best popular written works" in either

language as well as the study of such parts of Hindu and Mahomedan law as would be serviceable in the courts of justice. It was likewise suggested that the perusal of the Regulations of the British Government should be specially enforced among both Hindu and Mahomedan students, who might be capable of profiting by the study.

Such being the plan of the projected institution, the General Committee were led to remark in conclusion that they looked forward "to the result with peculiar interest, as the principles and objects of the Agra College, although perfectly in unison with the maxim of benefiting the people in India by methods derived from themselves, are in a great degree new amidst the systems hitherto devised for promoting public and useful education in this Country." The foundation of the college on the plan proposed by the Committee was authorised by Government on 7th November 1823.

In 1826 the number of pupils in the College was reported to be 117, of whom 43 were comprised in the Hindu classes and 74 in the Mahomedan. In 1827, at the time of the annual examination, there were 121 students studying Arabic and Persian, and 63 studying Sanskrit and Hindee. The progress of the former was stated to have been "most respectable"; but that of the latter to have been retarded, especially in Hindee, by the want of books. Some additions had been made during the year to the means already extant at the institution of acquiring proficiency in the Mathematical sciences. The study of Hindee seems to have been a popular one. The whole number of students in the college reading Hindee,

either exclusively or with Persian, was stated to be 120—a fact which proved very gratifying to Government. And with regard to it the General Committee observed: "The situation of the Agra College is well adapted to the successful cultivation of the Hindee language, and we trust it may be made the instrument of giving a fixed 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. A form of speech that becomes unintelligible every century, is a fatal bar to the progress of literary acquirement."

In 1827 also the Local Committee at Agra proposed the introduction of the English language into the college. The Committee pointed out the necessity of procuring from the Presidency teachers qualified in the principles of European science and in the Arabic and Sanskrit languages, if the study of Mathematics and Geography was to be successfully prosecuted in the institution; and suggested as a preferable alternative that instruction in those subjects should be conveyed through the medium of English. The General Committee hesitated to assent to the latter proposition; and the following extract from their annual report for 1827 clearly brings out their attitude at this date towards a question which was now steadily growing in importance. Referring to the above suggestion of the Agra Committee, they said:—

> "We trust it is unnecessary for us to state, that we entertain no objection to the introduction of the English language into any of the Government Seminaries,

where a reasonable prospect exists of its being serviceably acquired, or effectually taught; but we think that at present English instruction at Agra is of secondary importance, and are certain that we have not the means at command of imparting a sound and thorough knowledge of the language. Any attempt of this nature would, we are certain, end in the communication of a little broken English to a few individuals, sufficient to fit them for copyists in the public offices; and we are of opinion that it would not be desirable to incur any considerable outlay for such a purpose. When the system at Agra is fully established, and superior Scholars in Persian and Hindee 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 those languages must first be acquired. It should always be recollected that the Government Institutions are not intended for a temporary existence; and although it may be mortifying sometimes for laudable zeal to leave anything undone that it may hold beneficial—yet it is better to defer improvements in the consequences of which a few years are but a moment, than run the risk of embarrassing the benefits in progress, by multiplying in the outset, the ends which it is proposed to effect. Under these impressions we feel obliged still to object to the establishment of an English college at Agra; and to repeat our recommendation that for the present diligent attention should be paid to mature and methodise the course of Oriental tuition—an object which, it is clear is yet very far from being accomplished."[1]

And Government reported its own action in the matter to the Court of Directors as follows: "We concurred with the General Committee in opinion that, under the circumstances represented, there did not appear to be sufficient grounds to warrant the expectation that a favourable result would attend the attempt to introduce

[1] Quoted in Education Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 15).

the study of English into the Agra College; but reminded them at the same time of the wish we had often expressed that every fit occasion should be taken for promoting the cultivation of European Science and Literature, through the medium of the English language, in all the Government Seminaries."[1]

But in 1828 the Agra Committee again urged the formation of an English class in the College. They stated in support of the proposed measure that a knowledge of English was in popular demand in the Upper Provinces, and that the means of learning the English language were "earnestly solicited from Government by the most wealthy and leading classes of Natives." Moreover, the establishment of such a class, they said, would result in rendering a collegiate education much more sought after by the children of the opulent Hindoos and Mahomedans of Upper India than had been hitherto the case. The General Committee yielded, though not without some doubt as to the extent of success the English class might meet with. In recommending to Government compliance with the wish of the Agra Committee, they took occasion to address the following remarks:

> A small portion only of the time of the student can be devoted to the acquirement, and it will probably not engage much of his interest or preference. As also he will commence the study at a comparatively advanced age, his faculty of acquirement will be diminished, his progress will be tardy, and his final proficiency inconsiderable. At the same time as we have not the means of creating an independent English College at each Station,

1 Quoted in Education Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 16).

> we must therefore for the present be content to avail ourselves of the less effective plan of attaching an English Class to an Institution established principally for other objects like that of Agra. We therefore beg to recommend that this Class be formed, as proposed by the Local Committee, at the charge specified, *i.e.*, Rupees 200 per mensem for a teacher, and Rs. 50 for Books and Contingencies."

Government agreed with the recommendation of the General Committee. "We entirely approved the proposal," they wrote to the Court of Directors, "for attaching an English Class to the Agra College on the recommendation of the Local Committee, and to meet, in some degree, the desire for instruction in the English language, which was stated to have manifested itself spontaneously in that quarter, as well as elsewhere in the Upper Provinces. Should any of the wealthier Natives, we observed, as anticipated by the Local Committee, desire to contribute to the support of an English Class, or of a separate English College on a more enlarged and effective scale, it would be proper to consider of the expediency of associating the principal subscribers in the Committee of management, at least as honorary members—a measure, we conceived, which would give to the influential classes of the community a more lively interest than they could otherwise be expected to feel in the success of the institution, and at the same time afford to the public at large a distinct and unequivocal pledge, that nothing was therein taught or practised, at variance with native feelings, habits, and prejudices, whether social or religious."[1]

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[1] Quoted in Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 44).

This brings us to the end of our review of the principal educational activities of the General Committee down to the year 1830. The various measures of the Committee noted in the course of the narrative—whether in the way of the establishment of new institutions or of the introduction of innovations into previously existing ones—go far to illustrate clearly the principles which that body attempted to carry into practice during the period. The main tendency of the Committee's measures was to place a preponderant emphasis on Oriental learning which was sought to be used as a lever to raise the intellectual condition of the country to a point favourable for the dissemination of Western knowledge. It is not surprising, therefore, that progress towards the direct introduction of European science and the English language should have been slow and should have made the increasing Anglicist element in the country impatient.

Exclusive of the seminaries for higher learning, there were other schools of a more or less elementary character under the supervision of the General Committee, such as the Chinsurah schools, the Rajpootana schools, the free School at Cawnpore, the Bhagalpore school. Though under the General Committee's supervising control, the general policy which the Committee adopted with regard to the higher seminaries was not enforced in the case of those schools, as they had been for the most part founded before the institution of the Committee, and the primary object and character of the schools would not have harmonised with any attempt to apply that policy to them. Besides those schools, the

Committee supported from the Education Fund another of a similar character, namely, the Allahabad School established by some English gentlemen in 1825, in which the Persian and Hindustani languages and arithmetic and geography were taught.[1] In 1827 the Committee planned and made preparations for the establishment of an Oriental College at Bareilly of the usual type, but with a teacher for English attached to it; the scheme was, however, at the last moment abandoned on the ground of the expense which would have attended its execution, and which the Bengal Government does not seem to have been prepared to incur, though it had concurred at first in the scheme as submitted by the General Committee.[2] But two schools, which were generously patronised by the Committee, deserve particular mention on account of the purpose for which they were founded. These were the Bhawanipore and Kidderpore schools for the tuition of Hindu boys in the English language. The following brief account of them given in Fisher's Memoir will suffice here: "These schools were established by Native gentlemen for the instruction of Hindoo lads in English; they were supported by voluntary subscription; and in May 1829, were placed upon an improved footing. In the management of them, Europeans and Natives were then associated; they were open to day-scholars, and the School Society in Calcutta made them a monthly grant towards their support; but this resource not proving adequate to their wants, they applied to the Education

[1] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16th August 1832, p. 260.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 261-64.

Committee for assistance.' Their immediate wants extended only to about Rs. 500 for the necessary school furniture; but the Education Committee placed Rs. 1,000 at the disposal of the School Society for the use of each school, considering it to be 'a great object to establish schools of this description, which might in time serve as preparatory steps to the Hindoo College (the Vidyalaya), and relieve that institution of part of the duty of elementary tuition.' They have since been united, and have been found to realise the advantages expected from them."[1]

Nor were the activities of the General Committee confined to disseminating knowledge through schools and colleges. Shortly after the Committee commenced its operations, a Press was established under the control of its secretary, at an expense of about Rs. 13,000 and maintained at a monthly charge of Rs. 715, which were defrayed from the Education Fund. In submitting its proposal to Government for the establishment of the press in question, the Committee had observed: "There can be no doubt that the multiplication of printed books is an immediate step towards facilitating and extending Native study. The imperfect and inaccurate condition of manuscripts, the labour of their preparation and their consequent rarity and expensiveness are insuperable obstacles to the general diffusion of a taste for literature. To generate this taste is among the first objects of the labours of the Committee and this can only be effected by furnishing the ready means of its

1 Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16th August 1832—p. 264.

excitement. When once inspired it will be directed with comparative ease; and the use of books being established it will be very possible to regulate the character and secure the advantageous tendency of the supply." The Government authorised the requisite expenditure on the proposed Press, "conceiving that the advantages promised by the measure would be cheaply purchased by such an outlay."[1]

The Calcutta Education Press, as it was called, existed as a separate establishment till 1830 when it was transferred to the Baptist Mission Press. But during the period of its separate existence between July 1824 and February 1830, the output of the Press was as follows: Works in Sanskrit 15; in Hindi 3, in Arabic 2; in Persian 4. Besides, there were in hand for publication works in Sanskrit 3; in Arabic 5; and in Persian 1. All these books were standard works on Hindu or Mahomedan law or were required for the classes of the colleges under the General Committee's control. What were called "useful publications" comprised such works as Bridge's work on Algebra translated into Arabic; the first books of Euclid both in Persian and Arabic; a new edition of Wilson's Sanskrit and English Dictionary; a short treatise on Logarithms and another on Surveying, etc., etc. In July 1829 the Bengal Government authorised a series of such publications, the cost of which amounted to Rs. 4,891. These publications were intended to convey a knowledge of the sounder or (as in the case of the study of law) indispensable parts of Oriental learning, or, more generally, the truths

[1] Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors dated 27th January 1826 (para 72).

of European Science. The purely Orientalist side of the activities of the Press was well illustrated in a series of works undertaken for the use of the Sanskrit College and recommended by the Pundits of the various classes. The series comprised Sanskrit works on Law, Literature, Rhetoric, Logic, Vedanta, Grammar and Mathematics. [1]

In May 1830 the General Committee submitted for the sanction of Government an ambitious proposal. "We recommend strongly for publication," they said in their report of 28th May 1830, "a work of a more extensive and costly description; the heroic poem, entitled the *Mahabharat*. This work appears to be the chief source from which the whole body of the Puranas is derived, and comprises every authentic tradition that has been preserved by the Hindoos of their former social and political condition. Independently, therefore, of its high estimation among the Hindoos as a sacred poem, it merits from its comprehensive and historical character, perpetuation by the press, whilst it will form a very acceptable class-book, and be a reward of the highest value as a prize-book at the public examinations. We therefore beg to recommend its publication according to the form and estimate

[1] (1) Law—Vivada Chintamani; Dattalea Chandrika Mindusa; Vyvaha Tatwa; Asoneha Tatwa; Uhnika Tatwa.

(2) Literature—History of Cashmir; Naishadh, with Commentary.

(3) Rhetoric—Kavyadersa; Kavikalpatata; Kavalayananda.

(4) Logic—Kusa Manjali; Muktivada; Vidhivada Tarkasara.

(5) Vedanta—Bhasy Bhashya. The Ten Upanishads.

(6) Grammar—List of Roots; and Commentary on Magdabadhoo.

(7) Mathematics—Bija (Algebra); Surya Sidhanta (Astronomy).

submitted by Mr. Pearce, or in five volumes quarto, at a charge not exceeding Rs. 20,000. The work must occupy several years before it is completed, and it will be much cheaper as well as correcter than manuscript copies. We doubt not it will find an extensive sale amongst the Hindoos, sufficient prboably to reimburse the cost of printing." Government assented to the proposal; but the undertaking was never perhaps carried to completion by the General Committee due to the change of educational policy which took place within the next few years.

In this survey of educational institutions one fact stands out with unmistakable clearness—the fact of the growing importance of the question of education through the medium of English. It may have been observed that the question was more than once forced upon the attention of the General Committee. And it was bound to be so in view of the indubitable evidence with which both the General Committee and the Government were confronted of a desire on the part of important classes of the people of the upper as well as the lower provinces of Bengal for a knowledge of the English language. This particular trend of public feeling probably helped to dispel much of the indecision and hesitation with which the question had been regarded on the inauguration of systematic education in the country. There was an increasing preception by the authorities concerned of the feasibility of wider diffusion of a knowledge of the language in question than had been considered possible at the commencement of educational operations. The facts as brought forward by the Delhi and Agra Committees in particular, and the

opinions expressed by the General Committee thereon, were sufficiently convincing to the highest governing authorities—the Court of Directors—to inspire them to state more explicitly than ever before their views on the question controverted in Bengal. Incidentally, it may be noted that, though the Court had remonstrated in 1824 against the Orientalist policy in education, they had subsequently bestowed throughout warm approbation on the measures of the General Committee and of the Government.[1] In 1830 they declared themselves in favour of affording a greater measure of encouragement to the acquisition of a knowledge of English by Indians. "While we attach much more importance," said the Court, "than is attached by the two committees[2] to the amount of useful instruction which can be communicated to the Natives through their own language, we fully concur with them in thinking it highly advisable to enable and encourage a large number of the Natives to acquire a thorough knowledge of English; being convinced that the higher tone and better spirit of European literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original languages. While, too, we agree with the Committee that the higher branches of science may be more advantageously studied in the languages of Europe, than in translations into the Oriental tongues, it is also to be considered that the fittest persons for translating English scientific books, or for putting their substance into a shape adapted to Asiatic students,

1 *Vide* Public Letters from Court, dated 5th September 1827, 29th September 1830, 24th August 1831, and 24th October 1832.

2 The Delhi Committee and the General Committee.

are Natives who have studied profoundly in the original works."[1]

But, it is worthy of note that the Court of Directors, while advocating an extensive cultivation of English, not only did not overlook, but strongly emphasised the importance of the vernaculars as vehicles for wide diffusion of useful knowledge. They detected and pointed out in clear terms the tendency of the General Committee to neglect these. Indeed, the remarks and suggestions of the Court on the whole question as it stood then were entirely fair and judicious. "While we thus approve and sanction," they wrote to the Bengal Government, "the measures which you propose for diffusing a knowledge of the English language, and the study of European science through its medium, we must at the same time put you on your guard against a disposition of which we perceive some traces in the General Committee, and still more in the Local Committee of Delhi, to underrate the importance of what may be done to spread useful knowledge among the Natives through the medium of books and oral instruction in their own languages. That more complete education which is to commence by a thorough study of the English language, can be placed within the reach of a very small proportion of the Natives of India; but intelligent Natives who have been thus educated, may, as teachers in colleges and schools, or as the writers or translators of useful books, contribute in an eminent degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements

1 Public Letter from Court to Bengal, dated 29th September 1830 (para 13).

which they have themselves gained, and may communicate in some degree to the native literature, and to the minds of the native community, that improved spirit which it is to be hoped they will themselves have imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments. You should cause it to be generally known that every qualified Native who will zealously devote himself to this task, will be held in high honour by you; that every assistance and encouragement, pecuniary or otherwise which the case may require, will be liberally afforded; and that no service which it is in the power of a native to render to the British Government, will be more highly acceptable."[1]

It may be convenient to note here that it was during the same period that the question of the adoption of English as the language of Government was raised. This fact supplies an additional indication of the growing importance of the problem of English as medium of education. The first fruit of the agitation of that question was the introduction of English as the language of political and complementary correspondence between the British Government and the Indian rulers and notabilities. With the above-quoted remarks of the Court on the educational question may be here conveniently juxtaposed those by the same authority on the latter question. Only such a juxtaposition can fully reveal the broad spirit which animated the views of the Court of Directors on the whole problem of the introduction of English into this country.

[1] Letter from Court to Bengal, dated 29th September 1830 (para 16).

The Court addressed the following remarks to their Indian Government on the question of the adoption of English as the language of administrative business :—

"With a view to give the natives an additional motive to the acquisition of the English language, you have it in contemplation gradually to introduce English as the language of public business in all its departments; and you have determined to begin at once by adopting the practice of corresponding in English with all Native princes or persons of rank who are known to understand that language, or to have persons about them who understand it. From the meditated change in the language of public business including judicial proceedings, you anticipate several collateral advantages, the principal of which is, that the judge, or other European Officer, being thoroughly acquainted with the language in which the proceedings are held, will be, and appear to be, less dependent upon the Natives by whom he is surrounded, and those Natives will, in consequence, enjoy fewer opportunities of bribery or other undue emolument.

"If the question were solely between retaining the Persian as the language of public business and replacing it by the English, the change would not be *prima facie* decidedly objectionable, and we should willingly rely upon your judgment and superior local knowledge as a security that its advantages and inconveniences would be duly weighed. *But if any change be made in the existing practice, it is deserving of great consideration, whether that change ought not rather to be the adoption of the vernacular language than of our own, as the language at least of judicial proceedings.*

"It is highly important that justice should be administered in a language familiar to the judge, but it is of no less importance that it should be administered in a language familiar to the litigant parties, to their vakeels, and to the people at large; and it is easier for the judge to acquire the language of the people than for the people to acquire the language of the judge. You are indeed partly influenced by a desire to render this

last acquirement more common, but the poorer classes, who are the parties concerned in the great majority of cases, which come before our courts, cannot be expected to learn a foreign language, and we, therefore, are of opinion, that at least the proceedings of the Courts of Justice should be excepted from the practice which you propose gradually to introduce, and be conducted in the vernacular language of the particular zillah, or district, unless, upon consideration, you should see good reason for adhering to the present practice.

"These objections do not apply in an equal degree to the introduction of English as the language of complimentary correspondence, of Arzees from Natives of rank and the replies to them, and of political negotiation, but we do not think that you have sufficiently adverted to the danger of rendering the parties with whom you correspond in English dependent upon the Natives (perhaps in the employment of the officers of Government) to whom they would probably have recourse to explain the communications made to them, and to put their own representations into English."[1]

§ 2.

In 1831 the General Committee were in a position to take stock of their achievements. By that year the system through which they sought to carry their educational principles into effect had been organised and brought into full operation. It had reached the stage at which the tree could be judged by its fruits. No new accession to the number of institutions under the Committee's care or control took place, save for the Hooghly Madressa which was projected but not actually established in 1831, and for some minor schools such as the "Jonpore College" and the Saugor Schools. The Com-

[1] Letter from Court to Bengal, dated 29th September 1830 (paras 27-30).

mittee continued with their costly enterprise of printing and publishing, and encouraging the publication by others, of Oriental works in Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian. So at this stage of the Committee's experiment in Oriental education, the question may be appropriately asked, What were the actual results achieved so far? Before, however, one can proceed to estimate the results of the Orientalist policy, it is necessary to see what measure of success the General Committee claimed for themselves.

In their annual Report, dated December 1831, the General Committee gave a lucid resume of their general principles and their endeavours for the promotion of education, which may be quoted here in part:—

> "The introduction of useful knowledge is the great object which they (the General Committee) have proposed as the end of the measures adopted or recommended by them, keeping in view the necessity of consulting the feelings, and conciliating the confidence of those for whose advantage their measures are designed.
>
> "The Committee has therefore continued to encourage the acquirement of the Native Literature of both Mohammedans and Hindus, in the Institutions which they found established for these purposes, as the Madressa of Calcutta and Sanscrit College of Benares; they have also endeavoured to promote the activity of similar establishments, of which local considerations dictated the formation, as the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, and the Colleges of Agra and Delhi, as it is to such alone, even in the present day, that the influential and learned classes, those who are by birthright or profession teachers and expounders of Literature, Law, and Religion, Maulavis and Pundits, willingly resort.
>
> "In the absence of their natural Patrons, the rich and powerful of their own creeds, the Committee have

felt it incumbent upon them to contribute to the support of the learned classes of India by literary endowments, which provide not only directly for a certain number, but indirectly for many more, who derive from Collegiate acquirements consideration and subsistence among their countrymen. As far also as Mohammedan and Hindu Law are concerned, an avenue is thus opened for them to public employment, and the State is provided with a supply of able servants and valuable subjects, for there is no doubt that imperfect as Oriental learning may be in many respects, yet the higher the degree of the attainments even in it possessed by any Native, the more intelligent and liberal he will prove, and the better qualified to appreciate the acts and designs of the Government.

"But whilst every reasonable encouragement is given to indigenous Native education, no opportunity has been omitted by the Committee of improving its quality and adding to its value. In all the Colleges the superintendence is European, and this circumstance is of itself an evidence and a cause of every important amelioration. In the Madressa of Calcutta, and Hindu College of Benares, and Institutions of earlier days, European superintendence was for many years strenuously and successfully resisted. This opposition has long ceased. The consequences are a systematic course of study, diligent and regular habits, and an impartial appreciation of merits, which no Institution left to Native superintendence alone, has even been known to maintain.

"The plan of study adopted in the Colleges is in general an improvement upon the Native mode, and is intended to convey a well-founded knowledge of the languages studied, with a wider range of acquirement than is common, and to effect this in the least possible time. Agreeably to the Native mode of instruction, for instance, a Hindu or Mohammedan Lawyer devotes the best years of his life to the acquirement of Law alone, and is very imperfectly acquainted with the language which treats of the subject of his studies. In the Madressa and Sanscrit College, the first part of the course is now calculated to form a really good Arabic and

Sanscrit Scholar, and a competent knowledge of Law is then acquired with comparative facility and contemporaneously with other branches of Hindu or Mohammedan learning.

"Again, the improvements effected have not been limited to a reformation in the course and scope of Native study, but whenever opportunity has favoured, new and better instruction has been grafted upon the original plan. Thus in the Madressa, Euclid has been long studied and with considerable advantage; European Anatomy has also been introduced. In the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, European Anatomy and Medicine have nearly supplanted the Native systems. At Agra and Delhi, the Elements of Geography and Astronomy and Mathematics are also part of the College course. To the Madressa, the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, and the Agra College also, English classes are attached, whilst at Delhi and Benares, distinct schools have been formed for the dissemination of the English language. Without offering therefore any violence to Native prejudices, and whilst giving liberal encouragement to purely Native education, the principle of connecting it with the introduction of real knowledge has never been lost sight of, and the foundation has been laid of great and beneficial change in the minds of those who by their character and profession direct and influence the intellect of Hindustan.

"In addition to the measures adopted for the diffusion of English in the Provinces, and which are yet only in their infancy, the encouragement of the Vidyalaya or Hindu College of Calcutta has always been one of the chief objects of the Committee's attention. The consequence has surpassed expectation—a command of the English language, and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. A taste for English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools conducted by young men, reared in the Vidyalaya, are springing up in every direction. The moral effect has been equally remarkable, and an impatience of the restrictions of Hinduism, and a disregard of its ceremonies are openly avowed by many

young men of respectable birth and talents, and entertained by many more who outwardly conform to the practices of their countrymen.[1] Another generation will, probably, witness a very material alteration in the notions and feelings of the educated classes of the Hindu Community of Calcutta."[2]

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1 Of this change effected by English education in the pupils of the Vidyalaya, Alexander Duff spoke on one occasion as follows: "And certainly, neither the British Government nor the Hindoo Committee at the outset could foresee, and they did not anticipate some of the results which followed from this attempt to introduce the full range of purely secular English literature and science, wholly unconnected with religion, at once through the medium of the English language. Results, however, within a few years did begin to appear which somewhat astonished them all—results for which they were not in any way prepared, in as much as everything was new, and there had been no antecedent experience....The result, then, of introducing the wide range of English literature and science into this institution called the Hindoo College, uncorrected and unregulated by any religious influence, was, that at a very early period those young men had their minds opened up to a new and strange world. Every thing to them was fresh and novel and exhilarating; they were made to gaze, for the first time, at a grand panoramic succession of phenomena in the unsealed realms of true history, science and philosophy; it seemed, like the unsealing of the entire range of their mental vision. They were thus suddenly thrown adrift from their ancestral hereditary ideas; completely tossed from the moorings and the anchorages of old Hindooism. No wonder, though, for a while they became perfectly wild and extravagant. They had been taught in this institution no religion, because the policy of the Government was not to interfere with religion directly. They now did, however, very essentially interfere, without designing it; because they helped to destroy the authority of the system and sacred books upon which their religion depended. In opening up the minds of the young Hindoos in the manner now explained, it is a simple fact, that by the year 1829, or thereabouts, that is to say six or seven years after the Government undertook the assistance and supervision of the Hindoo College, at the request of the native managers, all the higher young men in it were no more believers in Hindooism than if they had been born and brought up in Great Britain. Hindooism to them was destroyed utterly; and they began to parade their emancipation and freedom from the ancient yoke, by sporting some very wild opinions, and indulging in sundry extravagant freaks and excesses. The parents and guardians not unnaturally took the alarm at all this outburst, and resorted to various plans and expedients to arrest its further progress." Duff's Evidence before the Lords Select Committee on 3rd June 1835: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence. Q. 6099, pp. 48-55 *passim*.

2 "Report of the Colleges and Schools for Native Education, under the Superintendence of the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal."—1831—pp. 44-49.

Finally, there may be noted a striking reason which the General Committee gave for supporting certain elementary schools at Saugor, although elementary education did not at this period fall within the purview of the Committee's activities. These schools were established in 1827 by private subscription and were subsequently assisted by the Committee, numbering in all nine in 1830.[1] The General Committee observed with regard to them: "The schools at Saugor, although of the nature of village schools, are apparently required by the great want of means of instruction in that part of the country, and by their being situated amongst a population so essentially Hindu. *One of the Committee's objects has always been the formation of a standard language for the Western Provinces, by the cultivation of the Vernacular dialects*, and as the Saugor Schools present a favourable medium for effecting this purpose, it has been thought expedient to grant them some support from the General Fund, to be extended hereafter should experience confirm the expectations now entertained."[2]

Such were the principal objects pursued and the measures undertaken by the General Committee. In concluding its review of them, the Committee remarked: "Something has already been effected in the great business of the education of the people of India; but their numbers are too vast, their wants too serious, and the means too inadequate, for the Committee to expect any great or sudden advance, and they

1 "Report of the Colleges and Schools for Native Education, under the Superintendence of the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal."—1831—pp. 25-26.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49 *passim*.

look for beneficial results on an extensive scale, to a quiet and vigilant perseverance by their successors for many subsequent years, in the course which they have commenced."[1]

The "something" which the Committee claimed to have achieved in the field of Indian education was evidently far short of the requirements of the people. Of course, by the Anglicists the something was considered to be nothing. But, without entering at present on any critical analysis of the Committee's Orientalist policy, it may be here briefly pointed out how the Committee's endeavours to carry out that policy failed in several important respects to provide for the educational needs of the country. As has been repeated more than once, attention to Oriental learning was, in the opinion of the Committee, the *sine qua non* of the success of any attempt to promote education in India. Further, it was sought to develop Oriental education by incorporating as much of European scientific knowledge as practicable into the indigenous learning. But the transfusion of Western science and knowledge into the Oriental languages involved a slow and laborious process which absorbed much of the Committee's pecuniary resources. And eventually, as it turned out, it met with but partial success. The Committee was obliged to admit, as was seen when dealing with the Vidyalaya in the previous section, the inadequacy of that method for any wide diffusion of European knowledge and, moreover, to declare that instruction in the higher branches of that knowledge could best be conveyed in the English language.

1 *Ibid.*

That was why, as was also noticed, the Committee at a later date preferred the plan of establishing separate institutions for the cultivation of the English language, literature and science to that of appending English classes to Oriental institutions.

In fact, in their tender solicitude for Oriental learning and its expounders, the Maulvis and Pundits, the General Committee, on the one hand, completely overlooked the education of the masses and, on the other, failed to hold out adequate encouragement to those classes of the people who desired and demanded English education. It must, however, be conceded that without the sacrifice of a certain amount of support to Oriental learning the Committee's resources would not have permitted of providing for these wants, though the Committee might have been willing to do so, as it was in the case of English education. As a result, the vernacular languages were neglected. Not only did the cultivation of the vernaculars form no part of the object of the Oriental institutions generally, but even the Committee's Press, as was stated in the Report of 1831, had never any occasion to print Bengali books. The encouragement afforded to vernacular education, as exemplified in the case of the Saugor Schools or of the Agra College where Hindee was encouraged, was too slight to have any marked effect. Nor was the Committee's attention ever seriously directed to the improvement of the indigenous system of village education which still largely survived in Bengal.

Another result of the Orientalist policy as it was actually worked was an inevitable sub-

ordination of the English language in the Committee's scheme of education. Notwithstanding this fact, however, it would scarcely be just to assert of the General Committee that they overlooked the importance of English as a powerful medium for the communication of European learning and science. Not only were they quite alive to it, but, tied as they were to their Orientalist commitments, they afforded to the study of English that degree of encouragement which they considered advisable or feasible under the circumstances. And, in spite of their pronounced bias in favour of Oriental learning, there was nothing in their policy as such to prevent them from holding out greater encouragement to the promotion of knowledge of English, had the means at their disposal permitted of their doing so. Moreover, the Orientalists did not deny the superiority of the English medium for the transmission of Western knowledge over the Arabic or Sanskrit or Persian: but the question with them was, through what medium could Western knowledge be rendered most acceptable to the Maulvis and Pundits? They never doubted this could be done only through the media of the Oriental classical languages.

Two practical difficulties in the way of a wider diffusion of the knowledge of English in the country arose from the pursuit of the Orientalist policy. First, a good deal of the resources of the General Committee being devoted to the cultivation of Oriental learning, the Committee were left without adequate means to establish purely English Colleges (distinct from Oriental ones) which they recognised as essential for the

promotion of a higher degree of English education. In consequence of limited means, and acting upon their theory of engraftment of European on Oriental knowledge, the General Committee sought to promote the study of the English language through their Oriental institutions. But, secondly, organised as those Oriental institutions were, the study of English was not only bound to be subordinated to Oriental studies, but was in fact comparatively neglected. Pre-occupation with Oriental studies left little chance for any zealous application to English at those institutions. For example, in the Calcutta Madressa, it was imperative upon the pupils "to make themselves good Arabic scholars and proficient in the Law Books taught." They were also expected to acquire some knowledge of the Mathematical sciences. Logic, Metaphysics and Philosophy, they read "at their own pleasure." Seven years was the period of study allowed, at the end of which, if a pupil passed a creditable examination, he obtained a certificate of proficiency and quitted the College.[1] Assuming that during those seven years the Oriental course of study was efficiently prosecuted, it would naturally have been impracticable for a pupil, even if he had had the inclination, to acquire more than a rudimentary knowledge of English. Consequently, the English class of the Madressa never took a pupil beyond the elementary stage. What was taught there were the rudiments of the English language, Arithmetic, Geography, History, and the elements of Natural Philosophy; and the books read were the Committee's Spelling Books and Readers;

[1] Report of the General Committee for 1831, pp. 3-6 passim.

Murray's Grammar; Goldsmith's Geography and History of England; and Introduction to Natural Philosophy, printed by the Committee. These books comprised the whole range of Western knowledge imparted through the medium of English to the Madressa students who chose to avail themselves of the benefit of the Engish class. The same remarks are applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the Calcutta Sanskrit College. There the course of instruction was divided into two branches —the first being intended to give the student a command of the Sanskrit language, and the second, of "such branches of Hindu Science" as might have been "an object to the student, especially Law." Six years were allowed for a progress through the Grammar, Sahitya, and Alankara classes; during one year of which at least, attendance on the Arithmetic class was imperative. Attendance on the English class was "expected" to commence soon after admission into college. A further period of six years was allowed for the completion of the studies, during which a student was permitted to take up any branch of Sanskrit learning it pleased him to.[1] No wonder that, as at the Madressa, the English class was elementary, used the same books, and learned but to lisp the English tongue.

§ 3.

Whilst the General Committee looked forward in 1831 to a "quiet and vigilant perseverance" in the course they had commenced, and which they were permitted to continue for the next three years or so, the rumblings of dissatisfaction

[1] Report of the General Committee for 1831, pp. 6-10 passim.

with the Orientalist policy, especially among the British officials who interested themselves in Indian education, were increasing apace. With those officials the policy of the General Committee was fast losing favour. Outside the official circle the Anglicists were becoming more and more vocal. They pointed to the growing Indian feeling in favour of English education, and accused the General Committee of withholding it from the people and busying themselves in futile endeavours on behalf of Oriental learning. The prevailing trend of opinion, which seemed to spell the doom of the Orientalist policy, was clearly reflected in a Report, dated 15th January 1834, from the Local Committee of the Delhi College and Institution.[1]

After mentioning the fact that the Arabic class of the Delhi College did not comprise a greater number of scholars than three, although the allowance given to each scholar was considered ample, being 16 rupees per mensem, the Report of the Local Committee proceeded to say: "It is the opinion of those qualified to pronounce it that the Arabic tongue is not studied so generally or so profoundly as it used to be not many years ago. Our Quazees and Mofties, like the Buvestanaveeses, are no longer in that estimation, which a few years ago rendered Arabic and Sanskrit erudition so certain a means of gaining wealth and distinction. A tolerable acquaintance with the Persian is now found by intelligent Natives to be at least as sure a path to rank and emolument as the most successful prosecution of those difficult

1 *Vide* Appendices F & G of the Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction for 1833.

languages which of late are beginning to be regarded as productive of nothing beyond an empty and unsubstantial celebrity among a literary few. Learned Pundits and orthodox Molvies think it no longer heresy to reject as barren and unprofitable the antiquated lore of their ancestors, and enter their sons at the English School: nor are instances by any means rare of intelligent adults of both persuasions, preferably adopting the new literature as the surest road to those moral and scientific acquirements without which, it is beginning to become daily more manifest, they must remain excluded from every object of honourable ambition, which is available to the superior intelligence of educated Europeans. Hence the greater part of the Madressa students leave College when they have completed their Persian Course; of those who commence the Arabic the greater part withdraw after they have read as far as the Kafia or Shurch Molla; and not above four or five in a hundred, apply themselves to the higher branches of Oriental learning."

On the other hand, the Report represented the English Institution to have been in a flourishing condition. "During the year under review," said the Local Committee, "there can be no doubt that the desire to learn English has become more extensive at Delhi. The total number of admissions in that period has been 116. The number of students and scholars on the stipendiary Establishment of the Institution on 31st December last, was 79; of students of the Madrissa, who have been voluntarily transferred to the Institution, 37; and of free scholars or those who receive no pay 44; in all 160." And the Committee

anticipated a considerable augmentation of that number in view of certain measures it was about to adopt. Already, it may be noted, the Committee had decided to discontinue stipends in the Delhi College to future candidates for Sanskrit learning except in special cases; and also to render it optional with students borne on the abstract of the Oriental College to study English at the Institution.

The Local Committee pointed out three principal causes which in its opinion had served to awaken attention "to the prospects of Fame and Fortune opened to the successful cultivation of the English tongue." These were, first, "the respectability of the appointments" obtained by some of the pupils of the Delhi Institution; secondly, the demand for English Teachers and Secretaries on the part of Indian Chiefs and Princes; and, thirdly, the operation of certain recent Regulations of Government. And the Committee further added: "It may be here stated in proof of the growing taste for the new literature, that no less than 50 copies of an English Grammar in Persian, sent to me (the Secretary), by the Calcutta School Book Society, were bought up here in the course of a single day."

Chapter IV.

TWO EXPERIMENTS IN ORIENTALISM.

On the threshold of what was regarded at the time as a revolutionary change of educational policy, it will be worth while to examine the principles of the Orientalists, and their bearing on the question of the introduction of English as general medium of education, in the light of two brilliant experiments which are usually but incorrectly treated as isolated incidents in the history of Indian education. Such an examination, even if cursory, may make clear to us afresh the great end which the Orientalists set before themselves, but which, during their brief period of authority, they failed to achieve in a substantial degree, chiefly owing to the pursuit of defective methods. And not only that, but it may serve to show how remote from realities both the parties to what is historically known as the Anglo-Orientalist Controversy were carried by their bias and rancour and injudiciousness.

From all that has been narrated in the previous chapter it is not perhaps difficult to gather more or less precisely what it was that the Orientalists in general sought to achieve. But a recapitulation of their guiding aims would not be amiss here. As has already been observed, the Orientalists aimed at a fusion or blend of what was correct and of permanent value in Oriental learning and literature with the modern accessions which the various departments of human knowledge had received in the West. The underlying idea of the attempted fusion was to adapt and

render acceptable to the settled prepossessions an mental habits of the learned classes of India the exotic knowledge which was sought to be communicated to them. Broadly speaking, the Orientalists, conservative in outlook as they were, were averse to educational measures that had a tendency to force the genius of the people out of its accustomed channels of thought and feeling; but they tried instead to improve and broaden those channels by letting into them, wherever practicable, the invigorating waters of European knowledge. In view of this aim of theirs, the "revival" of Oriental literature was to the Orientalists more of a means than an end—the acknowledged end being the introduction of European arts and sciences into India. It was not only that the Orientalists aimed at a revival of the ancient literature of the country, but they aimed at the creation of a new literature in India, the form and style of which were to be Oriental, but the substance mostly European. As was remarked by one of the most learned exponents of Orientalism, "If the people are to have a literature, it must be their own. The stuff may be in a great degree European, but it must be freely interwoven with home-spun materials, and the fashion must be Asiatic."[1]

At this point it would be convenient to advert to a question which may naturally suggest itself, namely, what were the reasons or motives which led the Orientalists to formulate such an aim to themselves as the union of Oriental and European learning? It may be well to note here that the

1 Wilson: Education of the Natives of India. *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. xix, 1836, p. 14.

idea of conveying the substance of European knowledge in a Sanskrit or Arabic garb did not originate in the first instance with the members of the General Committee. By tracing in a foregoing chapter the circumstances in which the Orientalist policy came to be formulated, it was indirectly shown that the idea had already taken on a definite shape before the General Committee began to act upon it. What the Committee actually did was to translate it in terms of an educational experiment. And there were several circumstances which invested that idea with a peculiar appeal to the Orientalists.

As remarked in a previous chapter, the General Committee never thought seriously of acting directly on the masses: it believed its resources to be inadequate to the task. Consequently, the immediate task, which it felt itself called upon to confine its endeavours to, was the rearing of suitable instruments for spreading abroad the knowledge which it desired to see diffused among the people. Among the Pundits and Maulavis, whose acquaintance the literary pursuits of the Oriental scholars led them to make, the requisite instruments were perceived to exist-imperfect and deficient instruments no doubt, but not incapable of being trained and turned to useful account. Moreover, the conviction was strong with the Orientalists that the propagation of European knowledge would be most effective, and even extensive, through the agency of the "learned classes," because of the great influence they wielded over the minds of their countrymen. "As long as the learned classes of India," said Dr. Wilson, "are not enlisted in the cause of

diffusing sound knowlege, little real progress will be made. In the history of all philosophical and religious reformation, it will be found that the most effective agents have been those who had been educated in the errors they reformed: such men alone can come fully armed into the contest, as are masters not only of their own weapons but of those wielded by their adversaries. Bacon was deep in the fallacies of the schools: Luther had preached the doctrines of the church of Rome: and one able Pundit or Maulavi, who should add English to Sanscrit and Arabic, who should be led to expose the absurdities and errors of his own systems, and advocate the adoption of European knowledge and principles, would work a greater revolution in the minds of his unlettered countrymen than would result from their own proficiency in English alone."[1]

Thus the Orientalists considered the winning over of those who were looked upon as the repositories of the learning of the country as a primary condition of the success of all educational endeavours. At the same time the Orientalists possessed some insight into the mental peculiarities of those they had to deal with. They knew well the exclusiveness of the learned classes; they knew that the learned classes were not to be expected to come to them for European knowledge, but that European knowledge had to be carried to them. The problem was, How was that to be done? It was in the commanding hold which the classical languages and lore of India possessed over the minds of the learned throughout

[1] As. Jour. XIX, 1836, p. 10.

the country that the Orientalists found a solution. As it was an object of great importance in their eyes to conciliate the influential learned classes, the necessity or expediency of working on them through their own cherished ancient literatures and languages could not fail to impress itself on them. Yet, again, as much of what constituted Oriental learning was regarded as useless for the practical purposes of life, or contrary to the accepted scientific or moral truths of the West, the next step that naturally suggested itself was to retain and confirm and impart what was correct and valuable in Oriental learning as the basis on which to raise a superstructure of European science and knowledge for India. The ruling idea was that the acknowledged exponents of the secular and religious learning of the country were, not only to have the best of that learning preserved to them, but to have their minds imbued with the scientific and moral truths arrived at in Europe. With men so intellectually equipped on their side, the Orientalists thought to give a new and powerful impulse to the progress of mental and moral improvement of the country.

So it was that the Orientalists decided to confine their endeavours to the education of the influential few and to utilise, when the appropriate time came, the indispensable aid of those few for diffusing knowledge among the many. But, obviously, it would not have done to inculcate Oriental learning exclusively; for, that might have shut off all possibility of the seeds of Western knowledge being ever planted among the people through the instrumentality of the chosen few. Nor would it have done to give an exclusive

preference to inculcation of Western knowledge; for, as was apprehended not without reason, that might have had the effect of separating the torch-bearers from the main body of the people, whom they were intended to enlighten, by the altogether different, almost antithetic spirit and mental outlook and habits of thought induced by a purely Western education and of thus leaving them bereft of the essential pre-requisites to the success of their mission. A judicious combination of both appeared likely to serve best the cause of enlightenment of the country. This was essentially the stand-point from which the Orientalists envisaged the question of the education of India at the time.

But, further, one great aim of the Orientalists was to give India a vernacular literature of her own. The barren and uncultivated state of the vernaculars was, however, considered an obstacle to the formation of a literature; and the Orientalists looked to the resources of the Indian classical languages to improve the vernaculars. The fact furnished an additional reason for the prominence given to Arabic and Sanskrit in the Orientalist scheme of education. "Every person acquainted with the spoken speech of India," it was affirmed, though with a touch of exaggeration, "knows perfectly well that its elevation to the dignity and usefulness of written speech, has depended, and must still depend, upon its borrowing largely from its parent or kindred source; that no man who is ignorant of Arabic or Sanskrit can write Hindustani or Bengali with elegance, or purity, or precision; and that the condemnation of the classical languages to oblivion would consign the

dialects to utter helplessness and irretrievable barbarism." [1]

It thus becomes plain why the Orientalists refused to make the English language the exclusive medium for the communication of European knowledge or to make the diffusion of knowledge of it a primary object of their endeavours. The Orientalists considered such a measure unnecessary and productive of little ultimate good in the way of intellectual improvement of the Indian people. The Orientalist case against an exclusive preference to the English medium in a system of education for India was on one occasion stated in its completest form by Dr. Wilson. This was what he said :

> "To extend a smattering of English throughout India, is to do little good. Every day's experience shows that a command of the English language, sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life, is quite compatible with gross ignorance and inveterate superstition. The Bengali sircar or kerani, who copies letters and keeps accounts, who understands all that his employer says to him, and who can communicate intelligibly to his master all that it is necessary for him to impart, is as genuine and unenlightened a Hindu as if he had never known or spoken any other than his mother-tongue. Nay, there are well-known instances of individuals of rank and education, who have acquired the elegancies of our language, and who speak and write it with purity and precision, who are not the less bigotedly devoted to their national belief. If it is expected that a knowledge of the English language merely, will work a beneficial change in the principles of the people, the end will most assuredly be disappointment. To spread a thin sheet of water over a vast tract, will generate only slime and weeds; fertility is the consequence of deep and judiciously distributed irrigation.

1 Wilson: Education of the Natives of India. As. Jour. Vol. XIX, 1836, pp. 14-15.

"Whilst the wide dissemination of superficial acquirements will be of little real good, it is an object on which it is quite unnecessary for the Government to bestow attention or cost. The demands of the public service and of private interests already offer a sufficient inducement to the Natives to acquire the use of English, to an extent fully equal to all they could derive from the multiplication of petty schools at the Government charge. It is probable that the demand for English in public affairs is on the increase, and it will, no doubt, create its own supply. All the Government need attempt is to provide teachers; and one or two seminaries, like the Hindu College, in which English is well taught, will answer this purpose. At the time I left Calcutta,[1] there were, it was estimated, about six thousand youths studying English, of whom only between three and four hundred were in part educated at the expense of the Education Fund.

"The Government of India, then, need not resort to measures of spoliation to provide funds for rearing clerks and copyists; there will be no want of them, as long as their services are in request. To produce any improvement in the notions and feelings of the Natives, their education must extend to things as well as words; they must be taught knowledge, not speech. They have already the means of communicating ideas, what they want is an additional and a better stock of ideas. To furnish this through the medium of English, they must be well grounded in our literature as well as in our language; they must receive a high English education; but it is impossible to impart widely an English education of a high description, for, even if competent teachers in sufficient numbers could be salaried, their labours would be attended with a very inadequate result. The great body of those who are willing to engage in the study want the language and nothing more. Of the language, also, they want only as much as can be turned to profit, as will enable them to earn subsistence. They have not the inclination, nor, if they had the will, have they the leisure, to follow that protracted and persevering career, which alone can give them the mastery of that

1 Wilson left India in 1832.

immense store of words, of those infinitely varied combinations and those unfamiliar and, to Asiatics, often incomprehensible allusions and imagery, which compose the unwieldy mass of the literature of England. It is, therefore, as vain to seek to extend very widely a profound acquaintance with English literature, as it is needless to disseminate a superficial use of our language. Either attempt will be a mischievous waste of labour and money, diverting them from objects of greater practicability and advantage.

"Although it is impossible so to extend the study of the English language, as by its instrumentality to change the whole colour and complexion of the native mind, yet it may be so cultivated as to form the basis upon which great and important changes may be founded. The leading principle in this project is that which actuated the first committee,—the principle of concentration. Instead of reducing instruction to a thin insubstantial vapour, by spreading it over the largest possible surface, the object of the committee was to condense it, in a solid and permanent form, in a few bodies favourably circumstanced for its preservation, like the Hindu College of Calcutta. The scholars thus reared are the most ready, most economical, and most effectual means of acting upon the mass, not merely by becoming their instructors personally, but by assisting in what is of more value than oral instruction, the formation of an indigenous literature. It is not by the English language that we can enlighten the people of India; it can be effected only through the forms of speech which they already understand and use. These must be applied to the purpose, either by direct translation, or which is preferable, by the representation of European facts, opinions, and sentiments, in an original native garb. In the early stages of improvement, the former mode is the only one that can be expected; hereafter, the latter would take its place, and would give to the people of India a literature of their own, a legitimate progeny of that of England, the living resemblance, though not the servile copy, of its parent." [1]

[1] As. Jour., Vol. XIX, 1836, pp. 11-13.

In fact, an exclusive preference to English in the Orientalist scheme of education would have been counter-active of the principal aims underlying it.

Those aims have now been sufficiently dwelt upon. It dos not appear as if there was anything intrinsically impossible or chimerical in them or in the idea of welding European and Oriental learning in men who were to be brought up under a system of education designed to carry such aims or idea into execution. The question which therefore occurs is, Why was it then that a policy which was, so to speak, the very embodiment of that idea, which was manifestly comprehensive enough to answer most of the intellectual or educational needs of the time, and which sought to stimulate mental progress in more varied directions than the Anglicists thought necessary, or even desirable—why was such a policy finally jettisoned? Or, to put it from another point of view, how was it that the Orientalists failed to realise satisfactorily the undoubtedly broad aims underlying their policy? Was the failure or the rejection due to unfavourable conditions in which the policy was sought to be worked out, or to some intrinsic defect in the principles or methods adopted?

The answer is: to both. The policy was rejected or abandoned because at a later stage it came up against and was incapable of resisting the current of new forces; while its want of success was due to an inability or neglect to devise the correct technique which the immediate educational aims of the policy demanded.

Various reasons for the abandonment of the policy in 1835 may emerge in the course of the controversy to be narrated in the next chapter. But some important ones, which do not appear on the surface, may be noted here. First of all, the paucity of immediate, tangible results from the pursuit of the Orientalist policy, however comprehensive and attractive to some its aims, seemed to many to invalidate the principles on which it was founded; for, people at large sometimes have no patience even with good principles or measures that do not yield quickly the desired results. The fact certainly had much to do with the increasing dissatisfaction felt later on towards the policy. Especially was the dissatisfaction great with regard to the little spread of European knowledge and the English language that the Orientalist policy was able to effect. Doubtless, there seems to be some truth in the claim of the Orientalists that it was their policy and measures which created a disposition among the people favourable to the study of the English language and that the very fact that in 1835 it was considered possible to make it the exclusive medium of instruction was proof of "great and unexpected change."[1] Yet this was a result that was not apt to be placed to the credit of the Orientalists in judging of the merits of their policy, because it was not manifest to the common eye.

The Orientalists, secondly, in undertaking to foster and revive Oriental learning, seemed to many observers to have placed themselves in unnecessary opposition to the new tenden-

[1] Wilson: Education of the Natives of India. As. Jour., Vol. XIX, 1836, p. 8.

cies that were manifesting themselves in Bengal. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, a popular desire, though the extent of its prevalence seems to have been sometimes exaggerated a great deal, had sprung up for "English education," particularly for a knowledge of the English language. Rammohun Roy had early protested against the founding of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and there were not a few among Indians of advanced views who sympathised with him in the act. But preoccupation with measures for carrying out its own policy prevented the General Committee from affording an adequate response to the popular demand for English education. It therefore appeared equitable and necessary to the Anglicists that the Committee should adopt a different course and employ its limited resources in giving the people what they desired and felt the need of rather than in offering what they did not care to have. But the Orientalists, in spite of their occasional admissions, felt doubtful regarding the facts on which the Anglicist argument proceeded. They doubted whether that popular desire for English was really so great or gratifying as to warrant a radical departure from their policy. Here, again, it may be noted, the misunderstanding was chiefly caused by the different standpoints from which the two parties judged of the prevalent state of things. The Anglicists judged of the state of public feeling on the subject from their intercourse with the new generation in Bengal (or rather, strictly speaking, in Calcutta) which was being influenced by the Calcutta Vidyalaya or by Rammohun Roy and his band of reformers. The Orientalists judged of it from their acquaintance with the

conservative spirit of their Pundits and Maulvis. This difference of view-points was on one occasion rather well expressed by Dr. Wilson. "Of course, it is rather a delicate thing to say," he told the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1853, when asked to suggest a mode by which the then existing educational authorities in Bengal could be rendered less partial to European learning and less exclusive of the Oriental, "but I attribute the partiality and the bias of the Council of Education, and of the Board of Education before it, to this circumstance, that for many years past the control has been in the hands of European judges, English lawyers. Now English lawyers undoubtedly are men of great ability and acquirements; yet, confined as they are to Calcutta, and coming out to India without having had any previous preparation, they cannot appreciate the real merits of the question; they cannot be aware of what the Natives, whether the learned classes or the vulgar classes, require. They have about them in Calcutta young men who are highly qualified in the English language; they communicate readily with them, and from them they receive all their impressions. If they could talk to a Pundit, they would form very different notions."[1] The latter portion of the statement was particularly true of the majority of the Anglicists who rose against the Orientalists in 1835, and especially of that arch-Anglicist, Macaulay; though Wilson seems to have overlooked that the Orientalists were equally at fault in confining themselves to a view of things which had regard almost solely

[1] Evidence of H. H. Wilson on 18th July 1853: Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, etc., Q. 8501. (8th August 1853).

for the opinions and feelings of the Pundits and the Maulavis.

Yet this was but one of the many differences of opinion which sharply divided the Anglicists and the Orientalists. In fact, the whole question relating to the introduction of the arts and sciences of Europe and of the English language was looked at by the two parties in a spirit of fundamental antagonism to each other. The methods by which each proposed to solve the question were conceived to be altogether incompatible. The Orientalists, no less desirous than the Anglicists of seeing European learning diffused amongst Indians, wished to work for the attainment of that desideratum, not by a total rejection of the intellectual heritage of the country's past, but by superimposing on it by gradual degrees the new learning as conveyed through the classical languages of India. In short, they pointed to the synthetic way of solving the question as the best to adopt in the circumstances of the country. The Anglicists, who knew little of the country's intellectual past and wished less to have anything to do with its heritage in framing an educational policy, desired to accelerate the progress of mental improvement among the Indian people by means of European knowledge conveyed through the channel of the English language. This method of substitution of a foreign for the national culture advocated by the Anglicists may well appear at first sight totally contradistinctive to that advocated by the Orientalists. Yet, on a closer view, the Anglicist and the Orientalist doctrines do not seem to have been insusceptible of a compromise or reconciliation on several important

points. Both parties, for example, were agreed on the necessity and importance of Western knowledge for the intellectual uplift of the country. The Orientalists equally with the Anglicists were alive to the advantages of the English medium, so far as direct access to that knowledge was concerned. Moreover, the Orientalists had been led by later experience to confess to the inadequacy of their method of promoting Western knowledge through the Indian classical languages and to emphasise the necessity of the English medium for the communication of at least the higher branches of that knowledge and the desirability of distinct institutions where English studies could be singly pursued. On the common ground of those facts the two parties could have made at least an approach to compromise. But the spirit of compromise was foreign to the heated mood of the combatants. In the stormy controversy that ensued each party sometimes tended to take its stand on grounds which did not really belong to the essence of the question at issue. Political and other extraneous considerations were permitted to influence the discussion of what was after all a purely educational question.[1] This helped to add an air of irreconcilability to the opposed doctrines; and so, when finally the point was reached which made adjudication by a higher authority necessary, it was in an irreconcilable form that the cases of the two parties were presented to the Supreme Government for decision. The members of the Supreme Government, again,

[1] Trevelyan in his work on the subject devotes a separate chapter to "the Political Tendency of the different Systems of Education in use in India," meaning the English and the Oriental systems. "*On the Education of the People of India*," pp. 187-205.

being themselves divided on the question, took sides; and the fact that the head of that Government happened to be prepossessed in favour of the brilliant law member of his Council, who championed the Anglicists, was sufficient to turn the scales against the other party, forcing the Orientalists to make way for their opponents. Thus the whole question was decided in a partisan spirit; and, when the fact is borne in mind, the discomfiture of the Orientalists does not seem to mean so much a failure of their policy as a triumph for the Anglicists due more to a fortunate combination of extraneous factors than to the sheer merits of their case.

In order, however, fully to understand the absence of a desire for compromise on the part of the two parties, it is necessary to glance at another distinct aspect of the controversy. At bottom, the Anglo-Orientalist dispute was as much over principles and methods as over the pecuniary resources requisite to translate them into practice. Each party fought for the appropriation of the previous endowments and the Parliamentary grant of one lakh to the particular course it favoured and clamoured for. The fund was too small to be amicably apportioned between the two rival plans of education. Possibly, however, it would have gone a great way to put the disputants in a conciliatory mood, if sufficient funds had been forthcoming to enable the Anglicist and the Orientalist plans to be pursued and developed along their respective lines, without either being stinted of its fair share of the Government's pecuniary indulgence. But the dispute over the existing paltry sum was the more heated, as no larger financial

assistance from Government was forthcoming. Lord Auckland saw through as much in 1839, when the controversy still continued to smoulder and demanded some sort of satisfactory settlement. In an elaborate minute on education, in which he reviewed the various educational projects put forward, he pointed out that "the insufficiency of the funds assigned by the State for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that if the funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English Education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all." And again more explicitly: "The sum immediately at command was limited. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly, the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable, and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail."[1]

Those are some of the reasons which explain why the Orientalist policy came to be rejected—first, the want of impressive results; secondly, the discordance with the new trend of feeling in Bengal on the subject of education; and, thirdly, the real or supposed irreconcilability with the new educational policy advocated by the opponents

[1] Minute, 24th November 1839: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 148-49 *passim*.

of Orientalism. It should, however, be noted that rejection and failure are two distinct things; and it must be admitted that the Orientalist policy was not only rejected, but it partially failed —that is to say, the General Committee failed so to combine or fuse in its educational institutions European and Oriental knowledge as to lead to the fulfilment of the expectations originally entertained with regard to the results of the combination or fusion. But the reasons which explain the rejection of the policy in question do not go far, if at all, to explain this failure: they leave behind a feeling that something more was involved in the failure than is apparent from the facts which account for the rejection of Orientalism in education. It may be noted here that Dr. Ballantyne's experiment (to be described shortly), which was essentially based on Orientalist principles, met with a fair amount of success within a shorter time than was allowed to the plans of the General Committee. Why was it then that the Committee's experiment failed ?

The reason appears to be that the Orientalists of the General Committee did not clearly comprehend one essential condition of the success of their experiment. This condition was the adoption of a proper educational method or technique conducive to the peculiar end of encompassing the union of Eastern and Western learning.

As often said before, the Orientalists aimed at naturalising the exotic knowledge of Europe in India by fusing it with that which already existed among the people and was devoutly cultivated by the learned classes. Now, on its specific educational side, this aim implied the necessity of so

co-ordinating and correlating European with Oriental studies in the educational institutions under the control of General Committee as, first, to emphasise the common basis of correct knowledge to be found in Oriental and European learning; secondly, to enable the exotic knowledge to be understood in terms of a system of learning familiar to those to whom it was sought to be imparted; and, thirdly, at those points at which the familiar knowledge stopped short, to lead the learners to anticipate its further European developments. But such co-ordination or correlation only was not enough. Having regard to the peculiar condition of the Indian mind, a successful educational method had further to be stimulative so as to produce an awakening to the values of European culture. "The native mind of the present day," remarked William Adam in 1838, "although it is asleep, is not dead. It has a dreamy sort of existence in separating, combining, and re-casting in various forms, the fables and speculations of past ages."[1] From this state of dreaminess the Indian mind had to be aroused if European knowledge was to be effectively communicated in the manner desired by the Orientalists.

But that essential condition the General Committee in the actual application of their policy failed to satisfy. In order to introduce the study of European learning into the Oriental seminaries, the Committee attached English classes to them. But between the activities of the Oriental and English departments there was little

1 Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education* (Third Report), pp. 198-99 (1868).

co-ordination or correlation. In fact, the English class of an Oriental seminary was far more in the nature of an appanage than a vital organ. For the most part the Committee seem to have placed a passive reliance on their Arabic and Sanskrit translations and on the proximity of the Oriental students to the English classes for stimulating them to unite European acquirements with their Oriental ones. No specific plan or method, directly and actively calculated to bring Oriental and European studies into intimate connection with each other, was adopted ; and the lack of connection meant the retention of a state of separation between the Oriental and European systems of learning, and hence a failure of the General Committee's policy.

But a question, which goes to the root of the whole matter, still remains : Was the co-ordination or correlation between European and Oriental learning, referred to as essential to the success of the Orientalist experiment, practicable ? The Anglicists denied its feasibility. But it is precisely with reference to this question that the significance of two individual experiments, casually mentioned before, becomes most obvious; for these experiments were an answer to the question often raised at the time. The experiments, so far as they went, translated the Orientalist dream of a synthesis of Oriental and European learning into a concrete fact. They took up the Orientalist idea or theory and demonstrated how it could be carried to its proper practical conclusion through the adoption of appropriate method or methods. As such, the experiments, far from being isolated phenomena in the history of Indian education,

have a close relation to the general educational activities of the period of Orientalism.

Connected with these experiments is an interesting question, namely, how far was the English language really indispensable for the communication of European knowledge, at least to the learned classes, if not to the people in general? Were the Orientalist views regarding the function of the English language in a national system of education for India sound or correct? It is as particularly bearing on such questions that the experiments alluded to have to be described at somewhat greater length than might otherwise be necessary.

Two notable figures were respectively connected with the experiments in question. One was Launcelot Wilkinson, Political Resident at Bhopal, who was also usually styled Wilkinson of Sehore, the place where he established the school in which his famous experiment was conducted. The other was Dr. Ballantyne who made the Benares College, of which he was appointed principal on the 3rd January 1846, the field of his still more famous experiment. It may be noted that, of the two, Wilkinson has the credit of being the pioneer; and, though his experiment was confined to a limited circle of Oriental learning, yet it compelled attention and anticipated in a great degree that of Dr. Ballantyne.

Wilkinson, like the rest of the Orientalists, had no illusions as to the measure of success capable of being achieved by spreading education through the medium of English. He had a clear recognition of the fact that under the peculiar circum-

stances of India the spread of English, and consequently the influence of the knowledge conveyed through it, would be confined only to a few among the vast population of the country. He was not therefore prone, like the Anglicists, to magnify unduly the importance or significance of the spontaneous desire for English manifested by certain classes in certain parts of the country under the influence of particular circumstances. In a letter to the Agra School Book Society, apropos the publication of certain Sanskrit mathematical works, he thus set forth his views: "Much progress has been made as well at Bombay as at Calcutta, through means of English. Hundreds of youths have received, through that language, an education which would be held to be liberal and sufficient, even in Europe; still no man of any experience of the interior of India, can, with any justice, for a moment uphold that the system which is found to answer at the Presidencies, should be applied also to the Mofussil. The acquirements of a youth, educated through the means of English, and only English, would be found almost utterly useless for contributing towards the advancement of his success, in any branch of business in the Mofussil. A few students might here and there be collected to prosecute the study; but, even if their education in English was completed, they would have extreme difficulty in gaining a livelihood by its means. The parties so educated would be, and are, regarded with suspicion by the mass of the people, who receive their announcement of new and strange truths, with almost as much distrust as they do those taught by ourselves. The truths, which have thus cost so much labour, time and

expense in inculcating, do not spread, or take root among the people; and indeed, were we to institute rigorous inquiry into the extent of education at the Presidencies themselves, we should find that the whole number of individuals educated there by us, is small in comparison with the population, and belongs to one section of Society—the Baboos in Calcutta, the Purboos in Bombay, with a slight sprinkling of the mercantile community."[1]

Such views compelled Wilkinson to turn to a different mode of diffusing knowledge from the one through English; and he propounded that "for the education of the mass of the people, it is clear that the vernacular languages alone can be of general use and benefit: and if we wish, that what we teach should take root and spread amongst the people, it is equally clear that it must be adapted to the tastes and genius of the people."[2] As such, it is perhaps needless to say that Wilkinson was far from treating all Oriental learning as "useless" or worse than useless. On the contrary, he saw much in it that was valuable and capable of being profitably turned to account for the great purpose in view. Moreover, he could not fail to be aware of the mischievous consequences accruing from a contemptuous neglect of it. He would have thoroughly concurred in the opinion expressed at a later date by one who was imbued with his views and confirmed in them by the results of Dr. Ballantyne's

1 Quoted in the printed "Proposal" of the A. S. B. Society for printing by subscription certain Sanskrit works recommended by L. Wilkinson, (26th July 1839).

2 *Ibid.*

experiment. "Our desire is proper," said Mr. J. D. Cunningham, referring of course to the general desire of his countrymen for the introduction of Western science and "morality" in India, "but how have we attempted to achieve the great task? By ourselves studying Arabic and Sanskrit, rather with reference to subjects of European inquiry than to objects of Indian amelioration; by giving young men a superficial acquaintance with the *writings* of a few of our great authors rather than a full and clear insight into our *principles* of criticism and speculation; and by a series of puerile tales and meagre historical epitomes, and of imperfect or inaccurate scientific summaries in the several provincial dialects, which are moreover usually written with little of idiom and less of perspicuity and elegance. To this, as to everything else, there are exceptions, and perhaps the Bombay publications are on the whole better than others. For reading these text-books, we have here and there established schools, which are frequented some by hundreds and the rest by tens rather than by thousands, and rather because the thing is novel and the instruction gratis or cheap in the extreme, than because error can be got rid of and truth found. Our method is thus weak and inefficient, and it is rendered ungracious and even repulsive to the priests as well as to the laity, by our systematic depreciation of Arabic and Sanskrit lore, and by our contemptuous disregard of all that our subjects look upon with respect as customary, if not with implicit faith as rationally certain. We foolishly place ourselves in a state of antagonism not only to the many we wish to instruct, to the regular followers of learning, who completely sway the

minds of their countrymen, and who may themselves have many prejudices to overcome, but who are yet accessible to the truth, if it be conveyed in a modest manner, and with logical or mathematical precision." And Cunningham proceeded further to note what was generally overlooked or ignored by those who posed as champions of enlightenment. "All our writers moreover forget," he said, "that the learned of India make as much distinction as ourselves between popular belief and demonstrative science. As Col. Kennedy and Sir William Jones long ago observed, the Brahmins do not confound the cosmogony of poets and rhapsodists with mathematical astronomy, and a little inquiry will show that they equally separate theology from mathematics. Thus under the term "Mimans," they include the two systems of creation based on the revealed writings, and under the term "Turk," they include the four systems based primarily on the human reason. In this way, a Brahmin will dispute about life and the soul as independent of the literal meaning of the Veds as "Alghazali", would have argued independent of the Koran, or as we now do of the Law and of the Gospel; yet we wholly disregard this scientific phase of the Indian mind, and seize hold of its popular or ignorant aspect for the petty purpose of depreciation; while thus condemning the knowledge of our subjects, we have done so little to convince them of the reality of our own superiority, that very few Indians believe we have any high or pure science at all. They have every day proof indeed of our pushing worldliness of character and of our mechanical dexterity, but there is no living impression abroad of our excellence as moralists,

as critics or as logicians; and hence no one seeks to become acquainted with our literature."[1]

It was that "scientific phase" of the Indian mind, emphasised by Cunningham, to which Wilkinson in great part addressed himself and adapted his methods. He began his experiment by organising schools at Sehore in which instruction was imparted through the medium of the learned as well as the vernacular languages of India. The number of pupils attending his schools was stated to be 74 in the Mahomedan, and 116 in the Hindu Lower School, and 24 in the Sanskrit classes who read the higher Mathematics and Grammar. For the purposes of lower branches of instruction, Wilkinson "caused to be used all the printed school books that he could find," though he complained of their deficiency, "excepting however particularly from the complaint some 'admirable' Marathee books printed at Bombay...." But his best efforts were devoted to, and most striking success achieved in, the instruction of the Sanskrit branch of the higher class of his school.

Mathematics and Astronomy were the subjects which afforded the most convenient starting-point for Wilkinson's operations. As adaptation was his guiding principle, he did not begin by directing the attention of his pupils in the first instance to the astronomical and mathematical facts and theories as established in the West. Such a course he felt could only mean failure, or, at best, imperfect results at great labour and cost;

1 Cunningham's letter, dated 20th December 1849, to the "Bombay Times" in reply to Sir E. Perry's minute of 26th October 1849, published in the same journal.

for, as he stated on a later occasion, "the assent to truths, which cannot be commanded by any appeal to reason, has been found to be much readily given to the authority of Bhascar Acharya even by the most bigotted and learned of the Brahmins."[1] So, instead, he sought for his pupils an approach to those facts and theories through the Hindu system of astronomy as taught in the "Siddhantas," which recommended itself by its consonance at many points with the astronomical knowledge of Europe. In these Siddhantas Wilkinson discovered a system of astronomy resembling, save in a few unimportant points, that of Ptolemy, and much more accurate than two other systems which commanded belief amongst the Jains and the followers of the Purans.[2]

A proposal, such as that of Wilkinson, to teach seriously a system of astronomy long exploded in Europe was apt to appear on a superficial view subversive of the aim of diffusing sound, scientific knowledge. But Wilkinson's wide personal experience and keen perceptions were far from leaving him with superficial views on a great, and at the time fiercely controverted, question. So, though the Siddhantic system as a whole lacked the validity of scientific truth, yet in Wilkinson's view it could be put to a perfectly valid use as, so to speak, a convenient though antiquated rudder for steering a tradition-bound people towards real enlightenment. A line of least resistance to prevalent Hindu notions and habits

[1] Letter from Wilkinson, dated 5th October 1839, to R. S. Reid, Secy. to Bom. Govt.: Genl. Dept., Vol. 45/516 of 1839, pp 1-2 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, No. 34, October 1834, pp. 505-506. ("On the Use of Siddhantas in the Work of Native Education" by Lancelot Wilkinson, etc.)

of mind was what Wilkinson desired; and the Siddhantas favourably attracted him as affording an easy, and even speedy, means of demolishing, as it were from within, the citadel of fantastic current Hindu beliefs in matters astronomical and of thus clearing the way for the reception of correct ideas and knowledge in their place. For such a purpose unadapted Western knowledge conveyed through the English language could not be of service. At this point Wilkinson's own words setting forth the basic idea of his system of education may be quoted with profit at some length. Anticipating the obvious objection to the use of the Siddhantas as suggested by him, he said:

> "Here I shall be at once met with the question, 'Why go back a thousand years in search of truth avowedly containing some admixture of error, when the pure and the unadulterated truth is at hand, and may be communicated with equal facility?'
>
> "To this I reply, that the pure and unadulterated truth not only cannot be communicated with equal facility, but is absolutely rejected by the mass of the Hindu population of India; but that with the aid of the authority of the Siddhantas, the work of general and extensive enlightenment may be commenced upon at once, and will be most readily effected, the truths taught by them being received with avidity. To explain and correct their errors will at the same time be easy."

And in support of his contention, he contrasted the conditions in the Presidency towns, which lent some force to the objection to his proposed use of the Siddhantas, with those in the interior, for which his plan of education was shaped.

> "With regard to the population of the three Presidencies," he proceeded to explain, "the argument of

my supposed opponent may, and I believe, does apply. The native mind there is fully prepared, nay, eager to, receive any cultivation that can be given to it; but what has led to this? For generations indeed, I may say for centuries past, the native populations there have enjoyed the humanizing advantages of daily intercourse with enlightened Europeans and foreigners of all nations; of a moderate and steady government; and of an extensive foreign commerce; there too the Brahmans and the studious have for the same long period, had the benefit of many schools, colleges, and learned institutions, superintended by English teachers, distinguished for their learning and science; there the Press, English and Native, disseminating its daily modicum of knowledge, has at length succeeded in awakening a spirit of inquiry and discussion, and taught the people the grand uses and advantages to which it may be applied; and there the Missionary, for generations past, has never intermitted in his sacred labours to root out the widespread degrading superstition, and to plant in its stead the seed of the purest morality and of true religion. There, in short, the population have already advanced far in their course of civilization.

"But how widely different is the state of all the rest of the vast continent of India; at least of all Central India, including Nagpur, Berar, Malwa, and Rajputana, in which my own personal experience has lain. The mass of the population is as rude and barbarous, and ignorant, and superstitious, as it was 17 years ago, when the supremacy of the British Government was first established. Of all the advantages, which have contributed to the enlightenment of the Native mind at the several seats of Government, it cannot be said to have enjoyed even one. What reception then can the announcement of the pure truth be expected to experience amongst a people in such state? With what reason can it be hoped, for a moment, that the English language and English literature, with its varied stores of knowledge, can here receive any cultivation? Even the most learned of the Hindu population find it impossible to comprehend, without assistance, the very best of our translations into their own languages. The

native mind, habituated to the idlest absurdities, has neither relish nor taste for plain sober truth." [1]

Moreover, Wilkinson was careful to point out that whatever was found to be correct in the Siddhantas was to be used as a bridge for his pupils to cross over from the old to the modern science of astronomy. And explaining the necessity for such use of the old system he said:

> "The Surya Siddhanta they firmly believe to have been communicated to men by the sun himself, the author of all they believe to have been divinely inspired. These works are now thought to be, like the Vedas, wonderful displays of divine wisdom, but totally beyond ordinary human comprehension. That man who has mastered their contents, they regard, and even fear as one possessed with superhuman powers."

On the strength of this irrefragable fact Wilkinson proceeded to ask:—

> "With this blind veneration and strong prejudices in favour of the Siddhantas, prevailing particularly amongst the Joshis scattered all over India (and the latter are by no means an inconsiderable part of the learned of India), and in some degree, now also amongst the Jain and followers of the Puranas, can we for a moment hesitate in admitting the vast benefits to which the proper employment of these prevailing prejudices will lead? How readily may a knowledge of the science, as taught in the Siddhantas, be re-communicated, especially to the Joshis, whose lives are now idly spent in wading through unintelligible calculations deduced from the Siddhantas? With what exultation will every man of ingenious mind amongst them receive explanations making plain and clear what is now all unintelligible and dark! They will not stop in simply admitting what is taught in the Siddhantas. Grateful to their European instructors for bringing them back to a knowledge of the works of their own neglected, but still revered, masters, they will in the fulness of

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 506-07.

> their gratitude, and from the exercise of their now improved powers of understanding, also readily receive the additions made during the last few hundred years in the science.'

In the same strain he proceeded to state further that "there can be little or nothing which we have to teach in Geometry, Surveying and Trigonometry generally, in Geography or Astronomy, of which Bhaskar Acharya has not already given us the first principles, and for enabling us to explain which, he will not afford us many new and also the most appropriate arguments, inas-much as they will be best suited to Hindu taste. And what can be more flattering to the vanity of the Hindu nation, or more grateful to their feelings and prejudices as men, than to see their own great and revered masters quoted by us with respect, to prove and illustrate the truths we propound. At the presidencies, and even at many large stations, we may prosecute with success a scheme for educating the people, by at once teaching them English, or by other means equally directly attacking all that is false and absurd in their belief. At these places, all the causes above enumerated concur to prevent the failure of such a scheme. But this plan of educating the mass of the people in the interior of India, where English can never be of any practical avail to any but a very few, is perfectly visionary; to hope to educate them by translations in the Roman character,[1] is little less so. Even translations into their own language and in their own character are frequently, as above mentioned,

1 At the time at which Wilkinson wrote several projects were put forward for introducing the Latin script for the Indian vernaculars.

wholly unintelligible to the best educated Natives. I could quote many proofs of this, but the mention would be invidious ; the obvious cause of failure in all these cases is, that in these schemes we make no account of men's passions and weaknesses and prejudices, and have neglected to consult their tastes and present state of knowledge. By pursuing the course I now advocate we sail with the current, favourable gales vastly accelerating our progress ; by directly attacking on the other hand the strongest prejudices of our nature, as is done in the other case, we struggle with an adverse stream, and with baffling winds, and will be found to have struggled comparatively in vain." [1]

These were the principles on which Wilkinson proceeded with his work of enlightenment. Accordingly, the course of study at his Sehore School was founded on Hindu mathematics and the Siddhantic system of astronomy. And not only in those branches of learning, but in the case of all other abstract sciences taught in the school, the general principle followed was to work in the first instance upon the basis of existing indigenous lore and then, in the process of correcting its errors or supplying its deficiencies, to superadd to it the information available from the stores of Western knowledge. By this method Western knowledge was also at the same time illustrated and conveyed to the pupils in terms familiar to them. The Siddhantas, aiming at formulation of scientific knowledge and being able, in Wilkinson's words, " to carry the student just to that point to which the science of Astronomy had been carried in Europe when Copernicus, Newton, and

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, No. 34, October 1834, pp. 509-10.

Galileo appeared to point out and to establish that the sun and not the earth was the centre of our system," admirably fitted his purpose, so far as the teaching of Astronomy was concerned. By their aid he was enabled to communicate to his pupils all the principal facts of astronomy. Through their instrumentality, again, he was able not only to rouse the Pundits and pupils of his school to the errors and deficiencies of their venerated system, but to turn the mental gaze of the more curious beyond it towards the more accurate, more positive and more highly developed knowledge which the Siddhantas in some respects anticipated but did not encompass. Thus a proper handling of the Siddhantas prepared the approach to the further developments and additions which the science of astronomy had received in Europe; and when this stage in the process of enlightenment was reached, where the Siddhantas ceased to furnish intellectual guidance, Wilkinson necessarily drew upon the European knowledge in existence on the subject. The European knowledge so drawn upon for the purpose of adding to the stock furnished by the Siddhantas, could not be difficult of acceptance to those who had learned to look beyond their own system for the further truths of astronomy. In this way, Oriental and European scientific lore were conjointly brought to bear on the task of enlightenment; and with what results will be noted a little later. But here it is deserving of remark that Wilkinson did not confine himself to any one lingual medium for the purpose in hand; he excluded neither English nor Sanskrit nor Persian, but on the contrary, as he stated, " made extensive use of all." " Wherever I found," he explained,

"a moral truth or a fact in the abstract sciences, already acknowledged and taught in any of their established popular works, which was capable of an extended application or which could be used to prove something new, I immediately fixed the attention of the teachers upon it, made them study and reflect upon it and then shewed its before unseen and undiscovered consequences. By thus using the rational, popular, and standard works as the tests and basis of the system, the cordial concurrence of the existing learned Natives was at once given to me, and I was thus saved from the necessity of teaching from the beginning a new system for which I never could afford time; but by supplying a running commentary on their text from our own stores of English science as far as I could, their errors have been in a great measure corrected and most of their deficiencies have been supplied. By this use, pruning, extension, and correction of their own indigenous popular and standard works, the system adopted here seems to me the most likely to thrive with the least degree of encouragement; the Astronomical class consists of but a small number of students; this has in a great degree arisen from my strict exclusion of the study of Astrology from the school, but it is my Astronomical class, which though it consist of so few, has been of most extensive use in disseminating amongst all the rest of the boys and to very many others a knowledge of the various truths which they alone at first were capable of appreciating and understanding."[1]

[1] Quoted in Colvin's Note, para 25. *Vide* Report of the Genl. Committee of Public Instruction for 1839-40, App. No. 1. (Calcutta: 1841).

The best justification of Wilkinson's method was seen in the immediate results produced by it. With regard to his own students, it led to so rapid an acquisition of knowledge by them that Wilkinson early declared that in the short space of four or five months, during which he had availed himself of the Siddhantas in teaching not only the boys of the Sehore school but also "the Joshis and Brahmans of the town," he had succeeded in communicating "more real knowledge and information" than he had done in "the previous ten years" of his career. In proof he appealed to the testimony of independent witnesses who had observed the progress of his school in the "perfectly astonishing" acquisitions of the students.[1] But perhaps far more striking and valuable than their acquisitions in knowledge and information was the active "spirit of inquiry" aroused within them. Their mental curiosity led some of them to do what was a rare thing in those days. Wilkinson himself, in describing the results of his method, particularly called attention "to the eagerness with which a large party of the most advanced of the Hindee and Sanskrit pupils, together with the head teacher of Hindee, sought of me leave to visit Bombay with a view of seeing its various wonders and institutions, and of further improving themselves in a knowledge of some subjects on which I had not time to instruct them." At Bombay their conversancy with various branches of learning impressed those they met and gained for them a certificate in recognition of their accomplishments from one of the masters of the Scottish Missionary Schools. They

[1] Letter to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 34. October 1834, pp. 510-11.

returned to Sehore "highly delighted with all the wonderful things" they had witnessed and "also much improved in many respects." But, more interesting still, one of the boys "conceived a strong desire to learn the English language, and heedless of the entreaties of his family stopped behind, and entered himself as a student of the Elphinstone College."[1]

But the influence of Wilkinson's experiment also spread beyond the school in which it was carried out. A stir was created amongst the learned throughout Central India such as had not been witnessed for a long time past. The exposition of false beliefs led to sharp opposition on the part of those who clung to them, but this opposition was probably not unexpected and, far from being undesirable, seemed to augur well for the spirit of awakened intellectual activity which it manifested. Once again, Wilkinson's own words may be quoted on the point: "But as the class advanced, their new opinions, and more especially the talented summary of them by Soobajee Bapoo in his "Sheromuni Purkash," which has been widely circulated, have not failed to attract the attention and bring down upon them the condemnation of the most learned Shastrees and orthodox Pundits of Oojain, Poona, Benares, Muthoora, Nagpore and Satara. The Oojain Pundits contended for the unadulterated Poorans, denying that the earth was a sphere and asserting that Bapoo's book was full of heterodoxy. The Muthoora Pundits, candidly and with a keener foresight of the consequence of their study, pronounced the Siddhantas and the whole

[1] *Vide* Colvin's Note.

Jyotish Shastra (though acknowledged by all the Shastrees to be a Vedanga) to be an infidel science. The Nagpore Pundits displayed an utter ignorance of the Siddhanta. The Poona and Benares Pundits admitted the truth of both the Pooranic and Siddhantic systems, and maintained that their contradictions were only apparent and might be reconciled. Our Satara opponent alone sets the Pooran aside and contends for the truth of the Siddhantas, condemning only the heterodoxy of our arresting the sun in his course to make him the centre of the system."[1] But, as said before, this opposition constituted a hopeful sign rather than otherwise, and Wilkinson viewed it in the same light. "But instead of regarding my mode of instruction," he said, "as ill adapted to the people, and instead of being discouraged by these attacks, I see in them the best proof that what I have taught is understood by the people, and its effects apprehended infinitely more than could be, by anything taught in English, and on English authority. Of truths learned through English, the learned of this country acknowledge neither the authority nor worth. From the authority of the Siddhantas, they find the utmost difficulty in escaping; and they themselves feel, that they have daily, nay hourly, necessity of recourse to, and use for, their Punchangs, and all the determinations of their Jyottishu Shastru. They have need of all their duplicity and tact in escaping, therefore, from any truth of the Siddhanta. My Pundits, however, who are well founded in the Siddhants, are too knowing, and too earnest advocates of truth, to let their cunning or dog-

[1] *Vide* Colvin's Note, para 23.

matism avail them; and the Siddhantas have proved so admirably adapted to Native taste, that I have had no more trouble in propagating the knowledge of them, (which is now extended to so many) than was in the first instance necessary to give Soobajee Bapoo an insight into them."[1]

With regard to the effects of Wilkinson's experiment, it may be permissible finally to quote the testimony of one who was an interested witness of it. Mr. Mcleod, recalling at a subsequent period his friend's labours in the cause of Indian education with reference to the efforts of Dr. Ballantyne, described the effects of Wilkinson's system as "in a manner electrical." "The most inveterate Pundits," he affirmed, "were won over in a manner truly surprising; one of them, who had been engaged to read the Poorans to an assembly of Hindoos, avowed in my presence that he could not have the face to read before him the chapter treating of the fabulous creation and form of the earth and heavenly bodies. Two of their number wrote treatises in Hindee and Mahratti, on the comparison of the Copernican, Ptolemic, and Siddhantic systems; all who could obtain the privilege of access appeared anxious to co-operate; learned discussions by letter arose upon "the new philosophy" between them, and the Pundits of Benares, Nagpur, Poona and other places; and a large part of Malva and Central India including some of the children and dependants of the petty native chiefs of those parts, appeared to be flocking in for instruction attracted by the rising fame of the Junta at Sehore, when the lamented death of

1 *Vide* Letter quoted in the prospectus of the Agra School Book Society, dated 26th July 1839.

Mr. Wilkinson virtually terminated the undertaking in its bud."[1]

Of course, Wilkinson's method may not sometimes have been perfectly successful in its results, but that detracts little from its intrinsic merits. For example, though it was entirely possible for Wilkinson to cast out from the minds of his students some of their absurd traditional beliefs and even cause them to shed their imperviousness to reason and argument, yet it was not always within his power to lead them to a conviction of the truths of Western science or to convert their sceptical attitude towards those truths into one of positive assurance. In illustration, it may be well to take an instance furnished by Wilkinson himself. He mentioned once, in writing on his favourite topic of the value of the ancient Sanskrit works of science for the propagation of education in the country, that through the aid solely of the Rekha Gunittee and the Leelavutee he had carried the head mathematical class of the Sehore School so far as to be able to take them through a course of Plane Trigonometry; and proceeded further to communicate that " some of the individuals of this class were two years ago utterly ignorant of Mathematics and the most bigotted, as they were the most learned of Pooranics. Now they are so far enlightened and so far open to conviction and reason as to declare that though they can hardly believe the Earth to have the befold Kolun we allege, still there is a very strong probability and even a preponderance of

1 *Vide* Extract of Mr. Mcleod's Minute in the General Report on Public Instruction in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1848-49, pp. 32-36 passim.

proof that it is so."[1] Again, in regard to the intellectual excitement created among the learned classes, we cannot simply dismiss as an unjustifiable lack of optimism the circumspect assertion of a contemporary, who was also actively connected with educational affairs, that "the extent and permanence of the impression which his (Wilkinson's) most laudable labours may produce in this respect can be shown alone by time."[2] Nevertheless, that Wilkinson was able by his method to lay the minds of his Pundits and pupils open to reason and argument and instil in them an active spirit of inquiry, without forcing on them the Western learning they initially despised, and that moreover he was able to produce an awakening from mental torpor, however short in duration it may have been, through a great extent of the peninsula, were by no means in themselves small achievements and spoke more eloquently than words could for the principles and methods followed by him.

There existed, however, a substantial objection to Wilkinson's method when the feasibility of its general application to the purposes of the education of the country came to be considered. Wilkinson, it may be observed, was so far most successful within the limits of the Mathematical sciences; but it was made a question whether his method was capable of successful application in the case of the speculative sciences, or at least sciences in which there existed no indigenous literature to afford a basis for the adoption of the course advocated by him. Wilkinson had on one

1 Letter to R. S. Reid, dated 5th October 1839.

2 Colvin's Note, para 24.

occasion admitted that in subjects like Mechanics, Political Economy, and History "Hindoo literature has nothing we can avail ourselves of." How was his method then to be put to use in the case of those sciences? It was natural therefore that it should have been remarked at the time that "Mr. Wilkinson's peculiar method seems applicable specially, and indeed almost exclusively, to the department of the higher Mathematics in which there exist the indigenous text-books to which he refers and of which use can be made, whereas in other branches of instruction such aid have to be supplied nearly entirely from European sources and that a knowledge of these higher processes of Mathematics or Astronomy is certainly not intimately connected with the purposes of a common education."[1] But, however that may have been, Wilkinson appears to have been confident that through his method one important object of a "common education" was possible of realisation, namely, the moral improvement which the people were supposed to stand in dire need of.[2] But, with regard to the extension of his method to other departments of Sanskrit learning besides Mathematics and Astronomy, he does not seem to have left any definite opinion on record. On the other hand, Mr. Mcleod affirmed that his efforts "were almost exclusively confined to the department of Mathematics and Astronomy, and he entertained considerable doubt whether any others of the branches of Sanskrit learning were capable of being employed by us for like purposes, or at all events, he certainly had not any definite idea in respect to the mode

1 Colvin's Note, para 26.

2 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, October 1834, p. 511.

in which they could be so employed."[1] At any rate, Wilkinson was prevented by death from enlarging the scope of his experiment, if he ever contemplated the possibility of doing so. It was left to another brilliant Oriental scholar to achieve success in a similar experiment, carried out on similar principles and with similar methods but within a considerably larger ambit of scientific and philosophic knowledge.

And so we come to the second of the two important and successful experiments in the union of Eastern and Western learning, or as the phrase then commonly used had it, in the "grafting" of European knowledge on the Oriental. Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, LL.D., the author of the later experiment, was sent out by the Court of Directors and assumed charge of the Benares College on the 3rd of January 1846, in supercession of one Rev. Mr. Wallis who had been nominated to the office of Principal by the Local Government in February 1845.

Prior to the advent of Dr. Ballantyne, a noteworthy attempt had been made by a predecessor of his to infuse new vigour into the Benares College. Mr. J. Muir, a Civil Servant and talented Sanskrit scholar, who took charge of the College "as its first Principal" on the 20th of April 1844, tried to turn the College to better account than had been sought to be done at any time previously, by making it a real centre of learning instead of allowing it to remain an unsuccessful nursery of judicial servants or a monument of the British Government's generosity

1 *Vide* Mcleod's Minute in General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces for 1848-49, pp. 32-36 passim.

and political fatuity. He re-framed the constitution of the college and the scheme of instruction pursued in it on lines better calculated to realise the object in view. It will suffice here to note one or two features of the constitution as reformed by Mr. Muir. An important step taken by him was to unite the English and Oriental seminaries which had hitherto existed apart. Nevertheless, the acquisition of English was not made obligatory; but every student had to study at least one learned language (that is, either English, Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit) and one of the vernaculars (that is, either Hindee or Urdu), the languages being "fixed upon the student's discretion." The existing Sanskrit students were, as a matter of concession, exempted from the necessity of learning the vernacular in the manner contemplated by the new rule. But in a way the most valuable contribution of Mr. Muir was a series of lectures on mental philosophy delivered by him to the Pundits and Sanskrit students of the college. These lectures subsequently proved of use to Dr. Ballantyne who paid a suitable tribute to their author. Yet Mr. Muir's efforts to improve the college in the direction desired by him earned him small success. As he himself admitted, "this experiment for the improvement of the Sanskrit College has, it must be confessed, been attended with but indifferent success as far as regards the number of students subjected to the influences of the new system. Notwithstanding the increase in the amount of scholarships granted from Rs. 6 to 14, the number of students has declined since my arrival from 78 to 42." Various reasons were assigned for this falling-off in number. As for those who were subjected to the

influence of the new system, this was the result reported by Mr. Muir: "In regard to those students who remain in the college my success, though small perhaps, has been as great as was to be expected. I have found no objection on the part of the Pundits to the new studies, and the lectures on Mental Philosophy seem even to have interested some of them as according with their natural turn for abstruse speculation; but few of the pupils have evinced much taste for the new departments which in fact have no tendency to bring them emolument or reputation among their countrymen. The place which has been assigned to these departments in the examination of scholarships will, however, if maintained in future, enforce some attention to those subjects." Mr. Muir resigned the office of Principal early in January 1845 and was succeeded by Mr. Wallis.[1]

Mr. Wallis, as mentioned before, was succeeded by Dr. Ballantyne; and with his advent opens the most interesting chapter in the early history of the Benares College. Before proceeding to describe the educational experiment itself as carried out during his incumbency, it is necessary to take a clear view of the principles on which Ballantyne's system of instruction was grounded. These he has himself stated with a perspicuity which leaves nothing to be desired. It is true that, as propounded by him, they do not essentially differ from those embodied in the general Orientalist theory of education stated before; but what invests them with a new significance when viewed in connection with Dr. Ballantyne is not only the

[1] Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala.*

originality of the mode in which he applied them in practice, but the clear insight with which he took measure of the conditions to which they had to be adapted.

In the manner of all methodical men Dr. Ballantyne surveyed at the outset the field he had to work on and the quality and extent of the work already done in the past. He commenced by asking, "Let us inquire for what object was the Benares Sanscrit College founded? What are the most valuable objects to which it can be directed? And what are the arrangements most likely to secure the attainment of those objects? These three questions I considered it my duty to propose to myself when I was sent from England to take charge of the institution." And searching for an answer to them in the past history of the institution, he found what has been already stated in a previous chapter that the Benares College was primarily founded with no broader objects in view than those of conciliating "the Natives of India by paying a graceful compliment to their language and literature, and of perhaps providing better educated Pundits to act as Legal Counsellors than could otherwise have been always met with." He also found that "for many years all the efforts of the various gentlemen who took an interest in the College appeared to have been directed to the increasing of its efficiency in these respects." A bright exception in the monotonous story of those efforts was furnished during the period of Mr. Muir's incumbency: "the first decided effort," said Ballantyne, "which I find recorded for turning the institution to further account, is that of Mr. Muir, during the session of

1844." But at the same time he was not slow to recognize the inconsiderable effect produced on those on whom Mr. Muir's labours were bestowed: "I cannot remark, without regret, that the study of those valuable lectures (of Mr. Muir) is performed grudgingly. I cannot complain of having been disobeyed when I directed that such and such days should be devoted to this study, and that such and such of the students ought to attend the Professor who was charged with the expounding of them; but there was an unmistakable reluctance. I have often had to answer the question 'What is the use of such studies as these,' and the mournful tone of the question, and the unsatisfied look of the querist when he had received the reply, were sufficient to show that this query meant no more than a civil intimation that he considered them of no use." Evidently, Western learning had not yet found favour with the generality of the Pundits and students of the college.

The fact led Dr. Ballantyne to discuss and define the essential character of the aim that it was necessary to keep in view if the college was to be turned to best account. He appears to have felt that the attention previously paid to subsidiary aims had been partially responsible for a misdirection of the efforts intermittently made for the improvement of the college. It was necessary to state or restate the true object of the institution in clear terms, suggestive of its essential and not secondary needs and requirements; and this Dr. Ballantyne proceeded to do.

> "The object of such an institution," he said, "I conceive (and I understand Mr. Muir to have considered)

ought to be this, to produce Pundits, not merely with Sanskrit learning equal to that which can be acquired in the native schools, but with minds so far tinctured with European habits of thought as shall render each of them in some degree a moral light among his countrymen. Many people may look on such a proposed object as chimerical; it will assuredly be hard to effect; but we shall gain nothing by aiming at anything lower. I do not propose to substitute new studies for any portion of the course of Sanskrit study pursued in the College. *All improvement must be in the way of addition, not of substitution.* The most perfect European education bestowed upon a young Brahman, however great a blessing it might be to himself, would exert no beneficial influence, beyond his own breast, if unaccompanied by the amount of Sanskrit education which is indispensable for securing any degree of respectful attention to his words. How little moral influence do the very best pupils of the College exert on the mind of the learned natives, if indeed neglecting so much as they do their vernacular tongue, they be supposed capable of communicating much of what they have learned to any native at all. But if we succeed in establishing in the Sanskrit College the standard of training which I propose, we shall have in the case of each pupil so trained a Brahman whose acquirement in Sanskrit learning must command respect and consequent attention, whose thoughts (by the hypothesis) are to a certain extent influenced by an acquaintance with correct modes of thinking and who will find acute men of his own class sufficiently disposed to argue with him and nowise disposed to yield a single point that can be by any means contested. Is it too much to hope that the eleve of the College, averse to having the subject-matter of his acquirements undervalued, will exert his ingenuity in the support of his positions to the strengthening of his own better impressions and not altogether without some effect upon his intelligent opponent? The great influence which the Europeanized ideas of the learned Brahman, Rammohun Roy, exerted upon the native mind of Bengal, when contrasted with the comparatively slender influence exerted by well-educated and intelligent men of a different class, has always

struck me as pointing to the combination of conditions which we must strive to bring about if we would aim successfully at raising the native character."

But how was this to be brought about in the face of the set aversion of the Pundits to the communication of Western learning? What initial inducement could be held out to them to consent in the first place to their being subjected to the teaching and influence of European knowledge? The difficulty was a serious one, baffling as it did all educational plans or endeavours at their very start. But Dr. Ballantyne was not unprepared with a solution of it—a solution suggested before in a somewhat different form by Mr. Muir and which, when subsequently applied, proved successful. "Supposing this to be our object," he continued, "let us consider what are the motives by which we can operate on the minds of the pupils in their present state. The motives are not numerous; they are in fact resoluble into one. The applicants for admission into the Sanskrit College are attracted solely by the hope of obtaining a scholarship; this is notorious. The College Pundit makes no scruple of admitting it as a matter of course."

In accordance with this view Dr. Ballantyne proceeded to enforce the study of the English language, at the same time avoiding all appearance of compulsion in regard to it. To achieve his purpose he made effective use of a Government Circular (No. 419 of 1846) which provided that a student might be allowed to enjoy his scholarship for an extended period after completion of his studies, if he was engaged in the preparation of some original work or translation calculated to be

of public utility. At a time when Dr. Ballantyne was exploring the various ways of stimulating the intellectual activity of the college, the Government order came very handy. "A hope has been indulged," he related, "that the Sanskrit pupils may be induced to study English. My observations, when sounding the Pundits and pupils on this point, were by no means encouraging," until the Government order appeared, directing that "no student should retain his scholarship beyond the age of 23, unless under certain provisions. The anxiety manifested by the Senior pupils to bring themselves within the scope of those provisions suggested the feasibility of a fresh attempt to introduce the study of English into the Sanskrit College in the course of the examination. I circulated a paper to be signed by all who might be willing to undertake this study. The paper was signed by several of those who under the existing regulations are liable to be dismissed at the end of the year. They are the very men whom I think it must be worthwhile to retain. They have reached a point of mental culture at which they have become worth reasoning with, on the comparative merits of the civilisation of Ancient India and of modern Europe, a point which the junior boys will not generally have reached until they shall likewise have attained the age at which they must be turned adrift to gain their livelihood, not improbably as astrologers, or as hired mummers at Pagan ceremonies."

Thus, in the case of students so circumstanced, through whom Dr. Ballantyne hoped to achieve his ultimate aim, the study of English was to begin where and when their Sanskrit studies

ended. The introduction of English into the College was effected in as unobtrusive a fashion as possible. No overwhelming importance or value was placed on the study of English at the expense of the Sanskrit language and literature. The English language was simply held forth as a secondary, though not subsidiary, instrument of enlightenment, a means of access to a knowledge that lay beyond the bourn of Sanskrit studies. The fact is evident from the remarks of Dr. Ballantyne quoted before; but it is further evident with greater clearness from certain rules which he provisionally laid down by way of reframing the constitution of the college. These rules began by reciting that the primary object of the college was to furnish, "without expense to the student and as a mark of the esteem in which the Government holds the Ancient Literature of this Country, the means of studying all the most valuable branches of Sanskrit learning." They then went on to state that "a secondary, not subordinate, object of the institution" was "to furnish to the most promising and most advanced pupils, the means of applying their educated faculty to the consideration of those works which constitute the glory of the nation which founded this college." Every student was to have the opportunity of learning the English language, but those students alone, whose acquirements in Sanskrit literature were of a very high order, were to be the objects of special care in regard to their English studies. The awarding of prizes and scholarships was regulated in keeping with the spirit and intent of the above rules. Thus, prizes and scholarships were held out as the reward for proficiency in Sanskrit literature; but

the highest rewards were reserved "for those who having attained in their own Shastras all that is necessary to gain the respect and the attention of their fellow-countrymen," manifested, "by their application and consequent attainments, a real desire to pursue the search after truth to the fullest limits to which access is provided for them." And further it was explictly laid down that, "without being called upon to learn English," a student was to be allowed "to go through the whole curriculum of Sanskrit study" and to hold the annual scholarship to which he was entitled till the age of 23; a student of English, however, provided he had attained "the highest grade of Sanskrit scholarship" and continued "to prosecute his studies in at least one branch of Sanskrit learning," was held to be "highly eligible to be retained indefinitely," if he continued to give satisfaction in regard to his studies and conduct. Lastly, it may be mentioned that, though a "well-educated native of good caste" was to be appointed to teach the elements of English, the rules required the Principal to take upon himself the duty "of directing the English studies from the first and of exclusively conducting them" after the pupils had acquired some little acquaintance with the language.

It may be noted in passing that the Lieutenant Governor of the N. W. Provinces, within whose administrative jurisdiction the Benares College was placed in 1843, concurred in the measures adopted by Dr. Ballantyne to introduce the study of English among the Sanskrit students of the College.[1]

1 Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshalla*, pp. 96-105 passim.

Having referred to the views and principles that actuated Dr. Ballantyne, we may next turn to the experiment itself which was based on them. It was during the session of 1847-48 that "the most interesting experiment" (as its author called it) of introducing the study of English into the College was undertaken. As perhaps expected, there were troubles and difficulties at the incipient stage. They are best related in Dr. Ballantyne's words: "The aspect of the class at the opening of the session was not auspicious. The majority of the pupils were very averse to the study and seemed to think themselves in some measure degraded in the eyes of the other students. They attended reluctantly, when every device for evading attendance failed: books were lost or had not been supplied, pens and ink became suddenly unprocurable; and half the time allotted for the lesson was sometimes spent in settling the fastidiously protracted preliminaries. They seemed greatly to dread being desired to attend in the English College Bungalow, where their slender acquirements in English might expose them to a disadvantageous comparison with little boys who had been reading for a year or two. When they found that no such design upon them was really contemplated, their apprehensions gradually wore off, and ultimately they volunteered to come over to the English Department for three hours daily in order that they might be within reach of assistance when preparing their lessons. At the same time, Pundit Bapu Deo, finding that we were studying the Grammar according to a new plan, and instituting a searching enquiry into various forms of expression, the want of a satisfactory explanation of which had hitherto

disheartened him in the prosecution of the study, requested permission to become one of the class. This I gladly acceded to; and the lively interest which he has continued to take in the matter has exerted a beneficial influence on the class."

A serious handicap from which the progress of the experiment suffered was the lack of a grammar suited to the wants of the class, all the existing grammars being pronounced by Dr. Ballantyne defective and unfit for his purpose. A small English Grammar in Sanskrit, published in Calcutta, was tried without success; and "this soon furnished the discontented with a pretext for arguing that it was impossible they could be taught English satisfactorily at all." But Dr. Ballantyne was not to be beaten back easily by such difficulties: he set about composing a Grammar in a form and style intended to meet the wants of his class. In his own words, "I therefore commenced writing Sanskrit lectures on English Grammar, calculated for an audience of Pundits. They were read out to the class, in my presence, by Pundit Ishwardatta, and were written from his dictation by the pupils, after having undergone the criticism, not unfrequently the hypercriticism of the whole party. These lectures were afterwards carefully revised by Pundit Bapu Deo, who suggested various improvements in the way of making them more neat and condensed. Each new difficulty that was encountered in the course of our reading was afterwards investigated, and a suitable rule recorded in its proper place."[1] The grammar was afterwards printed along with an

1 General Report on Pubilc Instruction, in the North Western Proyinces of the Bengal Presidency, 1847-48, pp. 21-23 passim.

English version of it, in order that it might be useful in teaching Hindee students also, as Dr. Ballantyne declared that the differences of idiom between the English and Sanskrit of which the chapter on Syntax treated, were "virtually the same" that existed between English and Hindee.

These measures were, however, no more than, so to speak, the exordium to the great experiment that was about to be undertaken. It was in the following year that Dr. Ballantyne attempted to bring the English and Sanskrit departments of the college into intimate and stimulating contact with each other; and, it was observed before, the Orientalist theory essentially implied the necessity of such a contact or connection between the two. The manner in which the necessity made itself plain to him was lucidly set forth in the rationale he gave of the next stage of the experiment on which the English and Sanskrit departments were led to enter. The main fact which impressed itself very clearly on his mind was the apparently impassable gulf that existed between English and Sanskrit students, though engaged in the pursuit of knowledge in the same institution. As he put it, "it is a fact to be lamented that the advanced scholars of the English and of the Sanskrit colleges, though speaking the same vernacular, are mutually unintelligible when the conversation turns on the subject of their studies. The technical terms with which they are respectively familiar, being the product of opposite theories, are not convertible by one who is not conversant with both. The consequence is, that the Pundits, in full reliance upon a dogmatic and as they think inspired philosophy, which has stood the discus-

sion (such as it has yet encountered) of centuries, look with calm superiority on the pretensions of a more modest philosophy, which avows that it is only progressing towards perfection which it cannot hope to reach. Whilst on the other hand our English students, struck by the imposing methodical completeness of the Brahmanic systems, which they cannot comprehend in detail, and bewildered in every attempt to cope with the dialectical subtlety of the Pundits, who, they see perfectly, though unintelligible to the English student, are quite intelligible to each other, become possessed by an uneasy feeling, that there is more, if they could but come at it, in the Sanskrit philosophy than is dreamt of in ours. Hence comes the apparent anomaly that a man who can expound the Newtonian Astronomy, consults his astrologer with the same deference as the most ignorant villager; and confusedly believes in his heart, what the Jesuit Editors of the "Principia" only professed with their lips, that the earth stands still, though the hypothesis of its motion may suffice to account for the phenomena. Hence it is also, that although acquainted with the theory of eclipses, and able to calculate them by European formulæ, he would not on any account neglect to perform the ceremonies ordained for the purpose of helping the luminary out of the jaws of his mythological enemy, the trunkless demon of the ascending node. The only way to remedy this, is to put such a one in a position to judge for himself by making him sufficiently well acquainted with both sides of the case. It is scarcely necessary to observe that a decision in our favour carries tenfold moral force with it when it is known that the person so deciding knows not

merely what he embraces, but also, thoroughly, what he deliberately abandons."[1]

It was obviously necessary to contrive some measures for bridging the gulf, if the union of European and Sanskrit learning was to be a fact. Some means had to be found of enabling, in Dr. Ballantyne's words, the students of the English Department to meet half way the Sanskrit students who had begun the study of English. Those adopted by Dr. Ballantyne consisted, first, in the preparation of an "English commented version" of the Sanskrit School Grammar known as the "Laghu Kaumadi," and, secondly, in the delivery of a set of lectures on the system of Hindu philosophy called the Nyaya. The English edition of the grammar was intended to serve the purpose of introducing the senior English students to "the precise forms of thought and expression current among the Pundits."

In expounding the Nyaya philosophy, Dr. Ballantyne made use of a brief compendium of the system entitled the "Tarka Sangraha" as a text-book. "I took sentence by sentence," he relates, "first giving the original, (which my hearers were able partly to understand), then a translation; and then a commentary, pointing out the correspondence of each part of the several divisions of European Science, and noticing anything analogous in the speculations of antiquity that occurred to me as likely to do good, either by showing that the same truths had been hit upon, or the same errors for a time adhered to, *out* of India as well *in it*." "These lectures," he

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, 1848-49, p. 18 (Agra: 1850).

continues, " were listened to with marked interest, the subject being one which the students are ambitious of understanding—one which can easily be made clear to them with the aid of explanation in English—and one which the Pundits have not the most distant conception of the possibility of explaining in an exoteric fashion."

It may be here interesting to observe why Dr. Ballantyne's choice fell on the Nyaya in preference to other systems of Hindu philosophy. The views underlying his choice may appear somewhat curious in our day when later research, in combination with recent tendencies of thought, may lead one to judge differently of the respective value and worth of the different philosophical systems prevailing in India. It is necessary however to remind ourselves, not only that Dr. Ballantyne, with all his brilliant mental gifts and accomplishments, was after all the child of an age which, so far at least as Europe was concerned, was yet far from understanding fully the comparative merits of Hindu philosophical speculation as various exponents of the Vedanta and allied systems have made manifest at the present day, but that he had to choose a system that best fitted the immediate purpose in hand. As he himself put it, " we are not here enquiring into these curious philosophical systems as a mere matter of curiosity. The question of questions in regard to them is here—how, and how far, they are capable of being turned to account."

" Of the three leading schools," said Dr. Ballantyne, " the Vedanta, the Sankhya, and the Nyaya, the first, being an attempt to reconcile

Hindoo Scripture with Philosophy, obviously, does not promise much to aid us. The second is as nearly as possible a system of Nihilism, though its advocates protest against imputing that character to it. It contains much that is ingenious, and not a little (as Professor Wilson and others have shown) that has been only recently ex-cogitated in Europe. But as a system, it tends to nothing that we can have any interest in promoting. We cannot make its plan therefore the groundwork of any curriculum of our own. The Nyaya on the other hand is a very fair and, in some respects, admirable attempt on the part of certain speculative philosophers, who had made perhaps as many observations and experiments as they had opportunities of making, to present a complete and consistent physical as well as metaphysical theory of the universe. Of this system, therefore, I have chiefly made use, in laying the foundations of an attempt to present to the students of the Sanskrit College an equally comprehensive view of the universe, divested of those errors in their own Nyaya which modern observation and experiment have shown to be such, and giving somewhat of its due prominence to the physical departments of science, which were much less prominent in the original exposition of the Nyaya doctrine than in its metaphysics, to which the physics were entirely subordinated as they have ever since remained. While their system professes to embrace the universe, it really neglects all that forms the subject-matter of the physical sciences, and consequently its professors look down with self-complacent superiority upon the cultivators of physical science, and with indifference upon its results. The case

of Astronomy presents only an apparent exception to this rule, for it is for astrological purposes alone that the bulk of the Brahmins value Astronomy. Here as in other departments the knowledge that they have, furnishes too often the main obstacle to their acquiring more. But this is only an additional reason why we should take care to ascertain what it is they have; for whatever they possess of truth, will remain an obstacle, until we make it an ally."

Before proceeding further to narrate the progress of the experiment in the English class, it would be convenient to turn at this point to note what was done by Dr. Ballantyne for the Sanskrit class of the college, and how far the application of his views and methods met with success there. With regard to those Sanskrit students and Pundits who were, or kept themselves, outside the influence of European thought and learning, Dr. Ballantyne was not slow to find what Wilkinson had found before him that the essential thing to be done in order to win their ear to the exotic knowledge sought to be communicated to them was to arouse their intellectual curiosity and free them from their subservience to dogmatic authority. "The Hindoo mind for a long period," he said, "has been in what Whewell calls the 'commentatorial stage' a stage in which originality is forbidden and shunned. This would seem to present one of the occasions when a just appreciation of the history of an analogous period may be fairly expected to throw light upon the prospect of the future, on its undesirable probabilities, and its more desirable possibilities, possible only if they be properly anticipated." And he

further referred to "the centripedal force, or wooden yoke, of dogmatic authority" as having, in the case of India, "long since converted, what at the outset was onward progress, into the narrow yet interminable orbit of an ox in an oil-mill."

What was necessary to be done preliminarily was thus plain enough; but the question was, How? How were the Pundits to be allured from the time-hallowed beaten track of their intellectual training, from the cramping "orbit of an ox in an oil-mill?" That part of Dr. Ballantyne's experiment, which consisted of the steps he took to effect this difficult task, is of surpassing interest. No direct means were at the outset resorted to; rather, the method actually adopted was calculated to lure, not to compel. Dealing with the Law students, Dr. Ballantyne related that, "being curious to see what the students would make of a case for which they could find no precedent in their law-books, I proposed the case which Reid cites as an example of an insoluble dilemma—of the sophist Protagoras and his scholar. Just as I expected, they tried it by every one of their technical rules in succession, never doubting, but that one or other of them must fit. When they found, to their great surprise, that this was not the case, they betook themselves to the unusual task of unaided thought; and whilst one decided that the Judge must decree in favour of the pupil, another said that he must decree in favour of the Master, and a third that he had better dismiss the case without giving any opinion on the matter, which last is the resolution that the Greek judges are related to have come to. The law Pundit, to whom these opinions were submitted, took two

days to consider the case, which he also tried in vain by his body of rules which never had failed him before. At this he made no secret of his admiration, but at last he hit upon a solution not uncreditable in my opinion to his sagacity, viz., that the pupil was decidedly entitled to a verdict in his favour, and that then this would furnish good ground for a new action in which the teacher must needs gain his point." "I mention this," he continued, "as illustrating (what I wish I could illustrate by instances of a character less slight) the lively and salutary excitement which may be created among the Pundits when anything that they really take an interest in, is presented to them in such a way as to compel them to step out of the beaten track. Unfortunately in regard to those subjects respecting which their knowledge is most defective, the difficulty is to get them to take any real interest at all. The method which I have found to answer best, is to take as a starting point some established point in their own philosophy, and to show how the philosophers of Europe have followed up the enquiry."

Nor did that method fail when Dr. Ballantyne sought to introduce the study of a new and foreign subject, namely, European Logic. "I found," he remarks, "that the Pundits entertained a very low opinion of the European Logic, some account of which had been supplied to them from the popular work of Abercrombie. On this subject I perceived that all my explanations were thrown away, until it occurred to me to enquire carefully whether the knowledge of my hearers did not stop short at some point between which and the knowledge that I wished to communicate, there

remained some gap to be filled up, before they could discern that the one was but the continuation of the other. The result was extremely satisfactory. The Pundits, gratified by the admission that their own view of the process of inference is correct so far as it goes, laid aside their jealous hostility, which was succeeded by lively curiosity to know how the thing could be carried further—and thus was obtained, what was wanted, an unprejudiced hearing for what was to be brought forward. It is worth noticing that, the very apparatus of technical rules—the "barbara celarent," etc., which now repels so many in Europe, was hailed at once as an earnest of there being something valuable in the treatise shown to them. The contrivance of significant vowels and indicatory consonants was at once recognised as akin to that of Panini in his institutes of Sanskrit Grammar, and the fact that the system had been matured more than two thousand years ago, invested it with another charm in their eyes."

"These things," observed Dr. Ballantyne, by way of a general conclusion to which the success of his efforts seemed to point, "appear to be worth bearing in mind, for they would seem to indicate that the likeliest way to get the Pundits to lend an unhostile ear to what we have got to say, is to lead them from the very point to which their correct knowledge has attained, as much as possible, by the steps which the European mind itself took in reaching its present conclusions after starting from an analogous point." And, in illustration, he further pointed out, how, after having familiarized them with Aristotelian Logic he carried the Pundits to

modern scientific thought as it began in Bacon. "Having secured the attention of a set of Pundits to the Aristotleian Logic, and having thereby gained something of additional respect in their eyes, I explained to them the design and character of the *Novum Organon*, and pointed out which division of their own philosophy—a division avowedly the least satisfactory of all as hitherto treated by their own authors—is represented by this great work. I have found no work the general description of which has more excited the curiosity of the most intelligent of my Pundit auditors than this....Bacon himself, though as a classic he will always be read, yet is out of date in Europe as the actual guide in scientific investigation. The employment of his own instrument has enabled subsequent enquirers to detect his own deviations from the right track of discovery; but this very fact, if it be carefully kept in view and properly made use of, gives additional value to his writing as an instrument for promoting the intellectual advancement of India."

Of the intellectual excitement and activity consequent on Dr. Ballantyne's efforts to introduce the Sanskrit students to those branches of European knowledge, a vivid testimony was furnished in an incident amusingly narrated by the Principal himself. "It is rather a novelty in the Sanskrit College," Dr. Ballantyne related, "to find a competition among the Vidyarthis for the loan of the Library copy of 'Whately's Logic'. For some time previously, in consequence of Bapu Deva's Mathematical Instructions, 'Euclid,' 'Hall,' 'Peacock,' etc., have been in such request that I have had again and again to listen, with

apparent sympathy, and extreme inward satisfaction, to the complaints of my esteemed coadjutor, the Head Master, to the effect that the mathematical book stores of the English Department are plundered by the intruders of the Sanskrit College in a way that is most irregular and inconvenient; for he cannot ask for a mathematical book without being told that some Pundit or other has got it. Would that it were so in every branch of science in which we have hitherto outstripped our keen-witted Brahmanic brethren."[1]

It is time now to revert to those Sanskrit students who had begun the study of English. Their progress, during the short period they had been taken in hand by Dr. Ballantyne, was highly gratifying to those who had occasion to observe it. Thus, after an examination of the class, during the session 1848-49, in the "Novum Organon" and other subjects, interspersed with questions on Grammar, Mr. D. F. McLeod, the friend of Wilkinson, who had himself been a party to that examination, remarked in these terms: "The acuteness and profundity acquired by these scholars in the course of their Sanskrit studies, is carried by them into their English ones, and brought to bear, with great effect upon every branch of knowledge introduced to them through that medium. Several of them read with considerable fluency and precision, and though from the comparative briefness of the period which has elapsed since they first commenced it, and the great difficulty of English orthography and pronounciation, much cannot be expected from

1 *Vide* General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. P. of the Bengal Presidency for 1848-49, pp. 18-26.

them in this respect; yet, from the answers given, and the mode of treating the subjects adopted by them, the impression is irresistibly forced on the examiner that the knowledge they have acquired is in reality greater than it at first appears; the converse, probably, of what might with some justice be said of most ordinary classes." Needless to say, he found the class in question "the most interesting and important in the whole institution."[1]

Of the manner in which Dr. Ballantyne adapted his method of instruction to the needs of this particular class of the College there is an interesting glimpse afforded in the following account written in his usual, lively and personal vein. "In my course of lectures to this class," he says, "I adopted the division of the sciences laid down by Dr. Arnold in his address to the 'Rugby Mechanics Institute'; and for an introductory course of lectures, I should incline still to adhere to the same order. But when we arrived at the questions of Metaphysics, the consideration of which I had sought to postpone until we should have gone amicably over some less debatable ground, and thus perhaps have obtained some previously established matter to serve for reference to when illustrations were required, my auditors, accustomed to that strictness of methodical arrangement which is so attractive in their own systems, immediately began to object, like Demetrius in the play, to moonshine with his dog and his thorn-bush. "Why, all these should be put in the lantern," in other words, that what in Europe is treated as a branch of

1 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

science, under the name of Metaphysics, ought, with some fitter name, to furnish, like their own Nyaya, the framework of the whole of the sciences. Having foreseen this objection, I stated to my critics my reasons for having adopted a different order in addressing them, and mentioned my hope that there might be furnished, for the satisfaction of those who felt interested in the preliminary course, a fuller exposition of the sciences, with an arrangement modelled on their own. In such a work it would be desirable to make abundant use of diagrams, which in the preliminary course I thought it better to dispense with, having found that they are sometimes at the outset rather apt to alarm and repel."

And, it may be noted in passing, that Dr. Ballantyne's success with his pupils was due no less to the adaptation of the matter and mode of instruction than to the tact with which he took them over delicate ground where their susceptibilities were liable to be irritated. "In the course of the perusal of works," he remarked, "in which the dogmas of Brahminism are controverted openly or by implication, I have always taken pains to impress upon the pupils of this class that my office is restricted to making them acquainted with the precise meaning and import of the works perused; and that their reception of it as truth, though by no means a matter of unconcern to me, is yet one which rests with themselves; as the moral responsibility must also rest. But, receiving it or not receiving it as truth, they must make themselves acquainted with it, such being the terms of the bargain on which they hold their scholarships; scholarships given for the purpose

of ascertaining whether both parties might not be benefitted by the removal of the misconception under which the Pundits regard our literature. The putting of the case on this footing has silenced many tedious objections on the part of the less liberal portion of the class, and has furnished the more enquiring spirits with a convenient retort upon those of their class-fellows, who are not pleased with the interest taken by the others in their studies, but who could scarcely venture to advise that the salary should be pocketed and the work not be honestly done...."[1]

So well did his methods succeed, and so satisfactory was the progress of the Anglo-Sanskrit class, that about two years later, as referred to in his annual report for 1850-51, Dr. Ballantyne was led to form an ambitious project which he hoped to carry through with the aid of his best-accomplished pupils. In brief, this project was nothing less than to supply the matter of European learning with Sanskrit terminology. The importance of this part of Dr. Ballantyne's experiment was unquestionably great. If successful, it was calculated, on the one hand, to solve some of the great difficulties under which European translators into the Indian languages laboured, and, on the other, to help to present European knowledge in a form suited to the taste and mental habits of the people. Here, however, only a brief mention, in Dr. Ballantyne's own words, can be made of the nature of the plan and the manner in which it was proposed to carry it out, as a full account of the subject would not be strictly within the scope of this chapter. After reporting that the progress

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31 passim.

of the English class of Pundits was most gratifying to him, Dr. Ballantyne unfolded his project, in the annual report mentioned above, thus:—

> "With their aid, I now hope to effect much that I could not have hoped to effect without it. Aided by these men, I shall now listen with simple disregard to the discouraging reiterations of those, who insist that the truths of Science and of Philosophy cannot be communicated to the Hindoos, without the use of words which would go to barbarize their languages—as if a language richer in roots than any European one, and far more finely organized, could not supply as many available terms; as if the Sanscrit needed instruction at the hand of its grand-child, the Greek. To render intelligible our plan of operations for the next session, I may remark that my first attempt to open a communication with the frequenters of the Sanscrit College, was made in the shape of a set of lectures on the Circle of the Sciences. The Sanscrit version of these lectures was carefully revised by Pundit Bapu Deva, whose rendering of many of the scientific terms was most felicitous..... In those portions of the lectures which related to sciences which this Pundit had not studied, we were less successful than in the others. To ensure success it would have been indispensable to investigate the first sources of the nomenclature already appropriated to the same or kindred topics in the Hindoo philosophy; and how I propose that this shall now be done I proceed to state. The multitudinous treatises in the six great Schools of Hindoo Philosophy are all based upon, and are held to be authority, only in so far as they coincide with, the six collections of Aphorisms promulgated severally by the six founders of the Schools. The Aphorisms were intended, not to convey the doctrine, but to record it; hence their oracular brevity. They resemble in some measure such formulas as that of the Binomial theorem, which, *when once explained*, enables one to recollect words at length, no human memory could have retained a knowledge of. The Aphorisms, therefore, from the first, were attended by a comment, oral or written; and the written commentaries are now so voluminous that the generality of students do not venture to grapple

> with the Aphorisms at all, but confine themselves to compendious manuals and text-books, of which there is abundance. One obvious and undesirable consequence of this is, that if you are arguing with an educated Hindoo and the quiver of his text-book fails him, he ensconces himself in the conviction that the case is by no means desperate, while there remain untold stores of arms in those dark armouries, the aphorisms. This of itself would furnish a sufficient reason for wishing that these dark armouries should be lighted up. But this is not the only reason. Only by tracing the development of Hindoo thought, and of the terminology in which it clothed itself, can we hope to avoid completely all such misappropriation of terms, as that which has, to a certain extent, baffled all European attempts at translation into the Hindoo dialects whenever the subject of discussion transcended the palpable. But there is yet another reason why I wish, with the aid of our English pundits, to exhibit in broad clear light the sources of the Hindoo Philosophy, and it is this—that the Hindoo Philosophy is in Europe too often provokingly misrepresented."

He then went on to state that the books prepared in accordance with his plan with the aid of the class of Pundits were further intended to supply Sanskrit books for the senior students of the English Department, "in pursuance of the design of bringing the two Departments to a better mutual understanding." These books were also intended to be translated into Hindi so as to render their contents available to the general reader ignorant of Sanskrit. At the same time, said Dr. Ballantyne, "whilst employing the English class of Pundits to assist in bringing the Hindoo Philosophy into the light, I intend that they shall carry on, parallel with this enquiry, an enquiry into the Inductive Philosophy of modern Europe. For this purpose, we have commenced upon Mr. John S. Mill's "System of

Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive." I extracted the passages that are useful to us, omitting all that concerns the European reader alone, such as the mistakes of Reid and others respecting the nature of Logic, etc.; and the passages adapted to our purpose I interweave in a Commentary modelled on the plan of a Sanskrit Commentary, pointing out the thread of connection in the speculation, and, in particular, dwelling upon each fundamental term in our philosophical nomenclature, and discussing its relation to the terms of the Hindoo Philosophy. The interest that my best pupils take in this enquiry is everything that could be wished. We have barely entered upon it, we are at present stopped by the tedious torpidity of the Indian printing press....I think of completing my exposition of Mr. Mill's views before returning to the *Novum Organum* in regard to which my pupils and myself should by that time be better prepared to understand each other." [1]

So far, it may be observed, Dr. Ballantyne appears concerned mainly with the senior departments of the College and the Pundits. But the problems peculiar to the junior classes did not at the same time escape him. In explaining how he proposed to grapple with them, he let fall some truths, a disregard of which had been responsible for several educational failures in other quarters. In dealing too with the junior classes, he kept steadfastly before him the general views which prompted the whole trend of his educational experiments. "I regard the Sanskrit

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1850-51, pp. 52-56 passim.

College," he declared, "in no other light than as a nursery of Pundits, who can prove valuable auxiliaries of Government, in the general diffusion of correct knowledge throughout the country, only if they possess two requisites—the one being an acquaintance with the correct knowledge in question, and the other, such a knowledge of Sanskrit, as may enable them to command a respectful hearing from their fellow-countrymen, learned or unlearned."

But Dr. Ballantyne saw that the case of the junior pupils was rather difficult to deal with satisfactorily. "The question that next occurs," he said, "has reference to the order, simultaneous or successive, in which these two requisites are to be attained. Judging by the attainments in Sanskrit of those pupils in the College who have attempted to carry on the study of English and of Sanskrit together from the first, I am inclined to doubt whether any boy who adopts this plan will ever be able to pass muster among the Pundits as a first-rate Sanskrit scholar; and I would therefore recommend that no student who aims at becoming, and who gives promise of becoming a proficient in Sanskrit, should be urged or even encouraged, to grapple with the English also, until he shall have been thoroughly well grounded in the Sanskrit Grammar, for which he will be otherwise almost certain to acquire a distaste." Or, as he said elsewhere when later experience went to confirm the truth of the observation, "once accustomed to English tuition, our pupils feel a repugnance towards the dry and thorny details of the other disciplines; so that if we wish to have a man perfect in both, we must build the

English on the others, and not *vice versa*. This is precisely what is done in Europe, where the details of the classical language, if not grappled with in boyhood, are rarely mastered at all."[1]

But there was an obvious objection to such a course which had to be overcome and which Dr. Ballantyne proposed to overcome in the following manner. "Whilst then," he said, "I would not recommend a young Sanskrit student to commence English until after some years' study of the Sanskrit, when he will be able to study the English Grammar methodically in the pages of a Sanskrit treatise on the subject, yet I feel strongly that the bare dry study of words, and the formation of words—with no reference to things—during a long period of early youth, can furnish but a meagre nutriment for the mind, and a one-sided training for its faculties. The best way to obviate this, as it seems to me, would be to take effective measures for the encouragement of the study of such subjects as Geography, History, &c., through the medium of the Vernacular."

And so one more language was pressed into service, besides Sanskrit and English. This incidentally shows how broad-based was Dr. Ballantyne's experiment, involving the exclusion of no language that might be available for the purposes of education. Discussing the probability of the success of his plan of making use of the vernacular, he explained that "such a plan had never hitherto succeeded probably owing to the want of interesting and accurate works for

1 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

persual, and to the prevalent feeling (embodied in the remonstrance of the students—"this is a *Sanscrit*, not a Hindee College") that the cultivation of the Vernacular is beneath the dignity of a Sanskrit Student; and it is to meet the former of these objections that I now propose to prepare in the first instance a considerable modified version in Hindee of my course of Sanskrit lectures 'on the circle of the Sciences'; omitting some, and expanding and simplifying other portions." In addition, he recommended to Government that the pupils might be allured to the study of the vernacular by the grant of small monthly stipends'.[1]

At this point our brief survey of the two interesting educational experiments may be brought to a close. Their peculiar merit consisted for the most part in the fact that they demonstrated how the Orientalist idea could be successfully translated into practice. It was not that either Wilkinson or Dr. Ballantyne had any great advantage over the General Committee in respect of means and materials; but the secret of the fruitful results achieved by them lay in their compliance with the essential condition of the success of their experiments, namely, the devising of an appropriate and adequate educational method. A successful application of their methods involved two things—a right co-ordination of Oriental with European studies and a clear understanding of the peculiarities and requirements of the cast of intellect to which their methods had to be adapted.

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1849-50.

The success of the experiments of Wilkinson and Ballantyne, so far as it went, may be regarded as a triumph for Orientalist principles. The general bearing of those principles on the question of the introduction of the English language has been already noted; what now remains to note is the particular bearing of the two experiments on the same question. It was remarked that exclusionism in respect of any educational medium had no room in the schemes of Wilkinson and Ballantyne. Both made extensive use of the English as well as the classical languages of India, as each served their purpose best. Yet it is important to note that the language which ranked first in importance in their eyes was neither English nor any Indian classical language, but the vernacular of the common people. The reason was that, though their immediate object was to enlist the learned classes in the cause of propagation of knowledge in India, their ultimate aim was to place enlightenment within reach of the people at large; and they recognised that the only practicable and suitable channel through which knowledge could flow to the mass of the people was their own native speech. Hence one great end to which their endeavours directly and indirectly tended was the cultivation and development of the vernaculars; and in their educational schemes the English no less than the Sanskrit language had, after all, a subordinate place as a means for the achievement of that end. According to them the true importance of the use of those languages lay in the degree and extent to which their resources could be laid under contribution for the purpose of fertilising and enriching the vernacular speech of the Indian people. To

English they looked for the necessary supply of ideas and knowledge, and to Sanskrit for the requisite supply of words and terms to express the new ideas and knowledge in the vernacular. But that was so far as the general and ultimate object of the enlightenment of the country as a whole was concerned. As far as their schemes related to the particular object of creating the instruments for the spread of enlightenment, Wilkinson and Ballantyne showed that the English language could serve the cause of enlightenment in India best as an adjunct, albeit a very important and powerful adjunct, to the venerated classical languages of the country.

Chapter V.

THE OUTLOOK AND EMERGENCE OF ANGLICISM.

§ 1.

So far as can be ascertained, Wilkinson first gave authoritative expression to his views on Indian education in 1834 in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* But during that year the educational world of Bengal was filled with the quarrel between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, and the quarrel was fast approaching its climax. Not only did it excite general attention such as educational questions had rarely done before, but it helped to fix, if it did not generate, a general bias in favour of Anglicist views. Among other things, it prevented that degree of interest being taken in Wilkinson's views which they merited and which in all probability they would have aroused at an earlier period; though it must be acknowledged that Wilkinson's secluded position in Bhopal may also have been one of the reasons for the obscurity in which the results of his philanthropic exertions lay concealed from general view, so far at least as Bengal, or rather its metropolis Calcutta, was concerned. Of course, the intrinsic interest and originality of his experiment could not fail to command a certain amount of attention; but even then the experiment was generally regarded as something too unique and too dependent for its success on the personal quailties of its author to furnish much guidance in framing a general system of education for the country as a whole. Thus,

what seems to have been the common view was expressed by Lord Auckland when he observed that "in fact Mr. Wilkinson's system is almost wholly dependent on his eminent personal talents and exertions, his admirable zeal, his great knowledge, the weight of his excellent character, and perhaps also, it should not be concealed the influence attaching to his position as the British Political Agent. It would not be safe to draw conclusion as to what may best be done by ordinary agents within the British Provinces from what has been accomplished in vernacular instruction by Mr. Wilkinson in Sehore."[1] And so His Lordship was left unconvinced of the applicability of Wilkinson's system or suggestions to the objects of a common education.

Neither was the success of Dr. Ballantyne's experiment treated as a revelation of new ways and means worthy of serious consideration for adoption in a general system of education. The famous experiment, it was seen, was begun in 1846-47: by that date, however, the skies were clear of the Anglo-Orientalist controversy and Bengal was firmly yoked to a new educational policy, which had practically nothing in common with Dr. Ballantyne's system, and from which those in authority were not to be deflected by any new theories or schemes. Those in charge of the educational affairs of the country had washed their hands clean of Orientalism in education, save where they had to respect the original objects and purposes for which certain institutions were specifically endowed. Dr. Ballantyne's experiment was in consequence looked upon as

[1] Minute, 24th Novr. 1839, Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 162.

of peculiar interest to the Benares College and adapted to the circumstances of that institution rather than as of any interest for the general education of the people.

It is not surprising, then, that those brilliant experiments appear isolated in character from the main stream of the educational activities of the first half of the nineteenth century and that their significance should be generally overlooked by historians of Indian education. In point of fact, however, they were the logical outcome of the Orientalist theory. But the great change of educational policy which intervened between the periods of the two experiments accounts in a great degree for their seeming lack of continuity with the ideas and tendencies that predominantly prevailed prior to that change. With a new fixed policy to work upon, any wholesale departures from it, such as Wilkinson's and Ballantyne's schemes undoubtedly were, were not capable of creating any profound impression on the generality of the people.

This naturally brings us to the change of outlook which resulted in the change of educational policy in question.

§ 2.

To understand the change, or rather to understand the new angle of vision that was responsible for the change, it is necessary to concentrate amidst the general welter of the controversy on some of the ruling ideas and motives of the period. Briefly summed up, the change may be described as the ascendancy of Anglicist ideas.

It is indeed doubtful whether the Orientalist theory was ever congenial to the majority of those who took any interest in Indian education, barring of course the General Committee and a few members of Government, whilst to certain interested parties, like the missionaries, it was positively distasteful. It perhaps only wanted a favourable opportunity and a masterful voice for the Anglicist views to assert themselves in full vigour; and when the opportunity and the Macaulay bassoon did arrive, a chorus of minor voices, hitherto silent or inaudible or suppressed, went up in vociferous support of the Anglicist theory and ideas. The events that finally brought the Orientalists and the Anglicists to issue will be narrated later on; before proceeding to do that, it is important to take note of some of the leading ideas on which the Anglicist standpoint was founded. It is interesting to observe in this connection that the Anglicists, whether consciously or unconsciously, echoed their earliest precursor in their expression of those ideas. It may well be said that, with the ascendancy of the Anglicists, Charles Grant's views came into their own after long neglect.

The deep-rooted differences which divided the Anglicists and the Orientalists have often been hinted at before. The point of supreme importance, which caused the greatest amount of friction between the two parties, was that relating to the quality and value of Oriental learning. As might be expected, the divergence between their views on the subject was as complete as it could possibly be. The Anglicists roundly condemned all Oriental learning as a loose mass

of errors and myths, puerilities and absurdities, hopelessly incrusting whatever of scientific or moral truth was to be found in it. The search for truth in that bewildering mass bore, in the Anglicists' view, no small resemblance to the search for a needle in a stack of hay; and the needle, when found, was not considered worth the pains of freeing it of the rust it had gathered. Indeed, unless some acquaintance with the causes that engendered their hostility towards Oriental learning is obtained, the sweeping condemnation of it by the Anglicists is apt to be amazing and a little difficult to understand at the present day. In fact, hardly any branch of it was spared their abuse or animadversion. The laws of the Hindus and the Mahomedans were pronounced to be congeries of contradictory maxims, tyrannical and absurd in their detailed injunctions and little fit to raise the people higher in the scale of civilization; their literatures unbracing in moral tone, and, though in some parts beautiful, yet on the whole inferior to that of England; their systems of philosophy, a collection of fanciful and false notions; their abstract sciences packed with errors; their medicine a pseudo-science; their ethics unedifying. The Anglicists disregarded what was true and beautiful and scientific in Sanskrit and Arabic literatures and science, or at best damned it with faint praise, but fastened eagerly upon its blemishes and deficiencies for purposes of ridicule and depreciation. They refused to see, or were ignorant of, what Cunningham called the scientific phase of the Indian mind. And as often happens with men steeped in controversy, the greater the ignorance or lack of insight or of a spirit of appreciation on the part of an Anglicist, the

more immoderate was his tone of condemnation apt to be, and the more sweeping the exaggerations solemnly or angrily indulged in by him regarding the intellectual barrenness and moral ineffectiveness of the systems of Oriental learning. Nor was the condemnation or exaggeration confined to the contents of the Oriental systems. In the extreme of their antipathy towards those systems, the Anglicists were led to attribute to them preposterous effects and influences. They read in those systems the main cause of the prostrate intellectual and moral condition of the people. They saw in the encouragement afforded to them dangerous political consequences to the British Rule. They declared the patronage of them by the British Government a support of barbarism by a civilised state. The active encouragement continued to them by the General Committee, after the circumstances which justified or appeared to justify it in the past were conceived to have disappeared, was held to be a clog on the quickening spirit of improvement then manifesting among the people. Indians were held up as crying out for the manna of modern knowledge and as being supplied instead with the cud of antediluvian systems. Of course, as subject-matter of instruction, Oriental learning was regarded an abomination of which the educational institutions of Government were to be delivered, and which the Anglicists strained every nerve to deliver them of. The diatribe of Macaulay against Oriental learning is famous; and it may well be quoted, as it has constantly been, as a faithful reproduction of the Anglicist views and sentiments on the subject. Even if, however, we turn from Macaulay to less famous Anglicists, we shall not

find them either less immoderate in tone, or less warm in their disparagements, or less sweeping in their censure on a subject which they little knew and understood. Here is how Trevelyan, for example, in a book which neatly sets forth the Anglicist case, follows Macaulay in his pyrotechnics of condemnation of the quality and value of Oriental learning.

> "The Hindu system of learning," declares Trevelyan, "contains so much truth as to have raised the nation to its present point of civilization, and to have kept it there for ages without retrograding, and so much error as to have prevented it from making any sensible advance during the same long period. Under this system, history is made up of fables, in which the learned in vain endeavour to trace the thread of authentic narrative; its medicine is quackery; its geography and astronomy are monstrous absurdity; its law is composed of loose contradictory maxims, and barbarous and ridiculous penal provisions; its religion is idolatry; its immorality is such as might be expected from the example of the Gods and the precepts of the religion. Suttee, Thuggee, human sacrifices, Ghaut murder, religious suicides and other such excrescences of Hinduism, are either expressly enjoined by it, or are directly deduced from the principles inculcated by it. This whole system of sacred and profane learning is knitted and bound together by the sanction of religion; every part of it is an article of faith, and its science is as unchangeable as its divinity. Learning is confined by it to the Brahmins, the high priests of the system, by whom and for whom it was devised. All the other classes are condemned to perpetual ignorance and dependence; their appropriate occupations are assigned by the laws of caste, and limits are fixed, beyond which no personal merit or personal good fortune can raise them. The peculiar wonder of the Hindu system is, not that it contains so much or so little true knowledge, but that it has been so skilfully contrived for arresting the progress of the human mind, as to exhibit it at the end of two thousand years fixed at

> nearly the precise point at which it was first moulded. The Mohammedan system of learning is many degrees better, and 'resembles that which existed among the nations of Europe before the invention of printing'; so far does even this fall short of the knowledge with which Europe is now blessed. These are the systems under the influence of which the people of India have become what they are. They have been weighed in the balance, and have been found wanting. To perpetuate them, is to perpetuate the degradation and misery of the people. Our duty is not to teach, but to unteach them—not to rivet the shackles which have for ages bound down the minds of our subjects, but to allow them to drop off by the lapse of time and the progress of events."[1]

Even as characterisation of the worst side of Oriental learning, those words of Trevelyan, it is evident, stray far from the truth. Much more is now known and a better estimate generally formed of Oriental learning than was done by Macaulay or Trevelyan or the lesser Anglicist luminaries. But, whilst the want of truth or accuracy is often immediately felt in the Anglicist pronouncements on the subject, what is no less prominent and unmistakable is the spirit

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 83-85. *Vide* also Part II of Alexander Duff's Vindication of the English Education Act of Lord William Bentick. Duff there thus characterises the whole compass of Oriental learning: "Did our space admit of it, we might here present the reader with extracts from these, the choicest works of Hindu literature, which would demonstrate that in them are taught: (1st) Things frivolous and useless; (2nd) False chronology and history; (3rd) False geography and astronomy; (4th) False civil and criminal law; (5th) False logic and metaphysics; and (6th) False morals and religion;" and further on he proceeds to state as unquestionable facts "that the foulest blemishes pervade the entire mass; that they pervade it to the extent of composing the *main part* of its ingredients, and that instead of being isolated spots, which would elude the glance of any eye save that of prejudiced criticism, they are the real or supposed excellencies which may truly be characterized as isolated spots, thinly strewn over the vast surface, like rare islets of verdure scattered over the great African desert"—Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Session 1852-53, App. E, (16th June 1853).

of hostility they exhibit towards Oriental learning —an incisive spirit of hostility seeking to damn thoroughly the object of its repulsion. The question, therefore, that forces itself on us with regard to it is, what were the circumstances or events that engendered such a spirit of hostility.

The reasons are not far to find. At the period when the Anglicist views on Indian education were gaining ground, the vogue for Oriental learning among Europeans had begun to suffer a decline; and withal the glamour with which the first enthusiastic researches of European scholars had invested Oriental literature also began to fade. A reaction was not slow to set in when the first flush of enthusiasm at the discoveries of the literary treasures of India gave place to a sober examination of its contents. General opinion, at least in India, barring a few European scholars, veered round to the other extreme. The blemishes and errors of Oriental literatures and systems of learning were now more insistently dwelt on than its finer qualities; and those with whom the defects and deficiencies of the Oriental systems weighed preponderantly failed to see what Wilkinson and Cunningham clearly noted, that a strict line was drawn by the Indian Pundit between myth and science, between dogma and demonstrated or reasoned truth, between scientific and poetic or theological interpretation. The failure to perceive this was largely responsible for the current notion that education in Oriental learning meant education in errors and fables and the enslavement of the mind to dogmatic authority. Besides, as there was confessedly much in Oriental learning which, when

at least superficially viewed, was capable of evoking ridicule, and much also that, from the point of view of the physical and positive sciences, called for correction in the light of Western knowledge, it was not difficult to overlook or underrate the better side of Oriental learning in the general condemnation of it as a tissue of pernicious falsehoods and absurdities. The actual vigour of the condemnation, was, however, due in a greater degree to the partisan attitude which inevitably came to be created on the question of education and to the imperfect and partial knowledge of the Indian people and their institutions, which was possessed by the generality of Englishmen of the time, than to the mere errors and puerilities discovered in the Oriental systems of learning. And neither the General Committee nor the influence and prestige of individual European scholars could do much to set European opinion right on the point. On the contrary, the failure of the General Committee to exhibit any very palpable results from its endeavours to "revive" Oriental learning through the educational institutions under its control appears to have contributed not a little to the low esteem in which that learning came to be held. In fact, the encouragement afforded by the General Committee was often accused of extending the term of existence of effete and obsolete systems of learning which could not long hope to survive without it. On the other hand, the European scholars of those early days, though they rendered invaluable service in laying bare the contents of Oriental learning to the gaze of the world, yet regarded the intellectual produce of India, whether of Hindu or Mahomedan origin, with too much

of a Western eye. The pioneers in Oriental researches treated the literature and learning of India as interesting material for their particular lines of inquiry; they could not lay aside their Western notions when examining the literature and learning of the country and, to make matters worse, a lack of proper insight into the genius of the people from whom that literature and learning sprang placed them at a definite disadvantage as interpreters of the same. They were unable to educe or lay bare its inner meaning or spirit or to interpret adequately the general outlook on life behind it—an understanding of which was vital to a correct appreciation of the intellectual achievements of the Indian people. Before the onslaught of the Anglicists they, therefore, attempted to stand their ground, not generally so much with reference to the intrinsic merits of Oriental learning, as with reference to the extraneous circumstances that appeared largely to justify in their eyes the attention and encouragement bestowed on it by the state. They were at times reduced to apologetic tones with regard to the subject of Oriental learning. Their utterances in its favour were, in fact, construed as the promptings of bias in favour of personal acquirements in a learning mastered at great cost of time and labour.

Be it said, however, to the credit of the Anglicists that, though they decried all Oriental learning as subject-matter of instruction, they did not fail to recognize its value in the interests of general science. They did not desire Government to withdraw all patronage to it with a view to wiping it out from the land. They were willing

that such bodies as the Asiatic Society, whose object it was to carry on antiquarian researches, should, if possible, be liberally assisted. But they drew a sharp distinction between patronage of Oriental learning for antiquarian purposes and for purposes of general education. They did not want a regard for Oriental learning to encumber the educational operations of the Government or the Committee. Their aim was to strike at the root of a system of education that had Oriental learning for its basis by diverting the funds which supported it to other different objects. They saw no overwhelming reason for teaching a false system of learning when there were at hand the resources of European science and knowledge, of the intrinsic superiority of which they had an unshakeable conviction. But, provided the Education Committee had no direct connection with the patronage or preservation of it, the Anglicists were content to leave Oriental learning well alone. They were willing that some sort of encouragement should be extended to it by Government through the learned societies whose appropriate function it was believed to be to redeem it from obscurity or oblivion. It was against its incorporation into any general system of education which might be framed for the country that they fought with all their might and main. The same Trevelyan, who held forth against Oriental learning as unfit for educational purposes in the best Macaulayesque vein of disparagement, relaxed in his condemnation of it when he suggested, by way of Government patronage, the addition of a Sanskrit professor and subordinate staff to the establishment of the Asiatic Society. The plea he then put in on behalf of Oriental learning was

that "owing to the vastly superior means now at our disposal, they (the Arabic and Sanskrit records of learning) are worse than useless, considered as a basis of popular education; but as a medium for investigating the history of the country, and the progress of mind and manners during so many ages, they are highly deserving of being studied and preserved;" and again that "the Hindu system of learning has formed the character of the people up to the present point; and it must still be studied, to account for daily occurring phenomena of habits and manners. Whatever mental cultivation, whatever taste for scientific and literary pursuits has survived among the Hindus, is owing to it; they were a literary people when we were barbarians; and, after centuries of revolution, and anarchy, and subjection to foreign rule, they are still a literary people, now that we have arrived at the highest existing point of civilisation. That the system which has produced these effects should be carefully analysed and recorded in all its different parts, is no less required by the interests of science in general than by our particular interest as rulers of India."[1]

It is to be noted, in the next place, that it was not only the Anglicists belonging to the British community in India who assailed and derided the Oriental systems of learning. Mention was made, in a previous chapter, of the circumstances in which Rammohun Roy emerged as the foremost Indian Anglicist to raise a protest against the mode in which the systematic support to Oriental

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 182-85 passim.

learning was commenced by the Government of the day. That historic protest supplied an illuminating index to the change that was taking place during the period in the ideas and opinions of certain sections of Hindu society; for, it has already been noted that, in Calcutta and the neighbouring parts of Bengal, a movement decidedly in favour of the dissemination of the English language and European learning among the people was in progress at the same time that the General Committee was engaged in endeavours to lead the mental improvement of the nation in a different direction. This movement was stimulated to wider growth by several changes successively introduced in the system of administration of the country, particularly during the regime of Lord William Bentinck. The point, however, we are here concerned with is that the movement alluded to went to reinforce considerably and in a very practical manner the Anglicist case for the substitution of European learning through the English language for the Oriental. The movement in Bengal was read in the light of European history; and, by a natural association of ideas, it provoked plausible analogies with the various movements which had worked for the intellectual advancement of Europe at different periods of its history. It was sometimes compared to the movement in favour of Hellenic culture among the Romans or frequently to that in favour of classical learning during the period of the Renaissance. The obvious lesson which the history of Europe could not fail to suggest, when thus brought to bear on the Indian movement, was that only through a process of assimilation of knowledge and culture from a foreign source, a process such as the

different parts of Europe had at one period or another passed through, could the intellectual and moral regeneration of India be effected. Had not the different European countries advanced in point of civilisation by virtue of cultural assimilations from one another? Similarly, it was concluded, would the advancement of India in culture and civilisation depend on assimilation from some foreign source and not on the existing domestic resources: in truth, the Anglicists entertained too low an opinion of Oriental learning ever to think of utilising it for the great purpose in view. This was the second governing idea of the period. As Trevelyan expounded it, "the past history of the world authorizes us to believe that the movement which is taking place in India, if properly directed and supported by the Government, will end in bringing about a decided change for the better in the character of the people. The instances in which nations have worked their way to a high degree of civilization from domestic resources only are extremely rare, compared with those in which the impulse has been communicated from without, and has been supported by the extensive study and imitation of the literature of foreign countries. The cases in which the most lasting impressions have been made upon national character, in which the superior civilisation of the country has taken deepest root and fructified most abundantly in other countries, have a strong resemblance to the case before us."[1]

The necessity for cultural assimilation from some foreign source being thus assumed or es-

1 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

tablished in the case of India as an indisputable proposition, the corollary to it was obvious. How was India to acquire the vitalising contact with a civilisation superior to her own (and here it may be noted superior civilisation was taken as synonymous with European civilisation) save through the diffusion of European ideas and knowledge or through instruction of the people in European learning—instruction which the British rulers by virtue of their position and resources were particularly fitted to bestow on their Indian subjects? The same line of argument, when pursued a little further, also established the necessity for dissemination of a knowledge of the English language. For, obviously, the quicker and easier the assimilation of European learning, the better for the national improvement of India. And what could render the process of assimilation so easy and quick as the employment of the medium of the English language? The Orientalist method of conveying European knowledge was admittedly slow and circuitous in contrast to the direct one of employing the English language. Hence the dictum of Macaulay that "what the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India."[1]

Of course, the fallacies involved in such analogies and the reasonings based thereon are not difficult to detect, though they were not apparent to those who uttered them. For one, those superficial comparisons drawn from the facts of European history overlooked the deep differences between the things compared. It was

1 Minute, 2nd February 1835.

not perceived that the social institutions and the mental make-up of peoples with an old civilisation like that of India possess a resilience which enables them to absorb the impact of alien civilisations and withal to assert their indefeasible characteristics.[1] It was not perceived in consequence that the imposition of modern European civilisation on the people of India by the British rulers could not be relied on to produce the same or similar effects as the imposition of Graeco-Roman civilisation produced on the several peoples whom Roman arms conquered. In other words, it was not clearly understood that the impress of Indian culture on the character of the people was not capable of effacement at a stroke by the sheer communication of European learning and that it was possible to cram the supple Indian mind with European notions and knowledge and yet leave

1 An interesting passage in Sir E. Perry's *A Bird's-eye View of India*, pp. 43-45 (1855), shows how the insinuating influence of Hindu civilisation was felt and acknowledged by Britishers themselves. "The Hindus, however," says Sir E. Perry, "form such a very large majority of the population, and Hindu views and habits of thought so much predominate, even more than might be expected from their relative numbers, that all general considerations as to India ought to keep Hindus chiefly in view. Sir James Mackintosh was led to observe, some time after taking his seat on the Bombay Bench that a long residence in the East tended to Brahminize the minds even of Englishmen, and during the many years in which I unworthily occupied his place on the same tribunal, I was daily led to observe when the disputes of different castes came before me, that an unmistakable Hindu tint diffused itself over all. Parsis, Moguls (*i.e.*, Persians), Afghans, Israelites, and Christians who have been long settled in India, seem to surrender their ancient patrimony of ideas, and to receive implicitly the opinions, prejudices, and conclusions of Hindu civilisation. And it is observable that it is only the Hindu race which really flourishes in India; Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Afghans, Moguls or Turks, and Portuguese have successively founded dynasties, but in a few generations each has withered away to give place either to a fresh race of invaders, or to some dynasty of native origin....It is indeed a consideration well worthy of impressing itself on the minds of Indian statesmen, that the Hindu element has always exhibited sufficient vatality to develop itself with vigor whenever a favourable opportunity has occured."

its inmost recesses untouched.[1] In failing to perceive these facts and take them into account in setting up a system of education, the Anglicists were doomed to disappointment in their endeavour to make Indians thoroughly English in every respect save the colour of their skins. The mistake was of a piece with the one under which they laboured in the field of education proper, where the Anglicists started with the assumption that the Indian mind was more or less a blank sheet on which could be set without ado the imprint of the culture or education they thought best to impart. As was observed by Wilkinson's friend, who has been quoted before, at a time that permitted of a calm examination of the results of the Anglicist system of education, "those who have heretofore had the direction of educational measures in this country—whether on the part of Individuals, Associations, or the Government—appear to have acted for the most part on the principle of regarding the Hindu mind, for all practical purposes, as a "tabula rasa" in respect to any pre-conceived ideas, and pre-established systems of literature, philosophy, or science, either useful, valuable in themselves, or

1 A striking illustration of this was furnished in the early part of the nineteenth century in the person of Radhacant Deb. Radhacant Deb was conversant with English literature, wrote English with admirable purity and corresponded with the Royal Asiatic Society. Yet the following passage from an article in the Asiatic Journal for June 1828 throws interesting light on the orthodox side of his Hindu character :—" It must not be concealed that Radhacant Deb is reported by Bishop Heber to be a bigot to Hinduism ; and he certainly gave a striking proof of his bigotry when at the meeting of Natives convened at Calcutta, in December 1823, to address Lord Hastings on his resignation of the Government, he strenuously urged the propriety of specially thanking his Lordship for not interfering with the burning of widows : a proposition which it required the persevering efforts of two sensible Hindus to dissuade the meeting from adopting "—As. Jour., Vo. XXV, 1828, pp. 713-18 passim.

esteemed such by the people with whom we have to deal; and the effects of this appear to me to have been highly prejudicial in many ways...."[1]

Again, there was a fallacious assumption underlying the analogy drawn between the role played by Greek and Latin in the history of European letters and that which the English language was conceived as destined to play in India. The fallacy here was two-fold. In the first place, it was not clearly kept in mind that Latin was able to exert the vast influence it did over Europe mainly because of the universal pre-eminence accorded to it as the language of learning, of polite intercourse, of law and Government, and, above all, of religion. There was scarcely any higher walk of life where the use of Latin could not be met with in mediæval Europe. Hence it was possible for the Latin language and literature to blend intimately with the speech and thought of the European peoples. Far otherwise was it the case with the English language in India. English was, after all, little more than the language of a handful of foreign rulers. Even had it been introduced in India as the sole language of learning and of government, it would have still been inadequate to play the part that Latin did in Europe, because it could never be the language of religion, unless indeed the whole of India were evangelized. So far as the two main divisions of the Indian population were concerned, the access to what touched their deepest and most sensitive chords—to their venerated religious and philosophical literature and to their

1 *Vide* Extract of Mr. Mcleod's Minute in the *General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces, for* 1848-49, pp. 32-36.

cherished profane literature as well—was through the Sanskrit and Arabic. A knowledge of English might be sought after, because of a general regard for it as a language useful of acquisition for the daily business of life; but it could not usurp that place in the affections of the people that was undeniably conceded to their own classical languages. Apart from that, English could not well lay claim to unrivalled pre-eminence even as the language of learning, though the Anglicists seem to have thought differently. The bias of the Anglicists indeed led them to put forward exaggerated claims for the English tongue. It was assumed by them to be a "perfect and singly sufficient" instrument for the communication of European learning and the study of it the "open sesame" to all the treasures of European knowledge and speculation. But, on the other hand, it was contended at the time with much truth that "a large portion of the sound knowledge of Europe is *not* to be found in the English language but must be sought in those of France and Germany—to go no further. Does not every educated Englishman daily resort to the languages of France and Germany for those useful and important ideas which are strangers to his own tongue; and must not, therefore, the assumption that English is co-equal with sound knowledge be received with great reserve?"[1] In the second place, the Anglicists not only undervalued Oriental learning but underrated the strength of the hold possessed by the Sanskrit and Arabic languages and literatures on the people, particularly on the learned classes. Anglicist bias

1 Hodgson: *Essays relating to Indian subjects*, II, pp. 260-261. (Letter I on the Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars).

was far from seeing in those languages and literatures "the very echo of their heart's sweetest music" and "the sole efficient source" of the unbounded authority of their pastors.[1] And so it was equally far from realising that, strictly speaking, it was not English but Arabic and Sanskrit which could well claim the position occupied at one time by Greek and Latin in Europe.

Yet, however fallacious some of the arguments put forward in support of the Anglicist views, the underlying creed was clear. It was an article of faith with the Anglicists that the intellectual and social regeneration of India lay through a process of assimilation of European ideas and knowledge by her people. The process was to be primarily originated in, and subsequently guided and controlled mainly through, a system of education having for its aim the instruction of the youth of the country in European learning through the medium of the English language. But, peculiarly circumstanced as the British rule in India was, there was scarcely any principle, act or measure of importance, enunciated or designed with reference to the Indian people, which was not liable to scrutiny from the political point of view. It was, therefore, inevitable that the political bearings of the educational principle proposed and advocated by the Anglicists should have been keenly examined and debated by those interested in the subject. This fact now leads to a different order of ideas that influenced the educational trend of the period.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 293 (Letter II on the Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars).

It has been remarked before that at the early period when the question of the education of India first began to be agitated by certain philanthropists, the belief was undeniably strong among Englishmen that the preservation of British dominion in India and the enlightenment of the Indian people by their British rulers were two incompatible objects. Consequently, those who were opposed to the diffusion of European learning in the country were wont to predict direful consequences to the British rule from it. "It has been said, and may be said again," averred Trevelyan nearly half a century later, "that whatever our duty may be, it is not our policy to enlighten the Natives of India; that the sooner they grow to man's estate, the sooner they will be able to do without us; and that by giving them knowledge, we are giving them power, of which they will make the first use against ourselves."[1] The argument was an old one, dating as it did from the time of Grant, if not earlier; and Grant it was who first elaborately refuted it and denounced the habit of placing self-interest above Christian duty in regard to India. Though, of course, with a growing sense of "duty" towards the people of India, the opposition to their enlightenment gradually lost its keenness, if it did not completely die out, yet the fears that had originally prompted it never ceased in some form or the other to haunt the minds of the British rulers. In a minute, dated 28th August 1838, a member of the Bombay Government, Mr. J. Farish, penned these words, not with direct reference to the subject of education, but to a different one—the press in India: "We are here

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 187.

in India, in a very extraordinary position—a small band of aliens totally unconnected by color, religion, feelings, manners, or any one single tie—have established their despotic rule over a vast people, whose affections must be with their Native Princes, and all whose prejudices are arrayed against their conquerors. This supremacy can only be maintained by arms, or by opinion. The Natives of India must either be kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are more wise, more just, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could have. If well directed, the progress of Education would undoubtedly increase our moral hold over India, but, by leading the Natives to a consciousness of their own strength, it will as surely weaken our physical means of keeping them in subjection."[1]

So it appears the education of the people of India was not undertaken solely at the call of disinterested duty. The conflict between duty and self-interest was never absent when great public measures like the framing of an educational policy came to be thought out, though, as the nineteenth century wore on, the British rulers of India habituated themselves more to professions of duty than to those of self-interest. It was natural, therefore, that a line of conduct or policy, which promised to reconcile gracefully duty and interest, should prove generally attractive; and the Anglicists were not wanting in emphasis on the political aspect of the policy advocated by them, which placed the possibility

1 Poll. Dept., Vol. 20/795, 1837-39, pp. 187-91 (Bom. Recs.).

of effecting, at least in the matter of education, a reconciliation between the two completely opposed factors in an entirely new light. The Anglicists declared that the British administrators of India were not "called upon to make any effort of disinterested magnanimity" in spreading education among the people of India, provided it was English education they took care to spread.

In fact, the Anglicists set great store by the ultimate political effects of English education. It has frequently been remarked before that the formidable distance which was placed between the people of the country and their foreign rulers by differences of language, customs, manners, culture and religion was ever present to the minds of British administrators and statesmen as a source of danger and insecurity to British dominion. The distance, it is true, could be partly lessened by conforming as far as possible the system of administration to the habits and institutions of the people and by consulting their feelings and opinions in measures affecting them. But these and similar means constituted only a partial remedy. They went but a little way to solve a problem of first-class importance which exercised the best British Indian statesmen of the day—namely, the problem of creating a positive and durable bond of union between the rulers and the ruled. In the education of the latter they were not slow to perceive an effective instrument for forging such a bond. Grant had early perceived it, and presumably endeavoured to make others of his generation perceive it, but with little effect; and the idea that later fructified

under changed circumstances and with notable results so far as the educational policy of Government was concerned, is found well developed in his famous tract. The idea that gradually gained ground was that the differences of culture and civilisation, which in their practical effects seemed to spell insecurity to British political power in India, could, to the greatest practicable extent if not entirely, be abolished by cultural assimilation of the people to their rulers. In other words, what was gained by military conquest was sought to be consolidated and placed on a permanent foundation by cultural conquest. Here too the analogy of the two-fold conquest, military and cultural, by which the Roman Empire was established and stabilized, was pressed into service in support of the idea. In fact, some servants of the whilom merchant Company began to view themselves as placed in a similar relation to India to that in which the Romans stood towards Gaul and Africa and Britain and other provinces of the empire, as the dispensers of political order and civilisation. "The Indians will, I hope," said Trevelyan, "soon stand in the same position towards us in which we once stood towards the Romans."[1] But, at the same time, as the fact could not be overlooked that it was no easy task to act the Roman to the whole of India with its vast population, the aspiration of a cultural conquest had to be confined to the aim of raising a class of Indians who, culturally assimilated to their rulers, were calculated to be fit interpreters between them and the rest of their countrymen. It was to this prevailing sentiment of the time

1 Trevelyan: *On the education of the People of India*, p. 196.

that Macaulay gave utterance when he said: "I feel....that it is impossibe for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best 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 tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." [1]

The close connection between this idea and the purely educational opinions advocated by the Anglicists is obvious. The former went to reinforce the latter. The Anglicists did not fail to proclaim, and to proclaim sometimes obstreperously, that it was only through an educational policy, having for its object the diffusion of European learning through the English language, that the cultural conquest of the Indian people could be achieved. For, it was conceived that to anglicise the manners and ways of thinking and speech of the people was to draw them nearer to their rulers and thus minimise the extent of the gulf between the two. Moreover, it was an additional inducement for the adoption of such an educational policy that it was a double-edged one inasmuch as its ultimate effects were held to be favourable to British rule from the political point of view and its immediate effects to be beneficial to the people from the moral point of view. Thus interest and duty were sought to be united in one common object; and the union was believed to be inevitable in the nature of things on the ground that "interest and duty are never really separated in the affairs

1 Minute 2nd February 1835.

of nations, anymore than they are in those of individuals."[1]

So it was that political, no less than philanthropic, considerations went to favour the policy of educating the Indian people in European learning through the English language. The aim underlying the policy was to uplift the people intellectually and morally by lifting them wholly and completely out of the mental habits and outlook to which they were traditionally addicted; and, not only to uplift them, but to establish a community of ideas and feelings between them and their rulers. From that stand-point the prevailing systems of Oriental learning came to be regarded as a grave hindrance to the accomplishment of the end in view; for, one obvious tendency of those systems was to retain and confirm the mental habits and traits which were sought to be uprooted. Consequently, what were termed the "political tendencies" of Oriental learning were made the subject of no less severe reprobation from the political stand-point than were its contents and peculiar qualities from the educational. One instance of the censure levelled against the Oriental systems of learning when viewed in the light of their real or assumed political effects may suffice here. "The Arabian or Mahomedan system," said Trevelyan, "is based on the exercise of power and the indulgence of passion. Pride, ambition, and love of rule, and of sensual enjoyment, are called in to the aid of religion. The earth is the inheritance of the Faithful: all besides are infidel usurpers, with whom no measures are to be kept, except what

1 Trevelyan: *On the education of the People of India*, p. 188.

policy may require. Universal dominion belongs to the Mahomedans by Divine right. Their religion obliges them to establish their predominance by the sword; and those who refuse to conform are to be kept in a state of slavish subjection. The Hindu system, though less fierce and aggressive than the Mahomedan, is still more exclusive: all who are not Hindus are impure outcasts, fit only for the most degraded employments; and, of course, utterly disqualified for the duties of government, which are reserved for the military, under the guidance of the priestly caste. Such is the political tendency of the Arabic and Sanskrit systems of learning. Happily for us, these principles exist in their full force only in books written in difficult languages, and in the minds of a few learned men; and they are very faintly reflected in the feelings and opinions of the body of the people. But what will be thought of that plan of national education which would revive them and make them popular; would be perpetually reminding the Mahomedans that we are infidel usurpers of some of the fairest realms of the Faithful, and the Hindus, that we are unclean beasts, with whom it is a sin and a shame to have any friendly intercourse. Our bitterest enemies could not desire more than that we should propagate systems of learning which excite the strongest feelings of human nature against ourselves."[1]

As may be easily surmised, the effect of English literature and language on the Indian mind was juxtaposed in shining contrast to the state of feeling and thought which the Oriental systems of learning were supposed to induce.

1 Trevelyan: *On the education of the People of India*, pp. 188-89.

Above all, the political effects of the former in inducing a change of attitude on the part of the ruled towards the rulers did not escape due emphasis. How the inculcation of European ideas and knowledge was capable of counteracting the ingrained mental habits of the people; how it could remove the existing discordancy of ideas and sentiments between the people and their rulers and establish a harmony instead; how the community of ideas and sentiments so brought about between the two could prove a great mainstay of the British dominion in India—all this was delineated with such plausibility and such pleasant anticipations for the future as sufficed to convince an average person that a policy of educating Indians according to Anglicist views was the best an enlightened government could adopt both in its own interest and in that of the people. "The spirit of English literature, on the other hand," continued Trevelyan, after having anathematised Oriental learning, "cannot but be favourable to the English connection. Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindus, just as the Roman provincials became more Romans than Gauls or Italians. What is it that makes us what we are, except living and conversing with English people, and imbibing English thoughts and habits of mind? They do so too: they daily converse with the best and wisest Englishmen through the medium of their works; and form, perhaps, a higher idea

of our nation than if their intercourse with it were of a more personal kind. Admitted behind the scenes, they become acquainted with the principles which guide our proceedings; they see how sincerely we study the benefit of India in the measures of our administration; and from violent opponents, or sullen conformists, they are converted into zealous and intelligent co-operators with us."[1] And, further on, he proceeds to observe: "As long as the natives are left to brood over their former independence, their sole specific for improving their condition is, the immediate and total expulsion of the English. A native patriot of the old school has no notion of anything beyond this: his attention has never been called to any other mode of restoring the dignity and prosperity of his country. It is only by the infusion of European ideas, that a new direction can be given to the national views. The young men, brought up at our seminaries, turn with contempt from the barbarous despotisms under which their ancestors groaned, to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model. Instead of regarding us with dislike, they court our society, and look upon us as their natural protectors and benefactors: the summit of their ambition is, to resemble us; and, under our auspices, they hope to elevate the character of their countrymen, and to prepare them by gradual steps for the enjoyment of a well-regulated and therefore a secure and a happy independence. So far from having the idea of driving the English into the sea uppermost in their minds, they have no notion of any

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

improvement but such as rivets their connection with the English, and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction. In the re-establishment of the old native governments they see only the destruction of their most cherished hopes, and a state of great personal insecurity for themselves."[1]

It was in this wise, partly from actual observation and experience[2] and partly from speculation on the influence of European learning, that a connection was made out between the spread of English education and the permanence and stability of British dominion arising from the enlightenment and attachment of the people. The rationale of the theory that connected English education with the future of the British rule was that, in leaving the Indian mind undisturbed to the modes of thought and feeling which were characteristically its own and which consequently kept it aloof from sympathetic communion with the ruling race, or in accentuating or encouraging those modes of thought and feeling in the people by a purely Oriental education, there was real political danger and insecurity. British rule, it was felt, rested on a precarious foundation so long as the people were kept apart from their rulers by differences in their respective habits of thought and social and political outlook. One specific remedy, therefore, which the circumstances of the time suggested, was the anglicisation or europeanisation of the national habits of thinking so as to identify them with those of the governing race. No doubt, danger

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

2 *Vide* Trevelyan: *On the education of the People of India*, pp. 198-200.

was suspected in that remedy too: because, as was remarked, by giving the Indian people knowledge, the British rulers would place in their hands a power of which they might make the first use against those who so placed it. But then it was pointed out that the effects of English education would be slow to manifest themselves in all their mature vigour and that, by setting "the natives on a process of European improvement," the apprehended eventuality in the shape of the termination of British rule would be deferred to an indefinitely distant future. "The natives will not rise against us," it was said, "because we shall stoop to raise them: there will be no reaction, because there will be no pressure: the national activity will be fully and harmlessly employed in acquiring and diffusing European knowledge, and in naturalising European institutions."[1] Moreover, the greatest advantage declared to be inherent in the "process of European improvement" was that it was expected to obviate the danger of the severance of the British connection by any violent revolution on the part of the people.

From the idea of anglicising the Indian mind it was but a step to the idea of anglicising the Indian speech. The two in fact went together. Those who were emphatic regarding the political benefits of the diffusion of European ideas and knowledge were not the less emphatic regarding the political advantages of the imposition of the language of the rulers on the ruled. The English language was considered a connecting link between the two tending to create a favourable disposition on the part of the people towards those who governed

1 *Ibid.*, p. 193.

them.[1] It was to be a powerful instrument for the assimilation of the ruled to the rulers. Again, historical precedents were appealed to. "The vast influence of language," said the Rev. Dr. Duff, "in moulding national feelings and habits, more especially if fraught with superior stores of knowledge, is too little attended to, and too inadequately understood. In this respect we are in the rear of nations, some of which we are apt to despise as semi-barbarous. When the Romans conquered a province they forthwith set themselves to the task of 'Romanising' it; that is, they strove to create a taste for their own more refined language and literature and thereby aimed at turning the song and the romance and the history—the thought and the feeling and fancy of the subjugated people into Roman channels which fed and augmented Roman interests. And has Rome not succeeded?" It goes without saying the answer to the question was, with men of Dr. Duff's intellectual cast, an unqualified affirmative. The reverend Doctor proceeded further to appeal to precedents from Asiatic history. He waxed rhetorical on the political strength and perpetuity that "Arabic domination" appeared to have derived from the edict of Caliph Walid

1 It may be interesting to note here an opinion opposed to the prevalent common view on the point. James Mill was questioned by the Commons Select Committee of 1832: "Do not you consider that a community of language tends to identify a people with their governors?" and his answer was: "If you could spread the English language so as to make it the language of the people, as well as of their governors, it would be important in many respects; *though community of language has not much identified the Irish people with their governors.* In itself it would be a most desirable thing that the people of India should speak the language of England, because it would introduce them fully to the field of European intelligence. This, however, I conceive a thing impossible. And while we aim at impossibilities, we are in danger of overlooking other good things that might really be done."—Evidence of James Mill on 21st February 1832: Evidence on East India Affairs: Select Committee of the House of Commons, I Public or Miscellaneous, Q. 402.

which made Arabic the universal language of the Mahommedan world; and quoted the following opinion in order to hold up for admiration a similar decree of Akbar's in India: "The great Akbar established the Persian language as the language of business and polite literature throughout his extensive dominions, and the popular tongue naturally became deeply impregnated with it. The literature and the language of the country thus became identified with the genius of his dynasty; *and this has tended more than anything else to produce a kind of intuitive veneration for the family which has long survived even the destruction of their power; and this feeling will continue to exist until we substitute the English language for the Persian,* which will dissolve the spell, and direct the ideas and sympathies of the natives towards their present rulers."[1] Why could not the English similarly create a "veneration" for their rule in India by following in the footsteps of the Roman conquerors and the Mahomedan emperors? The idea, when thus invested with the authority of past precedents, assumed a flattering form—flattering especially to that nascent Imperialist sense which had begun to contemplate with pride an English political hegemony complemented by a hegemony of the English language and of which one can catch an unmistakable glimpse in the following pronouncement of Macaulay: "In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is

1 *Vide* Duff's Vindication of the "English Education Act of Lord W. Bentick," Part II.

the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia—communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects."[1]

Attractive, and sometimes not quite ill-founded, as were the anticipations thus formed of the advantageous results of the introduction of European learning and of the English language into India, it must not, however, be thought that political considerations furnished the sole motive for the decision that was finally arrived at in favour of that learning and that language. It cannot be denied that, at the back of the change of educational policy effected by Bentinck, there is perceptible, through the blur cast over it by the confession of a conflict of higher with lower motives and the admission of narrow views of expediency pitted against large-minded benevolence, a genuine enthusiasm for reform of the Indian people. If traced to its source, the reforming spirit which distinguished the period may perhaps be found to be a reflection or echo or product of the wave of enthusiasm for reform which swept over England at the time of the Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832. But whatever its origin or character, the fact is certain that the new spirit in favour of reform in India was particularly active during the regime of

[1] Minute, 2nd February 1835.

Lord Bentinck, and was probably emboldened by the success of the first great overt act of British interference with the social and religious customs of the Hindus—the legal abolition of suttee. A most striking practical manifestation of this reforming spirit was the projection of a compendious Anglo-Indian code which was intended to do away with some of the worst features of the Hindu and Mahomedan systems of law, and to modify those systems generally to suit the exigencies of an altered age.[1] And the reforming

1 The bearing of the codification of the laws on the enlightenment of the people was not missed. Trevelyan, when asked in the course of his evidence before the Lords Select Committee for 1852-53 whether he considered that the progress of English instruction and the improvement of legislation in India, by the establishment of simple and intelligible codes of law were mutually connected, replied: "They are connected in the closest possible manner. I consider that, quite irrespectively of its importance for the improvement of the administration of justice, the digesting of the laws into a single and intelligible code, even supposing no alteration in them to be made, and that the laws were not to be at all systematised or revised, would be the most important educational measure that could be adopted. The time and talent of India has been wasted to a suprising extent in learning words as distinguished from ideas. The learning of the country, and especially the law of the country, has been locked up in the Sanskrit, in the Arabic, and in the Persian, one of which is a dead language, and the other two are languages which are not now commonly spoken in India; and now English must be added to them; so that it is at present next to impossible for any one man to acquire a competent knowledge of the law of India. It would take a whole life-time even to learn the language in which it is contained; and until the laws of India are codified, it is impossible that we can enable our young civilians at Haileybury, or the young natives who are educated by thousands, to acquire a competent legal training." (Trevelyan's evidence on 21st June 1853: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, etc.,—Session 1852-53—Q. 6609). It was often argued against the continuance of encouragement to Oriental learning that instruction in Arabic and Sanskrit for the purpose of raising up men versed in the laws of the country to assist the law-courts would be rendered useless by the codification of those laws, since the codification would be primarily in English, and English would therefore supplant Arabic and Sanskrit as the key to a knowledge of those laws. (*Vide* Macaulay's Minute of 2nd February 1835). But the argument was based on too sanguine an expectation: for the original design of an Anglo-Indian Code was never carried to the intended conclusion (*Vide* Kaye's "History of the Administration of the E. I. Co.": Pt. I. Ch. III, pp. 104-06.)

zeal, thus manifested in various directions, was quick to perceive what it became the fashion in those days to assert as a strong reason in favour of popular education in India. It was a subject of common remark that good laws and good government were useless and would in fact defeat the ends for which they were devised, unless the people for whom they were intended were rendered capable by education of understanding and appreciating their spirit and operation. "What can such government and law avail," it was asked, "when the great masses of the people, from lack of intelligence, are unable to appreciate their excellence, and from a destitution of virtue, are equally disinclined to a willing and cheerful obedience?"[1] And similarly the historian Kaye, after relating the notable achievements of the British Government in India in respect of the internal administration and improvement of the country—achievements which Kaye termed 'great victories of European civilisation'—went on to observe: "But having achieved this amount of success, our officers by no means thought that the work was complete. They felt it might often happen that the people, withdrawn from the immediate sphere of these good influences, (to wit, of the authority of Government and personal influence of public officers), would subside into their old evil ways—that, indeed, we might be only casting out devils, to return again to find their old habitations swept and cleansed for their reception, and to wanton there more riotously than before: and they one and all said that the only certain remedy, to which they could look

[1] The Calcutta Review, Vol. III, 1845, p. 211.

for an abiding cure, was that great remedial agent —Education."[1]

Besides the projected changes in the legal systems of the country, there was another direction in which the reforming zeal of Bentinck's government was displayed. A change of far-reaching importance was introduced into the public services. By clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 it was enacted that "no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty's resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, under the said Company." In its practical result the enactment pointed to the necessity, which had however come to be recognised and to some extent acted upon before the passing of the Act of 1833, of making some departure from the practice maintained since Cornwallis's day of excluding Indians from all adminstrative offices under Government, save the lowest. From such a practice, which had actually spelt degradation to the Indian people,[2] Bentinck broke away to a marked extent. As Trevelyan said in 1839: "The system established by Lord Cornwallis was based upon the principle of doing everything by European agency. Europeans are, no doubt, superior to the natives in some of the most important qualities of administrators; but the public revenue did not admit of the employment of a sufficient number of them. The wheels of Government therefore soon became clogged: more than half of the business of the country

[1] Kaye: *History of the Administration of the East India Company:* Part V, Ch. I, p. 588 (1853).

[2] *Ibid.*, Part III, Ch. IV, pp. 419-20.

remained unperformed: and at last it became necessary to abandon a plan, which, after a fair trial, had completely broken down. The plan which Lord William Bentinck substituted for it was, to transact the public business by native agency, under European superintendence; and this change is now in progress in all the different branches of the administration."[1] Thus higher public situations, such as those of judges and collectors, were thrown open to Indians. But, again, it is to be noted that it was not alone a zeal for reform or pure benevolence which brought about the change. It was also rendered imperative by considerations of public economy. The Court of Directors had at an early date been led to draw the attention of the Indian Government to that overdue reform in the internal administration of the country. They had lamented in 1829 that the services of Indians had not been rendered available to a greater extent in the discharge of the functions of government; and so had written to the Governor-General: "That European Agency to a certain extent is indispensably requisite we are far from questioning, but we have nevertheless been long of opinion that were a more liberal confidence reposed in the Natives generally the public interests would not materially suffer in any respect, whilst in some they would be essentially benefitted. It is necessary to present them with fresh incentives to honorable exertion, as well as to supply them with the means of education, in order to elevate them in their own estimation, to call forth their energies and to attach them to our Government. To do this, is at once our duty and our interest, for it will

[1] Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 156.

enable us to narrow the limits to which European Agency is now carried, and thereby ultimately to effect a great saving of expense." And it is interesting to note in passing how, in feeling the call for economy, the Court were led to enter a gentle protest against the prejudices and the exaggerated notions of moral delinquency commonly entertained by members of the ruling race in respect of Indian character. "The natives are admitted," wrote the Court, "not to be deficient either in capacity or diligence and we cannot join in the conclusion which we think has sometimes been a great deal too hastily drawn, as to their want of trustworthiness; until a fair experiment has been made of their fidelity under circumstances of less powerful temptation than those in which they have been usually placed. In the Ranks of our Armies their loyalty and devotion have never been surpassed. In your Domestic Establishments you have daily proof that kind treatment as rarely meets with unworthy returns as among any other people. It is chiefly in Public Civil employments that inveterate propensities to falsehood and fraud are imputed to them, often without due regard to many palliating considerations, without sufficient advertence to the causes which have produced these defects in the national character, and, we are afraid we must add, without a systematic application of those means which are best adapted to improve the nature of man." And, further, they pertinently pointed out the disparity of treatment meted out to European and Indian servants of Government: the integrity of the former being protected by high salaries which enabled them to live in affluence and acquire wealth, and that of the latter

exposed to temptation on account of the bare subsistence allowed them by way of emoluments. "Whilst one class," said the Court, "is considered as open to temptation and placed above it, the other without corresponding inducements to integrity should not be exposed to equal temptation and be reproached for yielding to it."[1]

The recognition during Bentinck's regime of the principle of the larger employment of Indian agency in the administration of the country went to emphasize the necessity for a wide diffusion of education among the people. From the altered views prevalent at the period with regard to Oriental learning, it may be easily inferred that it could not be Oriental education that was expected to produce the desideratum of well-trained public servants, but instruction in "sound useful knowledge," or, in other words, in European knowledge.

Lastly, we have to note another potent influence which ruled the mind of the period—the influence of religious motive. No doubt, so far as the British rulers were concerned, they were loath to swerve, and outwardly never did swerve, from their strict adherence to the oft-professed policy of religious neutrality. But at the same time they could not look with the indifference of some of their precursors of the eighteenth century upon the interests of Christianity in India; mainly because, under the new religious impulse which marked the opening of the nineteenth century, Protestant Christianity had become a vital, instead of a nominal, religion with

1 General Letter from Court to Bengal: dated 18th February 1829: *Vide* paras. 44-50.

Englishmen. One significant sign of the changed attitude on the part of British rulers towards Christianity in India was that they ceased to look askance in the manner of their predecessors at the activities of the missionaries in the country. Now, though precluded from openly avowing any interest in the propagation of Christianity, yet the new-born feeling of Englishmen for their religion, which the rulers of India were also possessed of and actuated by, could not fail to assert itself in many silent ways. It is not difficult, for example, to see how religious feeling may have contributed to the antipathy towards Oriental systems of learning which were generally regarded as inextricably mixed up with "heathenish" religions. Nor is it difficult to see, on the other hand, that this same religious feeling may have gone far to strengthen a predilection towards the systematic dissemination of European ideas and knowledge in the country. The proposed policy of educating the people of India in European learning had an added attraction from the religious point of view. It was observed or believed that the way could be made a good deal smooth for the evangelisation of the country by undermining the authority of the prevailing religions of the people, particularly of the Hindu faith, through instruction in European science and knowledge without any admixture of Christian theology or creed.[1] "One grand effect,"

[1] Charles Lushington of the Bengal Government, being asked by the Commons Select Committee of 1832 whether he considered that "the giving to the Natives systematically an enlightened education, affords the best chance of the advancement of the Christian religion in India," replied: "It is the only rational foundation. While encouraging, to every prudential degree, the dissemination of useful knowledge among our Indian subjects, every government under which I have served, has enjoined the most scrupulous adherence to the long-

said Duff, "wherever *such* an education is imparted, will be the demolition of the superstitions and idolatries of India.....in India all the systems of knowledge are regarded as sacred, being contained in books which are accounted of divine authority. All of these are thickly interspersed with glaring errors; consequently, it is impossible for young men to complete a course of "high English education" without discovering that the truths of our history, chronology and science, generally come into constant and fatal collision with the opposing errors in their own systems. The sacred books, or Shastras, being thus shown to abound with demonstrable errors, become at once stripped of their divine authority; and this once accomplished, the superstitions and idolatories which are upheld, *solely on the credit of these books*, must sink into annihilation."[1] Of course, with the correctness or erroneousness of the view of Hinduism underlying this typical pronouncement of the Rev. Dr. Duff we are not concerned; it is sufficient for our purpose that it illustrates how such effects or consequences as Dr. Duff and those of his school of thought attributed to the inculcation of Western knowledge in Indians lent attraction to a policy of educating them in European learning to the exclusion of their own.

avowed and indispensable condition of not interfering directly with the religious opinions of the Natives, an injunction which has pointedly and wisely been reiterated by the Court of Directors. A disposition having of late been manifested in certain quarters to depart from that judicious and just course of policy, it seems expedient that our obligations, as declared by Act of Parliament, to respect the religious prejudices of the people, should be reviewed, and their observance authoritatively inculcated, for if we disregard our solemn engagements to our native subjects, we must calculate on their bitter disaffection." Evidence 8th March 1832: *Evidence on East India Affairs, Select Committee of the House of Commons*—I Public or Miscellaneous—Q. 942.

1 "Vindication of English Education Act of Lord W. Bentinck," Part III.

It is evident from the above sketch of the ruling ideas of the period that the question of a suitable educational policy for India was examined and discussed from four points of view, which may be broadly classified as educational, political, administrative and religious. But all those various view-points converged to one conclusion namely, that European learning taught through the medium of the English language was the best Indians could have and her rulers could give with a view to her intellectual regeneration. The reaction against Orientalism was complete, and the new trend of the period was preponderantly in favour of the substitution of a foreign learning and a foreign language. Events pointed to the imminence of the opening campaign in the cultural conquest of India. In view of this fact it would not be entirely correct to regard Bentinck and Macaulay as the primary originators of the change of educational policy they were merely instrumental in bringing about. The change may be said to have been 'in the air'; and but a practical embodiment was given to it in the final measure, for the adoption of which as an act of the Government of India Macaulay and the Governor-General were responsible. That measure was the ultimate outcome of the changed tendencies and circumstances of the time. Indeed, Macaulay and Bentinck were in a sense the spokesmen of the epoch with however this difference between them—that whilst the former had the talent to voice brilliantly the prevailing ideas and sentiments of the period, the latter had the vision and the power to translate these into an executive fiat. And when the opportune moment came, each played his part effectively.

Chapter VI.

THE ISSUE STATED.

Yet, however manifest or widespread the change in the ideas and views on Indian education, it was not to be expected that the conservative Orientalists would give up their favourite theory or policy without striking a blow in its behalf. If they could not keep up with the new tendencies and new opinions that began to prevail, neither were they willing to step back in favour of those who represented and expounded them. Indeed, something more than theories or principles seems to have mattered with the Orientalists; the impression that predominance of Anglicist views would spell a direct blow to their individual reputations, founded as these were on their Oriental acquirements, and would be tantamount to an acknowledgment of the alleged uselessness of the learning they admired and had laboured to acquire, appears to have lent a sharper edge to their opposition.[1] It was not only Orientalism that was on the defensive, but the Orientalists as well. So arose the Anglo-Orientalist conflict. The appropriate battle-ground where the two parties could definitely join issue was of course the General Committee.

With the accession of Charles Trevelyan, J. R. Colvin and Wilberforce Bird as members of the Committee, Anglicism became embarrasingly vocal in the deliberations of that body. Of the ten members of which the Committee was at the time composed, five were advocates of the Anglicist

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 51-53.

views and five of the Orientalist. Thus the Committee was so equally divided that a complete deadlock ensued. It ceased to act with any degree of harmony, not only with regard to the fundamental questions on which it was divided, but also with regard to questions of mere routine and detail. The fight carried on within the Committee by the two sections, rendered all progress impossible and brought the Committee's affairs to a standstill. The frequent disputes and disagreements obstructed the business of the Committee at every turn. "Almost everything which came before them was more or less involved in it. The two parties were so equally balanced as to be unable to make a forward movement in any direction. A particular point might occasionally be decided by an accidental majority of one or two, but as the decision was likely to be reversed the next time the subject came under consideration, this only added inconsistency to inefficiency. This state of things lasted for about three years, until both parties became convinced, that the usefulness and respectability of their body would be utterly compromised by its longer continuance. The Committee had come to a dead stop, and the Government alone could set it in motion again, by giving a preponderance to one or the other of the two opposite sections."[1]

In this state of affairs there occurred two events which finally roused the Committee to bring to the anvil the general question underlying all their disputes and bickerings. Before passing on to those events, it would be convenient to advert here to the alignment of opinion in the

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 11-12.

Committee. The principal parties to the contest have hitherto been mentioned—the Anglicists and the Orientalists. The former group broadly asserted it to be the paramount duty and obligation of the General Committee as well as of Government to encourage and extend, in preference to any other system of learning, instruction in English literature and science through the medium of the English language in the seminaries of higher education under the control of the Committee. They wanted in fact, English instruction to supersede the Oriental. The latter group, whilst fully conceding the importance "of creating a taste for English Science and Literature among the Natives," held it to be their first duty to revive and extend the cultivation of the literature and languages which the people loved to call their own, and regarded the introduction of European learning and science as an improvement to be engrafted upon the extant Oriental systems of learning rather than as "an object to be pursued exclusively or with any marked and decided preference." But belonging to this same group, there were some who held more liberal views than those of either party. They did not consider it necessary or advisable, either on the part of the Committee or of the Government, to exhibit preponderant preference for any particular system of learning. They wanted equal and impartial encouragement to be held out to all systems, whether European or Oriental, so long and so far as the state of opinion and feeling among the people themselves demanded. It was desirable in their view to obviate the factitious opposition in which Oriental and European systems of learning were placed to

each other. It may be remarked at the same time that this attitude, whether we may be pleased to call it liberal or latitudinarian, was far from running counter to the general views of the Orientalist section; all that it came to was a slight modification of the main position of the Orientalists. It only entered a plea for fair field and no favour.

These various views found in the events which are now to be related a convenient opportunity for expression. A meeting of the Committee of the Calcutta Madressa (which was, strictly speaking, a sub-committee composed of several members of the General Committee) was held on Saturday the 26th April 1834, at which Mr. H. Shakespeare, the president, and Mr. Colvin, a member, were present. After transacting the usual routine business, the Committee, consisting of these two, proceeded to pass a series of resolutions on various matters relating to the internal affairs and management of the college. One resolution of this series, however, went to introduce an innovation into the college. It ran: "The Committee being of opinion that the time has arrived for encouraging more openly and decidedly the study of English in the Madressa, Resolved that from the present date no student be elected to a scholarship, unless on the express condition of studying English as well as Arabic."[1] It must be remembered that attendance in the English class of the Madressa was voluntary, so far as the students of Arabic were concerned; but this resolution sought to make the study of

[1] Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 11: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, Vol. 397 (G. I. R.).

English compulsory in a college primarily designed for Oriental studies.

After the lapse of more than two months from the date of the meeting, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, who was also a member of the Madressa Committee but was absent at the time the resolution was passed, on coming to learn of it, recorded a vigorous protest against it. He bluntly called the measure hasty and indiscreet as it seemed to him to have been adopted without due advertence to the purposes for which the institution had been specifically endowed. He viewed the expenditure of any part of the Madressa funds on a new object like the compulsory introduction of English as inconsistent with the oirginal aim of the endowment and as involving nothing less than a breach of trust. He denied to the Madressa Committee the right to make, without the sanction of Government, so far-reaching a change in the constitution of the College as seemed implied in the resolution; for, what alarmed Mr. Prinsep most was the ultimate effect and tendency of the measure, as he looked upon it as a first step towards the conversion of the College into a mere seminary for the teaching of English. An Orientalist with inflexible prepossessions, he could not brook the idea of such a consummation for an Oriental institution, and threatened to resign from the Madressa Committee if the resolution was not rescinded.[1]

The other members of the Committee, of course, answered back. They denied that the measure was hasty and indiscreet and stated that,

1 Minute, 9th July 1834: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

when adopting it, they had nothing more in mind than the introduction of an improvement in the course of study at the institution, which had long been contemplated by the members both of the College Committee and the General Committee. They denied that there had been any intention, as made out by Mr. Prinsep, to supersede the Arabic studies of the college. They denied finally the inviolability of the endowment. They asserted that Government had a perfect right to change the system of the College as it might think fit or even to resume the funds allotted to its support altogether. In justification of their proceedings they declared that they had only followed the established course in adopting the disputed measure without the delay of a special previous reference to Government; for, the practice was to submit the proceedings of the General Committee annually to Government, but no intermediate acts, barring those that related to expenditure, were submitted to it for its approval in the first instance. Moreover, they asseverated that to impart English instruction in the Madressa was the truest kindness that could be shown to the students themselves.[1] There they touched on the real question that underlay the whole dispute—namely, which system of learning was to have preferential encouragement, European or Oriental? It may be remarked, however, that Mr. Shakespear's confidence in the utility of the measure that had at first won his concurrence was greatly shaken by the unsuccessful results of the attempt to impart a knowledge of English to the

[1] Minutes of Messrs. Shakespear, Bird and Colvin, dated the 10th July, 30th July and 14th August 1834 respectively: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

students of the Madressa—results of which he happened to be an unfortunate witness at the very first examination of the students since the passing of the resolution for promotion of the study of English.[1]

Mr. Prinsep, though he stood alone in the Madressa Committee in his opposition to the measure, returned to the charge with his usual vigour. He replied to his opponents at some length on the various points raised in the course of the dispute. But he added nothing new to his former contentions, except by way of illustrating and amplifying them. It is therefore unnecessary to reproduce here the arguments and pleas advanced by this protagonist of Orientalism, save one passage which shows the tone and trend of the controversy: "I saw in that Resolution," said Mr. Prinsep, "the announcement that the time was come for an important change, and I dreaded and still dread the effect of the disposition I daily witness in the junior members of our Committee more especially to disparage and deprecate all knowledge save that in which they have themselves been brought up, to look upon instruction in the rudiments of a strange language, because it is English and European, as more valuable than the prosecution of studies in the higher branches of literature and science when those studies have to be followed in the language of the East. It is thought to be kindness to cram the a, b, c, of the West down the throats of Eastern adults, even though it ends in their never reaching beyond the reading and spelling point in the language taught, and it is looked upon as little less than

[1] Minute, 10th July 1834.

criminal to be aiding and abetting in the teaching of the Logic of Aristotle and the Science of Euclid and Ptolemy and Archimedes because Arabic is the medium through which the instruction is conveyed. I dread the influence of this disposition...." He openly professed alarm at the frequent assertion of Anglicist principles in the Committee.[1]

As the great issue which was believed to be involved in the disputed Resolution was one which the Madressa Committee could not take upon itself to decide, the dispute was referred to the General Committee. The questions which the General Committee was called upon immediately to decide were: first, whether the Resolution of the Madressa Committee should be confirmed or rescinded; and, secondly, whether a previous knowledge of English should be required of candidates for scholarships. It may be remarked here that the latter question originated in a suggestion of Mr. Colvin that, as the students of Arabic admitted to the Madressa were generally of an advanced age which made it difficult for them to obtain proficiency in a new language not taught to them anywhere before, candidates for scholarships should be required, in order to entitle them to admission, to obtain some previous knowledge of English as an indispensable qualification. The discussion on the main question in the General Committee was carried on in the same strain as it was in the Madressa Committee. The Orientalists expostulated through the mouth of Prinsep: "Encourage English and European Science, say I, as earnestly as the hottest of the enthusiasts of fewer years and less experience. But my word

[1] Minute, 15th August 1834.

is *encourage* and the means I recommended are (?)[1] 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 withholding of Collegiate rewards, even of state employ, from those who learn not out of their Primer. If there are any who think that the Government will declare for compulsion and disabilities, instead of encouragement and persuasion, if there be any who so distrusts the cause of true science as to doubt that the daily exhibition of its benefits and the proof of its advantages will suffice to work its progress, let them appeal to the oracle whose dictum will be our law."[2] The Anglicist retort came from Mr. Bird: "Did we come to India for the purpose of encouraging Mahomedan learning? Had the encouragement already given proved in the slightest degree of any practical use even to the Mahomedans themselves? Much less to the native community at large? 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? Unless these questions can be answered in the affirmative, the time has surely arrived for making those alterations in the constitution of the Establishment of which by the express terms of the endowment it is clearly susceptible...."[3] And there was that intermediate opinion which advised that "each in-

[1] Manuscript illegible.

[2] Minute, 3rd September 1834: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 13 (G. I. R.)

[3] Minute: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 13 (G. I. R.)

stitution should be kept entirely distinct, the Hindee, the Mahomedan and the English, with free ingress in the latter for all classes who have the desire of learning English;" which wanted "separate endowments, no clashing of salaries and jealousy among masters, no difficulty in defining our own duties;" in short, a fair trial for all systems of learning.[1] The legality and the propriety of the Resolution of the Madressa Committee were discussed. The nature of the Madressa endowment was examined in order to settle the point whether the constitution of the college was susceptible of alteration. The claims of European and Oriental learning to preferential encouragement were argued. But no decision of a nature to set the question at rest was reached. In the end five members of the General Committee voted in favour of the Resolution being confirmed and five against it.[2] But in the record of proceedings of the General Committee at a meeting of the 22nd October 1834 it is stated that the majority was of opinion that "the rule which compels the nominee to a scholarship to study English as well as Arabic should be withdrawn."[3]

At last, it was felt necessary to put an end to this indecisive state of things by referring the question relating to the Madressa, as well as the larger question on which it depended, to Government for final decision. But, while the discussion of the Madressa question had been in progress,

[1] Minute of J. Prinsep: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 13 (G. I. R.)

[2] For the Resolution were: G. A. Bushby, C. E. Trevelyan, Macnaghten, Colvin, and W. W. Bird. Against: Shakespear, C. Macsween, J. Prinsep, G. Saunders, and H. T. Prinsep.

[3] Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 12: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

a question of extensive scope had already been raised with respect to the Agra College, and an appeal to the supreme authority necessitated thereby.

It may be recalled here that the Agra College was at its inception an institution for Oriental learning and, in accordance with the method then in vogue of affording encouragement to instruction in European knowledge, had an "English class" attached to it. But the Oriental studies do not seem to have prospered in the College. At any rate, it was deemed necessary in 1833 with reference both to the state of the institution and to a growing popular disposition in favour of study of English, to render instruction in the English language at the College more efficient and extensive than it had ever been before. The General Committee, in their annual report dated 7th August 1833, expressed their intention to communicate with the Local Committee of Agra on this important subject.

Accordingly, the General Committee entered into correspondence with the Agra Committee, and the latter favoured a radical change in the character of the institution. It confronted the General Committee with the proposition that the College be made an "Anglo-Indian" institution, by which it meant that English literature and science should be made the principal objects of study to the exclusion of Arabic and Sanskrit, and that instruction in Hindi and Persian should be assigned a secondary or subordinate importance. Other minor changes were also proposed, but these have little bearing on the course of our

narrative. The effect produced by the main proposition of the Agra Committee on the General Committee, with its disagreements and dissensions of long standing, may be readily imagined. However, in their letter to Government on the subject, it is stated that "the majority of the General Committee approves of the proposed alteration of the character of the Institution, but all its members disapprove 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." Moreover, the majority of the Committee, not only desired the teaching of Arabic and Sanskrit to be kept up at the College, though on a much reduced scale, but wanted some provision to be made for enabling the College to afford improved instruction in Hindi and Urdu, "the vernacular languages of Upper India." As all those propositions involved an extensive alteration of the character of the institution and, not only increased expenditure, but diversion of the endowment funds to new objects, the Committee sought the previous sanction of Government before giving effect to them.[1]

Being duly impressed with the importance of the proposed change in the scope and objects of the Agra College, the Government, before granting its sanction, called on the Committee to furnish information on certain specific points. Among other things, it desired to be informed whether the Committee had reason to believe that the proposed change was wanted by the classes

[1] Letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt., dated 21st April 1834/No. 1095/Pub. Cons: 28th April 1834, No. 26: Home Pub. Progs., April to July 1834, 393. (G. I. R.)

of persons for whose benefit the institution had been founded and was likely to be agreeable or the contrary to the feelings and wishes of the educated class of the people at Agra. It also wished to ascertain what evidence the Committee could furnish of that increasing earnestness of desire for instruction in English science and literature in preference to Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, which constituted the main reason for the change proposed by the Agra and the General Committee.[1]

The Agra Committee, on being invited to do so, furnished information of an interesting character. The Committee believed that favourable circumstances existed to lead the people to welcome the proposed change as a badly needed improvement in the system prevalent in the college. "This opinion," it went on to say, "is founded not merely on what the Local Committee have had an opportunity of observing generally of the tone and feeling of the native society on this subject, but also on individual instances where a desire for the acquisition of English 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 Thakoors of rank, respectable Zamindars and wealthy merchants, applying to this Committee for English Instructors for their sons and relations, applications which, though the Committee could not then comply with them, they consider the new arrangements the best calculated to meet, even on the most extended

[1] Letter from Govt. to G. C. P. I., dated 28th April 1834: Pub. Cons.: 28th April 1834, No. 27.

scale. The late establishment also at Kotah by the native authorities of an English school strongly evinces the growing favour for English Instruction among the native community in these parts, and the local committee would refer to the notice, in the last report of the Calcutta School Book Society, of the proportionally increased sale of their English publications and translations into the vernacular tongues, as evidence of the increasing popularity which English is attaining generally throughout the country." Glancing at the most apparent cause of the popularity gained by the English language, the Committee was inclined to attribute it in a great degree to the strong impression which had gone abroad that attainments in English would procure public employ, and to its thus holding out prospects of fortune and honour to those who possessed a knowledge of it. But whatever the true cause or causes of the phenomenon and it was not easy to determine them, the Committee believed that it had, in the relative number of the students who attended the Oriental and the English classes of the College,[1] convincing evidence of the fact that instruction in English was preferred by the majority of the inhabitants to instruction in Sanskrit or Arabic.

1 At the date when the Committee wrote, the number was: Persian 230, English 110; Sanskrit 42; Arabic 28. A later examination report gave the number as: Persian 250; Hindee 161; English 98; Sanskrit 36; Arabic 27. It will be seen that the Persian Department tops the list in the number of its students; and the following observation of the Agra Committee appears interesting in connection with the fact: "There can be little doubt also but that the Persian only maintains its ground in native estimation as an object of study from its still enjoying though in a lesser degree, as it has hitherto enjoyed those advantages with which it is expected by them that the English will in a few years be invested, for the intrinsic claims of the Persian on the score of useful knowledge embraced in its literature would seem to be even less than those of the Sanskrit or the Arabic."

Had then Sanskrit and Arabic, it might have been asked, ceased to command the hommage and veneration of the people ? They do not appear to have done so ; but then English challenged unto itself the foremost place in popular favour because of its utility. "From the veneration and culture that have ever been bestowed by them on these studies," said the Committee, "it is not to be doubted that the natives generally would be favourable to the retention of Sanskrit and Arabic in the public Seminaries of Education along with, though not to the exclusion of, other branches of study which are acknowledgedly more useful and valuable if not more venerable." As for itself, the Committee by no means considered the classical languages and literatures of India deserving of encouragement ; it had no high opinion of their intrinsic merits or value ; and it was a somewhat curious test by which it judged of these. For it proceeded solemnly to pronounce that "the benefit to the Community, after the operation and experience of ages, derivable from these venerated sources of enlightenment is to be judged of by the present state of actual knowledge and moral feeling to be found among the educated native population. From this test the local committee conceive that no argument favourable to the encouragement of these studies is deducible, more especially when, as in the present instance, such furtherance and encouragement could be effected only by the sacrifice of time, talent and funds which they conceive may be so much more beneficially applied to a different course of education and to one to which our native subjects seem still more anxious to avail themselves of, being unattainable in their own

seminaries where Sanskrit and Arabic are within the reach of all."[1]

If we presume the Agra Committee to have abstained from letting its zeal for the cause of English education outrun its judgment and so from reading more into the state of public feeling than what actually existed, then the information supplied by it is important as corroborative of the existence and extent of the Anglicist movement among Indians the origin and growth of which were referred to in an earlier chapter. We may well compare the statements and observations of the Agra Committee with those made about the same time by the Committee of the Delhi College and Institution, already noticed in the preceding pages, regarding the decline of Arabic and Sanskrit and the increased popularity of English in the Delhi province as well as the causes to which the phenomenon was attributed. The comparison is instructive as clearly indicating that the vogue for English was by 1833 not confined to Bengal proper, but had found a not uncongenial soil in some parts of what were known as the Upper Provinces.

As might be expected, the proposal for such a sweeping change in the Agra College as the Local Committee thought necessary or desirable rendered a collision of views in the General Committee inevitable. The only point on which unanimity prevailed lay in the General Committee's opposition to the total exclusion, as advocated by the Local Committee, of Sanskrit and Arabic as objects of study in the college. With that exception, however, the General Committee

[1] Letter from Agra Committee to G. C. P. I., dated 24th July 1834: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 9: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

was in the same embarrasingly divided state, with regard to the proposed change, that had characterised its deliberations on previous occasions when similar questions had been brought before it. The Committee had been unable to act with harmony or effect when the question of an alteration of the established system of instruction in the Delhi College had been agitated nor when English had been sought to be compulsorily introduced in the Madressa. On many a minor question too the Committee had, since the accession of the Anglicist element, been in an incessant state of feud. In the case of the Agra College, no doubt, the majority agreed with the views of the Local Committee, save on the point above noted; but the minority was in a position to put up a stout opposition which could not be easily passed over.

The only remedy that remained in the Committee's power for putting an end to the intolerable state of affairs, which arose from the irreconcilable manner in which the two parties were at issue, was now sought. The recurring and obstructive quarrels between the Orientalists and the Anglicists reached a climax over the question of the proposed change in the Agra College. It was now realised that the first duty of the Committee was to settle, through the interposition of Government, the great general question which in its undecided state had been the cause of perpetual strife. It was finally determined to appeal to Government to decide between the principles and systems of education advocated respectively by the Anglicists and the Orientalists, and, in so deciding, to furnish the Committee with an authoritative principle for

future guidance. The question in respect of the Agra College supplied an apt opportunity for evoking the aid and intervention of Government. So, in its reply to the letter of 28th April 1834 in which the Government had asked for information respecting the state of public feeling at Agra towards English education, the Committee, instead of confining itself to the immediate points under reference, submitted a general statement of the conflicting points of view which divided it on the whole question of the best mode and kind of education for the people of India and urged on the Government the importance of its being furnished with "some definitive general instructions."[1]

Under such circumstances was the long-drawn-out controversy at last brought within the formal cognisance of Government and, it may be added, also apparently brought within sight of a final solution. Both the sections of the Committee prepared statements of their respective cases and these were submitted in two successive letters to Government. In treating of the subject, however, the parties avoided abstract theorising as far as possible and confined the discussion to a few practical questions which called for immediate determination.

To set out those questions here in detail would be simply a reiteration of what has gone before. But a little reiteration may be excused if it helps to a clear understanding of the issue stated for the decision of Government. The gist and scope of the controversy can be better grasped

1 Letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt., dated 21st January 1835/ No. 2093/: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 14. (G.I.R.).

if the fact be kept in mind that what was in issue, in the first place, was not so much the matter of instruction as the medium; and, in the second place, not so much the intrinsic merits of Oriental learning as the expediency of encouraging it. In other words, there was no disagreement between the parties on the question of their ultimate aim —the intellectual improvement of the people of India—and there was substantial agreement on the point that the knowledge and science of Europe were better conducive to the achievement of that aim than indigenous learning. But the disagreement was bitter on the question of the means by which European knowledge and science were to be made to serve the professed aims of educational policy. The questions briefly were: Which was, all things considered, the superior medium for the transmission of European knowledge—the English language or the Oriental languages? And, assuming the superiority of the former, whether it was wise and expedient to jettison Oriental learning from the official system of education as proposed by the Anglicists? The two questions may seem distinct in the abstract, but in practice they were so mixed up that Government's decision on the one perforce affected the other.

Let us now turn to what each party had to say on those questions and for the sake of convenience, we shall dwell on the second question first—namely, the question of the expediency of encouragement to Oriental learning. As noted before, there was no real dispute but ample exaggeration with regard to the comparative merits of European and Oriental learning and literature. In fact, there was a tacit assumption by both

the parties of the superiority of the former to the latter, so far at least as educational aims were concerned. But the point energetically made out by the Orientalists and as energetically contested by the Anglicists was that the encouragement of Oriental learning was imperative in view of the predilections of the people to be educated and the peculiar wants and circumstances of the country at large.

The grounds of the Orientalists in support of their proposition have been covered in the preceding pages and a bare restatement of them is all that is necessary here. To begin with, the Orientalists argued that the national feeling in India was as much apathetic, if not actively opposed, to the cultivation of European learning as it was favourably inclined towards that of the Oriental. And as they believed it to be a wise principle to respect and consult the feelings of those for whom their plans of education were intended, they deemed it expedient and prudent to give the people in the first instance the learning they valued and venerated instead of forcing on them the exotic learning the value of which they had not learnt to recognise and which earned its possessors comparatively little respect or influence amongst them. But, besides this consideration of expediency, there was, the Orientalists said, a consideration of justice which demanded adequate encouragement to Oriental learning. For, however much European learning might, in European opinion, be superior to the Oriental and productive of ameliorative effects, had not the people of India a right to claim that adequate facilities be provided for them of obtaining

instruction in their own systems, at least so long as they continued to desire it? In short, they denied that benevolent intentions had a right to dictate that the people should be taught, even though for their own ultimate good, what they did not expressly desire to learn. And, lastly, the Orientalists maintained that truth as embodied in the European system of learning ought to be allowed "to make its own way" instead of being forced on the people through the single channel of English instruction. They said that popular reception of the truths of European or English literature and science would be more honourably secured "by the effect of conviction alone" than by the device of withdrawing all support to the Oriental systems of learning in order to facilitate their supersession by the European.

The Anglicists, on the other hand, saw little substance in their opponents' contention that there was no widespread or pronounced desire on the part of the majority of the people for instruction in European learning. They pointed to instances which constituted in their view irrefragable evidence of the existence of a popular desire and need for it. But even if what the Orientalists affirmed was true, they did not think it justified an over-deference to popular feelings and wishes. Of course, they disowned any intention of offering to the people of India any scheme of education which they might see reason to believe would not be willingly and readily availed of by them. But if the people themselves were amenable, and the Anglicists had no doubts of their amenability, then they conceived it the duty of the British Government, "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 task of an enlightened government they argued to be to actively mould the national thought and feelings and not " to leave the promotion of their measures of improvement to be determined implicitly by the desires of a people " whom they took to be naturally prejudiced in favour of " the inferior systems of learning " with which only they were familiar. Hence, they conceived, arose the obligation of Government to offer to the people the best kind of education which it was in its power to give, and by which they meant of course " English education." And, further, they were inclined to regard it " as a distinct, however honest, dereliction of duty were a preference not unequivocally shown in favour of that course of study and those habits of mental discipline, from which the European character has derived its highest advantages, and which they should esteem it to be the first pleasure and object of an English Government to communicate, as far as the means at its command might allow, throughout all classes of its Indian subjects."

To the plea that the people had a right to claim the patronage of Government for the system of learning in which they desired instruction, the Anglicists returned the obvious answer that the public funds assigned for the purposes of education were a sacred trust, which its administrators were " bound to employ to the most useful and beneficial ends within their power," and which could not, without a violation of public duty, be expended on objects of acknowledgedly

less utility and benefit from vague considerations of justice or liberality influencing the Orientalists. The Anglicists were prepared to make some provision for instruction in Oriental learning in the Government institutions, provided it appeared to them proper or advantageous to do so with reference to the existing circumstances. But they denied that there was "any inherent right in a people to demand that they be enabled to acquire a contracted and erroneous education at the expense of the State," and looked upon it as "the quixotism of fair dealing to maintain a sedulous cultivation of Error, from an apprehension that the Truth might not have sufficient obstacles to overcome." "The truth can triumph" they declared, "by the force of conviction only because all opinions and all systems are openly and freely canvassed, but there can be no equitable obligation *to teach Error* merely that the opposition from it may be preserved and ensured."

These were the grounds which led the Anglicists to appeal to Government "to forward, with an avowed and active preference, the cultivation of European learning." They complained of the almost entire monopoly which in practice the Oriental systems of learning continued to possess in the most important institutions supported by the funds and influence of Government, although there were not wanting on the part of the Orientalists professions of a desire to favour the introduction of European learning. They called for the abolition by Government of the monopoly secured to Oriental learning, as they considered it worked inequitably against the progress of European learning in the land.

We turn now to the other question of considerably greater importance—the question of the *medium* of instruction. It has been repeatedly noted that the Anglicists pleaded, not only for the communication of European knowledge, but for its communication through the English language. In other words, they strongly favoured the direct mode of instruction as opposed to the indirect one largely advocated by the Orientalists.

In justification of their plea for the adoption of English as general medium of instruction, the Anglicists pointed out that, outside the Oriental institutions of Government, English was very generally employed as such by private teachers and in private seminaries with the most successful and cheering results. These they could not help contrasting with what appeared to them the dreary failure of the endeavours to impart European knowledge through the medium of the classical languages of India. The ease and eagerness with which a knowledge of English was acquired by the educated classes of Calcutta left no doubt in the minds of the Anglicists as to the feasibility of employing extensively the English language for the purposes of instruction.

The advantages and disadvantages of the direct and indirect modes of communicating European knowledge next came in for comparison. An important advantage pleaded in favour of the former was that the medium of English gave immediate access to the whole range of English literature and science and it was consequently held forth to be incomparably more effectual in advancing intellectual progress than translations into the classical languages of India could ever be. But

even if the translations had proved more effectual than they really did, still the Anglicists could perceive no sufficient reason for the adoption of a laborious and indirect process for conveying European knowledge when an easy and direct one was available. Why not enable a student of European learning (so the argument seemed to run) to drink as fully as he could of the original Pierian spring by teaching him the English language instead of restricting him to the fragmentary knowledge filtered through the medium of Sanskrit and Arabic ? For, it is to be noted that the preparation of a complete course of translations, embodying all or even a substantial portion of the knowledge of the West, was considered an almost hopeless task. It demanded a great and, in the opinion of the Anglicists, unnecessary consecration of time, talent and money which could be rendered available with more beneficial results for the purposes of English instruction. Besides, it was difficult to procure persons who combined such conversancy in the necessary languages with acquirements in European learning as to be qualified to prepare the requisite translations or to give instruction in them when prepared. And what the General Committee had already accomplished in the way of translated works was said to promise no success from a continued perseverance in that same course. Large amounts had been injudiciously expended on publication of translations which in the end were found to have served no other purpose than that of storing the Committee's shelves.

But, even as surpassing its practical advantages, the Anglicists claimed for the direct

mode of instruction through English an intrinsic value which was necessarily wanting in the other. They urged that the grand aim of their plan of education was not to convey mere knowledge, but to infuse a better spirit and higher tone of feeling into the Indian people; and this they conceived could only be done by bringing the Indian mind into direct contact with the best thought of Europe and rendering it directly susceptible to the elevating influence of European literature through the channel of the English language. It was through that channel alone, they argued, that the healing waters of Western knowledge could flow, with all their invigorating effects undiminished, to the parched and arid Indian intellect and make that which was crooked in character straight. "It must," they said, "be the object of all enlarged schemes of education for the Indian people, not merely to convey a more correct knowledge of facts or of systems of exact science, which might be faithfully represented by translations, but to create a new character and energy of thought in the native mind, to animate it by that nobler and freer spirit of moral and intellectual action, which has been the chief source and forms the first glory and security of European improvement. For purposes of this nature Translations must ever be an inefficient and insufficient instrument. They can be secured only by an early and familiar conversancy with the whole frame and body of the original European Literature and by an active community and intercourse of sentiment between the Native and European races. Between these the first link must be the use, to the utmost extent practicable, of a common language." In-

dependently therefore of reasons of policy which, as seen before, went to recommend a preferential encouragement to the cultivation by the people of India of the language of their British rulers, the Anglicists regarded that encouragement "as primarily essential in any just and comprehensive view of the system of Education desired for their benefit."

These were the principal grounds on which the Anglicists rested their advocacy of the English medium. But, however convincing their several arguments might have been to the Anglicists themselves, the keen eye of Orientalist opposition was not slow to detect flaws and objections. Two objections put forward seem worth particular notice. As usual, the Orientalists did not fail to appeal to the "actual circumstances of the country" against their opponents. One of these objections was stated thus: "That English acquirements, however valuable in themselves, may without other knowledge prove a source of embarrassment and loss to their possessors under the actual circumstances of the country, the practical business of which is not and may never be generally conducted in English—a circumstance which may debar the more proficient in English studies from the opportunities of public employment." To make this argument clearer, it may be necessary to recall here that the idea of maintaining a close connection between public education and the administrative need for qualified public servants, and of thereby providing a stimulus to popular mental improvement, was never lost sight of in any scheme of education, whether emanating from the Orientalists or from the Anglicists.

Hence the latter now replied that in asserting as they did "the paramount claims of English education," they never proposed to neglect to provide in the Government institutions for any studies which might prove to be indispensable for the immediate purposes of life. They saw no difficulty in providing for instruction in any language that the Government might be pleased to conduct its administrative business in, without detriment to English studies which were to claim primary attention as "the only real means of moral and mental improvement." Besides, they suggested that English acquirements might well be afforded scope for exercise by marked preference being enjoined by Government in all selections for public employ, for those who superadded a superior English education to the ordinary qualifications for the public service.

Another and more important objection was made by the Orientalists to the principle of instruction through English in view of the generally recognised maxim that the vernaculars constituted the proper media for the education of the great body of the people. But as both the parties were agreed, though not on quite tenable grounds as Hodgson showed subsequently,[1] that the vernaculars in their prevalent state were rude and imperfect instruments for the communication of European knowledge, the question that remained was, in which of the languages, English or Oriental, was it likely to be most advantageous, with reference to the ultimate development of the vernaculars, to impart European ideas and knowl-

1 Hodgson: *Essays relating to Indian subjects*, Vol. II. (Letter I on "Pre-eminence of the Vernacular.")

edge to those who were intended to be the enlighteners of the mass of their countrymen and the makers of a future vernacular literature? Now, the argument of the Orientalists was that, if the improvement of the vernaculars or the creation of a vernacular literature was the ultimate end in view, it was necessary and proper to embody European knowledge in Sanskrit and Arabic in the first instance, since they conceived that the vernaculars would be obliged in the process of their development to have constant recourse to the copious parent languages for linguistic material (in the shape of vocabulary, terminology and other apparatus of language) and would thus, easily and perhaps insensibly, be led to absorb into themselves also the new knowledge stored in the learned languages of India. To put it more simply, the Orientalists wanted and actually attempted to make Sanskrit and Arabic the medium for the transfusion of European knowledge into the vernaculars, presumably and mainly on the ground of linguistic affinity of the latter to the former; or, in other words, they wanted Sanskrit and Arabic to be constituted, by a transference of as much European knowledge as possible into them, the proximate sources on which the vernacular tongues could draw not only for words but also knowledge, not only for terms but also ideas, not only for linguistic improvements but also literary materials. The Orientalists no doubt regarded this as apt to prove in the end a more fertilising and fruitful process than that implied in the direct resort to different or foreign languages on which the development of the vernaculars would have had in the alternative to depend. But the Anglicists

thought otherwise. They thought that the Orientalist view, in the first place, reckoned more of future eventualities than contemporary needs; and, in the second place, that it exaggerated the indispensability of the Sanskrit and Arabic to the vernacular languages. They acknowledged that, as the media through which the mass of the people were to be ultimately enlightened, the improvement of the popular tongues and the creation of a larger literature in them were objects of the first importance to be kept prominently in view. But these were objects capable of realisation only in some distant future: and the question was, what was the best or immediately necessary thing to do in the interim? Or, to put it in the form in which the Anglicists themselves did it, "what, it may confidently be asked, is the pressing want of the present time, and what the obvious first step in the career of national civilization? Is it not to provide, by every most ready and effectual 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? In the impulse given to their minds lies the only and sure hope of general improvement. To condemn them to toil, through a course of generations, and with a scarcely perceptible progress, in partial endeavours to acquire knowledge through the imperfect and feeble medium of translations, because at some future and unknown period, as learning gradually becomes diffused, it may be necessary to make extensive use of Sanskrit or Arabic terms in the higher species of composition

in the vernacular languages, is a course of procedure, the mere statement of which would surely seem to render its defence impossible. The expediency and the duty have on all occasions been recognised of combining a careful and systematic cultivation of the vernacular tongues with direct instruction in the English language and literature, and we may well be assured that whatever knowledge of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages may be seen, in the course of time and circumstances, to be really requisite for the gradual improvement of the vernacular tongues, will always be found readily at command. There could be enjoined no attempt more vain and premature at present than to embody, for the general advantage of the people, European literature and science in the learned languages, which are utterly unacceptable to the great mass of the community. To persevere in the system of Translations, the futility of which, for any great object, is shewn alike by experience and reason, would be to retard the amelioration of the native character and intellect indefinitely. For that high purpose, an immediate familiarity with European literature and thought in those who profess the leisure and the desire for advanced study, is the only efficient means which can be employed. It is not also, it is essential to remark, by the transfusion of an entire foreign literature into their own tongues that the popular mind of Natives has even become instructed. The foreign literature must be studied in itself, and if it is stored with superior knowledge and capable of imparting a new vigour and capacity of thought, an indigenous and independent literature will arise from it, and become the medium of diffusing knowledge through the body of the people, in the

forms most suitable to the national circumstances, character and wants. It is by rousing and strengthening the minds of the educated classes for original efforts, that the general extension of National Education can alone be accomplished. When the power of forming enlightened and enlarged ideas, and the desire to give expression to them, shall first have been secured, a language fit for their expression will soon be framed. But apart from the certainty that the language will best be formed by those who have to mould and use it as the index of their own thoughts—it would be strangely to reverse the natural order of improvement, were elaborate pains first bestowed on the construction of a language, the communication of the ideas, for the expression of which it is intended, being pursued as a secondary object by a series of indirect and tedious and most ineffective measures."

Such was the reasoning by which the Anglicists upheld their doctrine that the diffusion of direct English instruction ought to be the first and declared aim of all educational operations conducted under the auspices of the State. This doctrine they now wanted Government to embody in a new educational policy. But, as stated before, one of the points in dispute was the propriety of altering the character of the Oriental seminaries, expressly endowed as they were for specific purposes, in conformity with the declared principle of the Anglicists. This point is the last we have here to deal with from the Anglicist view-point. The Anglicists saw no serious legal objection to the application of their principle to the educational institutions that already existed

and were primarily founded and maintained by Government. They attributed to Government a full and unfettered discretion to introduce any changes into them, particularly with regard to the course of instruction followed, that it might deem necessary or proper; and not only that, but they considered it the bounden duty of Government to see that the public funds appropriated to them were employed for the most useful and beneficial purposes practicable, which they did not seem to be in view of the stagnant and inefficient condition of the Oriental colleges. In allusion to the nature of the endowments in favour of those colleges the Anglicists expressed their opinion that they could "regard no appropriations of this description of the nature of permanent endowments, or pledges in favour of erroneous system of Education. There were no engagements, expressed or implied, with any party or section of the population at the periods they believe to be that of grants made under supposed views of what was most expedient, or most feasible, 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 with altered views."[1] Notwithstanding, however, that no obstacle was conceived to exist in the character of the endowments to the introduction of any desirable reform in the endowed institutions, the Anglicists repeatedly intimated to Government, nay, may be said to have pledged themselves, that in acting on their views they would carry out all changes in the established system with scruplous regard to the actual circum-

[1] There seems to be here a transcription error in the Ms. record but the meaning of the sentence is clear.

stances and the claims and interests connected with the various seminaries and not until they were convinced that it would be received willingly by the people or by those to be affected by it.

With this notice of the last (in the order of discussion) but important practical point in dispute between the two parties, the statement of the Anglicist views and arguments as they were placed before the Supreme Government comes to a close.[1] It is scarcely necessary to remark that the Anglicists stood for what then seemed a revolutionary change in the established system of education, which was naturally strenuously opposed by the Orientalists who desired the retention of the prevailing order of things. We may now proceed to state the grounds of the opposition of the latter and see what they had to say on the general questions controverted, though perhaps enough has been already said in the earlier chapters about Orientalism to enable us to dispense with a lengthy or detailed statement of Orientalist views and opinions on the specific points on which they joined issue with the Anglicists.

For a perspicuous understanding of the Orientalist case as laid before the Supreme Authority, it is necessary to advert, however briefly, to the circumstances in which a formal system of education for Bengal was inaugurated with the institution of the General Committee of Public Instruction. It was observed before that the General Committee came into being because of the fiat of the British Legislature, as embodied in

1 Letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt., dated 21st January 1835/ No. 2093/Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 7: Home Pub. Progs. February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

the Charter Act of 1813,[1] requiring the Indian Government to appropriate not less than one lakh of rupees annually to the purposes of "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...." This provision was stated to have been inserted in the Charter Act because the Court of Directors "had checked the Bengal Government in a grant it had proposed to make, on the proposition of Mr. Colebrooke, for the support of Sanskrit colleges at Nuddea and Benares." But Parliament in 1813 was stated further to have been sufficiently impressed by the expediency of the measure to set the seal of its approval, by a positive enactment and the allocation of a definite sum in the renewed Charter, on all such projects tending to the revival and improvement of the then declining literature of India.[2]

The General Committee, thus launched, was committed to a formidable undertaking. It was assigned the task of promoting and encouraging the literary and scientific improvement of a people numbering millions, and yet the means and resources placed at its disposal were, in comparison with the magnitude of that object, so small that the necessity of the case obliged the Committee to confine the benefit of its ameliorative measures to but a sprinkling of the vast population. Nor was this all. Probably the most serious disadvantage under which the Committee laboured in

[1] 53 Geo. III. C 155 Sec. 43.

[2] Letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt. ,dated 22nd January 1835/No. 2094/Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835. No. 14 (G. I. R.)

framing a scheme of education was the want of experience and intimate knowledge of the habits, peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the people to whose mental improvement its endeavours were to be directed. Again, another circumstance which placed it at a disadvantage was its being composed of men, not only of a different race, but professing a different religion from that of the people. A people ever acutely sensitive on point of religion, were easily accessible to some such apprehension as that education might be made a means of proselytism, that their ancestral faith might be assailed or "insidiously undermined in institutions supported and directed by Europeans of a different faith." Apprehensions of the kind constituted a potent source of distrust and suspicion on the part of the people. To avoid all appearance of a design on their religions, the Government invariably refused a place in the Committee to the ministers of any Christian Church, however qualified by their acquaintance with the habits of the people and the literature of the country and by their zeal in the cause of education to aid and guide the Committee. In these circumstances the Committee had to steer their course with the utmost care and deliberation possible and with constant advertence to the character of the people for whom their measures were designed.

But, contrary to what might have been expected from the comparative novelty or the peculiar difficulties of the task, the Committee had not to grope through tentative endeavours for certain definite principles for guidance. There were two circumstances which early helped to fix

the principles on which it was subsequently to act. One was that the Committee in the beginning was dominated by Orientalists, being composed partly of men whose claim to distinction rested on their acquirements in Oriental learning and partly of men who, if innocent of such acquirements, at least deferred to the behests of Oriental scholarship. The Committee was thus from the outset prepossessed in favour of Oriental learning. The other was that the Committee could not fail to find precedents for its policy in the projects and endeavours of able administrators like Hastings, Duncan and Minto for the revival and encouragement of Oriental learning. Again, there was another more impressive indication in the Charter Act itself which distinctly spoke of "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India." It would have been tantamount to hardihood on the part of the Committee to disregard those authoritative indications and experiment on a bold departure from the course pursued in the past by able and experienced men and adumbrated in the enactment of the British Legislature. So, in the result, the Committee early came to the determination that Oriental learning was to be the object of its particular care and attention and occupy a prominent place in its scheme of education. But it was not possible to revive, encourage, improve or diffuse Oriental learning and literature without the co-operation of those classes amongst the people who were known for their hereditary devotion to it and who therefore commanded the implicit reverence of their compatriots. To get at those classes, to encourage and improve them in their pursuit of

learning, and to make them the focal points of enlightenment among the mass of their countrymen—these were the settled aims of the Committee when it set about its task of establishing a system of education for the country. Hence the first, "fundamentally essential" principle which the Committee laid down for its guidance was that "the Committee should in all things endeavour so to shape its conduct and proceedings as to win the confidence of the educated and influential classes of the people and if possible to carry these classes with them in all the measures they might adopt for the *revival* and *improvement* of the literature of the country."

The Committee had no doubt that the results had amply justified its uniform adherence to that principle. The fact was dwelt upon with a feeling of gratification. "The Committee are proud to say that they have hitherto been entirely successful in winning the desired confidence of the enlightened classes of the Indian public. Of this they have many proofs and there is none more conclusive or more satisfactory than the manner in which the Hindoo College of Calcutta was placed by the spontaneous act of its managers under their fostering care and supervision. If the Committee have accomplished this great object there can be no doubt that their success is owing not only to their having refrained from measures of a religious tendency but likewise to the jealous watchfulness with which they have checked in others and themselves and avoided the offensive obstruction of schemes and notions of pure European growth opposed to, and uncalled for, by the state of feeling amongst the people they have had

to deal with." But, it may well be remarked, in thus felicitating themselves on their success, the Orientalists of the Committee failed to look beyond the immediate sphere of their operations. As they addressed themselves almost exclusively to one set of conditions before their eyes, they were led to overlook, or rather underestimate, the new conditions that were being created about them by the intellectual protestantism of certain important sections of the Hindu community in Calcutta to whom "schemes and notions of pure European growth" would have been hardly unacceptable. Did the Orientalists carry these sections with them? When they hastened to congratulate themselves, they probably had not in mind, or reckoned as of little significance, the classic remonstrance of Rammohun Roy against the founding of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

It has been already remarked that the means placed at the disposal of the Committee were totally inadequate for the general purposes of education. The sum of one lakh was a mere pittance which imposed strict limits on the Committee's ambitions and scope of operations. For example, the establishment of a system of elementary instruction for the many was considered out of the question, and was besides deemed unnecessary in view of the existence of indigenous village schools in which elementary instruction could be obtained. The Committee, therefore, in deliberating on the best mode of appropriating its funds, arrived at the conclusion that "if literature was to be improved and the means of extensive knowledge to be imparted, these objects could only be accomplished through the successful and

lengthened studies of ardent scholars. It is the boast and principal use of colleges of higher instruction that, through the prizes, scholarships and other rewards they offer to promising youths of narrow income, these are retained in literary pursuits instead of being compelled to seek livelihood at an early age in mechanical employments and laborious professions." The Committee, in consequence, determined to appropriate its funds mostly to the promotion of advanced instruction in Oriental learning, leaving rudimentary instruction to take care of itself. It was in accordance with this view that the courses of study in the Oriental colleges were arranged. And hence the second principle laid down by the Committee for its guidance was, as stated by it, that "whereas the funds at their disposal were quite inadequate to any purpose of general and universal instruction, the best application that could be made of them consistently with the ends in view was to assist the seminaries of more advanced education through which only the Committee could hope to *revive* and *improve* the literature of the country and to encourage *learned* men."

Now, when the sweeping innovation proposed to be introduced, however gradually and cautiously, by the Anglicists into the established system of education is considered in its bearing on those two principles, it is not difficult to understand why the Orientalists should have offered strenuous opposition to it. The innovation, calculated as it was to convert Oriental seminaries into seminaries for English instruction, was in actual result to strike at the very root of the principles which

the Committee had adopted as its own and adhered to as the basis of its proceedings throughout.

In the first place, the Orientalists apprehended that, by withdrawing the means of instruction in Oriental learning, the Committee would forfeit the co-operation of the learned classes and thus lose valuable instruments for the propagation of enlightenment among the people. The cause of education, it was implied, would in this manner receive a set-back. To effect such a change would be "running counter to all existing feelings and prejudices on this subject and would most infallibly and justly lose for the Committee the benefit of all their past efforts to secure the confidence and good will of those whom it has been their study to lead to increased knowledge and to improvement in all respects through their own roads (?) and courses."

In the second place, the Orientalists argued that the effect of converting Oriental colleges into seminaries for English instruction would be, not to advance the cause of English literature and science which the Anglicists had at heart, but to substitute for advanced studies in Oriental literature and learning elementary instruction in the English language. This argument of the Orientalists needs a little elucidation, as it is not quite easy to understand it without referring to the facts which suggested it and appears to have been misunderstood by no less a personage than the champion of the Anglicists—Macaulay. The facts were briefly these. To the Oriental Colleges it was not children or boys who came in pursuit of knowledge but young men of sufficiently advanced age (of about 19 or 20 years on the average) to

render it hard for them to take easily to the study of a strange language like the English. And even were they induced or compelled to acquire a knowledge of it, it was not to be expected that they would or could obtain that degree of conversancy with the English language, not to speak of English literature and science, which could result only from a commencement of the study at a much earlier age and which, for example, distinguished the pupils of the Vidyalaya where boys usually began their study of English after the age of eight. Again, none were admitted in the Oriental colleges who had not previously acquired some degree of proficiency in the Oriental languages. Thus, in those colleges, the a, b, c of Sanskrit and Arabic was not begun with, but a comparatively higher course of study was immediately offered to the students admitted therein. The enforcement of the rule of requiring previous proficiency as a qualification for admission was possible in the case of the Oriental languages and learning, because there were not wanting numerous private teachers of Sanskrit and Arabic to whom students aspiring to admission in the Government institutions could resort. But, were the Oriental colleges converted into seminaries for English instruction, a similar rule could not be enforced in the case of English, because of the paucity of means of instruction in English available outside the Government colleges. So, perforce, the course of study in such colleges would have to begin at the rudiments of the English language to the exclusion of advanced studies in Oriental learning. Such a sacrifice of Oriental learning at the altar of the English language was more than the Orientalists could stand. They roundly declared

that the cause advocated by the Anglicists was "not that of science and literature at all, but of rudimental English as means of eventually pursuing the course into literature and science, should life be long enough and the inclination last." They endeavoured to demonstrate the absurdity of the conclusion into which their opponents were supposed to be led by their zealous advocacy of the proposed change of the established system: "Because the Arabic and Sanskrit courses of study end in the Ptolemaic errors, therefore they maintain it is the duty of the Government to teach elementary English in preference to teaching what is correct in the course up to the point of error. By teaching English, they argue, you make accessible a course of study complete and perfect, therefore language is the first thing to teach and those who would learn it must begin with the Alphabet. It is not said, give to the youths of the Maddressa and Hindoo College the desired course of study, because it is well known that the language itself in which they would teach it is still strange to them and enough to occupy the whole time of those who would seek it as a means of improvement. If the same course were taken in respect to scholarships of English as in respect to those given to students of Sanskrit and Arabic, that is, if a preliminary acquaintance with the language were insisted upon, there would be no candidates for such scholarships, no previous means of instruction in English being available generally to any class of the population. They therefore necessarily advocate merely the teaching of English and that in its rudiments, and not the teaching of any science or literature at all."

Nor was this all. The rudiments of English, according to the Orientalists, would have had to be taught to young men aged 19 or 20 years, unless of course an alteration in the constitution of the colleges could permit of admission at an earlier age and so render possible some degree of instruction in science and literature in addition to that in the English language. The Anglicist view was that one might reasonably expect in a few years to make an intelligent youth a thorough English scholar, but this does not appear to have been feasible under the conditions prevalent in the Oriental colleges. When the Anglicists conjured up cheerful prospects for English education in the country, they seem to have had invariably in mind the success of the Calcutta Vidyalaya; whereas, it is important to bear in mind, when the Orientalists spoke of the impracticability of teaching anything more than the rudiments of English to the Indian youth, they spoke with reference to the Oriental seminaries *as they were actually and originally constituted.* It is hard otherwise to believe that the Orientalists could make such an assertion with reference to all youths, whether in or out of the Oriental colleges, when they had before them the most striking proof possible of the contrary in the brilliant results achieved in the Vidyalaya—an institution, be it remembered, under the superintendence of the Committee and in which no small interest was taken by it. But this was what Macaulay failed to see when he indicted the Orientalists of taking it for granted that "no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English" and of assuming it as undeniable that the question was "between a profound knowledge of Hindoo and

Arabian literature and science on the one side, and superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other." And then he proceeded to refute, not the real argument of the Orientalists, but the propositions he mistakenly attributed to them.[1]

To sum up what has been said so far: the chief ground of the Orientalist opposition to the change advocated by the Anglicists was that the character of the proposed change was in direct conflict with the Committee's established principles of action; because the Orientalists contended, first, that its introduction would lead to loss of confidence in the Committee on the part of the learned classes; and, secondly, that the effect of its introduction, so far as the Oriental colleges were concerned, would be to substitute rudimentary instruction in the English language for that in higher Oriental learning. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the Anglicists would have rejoiced to see English tuition of whatever sort substituted for tuition in Oriental learning, because they regarded the latter as replete with error and mischievous in its tendency. But, as was to be expected, the Orientalists were far from admitting that there was little intrinsic value in Oriental learning. They could not but acknowledge the existence of much that was erroneous in it; but then they asked, "if the admixture of error is a sufficient cause of consigning to oblivion all Literature however beautiful, what would have become of the splendid monuments of Greece and Rome which are to this day carefully preserved?"

Not only, however, did the Orientalists regard the measures by which the Anglicists pro-

[1] Minute, 2nd February 1835.

posed to encompass their object as opposed to the fundamental principles of the General Committee, but regarded them as opposed to the meaning and intent of the Parliamentary enactment by which the allocation of a certain portion of the revenue to the purposes of education was made. And it may be remarked here that the relevant clause of the Charter Act was so worded as to lend itself to different, if not conflicting, interpretations. It spoke of "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India" as well as of "the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." Probably, the British Legislature meant in a general way to include both the objects in the clause—the revival of Oriental letters and the introduction of European knowledge—as deserving of the pecuniary assistance provided for. The absence of any specific mention of European learning may have been due to ignorance or uncertainty regarding the proper course to be pursued for the education of the people of India (a point which would naturally be left to be decided by the Government on the spot), or may have been due, considering the opposition amidst which the clause was passed, to the necessity of a cautious and conciliatory procedure with those who were antagonistic to the enlightenment of India, and particularly to the diffusion of European knowledge in the country, and whose resistance to the enactment of the clause might possibly have increased by a distinct declaration in favour of European literature and science; or it may have been due to both. At any rate, it was impossible for the British Legislature in 1813 to anticipate

the course of events which led to the controversy twenty years later or to possess an inkling of the different ways in which its enactment was to be construed by the controverting parties. For, the Orientalists, on the one hand, interpreted the clause in support of their system of education by laying prominent emphasis on the former part of it which referred to the revival and improvement of Oriental learning and the encouragement of "learned natives" as the objects to be promoted, and moreover by reading the latter and vague part in the light of the wording of the first, so as to yield the construction that the promotion of European learning was a secondary object which could best be accomplished by "engrafting" that learning on the Oriental systems of knowledge. The Anglicists, on the other hand, invoked solely the latter part of the clause in justification of the change of policy advocated by them, and argued on general grounds the validity of the construction favoured by them. The question of the correctness or the degree of correctness of either interpretation will be dealt with later on. It is enough to note here that the Orientalists, relying on their particular interpretation, declared the education fund to have been assigned for different purposes from that of teaching English, those purposes according to them being specifically "the revival and improvement of the literature of the country and the promotion of the cultivation of science." They therefore proceeded to deny the propriety of diverting that fund to other objects than those referred to in the Charter Act, or, in other words, of employing it for the advancement of English education only as the Anglicists desired. More than this, they denied the propriety of withdraw-

ing, for the purpose of promoting English instruction, the means of instruction in Oriental learning available in the institutions endowed previously to the assignment of the education fund under the Charter Act. If the promotion of English education was deemed a desirable object by Government, they contended, it was necessary to allot separate and adequate funds for its accomplishment since such an object in their view was foreign to the true purposes of the assignment of the education fund under the Act as well as of the endowments antecedent to it. It was in somewhat warm terms that they delivered their sentiments on the point. "The general teaching of English," they said, "if that be thought a measure calling for direct efforts for its accomplishment, is a separate purpose for the prosecution of which there ought to be separate and sufficient funds assigned without robbing native literature of the study (?) boon obtained for it from the British Legislature and already assigned and appropriated to its advancement. Out of that fund, it is maintained, only so much can be given to English and English literature without robbery and injustice as the people themselves may testify the wish to have set apart therefrom in order to open to them this language as an additional source of knowledge and improvement. The primary object committed to the committee was the revival and encouragement of native literature and this must surely be their first study, so long as the Parliamentary grant and the endowments which existed antecedently and in which that literature only has been taught, constitute the means and materials with which the Committee has to deal. Let Government

furnish other means and materials—let it prescribe the extensive and general teaching of English and assign adequate separate funds for that purpose, and the cultivation of native literature may then become a secondary object, because this other purpose will require a much more extensive grant than has been made for native literature and the scale of importance must depend on the extent of available means—but, constituted as the Committee is at present, constituted as are the institutions under its supervision, constituted as is the Act of Parliament under which it was appointed and in conformity with which the funds now at its disposal were set apart and appropriated, there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced person that it is and must be....' the first duty of the Committee to revive and extend the cultivation of the literature of the country and to regard 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 marked and decided preference.' "

That plea for separate funds for promoting English education brings us incidentally to the question of the precise attitude of the Orientalists on the subject of the introduction of the English language and literature into India. What that attitude was has been taken ample note of in a previous chapter which treated of the halcyon days of Orientalism when no Anglicist had yet appeared on the scene to challenge with effect the ascendancy of Orientalist principles. It would be unnecessary repetition to dwell on the topic further here than to draw attention to the explana-

tion which the Orientalists themselves gave of their attitude in words which at the same time sum it up most concisely and lucidly. "None can be more impressed than ourselves," they avowed in declaring their sentiments on the subject, "with the superiority of British literature, arts and sciences and none can more ardently desire that they should be introduced into India as the surest means of promoting civilisation and its concomitant blessings. We differ about the means, we deprecate any crude, sudden sweeping innovation as having a tendency to defeat rather than to promote the object in view. We doubt if the mere teaching the English language would make the youth of India wiser or better. We would advocate the means of such instruction being placed within the reach of all, but we would not render recourse to it compulsory on any. They who would spontaneously take to it would in all probability in after-life cultivate the knowledge which it contains, while they who learnt it by compulsion would imbibe along with it feelings of disgust and hatred towards those who forced such unprofitable instruction upon their minds and thereby disqualified them in a great measure from earning their livelihood in a thousand respectable ways which are always open to learned natives among their own countrymen."

There remains finally to be noted another important point which the Orientalists urged against their opponents. This was the relatively high cost at which English education could be rendered available to the people at large in comparison to that at which the Oriental could be, the chief reason being the high salaries at which teachers of English had to be procured. For

instance, in the Agra College it was proposed, under the new arrangements intended for converting it into a seminary for English instruction, to allot the salaries of the teachers of different subjects as follows: English teacher—Rs. 800; Persian—Rs. 85; and Hindee—Rs. 65, not to mention that of the Superintendent of the institution which was put down at Rs. 300. "Will the enlightened class of the population of India," was the Orientalist comment, "look with the same good-will as heretofore on our labours and exertions for their improvement when they see the Professors of what they regard as polite learning starved upon decades of Rupees of monthly salary while the teachers of the mere rudiments of English are paid by hundreds?"

This brings us to the end of the statement of the Orientalist side of the question.[1] In the views and arguments laid before the Supreme Government there is evidence throughout, not only of a thoroughly partisan, but a factious attitude on the part of either party. The manner in which the whole question was thus presented to the consideration of Government had, as will be apparent later on, the effect of forcing on it an election between the opposite principles and opinions placed before it, when doubtless it would have been better for it and the cause of education if it had been called upon to steer a balanced course through the controversial storm. But this it did not do and instead threw the whole weight of its consent and authority in favour of the principles and views of one party.

1 *Vide* letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt. dated 22nd January 1835 No. 2094 Pub. Cons. 7th March 1835, No. 14; Home Pub. Progs., Feby. & March 1835, (397) (G. I. R.)

Chapter VII.

THE ISSUE ON THE ANVIL.

The arena of controversy was now shifted from the General Committee to the Governor-General's Council. It was the new arena that brought out Macaulay as an uncompromising champion of the Anglicists. When the controversy was at its height, he had been appointed President of the General Committee; but, according to the statement of Mr. H. T. Prinsep and his own in the opening paragraph of his Minute, he had taken part neither in the deliberations of that body nor in the reference submitted to Government by the contending parties. Now that the question was before him as a member of the Council, he indited a famous Minute in which the Orientalists were unsparingly bludgeoned by brilliant invective rather than refuted by rational arguments.

This leads us to what was in its day, and even now to a great extent is, an overrated document in the annals of Indian education. Overrated because, on its merits as a contribution to the literature on Indian education, the Minute has nothing distinctive about it barring the scintillating brilliance of a lawyer-wise presentation of the case. Overrated because, in its influence on contemporary opinion, it is questionable whether it played such a decisive part as is generally presumed in setting the controversy at rest. Analyse the contents of the Minute and you will find little more than a congerie of views and opinions and arguments taken straight from the

Anglicist brief and charged with the eloquence and the imagery of parallelisms which were Macaulay's own. In fact, the Minute is as unique in its Macaulayesque paraphrase of what the Anglicists urged on their side of the question as it is singularly replete with errors and sciolisms with regard to the Orientalist side. In its manner of exposition it displays all too blatantly the supreme self-assurance of ignorance and typical British parochialism. No doubt, critics and writers have pointed out the errors of the Minute and admitted its author's bias and ignorance; but the historian's reverence for the document has survived his criticism of it. The reason seems to be that the Minute has been too long looked at as a resplendent specimen of polemical art without the perspective of the controversy as a whole. The point we are concerned with here is: How far was it an answer to the Orientalist case? For an answer to that question we shall have to examine the Minute a little closely with reference to the opinions and arguments it purported to refute.

The sum and substance of the Minute is quickly stated. Macaulay argued therein that the Charter Act in no way fettered the Government's discretion to appropriate the funds set apart thereunder to what might be deemed more useful and deserving educational purposes; that not even the antecedent endowments bound the Government to maintain the established system of instruction in the Oriental Colleges, as there was no pledge, express or implied, on its part to do so; that the whole question in dispute turned on the rival claims of the Sanskrit and Arabic and the English languages to recognition as the

language of education and as the best worth knowing; that the latter was the best worth knowing because of the immeasurable superiority of the knowledge and literature contained in it to that in the Sanskrit and Arabic; that the prevalent feeling amongst Indians was against, nay 'nauseated,' the teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic, as evidenced by the fact that the Arabic students in the Madressa had to be paid stipends to be taught, whilst the English students paid for being taught, and by a petition of several ex-students of the Sanskrit College in which they seemed to complain of the uselessness of their Oriental acquirements; that, on the other hand, the popular feeling was all in favour of instruction in English and disposed to welcome measures directed to the object of teaching them that language; that it was quite possible to make Indians thoroughly good English scholars; that the immediate aim of education in India should be to form a class of thoroughly Anglicised Indians; that Sanskrit and Arabic had no peculiar claim to encouragement from Government; that the printing of Sanskrit and Arabic books by the Committee should be immediately stopped, the Oriental Colleges abolished save those at Benares and Delhi, and English schools established in their stead with the funds accruing from the abolition of the former.

These, in simple terms, were the propositions that formed the gist of the whole Minute. Let us now turn to the particular facts and arguments adduced in their support.

First, in respect to the legal question, Macaulay professed himself unable to see by what

art of construction the pertinent clause of the Charter Act could be made to bear the meaning assigned to it by the Orientalists. His argument was that the clause contained no reference to any particular language or science to be taught, and that the Orientalists had merely taken it for granted that, by "the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India" the British Legislature could have meant only Sanskrit and Arabic literature and intended the appellation of a 'learned native' only for one who "might have studied in the sacred books of the Hindoos all the uses of Cusa-grass, and all the mysteries of absorption into the Deity." But it may be remarked at once that it was only Macaulay's ignorance of the facts and events which preceded the Charter Act that led him to attribute such an assumption to the Orientalists. The Orientalist interpretation may have appeared doubtful, but it certainly was not unjustified. If we consider the circumstances that prevailed prior to the Charter Act, if we consider that, when the question of doing something for the people of India in the way of their intellectual improvement began to stir the minds of British-Indian administrators, they (from Warren Hastings down to Lord Minto) uniformly turned to Oriental literature as the most ready means at hand for accomplishing the purpose in view; if we consider the bearing of Lord Minto's Minute of 1811 on the Charter Act passed only two years later, and recall that the relevant clause was understood to have been inserted in it because the Court of Directors had "checked" the Bengal Government in a grant proposed for the establishment of Sanskrit colleges at two famous seats of

learning in the province; if, further, we consider the very use of the word "revival" in contradistinction to the word "introduction" occurring in the next part of the disputed clause, it then becomes reasonably certain that the British Legislature intended the sum set apart by it to be appropriated to the patronage of Oriental literature and learning, though it is not to be denied that it may at the same time have had in mind the dissemination of European knowledge as an object worthy of consideration in conjunction with the one primarily provided for. We may also turn once more at this point to the letter of instructions from the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government dated 3rd June 1814 for confirmation of the Orientalist interpretation. Therein the Court suggested various ways of giving effect to the clause of the Charter Act; and, whilst there occurs in it only a vague reference to the manner in which the inhabitants of the country might be led to adopt in some distant future the improvements of Europe in science and knowledge, the whole trend of the letter and of the opinions and suggestions offered in it, distinctly bespoke encouragement to the indigenous literature and learning of the land. Nor is the actuating motive of Parliament's solicitude for Oriental literature difficult to understand. "Thank God, I am no lawyer," said Hodgson, "but to my plain understanding the British Legislature, when it decreed a small pittance for the 'revival of native learning,' had in view the making of some small atonement for that fiscal rapacity which had merged in the ocean of revenue so many streamlets of national education."[1]

[1] Hodgson: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol II. p. 259.

However all that may have been, one thing of which we can be sure is that the main reason of the whole wordy dispute between the Anglicists and the Orientalists over the Charter Act was that the question of the construction of the ill-fated clause was approached by the two parties from widely different angles and with opposite motives. The Orientalists, on the one hand, in scanning the wording of the clause, concerned themselves first and foremost with ascertaining the intention of the Legislature in order to justify the course pursued by them as directly conforming to the express wishes of an authority which none could disregard or question. The Anglicists, on the other hand, were not concerned so much with the intentions of Parliament as with the question whether the words of the enactment precluded the authorisation of such changes in the established system of education as they advocated in order to obtain if possible the hall-mark of Government's sanction to the views and measures they maintained and proposed. So it was that, whilst the one party stressed and twisted the former part of the clause regarding Oriental literature, the other manipulated the meaning of the latter part regarding the introduction of "a knowledge of the sciences." Of course, Macaulay sided with the Anglicists on the point. He considered the words of the latter part of the clause quite decisive on the Anglicist side and "alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend." But it is worthy of note that, while he challenged, he never directly assailed the Orientalist interpretation with fact or argument. With an orator's instinct he resorted to the device of *reductio ad absurdum* by means of one his facile analogies. He tried to make it

appear ridiculous by hypothesising a parallel case of the Pasha of Egypt appropriating a sum for the purpose "of reviving and promoting literature, and encouraging learned natives of Egypt" and then by proceeding to ask triumphantly: "Would anybody infer that he meant the youth of his Pachalik to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all the doctrines disguised under the fable of Osiris, and to ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly charged with inconsistency if, instead of employing his young subjects in decyphering obelisks, he were to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys?" However, the less imaginative but better informed Mr. Prinsep quickly set him right on the point. "With respect to the analogy to the position of the Pasha of Egypt," wrote Mr. Prinsep in reply, "there can be no doubt that if he were to talk of *reviving* and promoting literature in that country, his meaning would be the literature and language *last* existing in Egypt, viz., that borrowed from Arabia and accordingly we do see him cultivating and reviving that and teaching medicine and other sciences in that.[1] The example is

[1] In the "General Report of Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces" for 1843-44 there occurs the following passage under the head "Delhi College":—"In conclusion the Committee (*i.e.*, the Local Committee) were informed that it was understood that His Highness, the present Pasha of Egypt, had been making great exertions to procure the translation into Arabic of standard European works, on scientific and other subjects, and that application had been made to the British Consul General at Cairo, to purchase and send out two complete sets of the publications, one of which it was intended to lodge in the Delhi College." The Local Committee were informed to that effect by the Government of the N. W. Provinces. Shortly after, the books arrived and were forwarded to the Delhi and Agra Colleges: (p. 65).

worthy of imitation. There is no talk there of reviving the mummy literature of Osiris nor in India of going beyond what we found prevailing throughout but languishing for want of encouragement." [1]

In the same strain and with the usual exuberance of analogies Macaulay proceeded to argue against the inviolability, as asserted by the Orientalists, of endowments antecedent to the Charter Act, such as that of the Calcutta Madressa. The gist of his argument was that "the grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility." Hence he contended that if the Oriental Colleges had after trial been found to be useless or to have failed to fulfil the expectations originally entertained of them, the Government had a perfect right to withdraw its assistance to them and appropriate their funds to more useful objects, just as it had a perfect right to abandon a sanatorium or pier founded or commenced under a mistaken supposition of its public utility and subsequently discovered to be a futile enterprise. He maintained that there was no pledge on the part of Government with regard to the former case any more than there could be one with regard to the latter—a pledge to continue support from the public revenues in spite of the demonstrated uselessness of the object supported. There too Macaulay was corrected by Mr. Prinsep who brought to bear indisputable facts and cogent arguments on the point, so far at least as it related

[1] Note, dated the 15th February 1835, by H. T. Prinsep: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 118.

to the Madressa.[1] But here we may well leave the point to Macaulay and Prinsep; it has little present interest for us, and it would be lengthening our narrative to tedious prolixity to dwell on it further than to point out generally that what Macaulay seems to have been anxious to prove, by assailing the Orientalist interpretation of the Charter Act as well as the doctrine of the inviolability of certain specific endowments, was that the education fund was "quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of promoting learning in India in any way which may be thought most advisable." Having settled that point satisfactorily to himself, he went on to grapple with the real question that lay at the root of the Anglo-Orientalist conflict.

He began by stating the question in these terms: "It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them. What then shall that language be? One half of the Committee maintain that it should be English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be—which language is the best worth knowing?"

The very form in which the question was thus premised by Macaulay betrays certain misapprehensions on his part. Assuredly, enough has been said before to make it clear that with the Orientalists the question was not one of Arabic and Sanskrit or English, as Macaulay made out, but one of

[1] *Ibid.*, Sels. E. R., Pt., I pp. 119-21.

the relative position of Arabic and Sanskrit on the one hand *and* English on the other in a national scheme of education. The Orientalists had no more doubts than Macaulay as to which language was "the best worth knowing": their answer would have been and was unhesitatingly in favour of English. But they pleaded the actual circumstances of the country, the popular reverence for the ancient languages and the impossibility of making English the universal language of India in justification of their assigning greater importance to Sanskrit and Arabic than to English. Moreover, their aim was to make use of, not only Sanskrit and Arabic languages, but Sanskrit and Arabic knowledge in order to lead ultimately to the adoption by the people of the improved knowledge and science of the West; and the experiments of Wilkinson and Ballantyne proved the feasibility of the aim no less than the necessity of its being kept clearly in view, if it was desired to introduce European knowledge amongst the learned classes of the country. But nowhere did the Orientalists fail to recognise the value and importance of English to the people of India or seek to exclude it in favour of the Oriental languages. Hence the question as to which language was the best worth knowing was no question at all from the Orientalist point of view. Yet, after having posited that question, Macaulay proceeded to argue, or rather to assume, the superiority of the English language and literature to the Oriental and to accuse the Orientalists of supporting an inferior and useless system of learning at the sacrifice of a superior and useful one. Again, the terms in which Macaulay couched the question at issue indicates a confusion in

his mind in regard to what we have seen before to be distinct questions, the question of the medium and that of the matter of instruction; or rather, we may say he failed to perceive the distinction at all. Consequently, he took it for granted that the superiority of European learning for the purpose of instruction being established, the necessity of English as the medium par excellence established itself.

Starting from the question premised by him, Macaulay went on to make prodigal use of his vigorous phraseology in answering it. In fulsome language he set forth the claim of the English tongue to be the storehouse of all the wealth of human wisdom and knowledge and the key to all intellectual enjoyment. Of disparaging epithets he had an abundance to bestow on Oriental literature and learning. He referred to the great impulse communicated to the European mind by the study of Greek and Latin at the period of the Renaissance in order to show that the study of English would do for India what Greek and Latin did for Europe. He appealed to the contemporary instance of Russia having been civilised by the study of foreign languages and assimilation of foreign knowledge, and not by relying on her resources, in order to bring home the point that English could do for the Hindu what it had done for the Tartar. And he rounded off his dithyramb on the English language and literature with the question "whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European

science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Of course, it is totally unnecesary for one in the twentieth century to waste any comment on Macaulay's comparison of European with Oriental learning or to deal with the errors in his onslaught against the latter. It is sufficient to note that Macaulay, not only amply partook of the Anglicist ignorance and prejudice with regard to Oriental learning, but his brilliant pen led him to display these in an extravagant fashion. Surely, it needs neither evidence to prove the profundity of ignorance, nor argument to demonstrate the height of prejudice, of a man who could express the doubt "whether the Sanskrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors." The object of Macaulay's *obiter dicta* on Oriental learning would seem to be to consign it to as complete ridicule as possible; and, with the copious vocabulary of the English language at his command, he certainly accomplished his object passing well, though at the expense of truth.

Nor need we pause to consider the validity of Macaulay's analogies on the point. Their superficiality may be condoned on the ground of

Macaulay's want of experience of the conditions of India. We have before touched upon the fallacies involved in them, and Mr. Prinsep did not omit to point them out in his reply to Macaulay's Minute.[1] But, as showing the extent of the fallaciousness which underlies the arguments of the Minute, we may allude to an instance of the way in which Macaulay's rhetoric sometimes begged a question in dispute. Referring to his question whether, when it was in the power of the British rulers to teach English, they ought to teach languages in which there were no useful books, Mr. Prinsep remarked: "There is nobody acquainted with both literatures that will not subscribe to all that is said in the Minute of the superiority of that of England but the question is not rightly stated when it is asserted to be this "whether, when *it is in our power to teach this language*"—that is English—we shall teach those which contain no books of value. The whole question is—have we in our power to teach everywhere this English and this European science? It is in doubting, nay in denying, this that those who take the opposite view maintain the expediency of letting the natives pursue their present course of instruction and of endeavouring to *engraft* European science thereon."[2]

Besides attempting to refute the Orientalists on the general question with arguments of a general character, Macaulay endeavoured further to repel his opponents on their own ground by meeting the several particular contentions advanced by them against the course recom-

1 H. T. Prinsep's Note, dated 15th February 1835: Sels. E. R., Part I, pp. 121-22.

2 *Ibid.*, Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 121.

mended by the Anglicists. In doing this, he tried to prove two facts which, if conclusively proved, were certainly decisive against the Orientalists. He tried to prove, first, that Oriental learning did not command the popular favour, which the Orientalists asserted and that therefore their apprehension regarding the loss of co-operation of the people resulting from a change of the established system of education was unfounded, because Macaulay denied that they were at the time securing the desired co-operation. Not that, be it noted, Macaulay set any great value on the co-operation of the people: his maxim on the contrary was, "it would be bad enough to consult their intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health." But he condescended to argue the point presumably for the sake of confounding the Orientalists by proving that they consulted neither in following the course they did. And he tried to prove, secondly, that it was not the teaching of Oriental learning, but instruction in the English language and literature which met with the approbation of the people. Or, in short, he tried to prove what he expressed in two emphatic assertions: "We are withholding from them the learning which is palatable to them. We are forcing on them the mock learning which they nauseate...."

In proof of the latter assertion, Macaulay stressed the fact that students of Arabic and Sanskrit were paid stipends in the Oriental Colleges, whereas students of English themselves paid for being taught that language; and the inference he drew was "that we cannot find in

all our vast empire a single student who will let us teach him those dialects, unless we will pay him." He referred particularly to the accounts of the Madressa of a certain period which showed that whilst above Rs. 500 were paid in stipends to the Arabic students, a sum of Rs. 103 was realised from the out-students of English as payment for their tuition; and he asked why it was necessary "to pay people to learn Sanskrit and Arabic." The answer he himself gave was: "Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanskrit and Arabic are languages the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them." And in such a case he regarded the state of the market as the decisive test. Again, however, the evidence adduced by Macaulay, far from being conclusive on the point, involved questions of fact which were perfectly open to dispute; and a rejoinder, explaining the inconclusive character of that particular piece of evidence, was apparently not a difficult task for Mr. Prinsep with his intimate knowledge of the subject. What the character of those stipends was, what the purpose for which they were paid, and what the tendency and actual effects of the stipendiary system were—these were important and much debated questions with which Macaulay did not concern himself:[1] he simply dragged forward the mere fact of payment in support of his assertions. So it was Mr. Prinsep had to put himself to the trouble of showing that that fact did not *per se* bear out the contention of

1 For the views of the opponents of the stipendiary system, see Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, Chap. IV, pp. 102-07.

Macaulay, but that, on the contrary, if inquired into a little minutely, it was apt to turn the tables against him. Mr. Prinsep explained that the stipends paid in the Oriental Colleges were of the character of scholarships such as those given in the universities or public schools of England, and the chief purpose they served was to keep promising students longer at their studies than was ordinarily possible without providing them with subsistence in the shape of stipends. And, replying to the argument of Macaulay, he said: "Whether it is expedient or not to give these stipendiary provisions as rewards of ardent study and to keep students longer at their education by means of them is a question that has heretofore been argued in the Committee of Public Instruction. Something is to be said on both sides and although the Committee heretofore decided in favour of the practice it does not follow that they may not have decided wrong. But however this may be the fact that there are paid scholars on the establishment or foundation of any seminary affords no ground for assuming that none would learn if they were not paid, yet this is the argument of the Minute. As well might it be assumed from the fact that there are foundation scholars at Eton and scholarships in all the Colleges of both Universities in England that nobody would learn Latin and Greek if it were not for these stipendiary advantages. Be it Latin and Greek or Mathematics or Law or Arabic and Sanscrit Literature or be it English the principle is the same. Scholarships are given and it is thought right to give them to reward and encourage the poor scholar and to lend as well through the excitement of com-

petition as by lengthening the course of study to the attainment of higher proficiency. In the Madressa itself separate scholarships have been established for proficients in English in order to encourage the study of that language. If this be a conclusive argument that the study of English is nauseated because it requires to be paid for, they may be applied to Arabic and Sanscrit and to Mathematics and to all other studies. All must participate in the reproach or it will evidently apply to none."[1] So too he explained the fact of the Madressa accounts showing no collection from Arabic students whereas they did in case of English students, by the common custom among Maulavies and Pandits of imparting instruction gratis and of regarding it as unmeritorious to receive any remuneration for it except by way of voluntary gift. The English master in the Madressa, on the other hand, being a Christian, levied fees on those able to pay. "The wonder is rather," commented Prinsep, "considering that the teacher in this instance is a first rate instructor and that he gives instruction to *Hindoos* as well as *Mooslims*, that more was not realised. The fact that a sum of about Rs. 30 a month was realized when upwards of three hundred per mensem is paid from the Committee's funds to the Schoolmaster is surely no proof of the violent desire for instruction in English which is inferred from it."[2]

In a similar manner Macaulay blundered when he sought further proof of his assertion in a petition of certain ex-students of the Sanskrit

[1] H. T. Prinsep's Note, 15th February 1835 : Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 123-24.

[2] *Ibid.*, Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 124.

College who seemed to have complained that their Oriental acquirements had not improved their prospects in life or gained them even the means of subsistence. Prinsep rightly retorted that "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." And he evinced a profounder eye for realities than Macaulay, who generally skimmed the surface of things, when he proceeded to remark: "Much research and patient investigation would be indispensible before any determination could be come to on the important question to native youth at this moment how best to secure respect in after-life and by what course of education to provide themselves the best chance of a comfortable livelihood. In all times and amongst all people this is an important question for youth but more especially to the youth of India at present when society with all its institutions is so evidently in the transition state."[1]

In proof of his other assertion, that of the the popularity of English instruction, Macaulay pointed out the fact that, while the Arabic and Sanskrit books and translations printed by the the General Committee found no sale amongst the people and represented a serious waste of public money, the English books were in such demand that the School Book Society found their publication a profitable enterprise. In this case too Macaulay seems to have proceeded to argue on the principle that the state of the market was the decisive test. But the force of his argument

[1] *Ibid.*, Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 125.

was considerably weakened by the fact that he had no sufficiently intimate knowledge or experience of the market to apply the test correctly or decisively. As it was, the fact adduced by him was susceptible of a different explanation. Various causes concurred to prevent the Committee's publications from finding a ready sale, such as their high price, their poor quality or get-up, and commercial competition.[1] Moreover, the failure of this part of the Committee's operations was acknowledged by the more candid of its Orientalist members. But even when the failure was admitted to the full, it simply went to constitute a reason for discontinuance of the publishing activities of the Committee and hardly an incontestable proof, as Macaulay thought, of the absence of any popular taste for Oriental literature. No doubt, on the other hand, the flourishing sale of English books did go to indicate an increased desire on the part of the people for knowledge of the English language and literature. But then it was easy to exaggerate the fact and difficult to ascertain correctly the extent of the prevalence of that desire among the vast population of Bengal. There appears to have been much truth in the words of Prinsep on the subject, even after allowing for the tendency of his Orientalist bias to minimise the importance of the fact. "Undoubtedly," he said, "there is a very widely spread anxiety at this time for the attainment of a certain proficiency in English. The sentiment is to be encouraged by all means as the source and forerunner of a great moral improvement to those who feel

1 H. T. Prinsep's Note, 15th February 1835: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 126-27.

its influence but there is no single member of the Education Committee who will venture to assert that this disposition has as yet shown itself extensively amongst the Moosulmans.[1] It is the Hindoos of Calcutta, the Sirkars and their connexions and the descendants and relations of the Sirkars of former days, those who have risen through their connexion with the English and with public offices, men who hold or who seek employments in which a knowledge of English is a necessary qualification. These are the classes of persons to whom the study of English is as yet confined and certainly we have no reason that the Moosulmans in any part of India can be reconciled to the cultivation of it much less give it a preference to the polite literature of their race or to what they look upon as such."[2] Moreover, the arguments of Macaulay regarding the popular desire for knowledge of English considerably lose their power to convince when we take into consideration the limited opportunities he had of ascertaining for himself the real extent or cause of the prevalence of that desire.[3]

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1 Commenting on this, Macaulay remarked that there was "no good English school for the Moosulmans," evidently implying that the absence of a school accounted for the fact pointed out by Prinsep: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 125.

2 H. T. Prinsep's Note, 15th February 1835: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 124-25.

3 H. H. Wilson, stating the reasons for which in his view a knowledge of English was generally sought, once said: "A Babu is desirous of becoming familiar with English as an introduction to the acquaintance and notice of the leading members of European society. Those in an inferior station of life cultivate English in the hope of its leading to public employment. It is not from any love of English literature that they cultivate the study; it is from worldly considerations, which are very natural, and very unobjectionable." (Evidence, 5th July 1853: Second Report from the Sel. Com. of the House of Lords on Indian Territories—Session 1852-53, Q. 7324). *Cf.* the following statement of Mr. G. C. Marshman on the same point: "The study of English is exceedingly popular among the natives of Bengal,

Macaulay, as Wilson said, "was new in India, and he knew nothing of the people; he spoke only from what he saw immediately around him, which has been the great source of the mistakes committed by the advocates for English exclusively: they have known nothing of the country; they have not known what the people want; they only know the people of the large towns, where English is of use and is effectively cultivated."[1] We may well be sceptical about the value of an inference drawn from imperfect knowledge, as was done by Macaulay.

We see then on what a dubious foundation of facts and arguments and imperfect and incorrect knowledge and information and gross misunderstanding of the Orientalist point of view Macaulay reared the edifice of his case for the Anglicists. You have only to pierce the imposing facade to see the hollowness within. And that is true of the famous Minute throughout. Enough however has been said to render further analysis of the historical document unnecessary. We need no longer pause to notice particularly his confident anticipation of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages falling into desuetude and ceasing to be cultivated for any practical purpose through the promulgation of an Anglo-Indian Code—an anticipation which the future belied. We need not pause either to dwell on the cultural

more so in Bengal, perhaps, than in the North-Western Provinces.... It is the language of their rulers, and a knowledge of it appears to confer dignity and consequence. The natives exceedingly prize the honour of being able to converse with those who govern them in their own language; it is also found to lead to situations of profit and honour; and is therefore studied also from feelings of self-interest." (Evidence, 15th June 1853: *Ibid.*, Q. 6391).

1 Evidence, 5th July 1853: Second Report from Lords' Sel-Com. Session. 1852-53—Q. 7240.

value of the aim he conceived as essential of accomplishment by means of English education—namely, that of forming a class of interpreters between the rulers and the ruled, "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." Nor need we pause to admire the brilliancy of the pen from which flashed forth a withering fusillade of epithets against the General Committee, thus: "I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a Board for wasting the public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank—for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology—for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an incumbrance and blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives." After all, there is nothing very striking about all that. What is striking in the present instance is that Macaulay, with all his rhetoric, with all his imaginative ardour, with all his ingenious rather than sound reasoning, did not succeed in refuting the Orientalists and Prinsep's note in reply to his Minute, among other able documents by several Orientalists, is evidence of the fact.[1] It is no less absurd to say, as has been sometimes done, that Macaulay "routed" the Orientalists than to declare, in complacent ignorance of facts, that,

[1] H. T. Prinsep's Note, dated 15th February 1835.

inspite of errors, his Minute "remains a model of just and comprehensive reasoning."[1]

What then precisely did Macaulay succeed in doing? What part did he play in the settlement of the famous controversy? Nothing more nor less than this: that he captured the ear of Lord William Bentinck, whose prepossessions in the matter did not render the capture difficult, for the Anglicist side of the question at issue, and secured the Governor-General's concurrence and support to the views and claims of the Anglicists. Bentinck's recorded contribution to the controversy consists of exactly a dozen words which he subscribed at the end of Macaulay's Minute, to wit: "I give my entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in this Minute." In fact, little of the kind of discussion that might have been expected to ensue on a question of such importance took place in the Governor-General's Council. Bentinck and Macaulay may be said to have mainly settled the question between themselves; out of the remaining members of the Council one deferred to the views of Macaulay;[2] and the opposition of the other as well as the protests of Prinsep (who was not a member but Secretary in the Political Department) went unheeded or were easily borne down. Thus Macaulay carried the day, and the Orientalist side of the question was manœuvred out of the deliberations of the Council. It is in view of this fact that it has been necessary to enter at some length upon a critical examination of Macaulay's Minute. If it be true what was at the

[1] F. W. Thomas: *History and Prospects of British Education in India*, Chap. III, p. 35 (1890).

[2] Minute, dated 10th February 1835, by Mr. A. Ross: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 16 (G. I. R.)

time presumed, and has been ever since, that Bentinck's famous Resolution on the Anglo-Orientalist controversy was prompted by that Minute, then it is essential to observe and bear in mind clearly the nature of the material on which the Governor-General was pleased to found his decision.

But is the presumption correct? In other words, how was it possible for Bentinck, with his knowledge and experience of India, to yield so easily to the arguments of Macaulay? Or was it to Macaulay's personal and literary charm that he succumbed? The answer is not difficult to find. It is not at all certain that Bentinck was carried away by any strong conviction of the correctness of the arguments and conclusions of his new Law Member. What seems certain is that the Minute supplied what Bentinck needed—a reinforcement to the predisposition he had acquired in favour of Anglicist opinions. Various factors had helped to create that predisposition in him. There was first his ardour for reform. He who was contemplating about the same time the abolition of Persian and substitution of English in the law courts, could not need great persuasion to declare in favour of substitution of English for Arabic and Sanskrit in educational institutions. Again, Bentinck was favourably impressed by the results he had witnessed of the communication of English instruction to Hindu youth. In this connection Wilson mentions an interesting fact. "Lord William Bentinck," he says, "was very much delighted with the Hindu College (the Vidyalaya). Both Lord William Bentinck and Lady William Bentinck used to come there frequently, without any

ceremony or form, to witness the working of the classes, and even to ask questions of the boys; and from seeing the great success with which the English studies of the college were pursued, he thought that similar success might attend every attempt to diffuse a knowledge of English throughout the country."[1] Secondly, Bentinck was not by temperament inclined to respect the claims of Oriental learning. What weighed with him more were the evils of Hindu society, one of the most glaring of which, Sati, he had a short while ago legally abolished; genuinely believing it to be an effective agent for eradicating those evils, he championed the cause of "useful knowledge" and of European civilisation. Further, in connection with the same point there has to be borne in mind a noted weakness of Bentinck's character, which may have helped Macaulay to win him over to the Anglicist side—namely, a tendency to adopt hastily-formed opinions. It was stated by a contemporary of his that "of Lord William's tendency to form hasty conclusions, and obstinacy in adhering to them, one hardly meets with a person who has not a variety of instances to quote; and though it is probable that some may be exaggerated, and others altogether groundless, it seems impossible that a character so universally given should be entirely without foundation;"[2] and again that "in many cases, instead of listening to the opinions of men who from experience and observation are well qualified to judge and give information on Indian affairs, the measures

[1] H. H. Wilson's Evidence, 5th July 1853, *Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Session* 1852-53—Q. 7241.

[2] Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 98.

introduced are the result of some private conversation with persons who have the tact to persuade him of the soundness of their views; but whose pretensions to decide on the subject have little foundation."[1]

Moreover, Bentinck was not a man to be deterred from taking even an unprecedented step on which he had made up his mind from a mere apprehension of consequences. That is why he seems to have been unmoved by the arguments of Lieut.-Col. William Morrison, the only member of the Council in opposition—arguments which would have been seriously attended to by some of his predecessors in the office of Governor-General. For, Morrison, though he hardly spoke on the merits of the controversy on which he does not appear to have been competent to speak, yet represented the fearful consequences of the contemplated measure to the safety of the British political power in India. He referred to the feelings of popular disgust and alarm with which the proposed substitution of the English for the classical languages of India would be viewed; and he considered it a want of toleration on the part of the Government to banish the languages which were venerated by the learned of the land. "If the Empire we have raised," he said, "has acquired any stability, the chief cement, the principal prop of the Fabric is our toleration but it seems a mockery to say that we are still tolerant and at the same time take away the small pittance now devoted (tho' perhaps not with the utmost advantage) for the purpose of keeping alive the ancient National Literature. Whatever we may think, the natives will natur-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

ally put a construction upon the proceeding the most unfavourable to us that can well be imagined nor will they do so without reason—we may effect the great change by the overawing influence of our power, and we may console ourselves with the reflection that the curses of many tho' deep will not loudly follow; but we shall not escape the imputation of having denied to Oriental learning that degree of support even which it obtains in almost every petty German state at the present hour. Is this consistent with our position as Rulers of a hundred millions of people by whom the prescribed languages are idolized, or is such conduct either just or wise?" Or, again: "What the eventual consequences of this innovation may be, it is fearful to contemplate. It will have an operation more extensive than may at first sight be supposed, for the countries beyond the Indus will participate in the hatred which our impolicy will have generated against us in our possessions."[1]

Prinsep, in one of his lengthy minutes of protest, lifts the veil over the proceedings of the Governor-General's Council with regard to the question submitted to it for decision. If the facts he states be materially correct, they throw an interesting light on the summary manner in which Bentinck disposed of that question. Macaulay gave his Minute to Bentinck at Barrackpur, the Governor-General's country house.[2] "This minute," says Prinsep, "was evidently a partisan paper

[1] Minute, dated 18th February 1835, by Lt. Col. W. Morrison: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 17. *Vide* also his Minute of 3rd March 1835: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 18: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

[2] *Vide* Extract from the Diary of H. T. Prinsep: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 133.

advocating in a controversial and not very moderate tone the cause of one section of the Committee. It proceeded further than the warmest advocates of that side had yet ventured. Its assertions and arguments therefore demanded some investigation before they should be adopted as the basis of any grave proceeding of the Government. Without instituting however any such enquiry and as far as is known to me, without consulting any one of those in whom he was in the habit of placing confidence, the late Governor-General immediately upon the perusal of the minute in question, before any of the papers had been laid before the Council or discussed, added to it the declaration of his entire concurrence and so forwarded it to the Secretary of the Department (*i.e.* Prinsep himself) for circulation. I circulated it and in a few days the Box was returned to me with a brief minute by Mr. Ross stating his own opinions to be opposed to the grant of scholarships and his wish that all should be left free to follow the course of instruction they preferred but without notice of the statements of doubtful accuracy contained in the minute of Mr. Macaulay. I was not then aware of Col. Morrison's intention to record his opinion on the subject. His minute reached me some days afterwards. In the interval however of the circulation of Mr. Macaulay's minute it got wind, I know not from what quarter,[1] that it was the intention of the Government to abolish the Madressa and Sanscrit Colleges. I was waited upon twice by the Head Preceptor of the

[1] Later on, however, Prinsep mentioned John Colvin, a member of the General Committee, as concerned in the leakage of the information. For details of the incident, *vide* Extract from his Diary, Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 133-34.

former and utterly denied that there was any such intention. But the report was too widely circulated and too well vouched to be so checked and the whole town of Calcutta was soon in a ferment. In the course of two days a petition, respectful in language but strong in the points to which it adverted, was signed by upwards of eight thousand educated Mahomedans and a similar petition in behalf of the Sanskrit College was under preparation by the Hindus. Seeing this ferment and sensible of the mischief that must follow the adoption to the full of the recommendations contained in the minute of Mr. Macaulay which seemed to me to be assented to by the Governor-General, I took upon myself in my capacity of Secretary to submit to the Head of the Government a note explaining many of the circumstances on which Mr. Macaulay had in my opinion built erroneous conclusions or had written from imperfect imformation. I forwarded my note to the Governor-General and was at first asked through Mr. Parkenham, the Private Secretary, to withdraw it under a verbal assurance that the Minute of Mr. Macaulay would be sent down to the Committee of Education of which he was President and myself a member in order that the matter might there be fully argued and discussed. I was of course satisfied that the mischief should be so stopped and circulated the note no further. In the meantime Col. Morrison also appeared alive to the importance of the question and recorded the minute in behalf of the Native Literature in which he deprecated any hasty innovations hostile to it and concluded with recommending a reference of the question to England. The matter was brought forward at

the very next meeting of Council when this recommendation as well as the promise held out to me were both disregarded and the resolution of the 7th March was passed, stopping short indeed of the threatened abolition of the Sanscrit and Arabic Colleges but directed towards the insiduously undermining of both and for the first time avowing the principle that Oriental Literature and instruction were thenceforward to receive no further aid from Government, not being considered objects deserving of its encouragement. The resolution is evidently founded on the minute of Mr. Macaulay alone adverted to and not upon the reference from the Committee at large to the points submitted in which it nowhere adverts. It is thus based upon a minute advocating with all the warmth of controversy one particular side of a debated question without the opportunity having been given to those opposed to this view to offer any explanation or reply, nay the late Governor-General would not allow the answer prepared to it to appear on record, for upon finding that Mr. Macaulay's paper was not to be referred to the Committee of Public Instruction for further discussion, as I had been led to expect, would be done, I submitted to His Lordship whether my note also should not be recorded for the correction of some of the statements of the minute which were erroneous or founded on imperfect information. I was met by a rebuke for having taken upon myself so much, accompanied by the declaration that secretaries are the organs and not advisers of the Government and that their submitting Notes at all was under sufferance and an irregularity. The Petition of the Mahomedans in favour of

the Madressa had been delivered in but the resolution was hurried through without giving it previous consideration. It was passed entirely without reference to former proceedings which might have shown how far the Government was pledged to continue its support to Oriental Literature or to any of the Institutions aimed to be overthrown and without any inquiry of the Committee of Public Instruction as to the encouragement they had given and were then giving to literature by the publication of Eastern classics or as to their reasons for devoting the funds to such purposes. Col. Morrison's earnest deprecation of the consequences of a hasty change and his solicitation of a reference to England were over-ruled and held at naught and an order was at once put forth adopting the principles of Mr. Macaulay to the full, viz., that English was the only thing worth teaching and that the Funds of Government should whenever the occasion offered be withdrawn from all other purposes to be transferred to that. In the manner that the thing was done no less than in the character of the measure there appeared to me who watched it in all its stages an undue hastiness and impatience and an utter disregard for consistency with past proceedings as for the consequences and effects of the measure in its bearing on those directly interested. I think therefore I am fully warranted by what fell under my view in the course of the whole transaction in calling the resolution of the 7th March a rash act." [1]

So came to be passed the famous Resolution of 7th March 1835, which decreed the sys-

[1] Minute, dated 20th May 1835: Pub. Cons: 3rd June 1835, No. 8, Home Pub. Progs., April to June 1835, 398 (G. I. R.)

tematic introduction of the English language into India under the auspices of an official system of Education.[1] Notwithstanding the circumstances in which it was passed and which led Prinsep to call it, justifiably or otherwise, a rash act, the Resolution began with the solemn preamble: "The Governor-General of India in Council had *attentively* considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them." It then proceeded to announce that His Lordship in Council was of opinion "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of Education would be best employed on English education alone." It disclaimed, however, any intention on the part of His Lordship to abolish any of the Oriental institutions, so long as the people continued to take advantage of them, and it confirmed the *status quo* in regard to them; but at the same time it prohibited the payment of stipends to future students of those colleges, as His Lordship held such a system gave "artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superceded by more useful studies;" and it also forbade the filling up of vacancy in any professorial situation without a previous report being submitted to Government on the number and state of the class so as to enable the Government to decide upon "the expediency of ap-

[1] Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 19: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

pointing a professor." Having thus provided for the gradual undermining of Oriental colleges, the Resolution went on to direct that no Oriental works were any more to be printed out of the funds of the Education Committee. And it finally concluded by laying down that all the funds that might accrue from withdrawal of pecuniary means and encouragement to Oriental Colleges and Oriental publications ("reforms" was the word used in the Resolution) were to be employed "in imparting science, through the medium of the English language."

Those were the terms of the proconsular fiat that governed the future course of education in Bengal.

Chapter VIII.

THE ANGLICIST POLICY IN ACTION.

It is obvious from the terms of the Resolution as well as from the circumstances in which the decision embodied in it was arrived at, that Bentinck's aim was not only to extend English education to the furthest limits possible with the resources at command for the purpose, but to leave Oriental learning and literature to thrive as best as it might with the minimum of prefunctory assistance from Government to the Colleges in which it was studied. The Resolution indeed stopped short at dealing an immediate death-blow to the Oriental Seminaries from regard to existing interests and to the opposition apprehended to their total abolition, but none the less the intention was clearly to discountenance them out of existence by the withdrawal of what Bentinck called "artificial encouragement" to Oriental studies. The idea was, by depriving those seminaries of stipends and by discontinuing the appointment of new professors to vacancies save in a case of absolute necessity, to encompass their abolition by slow degrees without the obloquy that might have attended an act of sudden extermination.[1]

So far we have concerned ourselves with the Resolution as a formal declaration in favour

1 It is therefore somewhat strange to find it said that "there is no evidence that Bentinck intended like Macaulay to exclude for ever Oriental studies from the spheres of education—As a practical man, he was considering the expenditure of a very small sum of money" (*i.e.*, the Parliamentary grant of a lakh)—Arthur Mayhew, "The Education of India," Pt. I, Ch. I, p. 19 (1926). So far as official records on the subject go, they certainly furnish no evidence to support Mr. Mayhew's conjecture.

of the introduction of the English language and education on a general and systematic scale. But the question that next demands consideration and which would be convenient to deal with here is, how far was Bentinck's Resolution successful in *actually* promoting the spread of English education in the province of Bengal? And closely connected with this is another question, what were the actual effects of the Resolution on the cultivation of Oriental learning under official auspices? In treating, however, of the latter question, the fact has to be borne in mind that Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, modified in 1839-40 the Resolution in favour of the Oriental colleges so as at least to prevent their being ultimately reduced to the state of languishment to which they had been condemned.

An attempt at a complete answer to those questions, particularly to the former, involves nothing less than a review, however brief or cursory, of the educational operations that were based on the Resolution in question: for, it is necessary to note the means and measures adopted for the spread of English through educational institutions in order to ascertain or measure the extent of that spread.

The first effect of the Resolution, so far as the constitution of the General Committee was concerned, was to cause a change in its membership. Two prominent members who were attached to Orientalist opinions seceded from that body. But the original number was enlarged by the addition of new members and the Committee consisted in 1835 of seventeen in all.

For the first time Indians also were admitted to the membership. This was done "by conferring on the managers of the Hindu College the privilege of electing two of their number in rotation as members of the Committee."[1] Subsequently a Mahomedan gentleman was also appointed. The first Hindu members were Radhakant Dev and Russomoy Dutt who, curiously enough, were reported to have been "remarkable for their conservative opinions;" and the Mahomedan member was Nawab Tahawwur Jung. Their appointment to the Committee appears to have been made in view of their acquiescence in the new ideas which were to be carried out by the Committee.[2]

The second effect of the Resolution was, as a matter of course, to cause a change in the aims and principles of the Committee. What were the aims and objects which the new Committee set before itself? Its immediate cultural aim was of course to diffuse European knowledge through the medium of the English language; but this was professed to be part of a larger,

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1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 16.

2 In the course of his evidence before the Lords' Select Committee in 1853 Trevelyan answered the following questions on the points that were put to him:—

"6596. Was the resolution, which led to the express preference of English over the learned languages of the East, acquiesced in and approved of by those native gentlemen who became your colleagues?

"Entirely: their accession to the Committee was founded on the understanding that they approved of it."

"6597. Lord Mont Eagle: In fact, did you not select native gentlemen whose opinions you knew to be in agreement with yours upon that subject?

"It may be presumed so; they were gentlemen of the first standing at Calcutta." Evidence, 21st June 1853, Second Report from the Sel. Commee. of the House of Lords on Indian Territories etc., Session 1852-53.

ultimate aim which was to materialise in the creation of a vernacular literature and the development of the vernacular tongues. The exclusive terms in which the Resolution of 7th March expressed preference for English education had led some to question whether, together with the learned Oriental languages, the vernaculars had also been intended to be superseded by English. But the Committee at the outset repudiated so narrow an interpretation. It affirmed its faith in the ultimate importance and destiny of the vernacular tongues. It expressed itself in no uncertain terms in favour of encouraging their cultivation. "We do not conceive," it was declared, "that the order of the 7th of March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions which preceded that order, the claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties, and the question submitted for the decision of Government only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side, and the learned Eastern languages on the other. We, therefore, conceive that the phrases "European literature and science", "English education alone," and "imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language," are intended merely to secure the preference to European learning, taught through the medium of the English language, over Oriental learning, taught through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, as regards the instruction of those Natives who

receive a learned education at our seminaries. These expressions have, as we understand them, no reference to the question through what ulterior medium such instruction as the mass of the people is capable of receiving is to be conveyed. If English had been rejected, and the learned eastern tongues adopted, the people must equally have received their knowledge through the vernacular dialects. It was, therefore, quite unnecessary for the Government, in deciding the question between the rival languages, to take any notice of the vernacular tongues; and, consequently, we have thought that nothing could reasonably be inferred from its omission to take such notice."

Having thus cleared the point of the doubt that had been created on it, the Committee proceeded to enunciate its fundamental aim with regard to the vernaculars and the *indirect* mode in which it sought to realise that aim. "We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature," said the Committee, "to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language which is always very improving to the mind, is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of a vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English, to which many circumstances induce the Natives to give the preference, and with it the knowledge of the learning of the West, is therefore daily spreading. This, as it appears to us, is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The

Natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge before they can transfer it into their own language."

As the most important means of translating those cultural aims into concrete achievement, the chief task to which the Committee addressed itself was to endeavour to spread a network of educational institutions over the province. "In extending our operations," it stated, "we endeavour to keep two objects simultaneously in view. We try to widen the foundations of the system, at the same time that we consolidate and improve it. It would be our aim, did the funds at our command admit of it, to carry the former process on, until an elementary school for instruction in the vernacular language should be established in every village in the country, and the latter, until a college for Western learning should be endowed at the principal town of every commissionership, or circle of two or three zillahs, and ultimately in every zillah." So, when a school at any principal station had been established for a sufficient time to ensure its success, it was intended to "engraft" a college upon it.

And what was the kind of instruction the Committee proposed to impart in the colleges and schools under its control? The first subject which claimed its attention, and for which it desired to establish a "lectureship" as soon as the progress of the students of its institutions permitted of it, was, as it was termed, "English Composition and Literature." It was intended through instruction in that subject

"not merely to enable the young men in the senior classes to acquire a good style of English composition," but also to give them a general acquaintance, before they left college, "with the extent and nature of the existing English literature." In order to have a suitable class-book for lectures on the subject, the School Book Society was induced to undertake the publication of a "a book of Selections from the English Poets, from Chaucer downwards, in the order of their dates," and it was decided also to commence shortly the preparation of "a corresponding volume in prose." The next subject which claimed the Committee's preference comprised "Mathematics and Natural Philosophy." Law came third: "but at present," it was remarked, "this branch of instruction is attended with many difficulties, arising from the number of conflicting systems of law which prevail in this country and the various languages in which they are embodied." But it was hoped that the labours of the Law Commission would "soon supply a condensed body of Anglo-Indian law in the English and vernacular languages." And, when that was done, the Committee considered the proper time would arrive "to adopt measures to procure qualified legal instructors" for each of its more important seminaries. Moreover, the Committee professed an anxiety to give a "a liberal degree of encouragement" to the study of surveying, as practical surveyors were wanted in the Revenue and Judicial Departments of the Government.

As for vernacular instruction, the only way in which the Committee considered it proper and

feasible to provide for it was by following the plan of attaching teachers of the vernacular languages of the province to its institutions. "We have also endeavoured," stated the Committee, "to secure the means of judging for ourselves of the degree of attention which is paid to this important branch of instruction, by requiring that the best translations from English into the vernacular language, and vice versa, should be sent to us after each annual examination, and if they seem to deserve it, a pecuniary prize is awarded by us to the authors of them." However, vernacular instruction in its institutions was always intended by the Committee to be subsidiary to English.

In two important respects, it may be observed here, the scheme of education outlined by the new Committee showed no substantial departure from that pursued by its predecessor. In the first place, popular education or education of the mass of the people was, with much plausible prefatory explanation, shirked in either scheme. For the same reason that influenced the Orientalist Committee, the new Committee was reluctant to undertake the immediate organisation of mass education or to make an appreciable beginning towards it. "The time for it was not yet" was a patent and oft-reiterated objection advanced to all proposals and plans which tended to take into account the masses rather than certain classes; and, like the old, the new Committee waited for a favourable future to launch it on the uncharted sea of mass education. "The improvement of the vernacular literature," said

the Committee in 1835, "however, is most intimately connected with the measure of establishing a system of really national education, which shall in time embrace every village in the country.....We have already received propositions from Delhi, Agra, and Saugor, for establishing village schools; but we consider the agitation of the subject at present premature. Before we can successfully adopt any plan for this purpose, much larger means must be placed at our disposal, and a much larger number of qualified schoolmasters and translators must be raised up. The first of these desiderata does not depend upon us; but the last is every day approaching nearer to attainment. Our existing institutions form the nucleus of a much more general system of education, and they will ere long become capable of being extended to any degree that may be desired, by the formation of district schools in connexion with them." The anticipation was falsified for the simple reason that the "nucleus" failed, or rather refused, to develop in the intended direction. But of this later on.

In the second place, the new Committee appears to have committed the same mistake with regard to vernacular as the old had with regard to English instruction. The former, with the idea of encouraging or enforcing the study of the vernaculars, began to append a vernacular teacher or class to each of the English-teaching institutions under its control just as the latter had appended English classes to the Oriental Institutions. The inevitable result of that method was that the study of one language was made

subordinate to the study of another which happened to be a primary object of instruction with a particular institution. Thus, the study of English was subordinated to, and neglected on account of, Oriental studies in the Oriental institutions, the primary object of which was to impart instruction in Oriental learning; and the study of the vernaculars was to fare no better in institutions whose first and foremost object was instruction in English. In fact, such subordination provided no favourable soil for a proper cultivation of the language subordinated. By that plan, we have seen, the Orientalists reaped disappointment, so far as the object of diffusing a knowledge of English was concerned; and by a similar plan, we shall see, the Anglicists reaped no better harvest with respect to the object of developing the vernaculars.

As yet, however, there was no disappointment to cloud the optimism of outlook with which the General Committee started on its new career of activity. The Orders of 7th March furnished it with the outline of a clear-cut policy; and it proceeded with enthusiasm to the business of filling up the practical details. On 11th April 1835 it adopted a series of propositions indicative of its future course of action. The most important among these related to the cessation of the printing and publishing of all Oriental works, an exception being made in the case of the Fatawa Alamgiri of which only one-sixth had remained to be finished, and to the establishment in the principal towns of the presidencies of Fort William and Agra of schools

for the teaching of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.[1] It was proposed to commence the establishment of such schools with the populous cities of Patna and Dacca.[2]

When the Committee commenced its operations, there were fourteen seminaries, established prior to the year 1835, under its control. But under its encouragement schools multiplied with surprising rapidity. In the very year 1835 six new seminaries were added, being schools established at Pooree, Gawahate, Dacca, Patna, Gazeepore and Meerut. Nor were these all. Six more schools were in the course of being established in that year at Rajshahi, Jubbulpore, Hoshungabad, Furrackabad, Bareilly and Ajmere. So that, in the early part of the following year, there were in all twenty-seven seminaries under the care of the Committee.[3] Three more were added to that number in 1836. One of these was a school established at Chittagong on the representation of the Commissioner, Mr. Dampier, that there existed a "considerable desire amongst all the respectable classes at that place to avail themselves of an English education for their children;"[4] whilst two schools, which already existed at Midnapore and Goruckpoor, were taken under the care of the Committee and put on an efficient footing.[5]

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1 Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 142.

2 Letter from G. C. P. I. to the Govt. of India, 20th April 1835/ No. 2174 : Sels. E.R., Pt. I, p. 141.

3 Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, for the year 1835.

4 Rep. G. C. P. I., 1836, pp. 97-98.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

But the most striking event of the year was the change introduced into the Hoogly College. This College or Madressa had been established previously to 1835 and owed its origin to considerable funds left by an individual named Hajee Mahamed Mohsen about the year 1807 "for the endowment of an Imambara, Madressa, and other Charitable Establishments in the Town of Hoogly." The intentions of the testator were however imperfectly fulfilled by his executors, and part of the funds, being subject to litigation, were deposited with the Government agents and accumulated by 1831 to the extent of 747,000 rupees. The decision of the Privy Council placed that large sum at the disposal of the Government and it was resolved to apply it, "with reference alike to the perpetuation of the Founder's name, and to the promotion of useful knowledge not entirely of a secular character, to the establishment of a Madressa at Hoogly for instruction, in the first instance, in Mahomedan learning and ultimately in General Literature and science."[1] In accordance with this resolution a madressa or college (as it was styled) was established during the regime of the former Orientalist Committe. Shortly after the new Committee assumed charge of educational affairs, the scope of the institution was enlarged. On the 26th of April 1836, the College Committee recommended to the General Committee, among other things, the introduction of an English Department in addition to the Oriental and the abolition of stipends and substitution in their stead of honorary and pecuniary prizes to be given to the

[1] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1831, pp. 14-15.

most proficient students. The General Committee adopted the recommendations of the College Committee and arrangements were made for re-modelling the college on the new plan. One Dr. Wise was appointed Principal of the college and professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; one Mr. J. Sutherland, professor of English literature; one Mr. Cooper, headmaster; and Maulavis Sulaiman and Mahomed Akbar, head teachers in the Oriental Department. This was the strength of the establishment when the College was formally opened on the 1st of August 1836. But apparently those responsible for the arrangements had proceeded on too modest calculations and were hardly prepared for the phenomenon which now confronted them. Within three days twelve hundred names were entered upon the books in the English department only. "In consequence of this unexpected concourse of pupils, Dr. Wise was obliged temporarily to employ five new masters, and to limit the reception of applicants to the last Saturday of every month." The astonishing number of applicants for admission was attributed to "the populousness of the neighbourhood and to the Natives perceiving the advantages of a good education in improving the prospects of their children." And not only that, but, as observed by Dr. Wise, a growing taste for the cultivation of English literature was proved by "the fact of many of the students attending the college from a distance of six and eight miles, and more particularly from upwards of two hundred boys having joined a school which was originally supposed only to impart a knowledge of the language and science

of a foreign nation, without having first learned to read or write their own language." On the other hand, 300 students were admitted into the Oriental Department on the opening of the college. The unwieldy number of students necessitated alterations in the arrangements in the college, which were made, on the recommendation of two members of the General Committee who had proceeded on deputation to Hoogly, by dividing the English department into two schools, an upper and lower, and by increasing the number of teachers in the various departments.[1] Nor was a provision for the study of the vernacular overlooked: the number of teachers of Bengali was increased to eight and it was determined to assign a fixed time in each class of the English Department for the study of that vernacular. In compliment to its benevolent founder the new college was styled the "College of Mahommed Mohsin."[2]

Thus, the number of institutions under the General Committee's control in 1836 was brought to thirty. It was natural that the increase in the number of seminaries should be marked by a concomitant increase in the number of youth studying English, which in fact now greatly outstripped the number of those engaged in the study of the Oriental languages at the Committee's

[1] Subsequently, in 1837, the congestion of students in the English Department of the College appears to have been relieved by the establishment of a Branch and Auxiliary School at Hoogly. This school was reported to have been very popular and in 1837 had on its roll 227 pupils, being the utmost for whom accommodation could be offered. At the same time the number of students in the English Department of the parent college stood in April 1837 at 750. (*Vide*, Rep. G. C. P. I., 1837, pp. 19-20)

[2] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1836, pp. 121-128.

Oriental institutions. The actual figures tell an interesting tale:—[1]

——	1835	1836
English	1816	3,511
Sanskrit	473	381
Arabic	218	256
Persian	376	385

The following year too showed no diminution in the Committe's activity in establishing new schools. It extended its operations to Azimghur, Arrah, Bhagulpore, Commillah, Jessore and Dinajpore, and located a school at each of those places. The last school that was established, namely at Dinajpore, completely exhausted the income of the Committee;[2] but, undaunted by the prospect of having to exceed its income, the Committee contemplated the organisation of two more schools at Chapra and Mirzapore. It looked forward to the lapse of stipends paid in the Oriental Colleges and to the levy of monthly sums from the richer pupils of its schools for means to prevent any permanent diminution of its capital.[3]

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3 passim.

2 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, Chap. I, pp. 17-18. (Trevelyan refers to the "funds" having been exhausted, but he could not have meant the permanent fund at disposal of the Committee).

3 Rep. G. C. P. I., 1837, 61-62 passim.

There was, however, another and more noteworthy feature of the Committee's proceedings during the year than the founding of schools. Hitherto the Committee, inspite of its pronounced Anglicist opinions, had not permitted its activities to trench on the Oriental institutions; but the decline in the number of students attending them that followed the Order of 7th March now made the Committee actively covet their transformation into what were called "Anglo-Indian seminaries" (seminaries in which English in conjunction with a modicum of the vernacular was taught) so as to bring them into line with the rest of the institutions under its control. The attention of the several Oriental College Committees was on convenient occasions drawn to that object and to the advisability of measures for the attainment of it. The Committee now thought the time had come to remodel the Calcutta Mudrissa in order to make it "an efficient Anglo-Indian Seminary."[1] Similarly, with respect to the Allahabad School, the Committee, after noticing the gradual decline of the Oriental Department, expressed its view in these terms: "Adverting to the abolition of the forensic use of Persian, and to the fact that there appears to be now only eleven pupils, not enrolled in the English department, the General Committee is of the opinion that the time has now arrived to assimilate the Allahabad School more closely to institutions established since that (?) school."[2] A like intention was expressed with regard to the Agra College: "The loss of official value which the

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

Persian language has sustained, induced us to suggest to the Local Committee the expediency of gradually assimilating this to the other Anglo-Indian institutions established by us. We found that there were about twenty-two students of Sanskrit, and twenty students of Arabic. These classes we proposed should be continued so long as students seeking such knowledge might offer. With this exception, we proposed that the Hindi and Persian Departments should, for the future, be closed to recruits."[1] It seems certain that, had not the saving hand of Bentinck's successor been opportunely stretched forth to preserve the Oriental colleges, the General Committee would have sought convenient opportunities for doing away with them wherever possible, or rather, for modifying them out of their distinctive character.

Still another noteworthy feature was the manner in which the General Committee discountenanced any departure from the general system of education laid down by it. The Committee was not prepared to tolerate any endeavour or experiment that tended to supersede the study of the English language by that of any other. It insisted upon conferring pre-eminence on the English language in the system established by it. Even a proposed larger use of the vernaculars (regarding the cultivation of which the Committee never tired of repeatedly expressing solicitude) than of English for the purpose of instruction in some seminary brought censure on the head of the offending party. Thus the General Committee wrote to

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

the Committee of the Furrackabad School, in noticing the annual report submitted by the latter: "The Head-master and your Committee seem to regard the vernacular language as the means most appropriate at present for imparting knowledge in European Science in your institution. The General Committee dissents from these views which are indeed opposed to the principles adopted by the Government in 1835, after mature deliberation and much discussion. It would be glad to find your valuable exertions, and those of the Head-master, directed principally to raising the standard of proficiency in English Literature and Science, taught by the means of that language. This is the plan elsewhere pursued with increasing success."[1] Similarly it directed the local committees of the Ajmere[2] and Hushingabad[3] Schools to reorganise those schools on the plan generally followed elsewhere—namely, that of making "the English language and the Science of Europe" predominant objects of study throughout the school, some provision for the "efficient cultivation" of the vernaculars being also at the same time enjoined. And the following practical suggestion offered to the Ajmere School Committee gives us a fair idea of the general method by which the "efficient cultivation" of the vernaculars was in the opinion of the General Committee to be achieved. "It would only remain," said the latter body, "to exercise the pupils daily in reading and writing the vernacular dialects, and twelve

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

weekly hours devoted to such exercise would be found ample to ensure facility in composition and accuracy in orthography. The former object might be promoted by requiring translations from English from the most advanced pupils, and the latter by writing from dictation."[1]

The reasons which influenced the General Committee to discourage any tendency to depart from the general system laid down by it are easy to state. They were simply, first, that the Committee had discovered nothing to shake its faith in the system during the period of three years that it had been in operation. On the contrary, the Committee had felt itself confirmed in the expediency of persevering in it in the future,[2] and was consequently prone to look askance at and object to any departure therefrom that might have involved a diversion of the funds from the object of promoting knowledge of the English language. And, secondly, uniformity of system was a great desideratum with the Committee.[3]

The period from the years 1839 to 1854 witnessed further expansion of English education. In a comprehensive Minute dated 24th November 1839,[4] after surveying the various and sometimes conflicting ideas and opinions that prevailed on the subject of the mode

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54 passim.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62 (para 100).

[3] One means by which the Committee tried to impose uniformity of system was a Code of Regulations framed by it for the Schools and Colleges under its control. The Code prescribed, among other things, the course of study for the English schools and colleges. (*Vide* Rep. G. C. P. I. 1839-40, Appendix No. IX, pp. cxxxii-ccxxix.)

[4] Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 147-170.

and the medium of education for the people of India (for Bentinck's Resolution had been far from settling the controversy), Lord Auckland put forward certain concrete propositions for better organisation of the system of education throughout the province of Bengal. The general conclusion which Lord Auckland arrived at was that the system of education which could be pursued with most advantage under the circumstances as they existed at the time was one having for its principal aim the communication, through the English language, of a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy and Science to the greatest number of students who might be found ready to acquire it in the Government institutions and for whose education the Government could provide. "All our experience proves," he added, "that, by such a method, a real and powerful stimulus is given to the native mind."[1] To render such a system effective, the most important practical suggestion which Lord Auckland had to make was, as he put it, "so to connect our zillah schools with the central colleges as to give from the latter to the ablest students of the zillah schools a stimulus that will carry them beyond the ordinary range of instruction which is reached by the mass of the zillah pupils."[2] Turning to the means of providing the stimulus he contemplated, the one he thought best and accordingly suggested was to attach scholarships to the Central Colleges to which the best of the zillah pupils were to be eligible.[3] In

1 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 165-167.

regard to the Central Colleges his principal recommendation to the General Committee was that preference ought to be given to "rendering the highest instruction efficient in a certain number of Central Colleges, rather than employing their funds in the extension of the plan of founding ordinary zillah schools." "I would have the places fixed," he added, "with reference to the extent of population or convenience of locality, at which it should be the aim gradually to build up these efficient Central Colleges. I would, on a first conjecture, name for them Dacca, Patna, Benares, or Allahabad, Agra, Delhi and ultimately, though probably at a distant date, Bareilly. At these places, as well at the colleges of the Metropolis, the course of instruction should be carefully widened and perfected as opportunities offer."[1] Lastly, adverting to vernacular instruction, he noticed it as a "serious defect" in the plans of education followed that no proper series of vernacular class books had till that time been compiled and suggested measures for remedying the defect.[2] The Minute containing these suggestions and recommendations was forwarded to the General Committee for consideration with a letter from Government dated the 8th of January 1840.

The Committee set to work to frame a scheme of education on the principles indicated by Lord Auckland. The main propositions, so far as English education was concerned, which emanated from the Committee were briefly these:

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

that from the central position of the city and the size and progress of the school, the Dacca school deserved to be erected into a regular college with a principal and the necessary masters and pundits; that the Chapra and Arrah schools might be abolished, as they were considered to be "doing little good," and the efficiency of the Patna School be increased by appointing other masters on a liberal allowance; that similarly the Hushingabad school might be discontinued and the efficiency of those at Jubbulpore and Saugor be increased; that the Pooree School should be removed to Cuttack, the capital of the district, where an earnest desire for English education was reported to exist, and an additional annual sum of Rs. 2,000 be allowed for the transferred school; that courses of lectures in Ethics, Political Economy and Jurisprudence might with advantage be instituted in the Hindu College or Calcutta Vidyalaya, but not in other institutions which were scarcely prepared for instruction in those subjects; that six "junior scholarships," of the value of eight rupees a month each and to be held ordinarily for four years, might be attached to each of the Central Colleges, besides one of the same kind to be assigned for competition by the pupils of each District School, and that "senior scholarships," of the value of Rs. 30 per month for the first two years to be increased to Rs. 40 for the last four years of the student's collegiate career might also be attached to the Central Colleges; and that it was essential to increase considerably the Education Fund, as the lakh assigned by the Charter Act was totally insufficient to meet the expenditure all those proposed changes would

involve.[1] The aims underlying the changes and innovations proposed by the General Committee were chiefly, first, to centralise the system of education by having in important areas of the Province central colleges connected with subordinate lower schools; and, secondly, to circulate a higher and more complete type of education than was obtainable in the existing institutions by holding out inducement in the shape of scholarships to the promising ones of the younger generation to avail themselves of the advantages afforded by the central colleges, which they were usually prevented from doing by poverty. And both those aims were indicated in the suggestions of Lord Auckland who approved of the means by which the General Committee proposed to carry them into effect.[2] Still another measure adopted in pursuance of Lord Auckland's suggestion was the appointment by the General Committee, at a meeting held on the 29th July 1841, of a Sub-Committee from among its members for the purpose of "collecting and arranging the information necessary for the preparation of a scheme of Vernacular School Books."[3] Doubtless, in some of the suggestions of Lord Auckland and in the measures by which they were sought to be carried into effect, we can perceive the beginnings of the system of education that obtains at the present day in British India.

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[1] Letter, dated 30th October 1840/No. 1035/from G. C. P. I. to the Governor-General: Rep. G. C. P. I., 1839-40, Appendix II. pp. cv-cxxxii.

[2] Letter, dated 16th December 1840/No. 986/from the Secy. to the Govt. of India to G. C. P. I.: Rep. G. C. P. I. 1839-40, Appendix II, pp. cxxxvi-cs.

[3] For Report of that Sub-Committee, *Vide* Rep. G. C. P. I., 1840-41 & 1841-42, Appendix VI, pp. xxxv-si.

The arrangements made in 1840 in accordance with Lord Auckland's suggestions remained in force, with slight modifications, till 1845. In 1845-46 the principles laid down by the Governor-General were made the basis for a more extensive development of the system of education. But before we come to that, we have to note two events of interest in the annals of the General Committee. At the end of the year 1841 the General Committee was abolished and in its stead a Council of Education was constituted under a Resolution of Government dated the 10th of January 1842.[1] Again, in the year 1843, in pursuance of a Resolution of the Government of India dated 29th April 1843, the institutions in the Agra Division of the Bengal Presidency (viz., the colleges and schools situated at Benares, Ghazipore, Allahabad, Saugor, Jubbulpore, Azigghur, Gorruckpore, Agra, Delhi, Bareilly, Meerut, Furrackabad) were placed under the newly constituted Government of the North Western Provinces, and the Local Committee of Public Instruction were directed, by a letter of 3rd May 1843, to submit all their communications connected with the educational affairs of the Provinces to that Government for orders.[2] Thus, those institutions drop out of our present narrative, because there was carried out in the North Western Provinces an educational experiment different in principles and methods from those on which was founded the system of education for the lower provinces of Bengal. The parting of ways between Bengal and the N. W. Provinces in matters educational was in a

[1] Sels. E. R. Pt. II, pp. 86-87.

[2] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1843-44, Appendix I, pp. xci-xcii.

way inevitable. In the latter provinces the General Committee's system of English education, being ill-adapted to local conditions, had on the whole not met with the success which attended its establishment in Bengal proper. The Committee wrote in 1837: "We do not disguise to ourselves that some places, particularly in Western India, our system of education has not yet attained the popularity which it enjoys in the Bengal Provinces, in which we are unable to meet the demand for new schools."[1]

During the years 1845 to 1848 the execution of Lord Auckland's plan for the extension of Anglo-Vernacular education throughout Bengal was undertaken on a much larger scale than in 1840. It was determined to establish a zillah school in each district, subordinate to a central college, of which there was to be at least one to every five districts, and at the same time to increase the number of scholarships in the colleges already established.[2] To facilitate the carrying out of such an extensive plan, the province was divided into nine circles, the centre of each circle being the most important town of the part of the province embraced in it and its circumference being bounded by the districts constituting the particular part. Thus the nine circles formed were: the Calcutta Circle, Hoogly Circle, Moorshedabad Circle, Kishnaghur Circle, Dacca Circle, Chittagong Circle, Cuttack Circle, Bhagulpore Circle, and Behar Circle. But it was found impracticable to put the plan into operation in all circles immediately by establish-

[1] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1837, pp. 61-62, para 102.

[2] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1845-46, pp. 1-4 passim.

ing the full complement of seminaries intended for each, because of "the impossibility of obtaining a sufficient number of properly qualified masters." So it was determined "to proceed gradually by completing the system in one or two circles before attempting to introduce it in the rest."

The plan materialised immediately in the Kishnaghur Circle. A college[1] was opened on the 1st of January 1846 in Kishnaghur[2] and two schools were established in the districts of Burdwan[3] and Bancoorah.[4] The third important district comprised in the circle, Jessore, had

[1] To avoid miscomprehension of the term, it should be noted that a "college" did not signify in those days the kind of institution which we are accustomed to designate as such in our own. An English College of the period was usually a combination of the salient features of what would in our time be called a 'high school' and an "elementary school." For instance, the standard of acquirements demanded by the following rules of a pupil to entitle him to admission to the Kishnaghur College, after a certain age, well illustrates the connotation generally attached to the term "college." The following were the rules:—(1) "No boy whose age exceeds eight years shall be admitted, unless he can read correctly and with a good pronounciation the 2nd number of the English Reader of the School Book Society;" (2) "No boy whose age exceeds twelve years shall be admitted, unless he can read, parse, and explain any passage in the 5th number of the Engish Reader of the School Book Society). He must also know the simple rules of Arithmetic: the form of the Earth, its great divisions, and their subdivisions into countries; the names of the Capitals and principal cities of each country, and of the principal Mountains and Rivers. He must be able to translate correctly from Bengalee or Hindustani into English, and from English into Bengalee or Hindustani any passage from the 5th Number of the English Reader;" (3) "No boy shall be admitted whose age exceeds sixteen." (*Vide* Notification of 1st October 1845 relating to the establishment of the Kishnaghur College: General Report on Public Instruction, &c., for 1845-46, pp. 1-4 passim).

[2] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1845-48, pp. 171-72

[3] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1845-46, p. 173. But the town of Burdwan had, at the time the Government School was established, two missionary schools under the charge of the Church of England Mission and a third founded and supported by the Raja of Burdwan solely.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 174. In Bancoorah there was a private school too.

already a school in existence. In the Hoogly circle there had been already established the Hoogly or Mahomed Mohsin's College, the Hoogly Branch School, Infant School, and the Sitapore and Midnapore Schools. The only districts in it which had no Government School were Baraset and Howrah; accordingly, two schools were established there, that at Baraset being opened on the 1st of January 1846[1] and that at Howrah shortly after.[2] The Behar circle was already provided with a central college, for on the 26th September 1844 Government had determined to form the Patna School into a central college for the Behar Province; this had been accordingly done and eight Senior and twelve Junior scholarships had been attached to the college, "four of the former being denominated 'Hutwa Scholarships' in honor of the Maharaja Chatterdharee Sahy, who presented the sum of Rs. 50,000 for the establishment of a school in the district of Sarun."[3] In the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 175. At pp. 175-76 occurs the following interesting passage: "On the 5th December, (1846), the Magistrate of Howrah forwarded to Government a letter from Baboos Joykishen Mookerjee and Rajkishen Mookerjee, proposing the establishment of a school at Ooterparah on the north bank of the Bali Khal, and offering to make over to Government in trust for the maintenance of the school, landed property to the clear yearly value of rupees 1,200, as well as to raise by subscription the sum of rupees 5,000 for building a school house. It was calculated that a monthly income of rupees 100 a month would be derived from the schooling fees of the students, and the Government agreed to grant an equal sum from the education fund, to assist in carrying the benevolent design of the Ooterparah gentlemen into execution: The Sudder Board of Revenue were instructed to take measures for the formal transfer of the trust property to Government; owing, however, to unavoidable delays the school was not opened until after the close of the year." Not a few instances of similar private munificence were recorded. They show that Government was not alone in its efforts to educate the people.

3 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1844-45, p. 148.

district of Mozufferpore in the same circle an English school had been opened on the 1st February 1845, on the initiative of two English gentlemen, Messrs. Irwin and Young, who had raised a subscription of Rs. 12,000 from among the inhabitants and subsequently applied to Government for assistance in founding the school which had been granted.[1] In 1845 the inhabitants of Gaya district in the same circle determined to establish an English and vernacular school and subscribed funds for its support, the school being placed under the direct supervision and control of Government as a public institution.[2] Thus by 1846 the Behar circle was half completed, for in respect of three remaining districts (Chupra, Arrah and Mootehary) it was left without a Government school. The Calcutta circle had already been completed long before 1845-46, and it consisted of the Hindu College, the Sanskrit College, the Calcutta Madressa, the School Society's School which was supported out of the early Government grant of Rs. 500 to the School Book Society, and the Russapugla School[3] which had been founded on the 1st October 1838 for the education of the children of the relatives and dependents of the Mysore Princes and to the support of which a monthly sum of Rs. 600 was, with the approval of the Court of Directors, appropriated by Government. The remaining circles varied in the number of schools extant in 1846. The Dacca Circle, like the Behar, had a central college in Dacca and two schools in the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71.

3 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1843-44, pp. 161-62.

districts of Sylhet and Furreedpore, while the two remaining districts comprised in it (Bogorah and Mymensing) were destitute of a Government school. The Moorshedabad circle, composed of five districts, had but a school at Banleah, and the "Nizamut College" at Moorshedabad, which was however a special institution designed for the education of the younger members of the family of the Nawab Nazim and of the families of persons of the Mahomedan faith connected with them, and which was intended in 1845 to be placed on a reduced footing on account of its unsatisfactory progress[1]. The Chittagong circle, comprising four districts, had only two schools at Chittagong and Comillah. The Cuttack circle had a single school in Cuttack among the three districts of which it was formed. So also the Bhagulpore circle, an important one comprising as it did five large districts, had only one school at Bhagulpore.

The subsequent years witnessed no rapid or steady extension of English education in the 'circles' so formed. Nor was the progress of the established institutions uniform in the different circles. A school or college arose in one circle and dwindled or became extinct in another. Thus very soon it was found that the system of education in the Behar circle was not acceptable to the inhabitants and that consequently the Patna College had been brought to a sad state of affairs. One Mr. Lodge, the inspector, in a report of his visit to it, dwelt in forceful language on the popular apathy towards the College, though he was not able to discover the cause

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1844-45, pp. 171-72.

of it, and described graphically its decayed condition: "At the time of my annual visit during November and the early part of December," he said, "the college had a particularly desolate and deserted appearance: the building itself was in a dilapidated state, and seemed fast going to ruin; the interior which is capable of containing between two and three hundred students, then held between twenty and thirty; the classes were mere skeletons; the masters looked subdued and in keeping with the air of desolation; and the little still voices of the pupils could scarcely drive silence from the walls." One means suggested by Mr. Lodge for drawing the attention of the inhabitants to the college and for increasing the number of its students was the strict observance by the Behar civil functionaries of the Government order of 1844 about the employment of educated Indians, so as to impress on the inhabitants that no uneducated person could hope for public employ, unless an educated one was unprocurable. But Government did not think it proper to act on that suggestion, and instead reduced the college to its former status of a district or zillah school. It may be noted that the failure of the college was attributed partly to the lack of interest on the part of the Local Committee in the cause of education in the province.[1]

About January 1850 an English school was inaugurated at Furreedpore which was included in the Dacca circle. In March there were 75 boys on the rolls, and the languages taught were

[1] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1846-47, pp. 155-59.

English, Bengali and Persian.[1] In December 1849 the Branch School at Seetapore in the Hoogly circle was abolished as it had met with ill-success.[2] By an order of Government dated 1st November 1853 a college was opened at Berhampore on the 21st of the same month. But, though styled a "college," it was reported that at the time of its establishment "the standard of the highest classes was extremely low, being in fact below that of many zillah schools;" and the reason assigned was the absence of any zillah school in the district and the consequent lack of previous acquirements in the pupils admitted into the college; "but", at the same time it was added, "of the ultimate success of the college there can be no doubt from the great interest which all classes of the native community manifest by their liberal subscriptions and their daily attendance at the College."[3] Finally, it may be noted that on the 3rd of March 1854 the Government of Bengal sanctioned the establishment of a Branch School in the city of Patna at the instance of the inhabitants who at a public meeting had resolved to raise a fund, and did eventually raise a substantial sum, for the purpose of "affording greater facilities to those who were anxious to enter the Government School."[4] Nor, it may be added, was that the only instance of

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1849-50, p. 21.

2 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1849-50, p. 91.

3 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 30th Sept. 1852 to 27th January 1855, p. 130.

4 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 27th January to 30th April 1855, pp. 196-197.

the desire manifested by the people for English education. Indeed, after 1852, Behar, which had before been complained of as a very backward province in respect of education, had made a marked stride forward. In the period between 1845-52 the different zillah schools in the province were stated to have educated an average of 267 boys. After 1852, Branch schools were opened at Chupra, Arrah, Monghyr, Purneah and the one noted above at Patna, and the inhabitants in each instance contributed handsomely to the funds required for the purpose. Hence the total number educated in the Government schools was in 1855 well over a thousand (according to the Report of the Inspector of Schools in Behar for the quarter ended July 1855, it was 1,094 boys). This number, however, did not represent the entire extent of English education given in the province. There was "a valuable English school" at Bhagulpore, conducted by a missionary, "with 150 boys upon its registers," and a private elementary school, maintained by a Vakeel of the Judge's court, in which English was taught to some 50 boys who attended it; whilst the merchants and zemindars of Durbunga, in Tirhut, supported an English school, established at the instance of the Collector, where about 60 or 70 boys might have been taught. So, on the whole, it was calculated that in 1855 about 1,350 boys studied the English language in the province of Behar—a substantial improvement on the number in former years. And what was the cause that brought about that improvement? We may quote here the answer attempted to the question by one Mr. Chapman, Inspector of Schools in Behar, in a report for 1855. He said: "Al-

though the number now studying our language and literature is, as yet, a very small proportion of the boys who, we may reasonably hope, will eventually do so, still, the rapid advancement of the last few years deserves a few words of explanation, though I am not sure that I can satisfactorily account for the whole of the results obtained. The greater part of the impetus given is, no doubt, due to the impression that has got abroad that all preferment under Government will be distributed in future only to those knowing English, and this impetus has been greatly strengthened by the large demand which has arisen for lads acquainted with English on the Railroad, the Gyaroads, &c. Something may perhaps be attributed to an increased desire for knowledge arising from the appreciation of what has been already attained: while I also think we may recognize some faint glimmerings of the acknowledgment of a principle, which, I trust, will, ere long, be fully established, that the Education of a Native Gentleman is not complete without the knowledge of the English language. Still, as yet, the desire for English can scarcely be said to be spontaneous; and much of the success attained would not have been reached but for the exertions of the local officers and of the Masters themselves."[1] But, again, the improvement so brought about appears to have been a temporary phenomenon. During the period of three months from July to October of the same year, the attendance of pupils at the Patna Schools decreased largely, and the numbers at the other district schools suffered a slight

1 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1855-56, Appendix A, pp. 5-7.

diminution. In his report for that quarter Mr. Chapman observed that a "general state of stagnation" had overcome the schools of the province. And Mr. Chapman was obliged, from what he observed, to admit incidentally the slight hold which the schools had on the people and to add: "The determination of Government, no longer to require from candidates for Government employ and pleaderships a knowledge of the English language,[1] has already deprived of much of its force one of the most potent of the motives which induce people to pay attention to our tongue. If practically carried out and *believed*, it will rapidly empty our English schools in this part of the country." The only encouraging feature Mr. Chapman found during the quarter was the establishment of an English school at Dinapore by Mr. Stumm, "a native of Germany, who came to India as a missionary but subsequently preferred to devote himself to secular pursuits."[2]

Such ups and downs in the progress of English education may not have been so prominent in other parts of Bengal, and hardly at all in a city like Calcutta, as in Behar where the prevailing conditions were reported to have been peculiarly unfavourable to the spread of the Government system of education. Yet the lead-

[1] Government Notification dated 9th July 1855 laid down that "From and after the 1st January 1857, no person shall be appointed by the head of any office or Department to any situation in the Public Service, in any Mofussil regulation district, the monthly salary of which is more than six rupees, unless he can read and write his own vernacular language." It further directed Mofussil officers to give preference to those who could read and write over those who could not for all offices however small the salaries attached thereto, unless where obvious reasons existed for overlooking such qualifications.

[2] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1855-56, pp. 24-25.

ing fact which arrests one's attention on a general survey is that the course of English education in the province, during the period from 1840 to 1854, failed to run in a steady, broadening stream, as the early Anglicists optimistically persuaded themselves it would, in spite of an undoubtedly widespread desire for a knowledge of the English language. Rather, its course was as that of a meandering rivulet, flowing to and fertilising those spots which conveniently permitted it to do so, leaving the rest of the country arid as before. The fact may well make us pause and inquire: How far was the object pre-eminently aimed at by Bentinck's Resolution achieved after the lapse of nearly twenty years since it was passed? Or, to put the same question in a somewhat more comprehensive form: What were the actual results of the system of education established under the terms of that Resolution after two decades of trial? To what extent did it succeed in diffusing knowledge of the English language and European learning among the people of Bengal? And the closing year of that period affords a convenient point at which to take a retrospect of the results of the operation of the system initiated in so eagerly by Bentinck and Macaulay and tended by such enthusiastic Anglicists as Trevelyan, Colvin and Wilberforce Bird. In 1854 we come upon a new epoch when the broad lines of our present-day system of education were first attempted to be laid down. By that year the star of Anglicism had passed its meridian and was visibly, though gradually, on the decline. And Anglicism itself, after twenty years of experimentation, ceased to be so obstreperous as it was at an early date. The mistake was

perceived of an almost exclusive emphasis on the English language in the established system of instruction, and more attention began to be paid to the vernaculars. Things had not turned out as they had seemed to promise to do, and dissatisfaction with them began to be expressed. A new direction in educational policy began to be demanded, and demanded not in vain. So, at this stage at which a new horizon begins to open out, we may conveniently glance back at the old epoch which had been ushered in amidst the storm of controversy and the thunder of Macaulay's rhetoric.

The impetus given by the Resolution of 7th March 1835 to English education resulted in the existence in 1854 of 5 colleges exclusive of the Medical College, and 47 schools, inclusive of college or branch schools, in which 192 and 7,412 students respectively were taught English as well as a little of the vernaculars. So, in all, the total number of English-instructed pupils was 7,604. This figure represented a good advance over the figures in 1850 and 1852 which were estimated at 4,021 and 4,822 respectively, and of course far outstripped the insignificant one of 1818, which was given as the number of English-instructed students in 1835. At the same time there were in 1854 three Oriental Colleges and but 729 students studying the classical languages of India in them. The number of those who studied the various vernaculars was the same or slightly more than that of those who studied English; but, in the former case, the high number was maintained more because the study of the vernaculars was compulsory in the English colleges and

schools than because a knowledge of them was desired as in the case of the latter language. So these figures may be taken as not only fairly representing the extent to which a knowledge of the English language was diffused as a result of Bentinck's resolution, but as also indicating a popular preference for that language. It must needs be added here that the numbers above quoted do not represent the full extent to which knowledge of the English language was cultivated in Bengal during the period in question; after 1835, and perhaps owing to the impetus imparted by Bentinck's Resolution, a number of petty private schools sprang into existence, and were often conducted by ex-students of the Government English colleges; there was no dearth too of missionary schools in which English was taught to hundreds of boys. But, as we are studying the spread of English with particular reference to Bentinck's Resolution, it would be better to confine ourselves to the output of the system established under that Resolution.

Now, the question which occurs to one is, what was the explanation for the popular preference for English over the vernaculars and the classical languages of India? From official sources there comes a very simple, if not complete, answer. In 1838, when Anglicist enthusiasm was pitched to a very high key, Trevelyan had indulged in the sweeping and superficial generalisation that "the curiosity of the people is thoroughly roused, and the passion for English knowledge has penetrated the most obscure, and extended to the most remote parts of India."[1] The picture he drew or overdrew was

[1] "*On the Education of the People of India*," Chap. V., p. 166.

that of a people thirsting for the boon of Western knowledge. But closer observation and greater experience led the officials of a later day to give a very different version. They arrived almost unanimously at the conclusion that the prevalent popular desire for a knowledge of English was attributable to a desire for securing the advantage of preferment in public or private employ which attended the possession of such knowledge. The fact was constantly harped upon that it was not the cultural but the utilitarian value of the English language which attracted a majority of the people to the study of it. In other words, the "useful" knowledge which was sought to be imparted was useful in popular regard only in so far as it led to lucrative employment; and lucrative employment did not demand a knowledge of "English science and literature", but a sufficient knowledge of English words to enable one to carry on ordinary business or administrative transactions. Doubtless, at a seat of Government like Calcutta, the contact with European civilisation did result in the permeation of Indian society, or rather of the wealthy and influential classes of that society, by a deeper influence. There a knowledge of the English language may well have been sought for the sake of the cultural benefits as well as the practical advantages it brought to its possessor. But conditions in the mofussil were quite different, and above all contact with European civilisation almost entirely absent. Consequently, the study of a foreign language and foreign learning could scarcely be prized as anything more than a means of advancement in life. That this was actually so was strikingly proved by the fact, among others, that,

while the people in the interior of the country and even in the city of Calcutta as well were not only eager to acquire the English language but prepared to make sacrifices in time and money for the sake of acquiring it, they grudged to be taught a modicum of their own vernaculars in the Government institutions and learnt it chiefly because it was necessary to do so as the study of them was coupled with that of English. The reason usually assigned for this indifference to their native speech was that the same motive did not impel them in the former case as it did in the latter. Thus the Council of Education in one of their reports wrote: "The efforts which the Council have made for the spread of English education by the Anglo-Vernacular Zilla Schools has been invariably successful in Bengal, and not without some gratifying results even in Behar. A demand for English education has arisen in every district, and its strength may be tested by the fact that schooling-fees are willingly paid, and increasing numbers of Teachers are supported in Private Schools. It must, however, be confessed that the hope of lucrative employment, rather than any real desire for education in itself, mainly induces parents to pay for their children's instruction. In Vernacular Schools no such powerful motive exists, for the superiority of Government Schools over those conducted by Goorumohashoys is not generally acknowledged in the Mofussil."[1] So also an inspector of schools, South Bengal, reported as one among the many difficulties he encountered to the establishment

1 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 30th Sept. 1852 to 27th January 1855 pp. xlix/lii.

of vernacular education in the villages, the following: "Another difficulty is that, however poor the village, English Education is what the people ask for, and when we talk of an improved Vernacular School, there is general disappointment and consequent unwillingness to do anything. The people see that an English Education has enabled numbers of their countrymen to obtain high and remunerative employment, and they think that if their children too learn a little English, they must as a matter of course be equally fortunate. They do not understand that, with the increased number of young men instructed in the English language, the standard of qualification demanded by every employer is constantly rising; moreover, there are a vast number of young men taught at inferior English schools, or in consequence of poverty, for a year or two only at some good school and this circumstance, taken in conjunction with the other just mentioned, must lead to the existence of a considerable class of persons, who, while unwilling to follow the humbler calling of their parents, are not qualified for occupation of the kind they aim at. The multiplication of elementary English schools for poor boys is, I think, therefore an evil to be avoided, while on the other hand the expenditure requisite for the establishment of such schools would be sufficient for twice the number of good Vernacular schools, where the village youth can get not only a knowledge of reading, writing, and accounts, but much other useful knowledge besides."[1] In what may be called

[1] *Vide* Mr. Pratt's Report for the quarter ending October 1855 in General Report on Public Instruction, for 1855-56, Appendix A, pp. 21-22.

that economic demand for a knowledge of the English language may be found too the chief explanation of the existence of abundant petty private English schools. "They are the result," it was declared by a Committee appointed to examine into the working of the Grant-in-aid system, "of the increasing desire which manifests itself among the middle classes to obtain an English Education for their children and are set on foot by persons who, living at a distance from the Sudder Station, and who, being of comparatively humble means, are unwilling to send their children to a distance from home for their education, and unable to pay the high rate of Schooling Fees levied in Zillah Schools. The persons whose children resort to these Intermediate Schools are mainly Tradesmen, petty Talookdars, Omlah, &c., who are able to pay a schooling-fee of about 8 annas a month. They have generally one of the two following objects in view, either to enable their children to prepare themselves for entering the higher English Schools, after obtaining a knowledge of the elements of the subject there taught, and so to avoid the necessity of sending them to the Sudder Station or to another district during their earlier years; or, in the second place, to enable them to obtain as much knowledge of English, and no more, as is sufficient for becoming inferior Clerks, Copyists, Salesmen, Hawkers, &c., without resorting to the Zillah Schools at all."[1]

What then, it may well be asked, was the attitude of those who desired more the acquisition of the language than of the knowledge con-

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1856-57, pp. 13-16 passim.

veyed through it, towards that knowledge itself? Did they take to it so easily and eagerly as to the language? It must be confessed at the outset that the question is not easy of a general answer. Much must have depended on the state of popular feeling on the subject in different parts of Bengal, and our answer would vary accordingly. At any rate, the official reports commit themselves on the point more by inference than by explicit statement. We are left to infer that, whilst the practical utility of the English language was acknowledged, the cultural value of the knowledge communicated through it was hardly or not at all appreciated, that no real taste or love for English literature and science perceptibly existed, and that the knowledge was acquired for the sake of the language and not the language for the sake of the knowledge. The few stray pronouncements met with in official reports go to confirm rather than to contradict that inference. For example, Mr. H. Woodrow, Inspector of Schools, East Bengal, in his report for the year 1856-57, remarks that the students in the Government schools valued education "solely as a means of getting money", and goes on to say: "English leads to higher situations than Bengali, and is therefore preferred. History, Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c., lead to nothing pecuniary, and are therefore disliked. They hold in our Schools just the position that Christianity does in Missionary Schools. Instruction in them must be tolerated by the pupils in order to get a knowledge of the English language—the one thing desired."[1] And, again, of Behar it was said in 1855: "People have gradually forced

[1] *Ibid.*, Appendix A, p. 91.

themselves to acknowledge the English School as a necessity; not that they have, at present, any value for our learning, but they consider the acquisition of our language as necessary for the advancement of their children in this life, and therefore overcome their suspicions as to what may be the effect of this mode of Education upon their prospects in the next. For the study of this hated knowledge in the Vernacular, there is no such inducement; on the contrary, they consider the study of the Vernacular as dishonourable, and in no case to be pursued further than is necessary for their daily business."[1]

There remains, however, little room for surprise at such a state of things when we consider the mode and form in which knowledge was communicated under the established system of English instruction. For, it may be noted in this place that the education imparted was emphatically of a literary character and little related to the real intellectual or practical wants of the people at large. Literary and abstract subjects formed a prominent part of the course of instruction in the schools and colleges; while little importance was attached to that positive knowledge which derives its interest from its applicability to the common purposes of daily life. Consequently, the education imparted was something far removed from the ordinary life and interests of the people and foreign to their habits of thought and feeling. The charm of such an education, imparting as it did a foreign knowledge through a foreign medium, was adventitious, and

1 *Vide* Mr. Chapman's Report for the quarter ending July 1855 in General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1855-56, Appendix A, pp. 8-10 passim.

not intrinsic, arising more from the force of surrounding circumstances than from its power of appeal to the mind and heart. Is it surprising then that the knowledge which lacked in inherent interest to the people at large should have interested them as a means of advancement in life, because circumstances outside the sphere of education had tended to connect the one with the other ? Nor was that all. Even such knowledge could have been made in no small degree interesting by greater and more careful attention to the mode and form of conveying it. But the actual mode of communicating it that obtained in the schools and colleges left much to be desired, because the primary task of raising up teachers versed in the art of teaching had never been undertaken seriously and on an adequate scale by those who controlled educational affairs. And the form in which the knowledge was conveyed was unappealing, because it was sought to be imparted by means of books ill-adapted to the taste of the learners and ill-calculated to excite their interest or curiosity. Thus neither the quality nor the technique of instruction in the Government schools and colleges was of a kind to win over the feelings and sympathies of the vast majority of the people to the knowledge in which instruction was given; and it was only an artificial stimulus that helped to overcome their apathy to it or create in them a positive attraction for it.

Hence, under such a system of education, knowledge was *acquired*, but by the majority of the educated seldom *assimilated* so as to become interwoven with their intellectual and emotional

fibre; and wherever it was partially assimilated, it was observed to produce a mental disorder or dyspepsia which exhibited itself in various forms, such as a tendency to imitate the vices of the European character without its virtues or to indulge in reckless avowals of beliefs and ideas accompanied by an impotence to translate them into action. It was the mental suppleness with which European knowledge was acquired by the alumni of the schools and colleges that in the beginning created an illusion regarding the effectiveness of the Anglicist policy and system to produce a radical change in the intellect and feelings of the people. But later and fuller experience of the working of the system brought doubts and disappointments as to its efficacy. So it is we find towards the close of our period frequent expressions of dissatisfaction with the established system of education by those who had in hand the conduct of that system.

Various exceptions were taken to the system, but the chief defect pointed out was its unsuitability to the actual circumstances of the people for whom it was intended. Thus the Local Committee of the Cuttack School emphasised the unpractical character of the education imparted in relation to the wants of the people. They said: "The studies at these provincial Government schools are, in our judgment, at the same time too high and too confined. They aim at a standard beyond that adopted at the poorer schools at home, while collateral European knowledge is unacquired. We cannot see why it should tend to European civilization, that an Ooreah boy, the son of a poor Government em-

ployee, should know when Richard I went to the Crusades; what was the message sent by William the Conqueror to Philip of France; what is the capital of Saxony; what sea the 'Yenisse' runs into, and so on; and that he should not know who 'Shivajee' was; who fought the battle of Assaye; and what is the difference between a 'Suni' and a 'Sheeah'. The result of all this is, that he learns by rote what he does not understand, and is not interested in, and what can never be brought to bear upon the general history of his own country, its various races and its customs. The great point seems to us to be to encourage general knowledge of whatever stamp; and not to train boys merely to know obscure English history, the higher branches of arithmetic, and to write a good hand. We will venture to assert that there are not three boys in this school here, with all their attainments, who can turn a sentence of Ooreah into tolerable English, such as an English boy would do in England, at the age of twelve years.....We cannot sum up our observations on this head better than by stating, that, we scarcely know a single Native or Eurasian in this province, brought up to speak and write English, who can express himself even tolerably well; or who, in writing, is anything more than a mere copyist."[1] Again, Mr. Woodrow, Inspector of Schools, East Bengal, criticised the lack of a practical type of education in the Government seminaries. "The idea of instruction in common things," he remarked in one of his quarterly reports in 1856, "has not yet

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 1st October 1851 to 30th Sept. 1852. p. 118.

penetrated to India, and our schools and colleges repudiate the knowledge. In the late Senior Scholarship Examination for all the Colleges of Bengal, there was not one student who knew accurately how the punkah produced the sensation of cold. Only a few could tell completely how a bubbling sound was caused in the hookah, or why moisture appeared on the outside of a glass filled with iced water. These questions, perhaps, are rather hard when discussed fully, but the answers evinced utter and complete ignorance of the causes of common occurrences. As a member of the committee of Examiners for the Senior Scholarships, I feel bound to notice the defect. I attribute it to the entire absence of instruction in these subjects in our zillah schools." And he added the following pregnant observation: "Bengali boys have excessively keen sight and when once led to use it are capital observers. European savans sometimes wonder why so little has been done by educated Hindoos in Indian researches, either historical or geographical. One solution of the question may be found in the fact that their Education repressed the love of inquiry and dulled the observant faculties. Bengal in mental acuteness may challenge the rest of India, but the physical stamina here is weak, and school life has done nothing to strengthen it. About twenty Native gentlemen take interest in the proceedings of the Asiatic and Agricultural Societies. There ought to be hundreds or rather purely Native Societies for these purposes should flourish and abound."[1]

1 *Vide* Mr. Woodrow's report for the quarter ending April 1856 in General Report on Public Instruction, etc., for 1855-56, pp. 70-71 (App. A.)

In a similar strain Mr. Pratt, inspector of schools, South Bengal, animadverted at a later date on the lop-sided sort of education that prevailed during the period we are treating of. He was inclined to think, as he said, that "we have so long given exclusive importance to classics and Mathematics, that the young Baboos regard the Physical Sciences with contempt. There could not be stronger evidence of the defects of our past system. If there is one thing more than another which (religion apart) educationists ought to strive for in this country, it is to awaken these "books in chudders", as they have been wisely and wittily called, to the "pleasures and advantages of Science." To encourage them to pursue Classics and Mathematics to the exclusion of everything else, is to perpetuate the very faults which especially distinguish the mental character of the so-called educated classes."[1]

But it was not the character of the education that was solely at fault. There was another reason for the disappointing results of the Anglicist system of education. Too much of uniformity of system was attempted while education was but in its infancy. The established system took little account of the different conditions and requirements of the different parts of the country or of the different classes of the people. What was thought good for Calcutta was also thought good enough for the poorest village in Bengal. "It is a mistake to attempt," said H. H. Wilson on one occasion, "to apply one system of education to all the people of India. You must con-

1 *Vide* Mr. Pratt's report for the quarter ending July 1856 in General Report on Public Instruction, etc., for 1856-57. Appendix A., pp. 1-2.

sider what their circumstances are, and what their wants are, and adapt your means, as much as possible, to the different demands which are made."[1] But that was precisely the mistake committed with the Anglicist system of education. It sought uniformly to teach English everywhere and to enlighten the people through that language; but, "although the cultivation of English," said Wilson on another occasion, "is, no doubt, very important, and ought to receive every possible assistance and countenance from the Government, yet it is not the means by which anything like a universal effect can be produced; it is not the means by which the people at large can be educated; in fact, no people can ever become instructed or enlightened, except through their own language. It must be through the medium of their own language that you must address them, and disseminate useful knowledge amongst them."[2] And there were peculiar difficulties in the circumstances of India which made it impracticable to spread universal enlightenment by means of English. First, there could not be procured proficient teachers of English in sufficient numbers, which made it difficult to teach English everywhere. The next difficulty, Wilson pointed out, was "the amount of time that it requires to make any proficiency. It is not in all parts of the country that people can give a sufficient attendance upon the English school to enable them to acquire the language. It is all very well in Calcutta, where the sons of

[1] Evidence, 18th July 1853: Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 8452.

[2] Evidence, 5th July 1853: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 7235.

the most respectable persons of the Presidency, wealthy men and men of consideration, are to be found. Such persons can afford to keep their sons a sufficient number of years at the college to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, and they sometimes do so; but the great mass even of those who send their children to the English college of Calcutta take them away long before they have acquired anything like proficiency."[1]

This brief review of the defects of the system of education founded on the Resolution of 7th March 1835 better enables us to furnish an answer to the question with which we started, viz., How far did Bentinck's Resolution conduce to the dissemination of knowledge of the English language, and together with it, "of English literature and science", among the people of Bengal? Certain it is that the Resolution did give an impetus to the spread of the English language, as it was bound to do since it synchronised with a current of popular feeling in favour of that language. And if the spread of English be measured by the number of those who acquired a knowledge of it in the schools and colleges, little doubt can be entertained about the successful effect of the Resolution in enlarging the circle of the English-knowing public. It was observed before that in the Government educational institutions alone the number of those engaged in the study of English in 1854 far exceeded that in 1835. It is, however, when a different test is applied, when, so to speak, the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspect of the matter

1 Evidence, 18th July 1853: Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 8453.

is looked at, that the fruits of the Resolution or of the system based on it appear dubious. If indeed a knowledge of English was generally valued more as a means of livelihood than as a means of enlightenment, then the proficiency attained by the generality of those who professed an acquaintance with the language could not have been, and actually was not, of a superior order, for the standard of attainments requisite for employment (and that too in inferior public or private situations) was far from being the same as that requisite for obtaining a good education; or, as Hodgson neatly put it, "such a mastery of our language as should empower a native of India to use it *safely* as an instrument of thought, is a far different thing from such a knowledge of it as suffices to enable him to make his bread as a copyist."[1] H. H. Wilson,[2] despite his Orientalist bias, was far from giving an unfair or incorrect view of the state of things when, on being asked before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1853 whether he considered that the study and the knowledge of the English language had much increased since 1833, he replied: "In particular directions it has; it has increased at the Presidencies, and in one or two of the principal towns; but I do not think it has increased to the extent that is sometimes supposed. There has been a great deal of exaggeration as to the spread of English education. In Bengal there have been additional colleges estab-

1 Hodgson: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 279.

2 Although Wilson left India at the end of 1832, yet his evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committees in 1853 shows that he closely followed the subsequent progress of Indian education, a fact which gives particular value to his testimony.

lished, as at Hoogly, at Dacca, and at Kishnaghur; and many of the senior scholars at those colleges, as well as at the Hindu College of Calcutta, acquire great proficiency in the English language, and particularly in the mathematical sciences; but as regards the schools in the country, where English is taught, of course upon an inferior scale, I do not think much real progress has been made by the students at those seminaries. And there is also another remark to be made: we must not suppose that the great proficiency which is attained by the senior students of those colleges is shared in by all the scholars; such high proficiency is attained by comparatively few. The greater number of the scholars attend the schools and colleges merely with a view to the acquirement of as much English as shall enable them to gain a livelihood in the situation of copying-clerks, and they do not remain long enough either in the schools or colleges to acquire such an amount of proficiency as shall make them really good English scholars. The great mass of the young men attending the colleges are not good English scholars. There are a considerable portion of them who are so; but it is a great mistake to suppose that they are all good English scholars, or that they carry with them such a knowledge of English into ordinary life as to make it their own language. Even those who attain some proficiency rarely cultivate English after they leave college, unless it is in connexion with situations that they may happen to hold. It has been said that you would not find, notwithstanding the many years that the Hindu College has been in existence, 300 individuals in and about Calcutta capable of

following the proceedings of a suit at law in English."[1]

And when the acquisition of the English language was considered by the generality of the people in the light of a necessity for the improvement of their material circumstances, it may easily be inferred that the cultivation of European knowledge was regarded in no different light. In fact, a vein of disappointment at the realisation of the fact that the system of education pursued had succeeded in creating no extensive taste or love for English literature or science runs through most of the later official reports and writings on the subject of Indian education. So the effect of Bentinck's Resolution in spreading a knowledge of the English language may be said, especially in comparison with what had been achieved in that respect during a preceding period, to have been gratifying from the numerical or the census point of view, but the same could not be said of it from the cultural point of view.

Moreover, the Anglicist system of education as evolved on the basis of that Resolution met with another striking failure. It failed to promote in any appreciable degree one of the ultimate objects which the authors of the system professed constantly to have had in view—the successful cultivation of the vernaculars leading to the creation of a vernacular literature. There were two main causes of the failure. One was that the practical advantages associated with the acquisition of English and the predominance given to that language in the established

1 Evidence, 18th July 1853: *Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence*, Q. 8450.

system of education conspired to produce a powerful bias in the people in its favour which led almost inevitably to the neglect of the vernaculars on their part. There was a kind of popular rage for the English language which worked to the deteriment of vernacular education. The popular preference for English proved in itself an obstacle to measures for the encouragement of the vernaculars and promotion of vernacular education; for, whether in the case of the students of the Government schools and colleges or of villagers sought to be given vernacular instruction, in the case of the educated and uneducated alike, it was with difficulty and with frequently disappointing results that people in general could be induced or compelled to bestow time, money or attention on their own languages. A curious phenomenon it was, and yet a logical outcome of the system of education pursued. It was a system which in its practical operation could not but tend to make those trained under it versed in a foreign language and leave them ignorant or at best with a smattering of their own; and, with its predominant emphasis on English, it could not but tend to be a means of gratifying, instead of curbing, the undesirable popular craving for that language. The system was ill-calculated to promote the cause of the vernaculars. After having been nearly twenty years in operation, it left the Council of Education to complain in 1852 of the difficulty of procuring good teachers for the lower classes of the schools, "well acquainted with their own vernacular languages." And the Council was led further to observe: "It is scarcely possible to imagine the great amount of ignorance of their own

tongue, which prevails even among educated Natives."[1] On an earlier occasion the Council had stated: "The more advanced pupils are with great difficulty induced to study their own tongue. So great is the preference shown for English, that it is the common medium of communication, oral and written, among educated Natives, many of whom write and speak it with a degree of purity and elegance that exhibit a thorough mastery of its genius and structure. The Council have observed with regret, that some of their best scholars are imperfectly acquainted with their mother-tongue, and are unable to write it with correctness and facility. All available means have been taken to impress upon them the importance of an accurate knowledge of Bengali, and the absolute necessity of paying strict attention to its acquisition as an essential and valuable part of their course of study."[2]

The other cause was that, though the educational authorities were wont to be profuse in professions about the importance of the vernaculars, yet the actual measures taken by them to encourage their cultivation tended in practice to lay but slight stress on their real importance. The method adopted of making the study of the vernaculars an adjunct to that of English in the Anglo-Vernacular schools and colleges ensured the neglect of the former, because it could in no wise prove counteractive of the popular bias in favour of the latter or of the meretricious charms with which the English

1 General Report on Public Instruction, &c., from 1st October 1851 to 30th September 1852, p. xlii.

2 General Report on Public Instruction, &c., from 1st Octr. 1849 to 30th Sept. 1850.

language was invested in the eyes of the people. All that was done at first by way of providing for the cultivation of the vernaculars was to attach a vernacular teacher or pundit to the English seminaries; and the manner in which the "efficient cultivation of the vernacular dialects" was to be enforced on the students was indicated by the General Committee in 1837 thus: "The importance of the adequate promotion of this latter object, we have never failed to urge on the Local Committees—suggesting, in the case of the junior pupils generally that about one-third of their time should be devoted to it. Considering the poverty of vernacular learning, (particularly out of Bengal), —and that the Anglo-Vernacular student receives instruction in Science, according to the more accurate systems of Europe,—we think that the efficient cultivation of the vernacular dialects, so as to ensure correctness in orthography, and expertness in composition, may be promoted by the devotion of a very moderate proportion of the student's time." So sparse a measure of encouragement evoked protest from H. T. Prinsep who, in a curt note of dissent to the Committee's annual report, said: ".....I deny that there is any efficient cultivation of vernacular study. The majority of the Committee having consentively ordered the separate vernacular classes to be abolished, and that a *little* vernacular only shall be taught as an adjacent to instruction in the rudiments of English reading....."[1] However, during 1840-42, the Committee appear to have realised

[1] Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, for the year 1837, pp. 61-62 passim.

the insufficiency of the measure for the attainment of the object in view, and in their last General Report they wrote: "The Supreme Government and our Committee have also constantly requested the best attention of the Local Committee to the great importance of encouraging translations from the English into the Vernacular, and vice versa, and we have *directed specially that this branch of study should be made the vehicle of imparting sound knowledge in Morals, History, Science and General Literature, and not only for the acquirement of vocabularies or phrases of rote, and of little or no practical application.*"[1] But this direction to the Local Committee could not bear fruitful results, for there were wanting the teachers tc impart higher instruction through the vernaculars. The system of appointing Pundits for vernacular instruction in the English seminaries did not prove a success, and so the Council of Education determined on its abolition in 1852. Instead, the Council decided "to insist upon all native masters possessing such a knowledge of their mother-tongue, as to enable them to teach the very moderate acquaintance with it" that was required in zillah schools.[2] But most of those masters being the products of English Schools, the remedy sought to be applied proved unsuccessful. So late as 1856, Mr. Pratt, Inspector of Schools, South Bengal, wrote: "I have long been of opinion.....that the Council of Education made a great mistake in abolishing the appointment of Pundits in the Zillah Schools. I have already stated that of

1 General Report of the Late General Committee of Public Instruction for 1840-41 & 1841-42, pp. 48-49 passim.

2 General Report on Public Instruction, &c., from 1st October 1851 to 30th September 1852. p. xlii.

the numerous candidates for the post of Head Teacher in the new Vernacular Schools who have come to me from our English Schools, hardly any possess a competent knowledge of Bengali. This is greatly to be regretted, because these persons are far better informed on all other subjects of study than men of the old Pundit class are ever likely to be, and are more trustworthy; while on the other hand, those who are candidates for these appointments are generally persons who are too poor to remain sufficiently long at school to qualify themselves for appointments where a really good knowledge of the English language is requisite."[1] Those words were incidentally a fine comment on the results of the so-called encouragement to the "efficient cultivation of the vernaculars" afforded under the Anglicist system of education.

Finally, we may mention a 'Patshalla' or school which was instituted in order to "provide a system of National Education, and to instruct Hindoo youths in Literature, and in the Sciences of India and of Europe, through the medium of the Bengalee language," and was placed under the control and direction of the Committee of Management of the Hindu College. The establishment of the Patshalla constituted the first systematic attempt to provide for instruction in higher branches of knowledge through the vernacular medium.

Among individual efforts to transfuse European knowledge into the Bengali language, which

[1] *Vide* Mr. Pratt's Report for the quarter ending July 1856 in General Report on Public Instruction, &c., 1856-57, App. A, pp. 7-9 passim.

were patronised by the Council of Education, may be noted the compilation of the "Encyclopædia Bengalensis" undertaken by the eminent Bengali scholar, the Rev. Krishna Mohan Bannerjee. Pandit Eshwar Chunder Shurma made a translation of Chamber's Biographical Course, which was stated to have been highly spoken of and was much used in the Government schools and colleges. Moreover, in its report for 1849-50 the Council announced that "a map of Europe in the Bengali character has been prepared by Babu Ram Chander Mittre, the Bengali master of the senior school department of the Hindu College," and proceeded to add: "It is well executed on the scale of the Irish School Society's maps, and has been lithographed at the Government Press."[1]

Having now seen to what extent the dissemination of the English language and the cultivation of the vernaculars were carried out under the orders of 7th March 1835, there remains one last question with regard to Bentinck's Resolution. What were the effects of the Resolution on the study of the Oriental languages and learning pursued in the Oriental colleges of Government? It has been already noted that the Resolution contemplated three important changes (or measures of discouragement) with regard to the Oriental Colleges: first, cessation of payment of stipends to future students; secondly, discontinuance of appointment of new professors or teachers, unless the flourishing state of a particular class warranted otherwise; and, thirdly, appropriation of the funds thus released to the

[1] General Report on Public Instruction, &c., from 1st October 1849 to 30th September 1850, pp. 25-26 passim.

promotion of the study of the English language and literature, and not to the encouragement of Oriental literature or learning. The Resolution was thus in the nature of a triple-barrelled gun levelled against the Oriental educational institutions.

The effect of the abolition of the stipendiary system in causing a decline in the number of students in the Oriental Colleges began, though gradually, to make itself felt in the very first year. It must be remembered that, whatever the deleterious consequences of the stipendiary system, the stipends afforded a means of sustenance and a motive for longer continuance of study to the students who were mostly drawn from the "learned classes," which in India as in other parts of the world, were not possessed of affluence; and that the stipends attracted students from distant parts of the country who had no means of livelihood far away from home. That accounts for the abolition of stipends being attended by a decrease in the number of those who attended the Oriental colleges for purposes of study. In the Delhi College the average monthly attendance of students in the various departments, from September 1834 to April 1835, was: Arabic 45; Persian 132; Sanskrit 66—for the period from May to December 1835, when the stipends ceased to be paid, the attendance was: Arabic 47; Persian 111;[1] Sanskrit 60. The number in the English Department of the College remained almost stationary, being 198 during the former period and 197 during

[1] As regards Persian, it should be noted that the prospect of the discontinuance of its forensic use, contemplated during Bentinck's regime, may have been a factor in the decline in the number of those who devoted themselves to study of it.

the latter. The Agra College had, at the date of the annual examination on 31st December 1834, 26 students in the Arabic Department, 205 in the Persian, and 113 in the Sanskrit—at the date of the annual examination on 31st December 1835, the College had 25 students in the Arabic, 192 in Persian, and 113 in Sanskrit. At the same time the number in the English Department rose during the year from 36 to 75. At the Calcutta Sanskrit College there was a decline in number from 181 to 135. At the Calcutta Madressa there was a falling off of stipendiary students from 75 to 62, while the number of non-stipendiary ones was stated to have remained much the same as before. The Benares Sanskrit College appears to have been the only Oriental institution to escape from the effect of the abolition of stipends during the year: for, while at the end of 1834 it had 281 students, it had one more at the end of 1835. In the Benares English School, where English was the principal branch of study, the number increased from 89 to 136.[1]

In 1836-37 the decline was more marked. In the Agra College in 1836 the number of those admitted for study in the Persian Department decreased from 146 to 142; in the Hindi Department from 107 to 86; while in the English Department it increased from 56 to 118. But as pupils from the Persian and Hindi Departments were also drafted into the English, the numbers studying the different languages, out of a total of 346, stood thus: English 223; Persian 178; Hindi 106. Commenting on this, the Principal of the College wrote: "In either

[1] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1835.

point of view, however, the actual members belonging to the different departments, or the numbers engaged in the studies of each department, it is evident, in a much greater degree than last year, that the Oriental Departments have fallen off, and that the entire attendance at the College is kept up, or rather extended by the increase in the English Department, English instruction now evidently standing the highest in public favour. The original or special English Department, which two years ago had no existence in this College, now far exceeding the numbers in the Hindi Department, and approaching those of the Persian Department while the entire number studying English much exceeds that which has ever been studying either Persian or Hindi at any one time." These facts he considered, however, in a great measure attributable to "the prevailing impression that Persian will soon cease to be the language of public business, while the interest and desire which the governed must ever have to acquire the language of their Governors, perhaps also a strong though vague idea of the treasures of knowledge and novelty which the English language contains, and more than all, I believe, the lately increased facilities of acquiring it here from the greater efficiency recently given to the English Preceptive Establishment in the college, sufficiently account for the relative increase of students in this Department."[1] It was stated in 1837 that there were only about 22 students of Sanskrit and 20 of Arabic in the College—a fact which, together with the decreasing numbers in the Persian and Hindi departments, led the

[1] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1836, pp. 6-9 passim.

General Committee to propose its conversion into an "Anglo-Indian Seminary."[1] Similarly, the report of the annual examination of the Delhi Oriental College in 1836 stated: "A considerable diminution of the pupils has occurred in the past twelve months. The Arabic students have decreased from 61 to 45, the Persian from 80 to 64, and the Sanskrit Department is reduced from 56 to 35, giving a total decrease of 56 students. The reduction is clearly attributable to the order of 7th March, 1835, the operation of which, during the ensuing year will reduce the Oriental pupils to about 100."[2] Again, in the Benares Sanskrit College, a steady decline in the number of stipendiary students set in. This was a matter of bitter regret to some. "During the interregnum which took place in the superintendence of the College," says Nicholls, "appeared the celebrated Orders of the Council, 7th March 1835, by which virtually, though not ostensibly, all the Oriental educational institutions in the country were to be allowed to languish out their existence and the Anglo-Maniacs, as they were not improperly styled, were to carry everything their own way just as if there was any patent mode of imparting to the whole people of India "a knowledge of English literature and science." The greatest blow struck at the Benares Sanskrit College was the abolition of stipends. That this system might have been, and in many cases was, abused is not to be denied; yet when we come to recollect that many Sanscrit students resort to Benares from remote parts of our Indian Empire; that these students during

1 Rep. G. C. P. I., 1837, pp. 42-43 passim.

2 Rep. G. C. P. I., 1836, p. 105.

their sojourn in the holy City are necessarily dependent upon alms; that the reception of gifts by a Brahman entails no disgrace upon the recipient; that the original foundation of the institution implied and in fact afforded support as well as instruction to its *alumni;* that very great numbers of non-stipendiary pupils resorted to it, in the hope of so distinguishing themselves as to be admitted on the foundation list; and when all these circumstances are remembered and taken into account, and when we also consider how great a hold upon the native literature is to be obtained through the medium of Sanscrit; also that, by bringing Sanscrit students in connection with English ones, no inconsiderable results may be hoped for, I think it must be granted that the Order bore hard upon the Sanskrit College at Benares, and the results were very soon apparent, as will be shown hereafter."[1] The results alluded to were that, at the end of 1838, there was a decrease of 20 in the number of stipendiary students, and the sum which reverted to the General Education Fund by the lapse of stipends was Rs. 53; the number of stipendiary and non-stipendiary students in that year standing at 85 and 60 respectively; that this decrease continued further till on 30th June 1842 there were 111 non-stipendiary and only 24 stipendiary scholars, and on 30th June 1843, 112 non-stipendiary and 22 stipendiary ones.

Such was the effect of the order relating to the abolition of stipends. But there was that other order too relating to the discontinuance of professorships for the General Committee of the

1 Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Pathshalla or Sanskrit College*, p. 75.

day to act upon, and it did not fail to do so. Its first signal act in the way of giving effect to the order was the abolition of the English class of the Sanskrit College. The reason assigned for the abolition was the incompatibility of the English and Sanskrit systems of instruction and the failure of the original purpose of the English class, namely, that of "sending forth a stock of Pundits familiar with both literatures." The saving that accrued from the abolition was proposed to be transferred to the General Education Fund. And, in lieu of the English class, it was proposed to transfer from time to time a few Pundits of the Sanskrit College to the Hindu College in order to obtain English Instruction."[1] Government, on the matter being laid before them, declared themselves prepared to sanction the measure on being informed by the Committee of the amount of saving likely to have accrued from it;[2] and so before the end of 1835 the English class was abolished. Again, in October 1835, instructions were received at Benares from the General Committee to abolish the Mimansa and Puranic classes of the Sanskrit College there;[3] and in 1838 the abolition of the Persian and Arabic class in the same college was decided on.

But more noteworthy than these concrete manifestations of a stinting, discouraging attitude are the feelings of hostility towards Oriental learning which animated some of the Local Committees no less than a portion of the General Committee. For instance, the presentation of

[1] Letter from G. C. P. I., to Govt., dated 1st December 1835/No. 2487/: Pub. Cons: 9th December 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

[2] Letter from Govt. to G. C. P. I., dated 9th December 1835/No. 313/: Pub. Cons: 9th March 1835, No. 11 (G. I. R.)

[3] Nicholls: *Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshalla*, p. 76.

the Principal's annual examination report for 1838 of the Sanskrit College was the occasion for some lively proceedings and minute-writing by several European members of the Benares Local Committee. "To me," wrote one member, "the great utility of the Sanskrit never was apparent, and its extensive cultivation under a British Government somewhat savours of absurdity. Better surely to promote the resuscitation of Persian and Arabic than to waste our time and money in preserving the mummy of this very dead language. The student would not find it altogether labour lost to learn Persian and Arabic, for the Vernacular itself (the language of all parties, the most esteemed of all mediums of communication and of record nowadays) would appear a mere skeleton of hideous deformity but for its Persian and Arabic words. But to discountenance Sanscrit openly and unequivocally would go far to render us the most unpopular of all Committees of Public Instruction and our main object indeed may thereby be defeated. Let no fondly cherished prejudices be violated by the rough and incautious hand of innovation, let no disgust be raised by the sudden display of contempt or apathy, let Sanscrit still linger at Benares, its ancient haunt, let a few Pundits still be seen about its academic bowers, like the shipwrecked companions of Aenæs—*rari nates in gargite vasto*—but let them be few."[1] Another gentleman thus disburdened himself: "I know nothing of Sanscrit, but from occasional visits the duties of the Patshalla appear to be properly conducted. If the re-establishment of a

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80: Minute, dated 1st March 1839, by H. H. Thomas.

Persian and Arabic class would attract the youth of Benares to the College, I should be happy to see an able teacher in the place of the late respectable scholar, Kashi Nath, *if at the expense of the Sanscrit instead of the state so much the better.*"[1] Such ebullitions accurately indicate the violently prejudiced state of mind of those who directed the educational operations of the day with regard to Oriental, and especially Sanskrit, literature and learning. The General Committee was by no means immune from it. The design of the Committee was to undermine insidiously the institutions of Oriental learning. It appeared, said Nicholls, to have been "the policy of a portion of the General Committee so to discourage the Sanscrit College as to cause such a falling off in the number of the students as would make it appear that the institution was unpopular from its want of utility and thus pave the way for its abolition...." Such a policy was adopted not only with regard to the Benares, but other Oriental institutions as well.

The process of gradual emasculation of the Oriental educational institutions, aided by the decline in attendance owing to the withdrawal of stipends, would have no doubt been continued right to its final conclusion, had it not been checked in 1840 by Lord Auckland, who restored the original appropriations to the strict purposes of those institutions and bestowed on them a certain number of scholarships in lieu of stipends. The educational arrangements carried out on the principles laid down by Lord Auckland obliged the General Committee to pay some

[1] *Ibid.*, Minute by A. K. Lindsey & A. A. Roberts.

attention to the Oriental Colleges.[1] Among other things, English classes were again established in the Calcutta Sanskrit College in October 1842, under the orders of the Court of Directors and of the Government of India, and in accordance with the wishes of "a very great majority of the students."[2] But no encouragement to the Oriental seminaries, such as was given to English education, was forthcoming from the Committee's successor, the Council of Education. The general attitude of neglect towards them prevailed down to a very late period. It was only in 1859 that the educational authorities awoke to the necessity of reorganising the Sanskrit College in order to bring it, as was stated, "more into harmony with the University system."[3]

Oriental learning was regarded as a necessary evil to be tolerated, and the educational authorities of the time refused to extend it greater countenance than circumstances rendered essential. This was strikingly illustrated by an event connected with Lord Hardinge's Resolution of 10th October 1844.[4] In order to afford encouragement to education in general as well as to render the services of educated men available to the State, that Resolution promulgated that in every possible case, a preference was to be given in the selection of candidates for public

1 *Vide* General Report of the Late General Committee of Public Instruction, for 1840-41 & 1841-42, pp. 48-49.

2 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Bengal Presidency, for 1842-43, p. 52.

3 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1858-59, pp. 10-13.

4 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1844-45, pp. 2-3.

employment to those who had been educated in institutions, whether established by Government or by private individuals and societies, and especially to those who had distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment. From the principle thus comprehensively laid down no preference for any particular system of education, whether English or Oriental, could be inferred. The Resolution sought to give effect to the principle by requiring the Council of Education and the Local Committees and other authorities charged with the duty of superintending public instruction to submit on the 1st of January in each year returns, according to a prescribed form, of students who were 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 might have been deemed qualified to fill. The returns of meritorious students of the Government institutions were to be incorporated with those of the students of private institutions. The returns, when received by Government, were to be printed and circulated to the heads of all Government offices both in and out of Calcutta, "with instructions to omit no opportunity of providing for and advancing the candidates thus presented to their notice, and in filling up every situation of whatever grade, in their gift, to shew them an invariable preference over others not possessed of superior qualifications."

For the purpose of giving effect to the Resolution and enabling it to prepare the requisite list of candidates for public employ, the Council of Education decided on requiring the candi-

dates, who wished to be on the list, to submit to an examination, held annually, and fixed a test for it which reflected more the standard and course of instruction prevalent in the Government institutions than those prevalent elsewhere, thus virtually giving, as the Court of Directors pointed out, a monopoly of public patronage to students in the Government colleges. This, perhaps unintentionally, exclusive test evoked protests and complaints from the authorities of missionary schools, and Alexander Duff took a leading part in agitating the matter. Even the Court of Directors thought the test too high, considered in relation to the immediate practical object in view, the employment of educated men in the public service. Further the Court suggested the propriety of admitting proficients in the Oriental languages to the same privileges as were enjoyed by the scholars of the English institutions under the Resolution of the 10th October 1844. But the Council of Education refused to concede such privileges to the alumni of the Oriental institutions. In its report on the subject, submitted to Government on the 29th June 1848, the Council said: "It has been deemed right to keep open, under the patronage of Government, Institutions in which those who desire instruction in those languages[1] may receive it. Perhaps even an undue preference has been shewn to them in some respects, by giving instruction in those Institutions on easier terms than in the English colleges; but even this has not been without its use, in shewing, beyond question, how much more eagerly the awakening intellect of Hin-

1 Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

dustan desires the more valuable treasures which are opened to its enjoyment through European literature and science. The Council of Education fully agree in the policy of all that has been hitherto conceded in this respect; but they are of opinion that it would be in direct contradiction to all that has been done for education in India during the last thirteen years, since it was finally determined that English should be offered to the youth of India, as their classical language, and that proficiency in it should be deemed the indispensable characteristic of a liberal education, if a step were now taken, which would amount to a virtual admission that, in the estimation of the examiners, the study of Sanscrit or Arabic is as valuable and as well worth the time and trouble bestowed on it as that of English."[1]

Unfortunately, the indiscriminate animus against all Oriental learning, which Bentinck's Resolution contributed to harden in them, led the educational authorities of the period to underrate considerably the valuable aid which those trained and nourished in the Oriental system of education could render to the cause of education. The despised Oriental institutions were to put forth splendid fruit in their own good time. The great experiment of the fusion of European and Sanskrit learning carried out at the Benares College has already been described. Later on, during the middle of the nineteenth century, the Pundits of the Calcutta Sanskrit College contributed to the solution of one of the most difficult practical problems with which

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal Presidency, from 1st May 1848 to 1st October 1849, pp. xi-xxv passim.

the educationists of the period were faced—the supply of good, suitable vernacular school-books. Not the products of the Anglicist system of education, but the followers of a despised learning and culture consummated with unquestionable success a task which had baffled previous attempts to tackle it, or at least had absorbed a good deal of money and labour without yielding the desired results. The achievement of the Pundits evoked enthusiasm in those whose attention was attracted to it. An inspector of schools, East Bengal, wrote animatedly of it in 1859 thus: "These books are no ephemeral productions spawned into the world by penny-a-liners. The majority of them are compilations or translations by the best masters of the Bengali language. By one of those tides which happen in the affairs of men, the learned Pundits of the Sanskrit College have, as a body, been seized with a love of publishing books. They have at last consented to cast away their *sesquipedalia verba*, compounded words a line and a half long, and to write a language that ordinary people may read. Simplicity of diction is now their great object. Only fifteen years ago the Vernacularists might have been tempted to say, can any good thing come out of the Sanskrit College? The Pundits of that College then despised European science and literature as utterly as the Madressa Moulavies do now. Yet during these last fifteen years they have awakened from the slumber of hundreds, or rather of thousands of years, and now again are appearing as the instructors of their countrymen. I beg those interested in education to look down the subjoined list of

books* and to remember that most of them are well written, indeed so well written that all the power and patronage of Government could not secure class books in a purer style of language. Improvement is still possible in the compilation, but the defects here observable are found chiefly in the English authors on which the compositions have been based." And in the same strain he proceeded to remark: "So far as regards secular school books, the Government and the new Vernacular School Society may spare themselves further trouble. Private enterprise has solved the difficulty; we still want Atlases and Globes and school apparatus generally, but we do not want school books.....The time is at hand, if it has not already come, when the School Book Society and the Vernacular Literature Society may cease their publishing labours. Their mission is already fulfilled. They have done their work. They originated the supply of comparatively cheap books, and they for many years were the sole means of enlightenment to the people. But the fire that they kindled and nursed with such care, has at last taken fast hold and burst into a blaze."[1]

And that achievement of the Pundits might have been rendered the forerunner of yet greater ones by proper and well-directed encouragement—encouragement which was however denied by the educational authorities of the period to the professors and expounders of the ancient learning of the land.

* *i. e.* a list of school books printed since 1850, which was subjoined to his report.

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1858-59, Appendix A, pp. 30-32.

Chapter IX.

THE AFTERMATH OF BENTINCK'S RESOLUTION.

§ 1.

In describing the working of the Anglicist policy in the last chapter we had to depart, for the sake of continuity of narrative, from the chronological order of certain events that followed the promulgation of Bentinck's Resolution. We shall now have to retrace our steps a little and hark back to the time of the great controversy in order to note the immediate repercussions of the Resolution and their final outcome of which no mention has been made so far. Forceful repercussions there were; for, Bentinck's Resolution, purport though it did to set the famous controversy at rest, was very far from having the effect of the proverbial oil on troubled waters. Rather, it served to keep alive the agitation and fan it in different directions. For, in point of fairness, the Resolution left much to be desired. The purpose behind it seemed to be, not so much to fairly settle the issues that were agitated, as to overwhelm one party to the controversy by the weight of an imposing authority thrown unreservedly on the side of the other. But, however imposing the authority, it could not silence the remonstrances of those who felt themselves injured by what seemed its arbitrary use. On the contrary, its revolutionary import and its sweeping expressions laid the Resolution open to attack at various points and from various quarters.

Too partial to the views and principles of one party, the Resolution provoked spirited protests from the party discomfited; too exclusive in its declarations, it created doubts and suspicions as to the real scope of its meaning and intent; too revolutionary in its practical consequences, it was inveighed against by the conservative minds of the day; and too hard on the national culture and learning, it brought forth complaints and solicitations from the sections of the populace whose interests and feelings it seemed, despite its disclaimers, to set at nought. As such, the Resolution formed the target of a series of onslaughts. We shall now try to describe some of these, and their final effect on the subsequent course of events in the history of English education in India.

§ 2.

The first attack naturally proceeded from the side of the European Orientalists led by Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, a member of the General Committee, who carried with him two other members, Messrs. Henry Shakespeare and James Prinsep, the latter one of the most eminent of Oriental scholars. It took mostly the form of a restatement of the Orientalist position vis-à-vis the Resolution. Mr. Macnaghten took the Resolution clause by clause and attempted to show its ambiguities and its inconsistency with certain recent professions of Government made in connection with its bearing on the future of the Calcutta Madressa.[1] He questioned whether,

1 Minute, 24th March 1835: Pub. Cons: 22nd April 1835, No. 10 A (G. I. R.)

in directing the appropriation of all funds assigned for the purposes of education to the promotion of English education alone, the Resolution intended to divert to the latter object even those appropriations which had taken place, under the authority of the Act of 1813, for the distinct purpose of reviving and improving the literature of the country and encouraging "learned natives." He doubted the validity of the test laid down in the Resolution for the future discontinuance of Oriental professorships, the test being the number and state of the class at the time of the occurrence of a professorial vacancy. "Temporary causes," Mr. Macnaghten pointed out, "may have occasioned the falling off of classes at a time immediately preceding the occurrence of a vacancy. Unless the diminution had been progressive, the fact might not furnish a true criterion or a fair one: it would obviously apply as well to the European as to the Oriental professorship." This led him to think that the specific reference in the Resolution to "Oriental" professors, as those who were to fall under the test, was due to inadvertence. Apart from its ambiguity, he found the Resolution positively inconsistent on the point with the assurances given by Government in reply to a petition on behalf of the Calcutta Madressa, addressed by over eight thousand Mahomedans at the time the Resolution was about to be passed. He further asked whether, in ordering as the Resolution did, the continuance of stipends to present professors and students, it was intended to extend the concession to various other officers attached to Oriental institutions, particularly to the Madressa, or otherwise. And he questioned,

whether by directing the cessation of the printing of all Oriental works by the General Committee, the Resolution meant that, not only was the General Committee to cease printing and publication on its own account, but that it was not also to encourage and patronise the printing of Oriental works by others. "If the affirmative to this question be given," he observed, "I have no hesitation in saying that the prohibition will have the appearance of an attempt to exterminate Oriental Literature altogether, as it is notorious that these books are not to be bought ready made."

On all those points Mr. Macnaghten asked for clear and definite instructions from Government. Doubts had been created in his mind regarding the true scope of the various directions in the Resolution because of the literal and exclusive construction placed on it by the majority of the General Committee, which was now preponderantly manned by Anglicists who maintained, in opposition to Mr. Macnaghten, that the Resolution was "perfectly clear and explicit."[1] But Mr. Macnaghten was unprepared to believe that Government really intended to proceed to such lengths as seemed indicated in the Resolution. He was inclined to suppose that the intention of Government was "to make no alteration in the system hitherto pursued for the encouragement of learned Natives and the cultivation of Oriental literature, excepting the reduction of the stipends of students, as they become vacant, and the printing of Oriental works under our own superintendence."

1 Letter, 29th March 1835/No. 2157/ from G. C. P. I. to Govt: Pub. Cons: 22nd April 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

The concluding part of the Resolution, which required the General Committee to frame a scheme of education in accordance with the principles laid down by the Resolution for its guidance, provided Mr. Macnaghten with an opportunity for expounding his Orientalist views and his fundamental differences with the new policy of the General Committee. Not that Mr. Macnaghten was enamoured of Oriental literature or learning or actuated by any particular regard for it. But the Anglicists appeared to him to be proceeding with an unwise precipitancy, and in total disregard of all dictates of prudence, in carrying out a change in the established system of the nature contemplated by the Resolution. And against an aggressive spirit of innovation, which summarily dismissed Oriental culture and institutions as fit merely to be swept out of existence, he remonstrated in no mild terms. "I should be," he declared, "one of the foremost to rejoice at seeing truth take the place of error, but I am nevertheless very unwilling to join the ranks of those who are conducting a crusade against every Oriental feeling and institution. With them there is to be no halt in this march of intellect, no breathing time, no trace, no compromise, no cautious approaches but an open manful attack upon every stronghold and redoubt that the religious feelings, the habits, and the prejudices of centuries have raised: all must be utterly destroyed by a *coup de main* and nothing less will suffice. Against such warfare as this I for one must earnestly protest. Our operations in the interior should for many years to come be conducted with some degree of prudence. We

should assume the virtue of liberality if we have it not, and for every English schoolmaster that we locate we should establish a Moulvee and a Pundit, leaving the Natives of the country free to choose to which they will resort for instruction."

But, next, Mr. Macnaghten, in common with the rest of the Orientalists, felt convinced of the ultimate failure of the new policy of attempting wide-spread enlightenment through the medium of English. The notion, cherished by some Anglicists, that English could well be substituted as the general language of India, to the exclusion, not only of the classical, but of the vernacular languages, he dismissed as purely visionary. "The climate must undergo a revolution," he said, "before this can be effected." And he seemed to consider that the reasons, which in his view made the exclusive employment of the English medium impracticable and disadvantageous under the particular circumstances of the Indian people for any wide dissemination of knowledge amongst them, would also operate to frustrate the chimerical hope of creating a lingually anglicised India. He considered the exclusive use of English for such a purpose impracticable and disadvantageous and undesirable, because he believed that for many years in the beginning the knowledge conveyed through English to the youth in the interior of the country could only be elementary, as there was the primary difficulty of their acquiring a foreign language in order to gain the knowledge contained in it; because he believed that the ministers of the popular religions, who were also the expounders of the ancient learning

and exerted a commanding influence over the people, and whom it was desirable to win over if light and knowledge were to make progress among the mass of the people, would be estranged by a policy which showed a scant regard for their cherished languages and learning and an undue partiality for English; and because he believed that the acquisition of the higher knowledge, or the arts and sciences, of Europe through the medium of English could of necessity be undertaken only by a few, and that to confine the communication of knowledge to the channel of English could only result in shutting out the vast majority of the people from the benefits of that knowledge. He considered, from a general point of view, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake sufficiently difficult even through a national medium to attract but a few with ability and inclination to devote themselves to it; and the introduction and employment of a foreign medium he regarded as enhancing, especially in the circumstances of the Indian people, the difficulty to untold proportions. "How is it with our countrymen?" he asked, "How many in a hundred after receiving a most liberal education enter into public life with no more knowledge than suffices to enable them to use their mother-tongue with facility and precision, and yet more is to be expected under far less favourable circumstances from the Natives of India, who are not only to master a foreign language, the most difficult perhaps in the world, but the arena of its arts and sciences also." And again, speaking of the impolicy of forcing the flow of knowledge to the general population through the sole channel of English,

he said: "The people are almost universally poor as regards both their mental and their physical necessaries. In such a state of things, though it would be humane to add to their stock of moral and useful knowledge, it would be cruel to consume their valuable time in the acquisition of that which is not in itself knowledge, but only the means of gaining knowledge and which could prove to but few of them the means of gaining a subsistence."

Mr. Macnaghten was in no wise impressed by the fact, uniformly referred to by the Anglicists in support of their views regarding the feasibility and advisability of making English the medium of general enlightenment, that the people themselves desired to be taught that language even in preference to their own. He saw what the mainspring of the popular craving after English was; and he feared the worst consequences from a policy or system of education which stooped to gratify it. No person, he averred, who had "the slightest experience of the native character could suppose that they who are proverbially tenacious of the usages of their forefathers should evince all of a sudden a disposition to change without some adequate motive. If the fact be as asserted, there can be only one cause. The love of lucre has often tempted even the Hindu to forget every other principle of action. Hopes must have been held out that a knowledge of English would secure them a provision in after life, and not a little indeed will be the disappointment when the hopes are proved to be baseless." And the general reaction ensuing from such disappointment against the study of English might,

Mr. Macnaghten believed and feared, positively set back the clock of educational progress.

Holding such views against the new policy laid down by Bentinck's Resolution, Mr. Macnaghten insisted upon the languages of the country as the proper media for the general diffusion of knowledge. According to him, as according to Orientalists in general, a suitable scheme of education for the country—suitable to the needs and circumstances of all classes—should have to be comprehensive enough to include the vernaculars for the purpose of conferring the benefits of knowledge on the mass of the people; the Oriental languages for enriching and developing the vernaculars; and the English, with its cultivation confined to a few, for the purpose mainly of transferring European knowledge to the vernaculars intermediately through the Oriental languages. He pleaded for fair trial and equal encouragement to all, to Oriental languages and learning side by side with English. "I would encourage the opulent," he said, "those who can afford to live in literary leisure by all means to study our language, and would hold out to all every possible facility for making its acquisition. I would cultivate the Sanskrit and Arabic languages as being the sources whence the vernacular languages will acquire the means of communicating the literary treasures of the English world and I would hold out high prizes for the best translation into those or into the vernacular languages of the most popular scientific treatises on all subjects of our own. Why such a course of proceeding should not be ultimately successful I cannot foresee, though I doubt

not that it may be thought by some to be too circuitous. The grand object in my opinion 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 society."

The minute embodying the views and arguments of Mr. Macnaghten was forwarded to Government by the General Committee. The reply of Government was a brief one. It merely stated that the questions discussed in the Minute had already been decided by the Resolution of 7th March and that it was not considered by Government "necessary or proper to revive them."[1] But this reply did not represent the unanimous opinion of Government. There was in the Governor-General's Council the protagonist of Orientalism, H. T. Prinsep, who was far from being of the view of the majority of the Council that it was not necessary or proper to reopen the question purported to be settled by Bentinck's Resolution. He made the reference of Mr. Macnaghten's minute to Government the occasion for treating the Resolution, in a lengthy minute,[2] to a vigorous broadside of strongly stated arguments and angry expostulations. He added little that was new to the familiar Orientalist arguments against the innovation in educational policy authorised by Bentinck's Resolution, but

1 Letter, 22nd April 1835, from Govt. to G. C. P. I.: Pub. Cons: 22nd April 1835, No. 11, (G. I. R.)

2 Minute, 20th May 1835: Pub. Cons: 3rd June 1835, No. 8, (G. I. R.)

he brought much warmth and energy to his expression of them.

Prinsep began by referring to the particular interpretation of the relevant clause of the Charter Act of 1813, on which the educational principles of the Orientalists had been founded, and on the basis of which Mr. Macnaghten had argued in his minute against the Resolution, and briefly described how the educational operations of the General Committee had been till 1835 carried on in conformity with the terms of that clause. He did not omit to mention how the cultivation of English had been favoured by the Orientalists. "If a comparison were to be made," he said, "of the sums spent in printing native works and in providing new machinery for teaching the language of the East or new stipends for successful scholars of its literature with the amounts lavished on English masters and teachers of the rudiments of European science and on Professors of Law and Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy etc., etc.,[1] it will be found that the former bear but a small proportion to the lakh of rupees even on the principles of the Orientalists, that the desire to teach our own language and literature and science has always prevailed over the revival of the old literature and that we have given to what is least stated in the enactment as a purpose of assignment perhaps even an undue preference." He then proceeded to call Bentinck's Resolution a "rash" act, and, in justification of his so terming it, to describe the manner in which it was hurried through the council by the Governor-

1 Prinsep was probably alluding to the professorships of the Calcutta Vidyalaya.

General without giving the Orientalist side of the question a fair hearing. Not only did he consider the Resolution a rash act, but an ill-advised one as proclaiming unwise and illiberal principles and prohibitions; and he entered at length upon the grounds on which he held that opinion. He inveighed against each distinct clause of the Resolution and tried to show the illiberal and indiscreet character of the aims and motives underlying it. To begin with, he declared the fundamental principle on which the change of policy was effected by the Resolution—viz., that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European science and literature through instruction in the English language and that all funds ought to be appropriated to that object exclusively—to be unjustified by the Charter Act and inconsistent with the past proceedings of the Indian Government with regard to Indian education: and, though prepared to admit the right of Government to lay down the principle in respect to future grants and appropriations out of the Education fund, he denied it had any right to apply the principle to long-established institutions, some of them extant prior to the Charter Act, so as to disturb the assignments made to them for distinct and specific purposes, and not for the general purposes of education. But, next, even in respect to future grants and appropriations he deemed the avowal of that broad principle in favour of the English language and literature unwise and illiberal: "to our subjects and especially to those most capable of feeling it," he said, "the declaration is insulting and calculated to irritate where we ought to conciliate:" and he put it down to

sheer ignorance that Oriental literature and learning were decried in certain quarters as of no value or utility. What, however, principally excited Prinsep's ire was the direction relating to the future discontinuance of Oriental professorships. Construing the direction as meaning that, while the teachers and professors of the English classes were to be left undisturbed in the enjoyment of their comparatively high salaries though their classes might have been wholly unattended or their pupils never proceeded "beyond the Spelling Book", the General Committee was to watch "every temporary failure of an Arabic or Persian or Sanscrit or vernacular class in order that the occasion may be taken to rob it of its pittance of support and transfer the amount to some pampered teacher of English spelling"—construing it thus, Prinsep pronounced the direction illiberal and mean and revolting to the principles and course of policy that had been previously followed. To the abolition of stipends, directed by the Resolution, he objected on two grounds: first, on the particular ground that in the case of institutions like the Madressa and the Benares College the abolition would make a change in the peculiar character of those institutions—a change which he by no means denied the right and power of Government to make, but which he contended at the same time ought not to have been decided on without a full prior investigation into the working of the stipendiary system; and, secondly, on the general ground that the stipends were a necessity whatever the system of education followed, for, as he maintained, it was only through scholarships or stipends affording a provision and maintenance to those who devoted

themselves to the prosecution of studies that anything like erudition and high proficiency could be hoped for. "Whether it be English or Sanscrit or Arabic that it is desired to teach," he said, "the result will be found the same: there will be no high attainment in any of these courses without a class of stipendiary scholars nor will the Institutions thrive without them nor attain the desired credit and reputation; for as I have said before it is mainly through them that the discipline of such institutions is maintained, their character raised in general estimation and the benefits of instruction widely disseminated and made popular." He disputed the notion that stipends acted as bribes "to induce particular studies which would not otherwise be prosecuted," and pointed out the injustice of the grant of high stipends, allowed by Government, to students of the newly-founded Medical College at the same time that they were denied to those of the Oriental Colleges. Against the prohibition by the Resolution of the printing of Oriental works, Prinsep, though he admitted that large amounts had been expended on such works to no marked beneficial purpose and further thought it better on the whole to leave the publication and translation of literary works to private enterprise than to the General Committee, yet contended that "the devotion of part of the assigned Fund to those objects is distinctly within the purposes indicated in the Parliamentary grant. Hence the discontinuance of such aids to Oriental literature and of the support to the learned men employed in preparing works for the Press is withdrawing from one of the objects directly contemplated and prescribed by the Legislature

of England as deserving to be promoted, nay made obligatory by the terms of the enactment." And he particularly animadverted on the action of the General Committee in interdicting forthwith, in pursuance of the Resolution, the progress of works the printing of which had been already undertaken or commenced or approaching completion. Strongly stated, however, as all those contentions were, Prinsep's fervency reached its tempo in his protest against the concluding part of the Resolution which ordered all funds, accuring from the lapse of stipends, from the discontinuance of the Oriental professorships, and from withdrawal from the printing of Oriental classics, to be devoted to the sole object of teaching English literature and science through the medium of the English language. He protested, not only because of the lack of sense of fair play it evinced, but because of its liability to create invidious feelings and to spread abroad an undesirable impression regarding the intentions of Government. "I object to this," he declared, "because it presents this literature and science to those whom we wish to induce to cultivate it in the odious light of a favoured child to be fattened and fed with the best things at disposal and to pamper which the spare morsels hitherto set before other children of different mothers are to be withdrawn that they may starve. With what eyes will all those who look with affection on the literature so robbed of their pittance regard the new courses of instruction which it is intended to open to them? Is it by such measures that it is sought to make English Literature and English Science popular and to extend the love of them and make people desirous of

cultivating them for their own sakes? This resolution not only places these in an attitude of direct hostility towards the much prized Literatures of the Country but exhibits the Government in the odious light of a hard step-mother to the latter. Men will say, indeed they have said: 'All that has hitherto been done to foster these literatures and to encourage the learning and learned men of the East was artful practice to ingratiate while we feared, and to seek favour and popularity while we were dependent on the good-will of those whom we aimed to bring under subjection: but no sooner do we feel our strength to be sufficient, than we let out the cloven foot and evince a selfish disregard to the feelings and wishes of the people and a persecuting hostility to all that is not of our own caste.'" Nor was that all. Prinsep ended on a note of warning against the danger, which he apprehended from the indiscreet and tactless manner in which the Resolution was being carried out and of which he saw signs in the Mahomedan petition on behalf of the Madressa, of an ulterior proselytising motive being imputed to Government on account of the revolutionary character of the Resolution and, still more, on account of the proceedings of the General Committee based thereon.

The decision of Government not to reopen the question settled by the Resolution of 7th March caused the resignation of Macnaghten and James Prinsep from the General Committee.[1] But the latter did not secede from the Committee without lodging a protest against the Resolution,

1 Home Pub. Cons: 1st July 1835: Nos. 10, 11, 13 (G. I. R.)

or rather an able vindication of the Orientalist policy till recently followed.[1] J. Prinsep's vindication follows in great part the familiar lines of the Orientalist apologia, particularly in its insistence upon the fact that the Orientalists in laying down their system of education had but followed the trend of general opinion which had at the outset identified the education of the Indian people with the encouragement and improvement of Oriental literature—a fact which he elucidated by tracing, from the time of Lord Minto's Minute onwards, the events and circumstances that led to the institution of the General Committee. He was at particular pains to prove that fact as he read in the utterances of some of his colleagues in the Committee and in the attitude of Government a silent reproach against the Orientalists—a reproach which seemed to imply that they, the Orientalists, had departed from the original objects with which the Committee had been established, that, by pursuing different objects, they had been responsible for misappropriation of large funds, and that they as a body had been unduly influenced in their policy by individuals with predilections of their own and had been " swayed alternately to Sanscriticism or to Arabicism as Mr. Wilson or Mr. Taylor directed the helm." He challenged these imputations by further pointing out, in addition to the circumstances in which the General Committee had originated, that the Sanskrit College of Calcutta was " the express child of the Government " and no creation of the Orientalist party in the Committee. Incidentally he showed

[1] Minute, 30th April 1835: Home Pub. Cons: 1st July 1835, No. 12 (G. I. R.)

the success and utility of the Sanskrit College in supplying, even though the institution was then in its infancy, well-trained men for various important situations, public as well as private,—which seemed to belie those who harped upon the supposed failure of the Orientalist system of education. He also justified the General Committee's past expenditure of large sums on the publication of Oriental works and translations, which he considered more effective channels for the diffusion of knowledge than schools and colleges. But all that, and much more which Prinsep had to say on the subject of education, was in the nature of a twice-told tale, reproducing as it did the views and opinions of the Orientalists in general—though no doubt he put these in a better and clearer form than some Orientalists succeeded in doing. In his justification of Oriental publications, in his defence of the stipendiary system, in his general argument against the exclusive use of the English medium, in his concluding statement of the principles on which he desired a comprehensive system of education to be based, he added hardly anything new to the substance of what had been said before on those various subjects. However, Prinsep delivered his sentiments on one point in an arresting manner. He expressed in memorable words his dissent from the policy which had now found favour and had been partially launched into operation by Bentinck—the policy of anglicising the language of education in conjunction with the language of administration of the country. It may be also noted that Prinsep saw clearly one of the underlying reasons which influenced a large number of Englishmen in India to agitate

or rather an able vindication of the Orientalist policy till recently followed.[1] J. Prinsep's vindication follows in great part the familiar lines of the Orientalist apologia, particularly in its insistence upon the fact that the Orientalists in laying down their system of education had but followed the trend of general opinion which had at the outset identified the education of the Indian people with the encouragement and improvement of Oriental literature—a fact which he elucidated by tracing, from the time of Lord Minto's Minute onwards, the events and circumstances that led to the institution of the General Committee. He was at particular pains to prove that fact as he read in the utterances of some of his colleagues in the Committee and in the attitude of Government a silent reproach against the Orientalists—a reproach which seemed to imply that they, the Orientalists, had departed from the original objects with which the Committee had been established, that, by pursuing different objects, they had been responsible for misappropriation of large funds, and that they as a body had been unduly influenced in their policy by individuals with predilections of their own and had been " swayed alternately to Sanscriticism or to Arabicism as Mr. Wilson or Mr. Taylor directed the helm." He challenged these imputations by further pointing out, in addition to the circumstances in which the General Committee had originated, that the Sanskrit College of Calcutta was " the express child of the Government " and no creation of the Orientalist party in the Committee. Incidentally he showed

[1] Minute, 30th April 1835: Home Pub. Cons: 1st July 1835, No. 12 (G. I. R.)

the success and utility of the Sanskrit College in supplying, even though the institution was then in its infancy, well-trained men for various important situations, public as well as private,—which seemed to belie those who harped upon the supposed failure of the Orientalist system of education. He also justified the General Committee's past expenditure of large sums on the publication of Oriental works and translations, which he considered more effective channels for the diffusion of knowledge than schools and colleges. But all that, and much more which Prinsep had to say on the subject of education, was in the nature of a twice-told tale, reproducing as it did the views and opinions of the Orientalists in general—though no doubt he put these in a better and clearer form than some Orientalists succeeded in doing. In his justification of Oriental publications, in his defence of the stipendiary system, in his general argument against the exclusive use of the English medium, in his concluding statement of the principles on which he desired a comprehensive system of education to be based, he added hardly anything new to the substance of what had been said before on those various subjects. However, Prinsep delivered his sentiments on one point in an arresting manner. He expressed in memorable words his dissent from the policy which had now found favour and had been partially launched into operation by Bentinck—the policy of anglicising the language of education in conjunction with the language of administration of the country. It may be also noted that Prinsep saw clearly one of the underlying reasons which influenced a large number of Englishmen in India to agitate

for the substitution of their language as the language of administration. And this was what he said: "To hold that any elevation of the mind takes place from learning the English alphabet, or that the same moral instruction cannot be imparted in the languages of India appears to me to be the bias of enthusiasm. Where encouragement is given in every way, an activity and apparent preference will be manifested: and where the contrary, langour and despondency. To English is now held out the prize of rising fortune, public employ, distinction and *social equality with the rulers of the country*. The secret of this last and most influential advantage lies only in the dislike of the majority of our countrymen to converse in a foreign tongue; it is irksome; few are able to do it well. But it is an injustice to the governed that this distinction should prevail: the object of our earnest exertions should be to promote the knowledge of the people and their tongue by ourselves: the more we encourage the middle class of Anglo-Hindus, to the greater distance do we banish the rest of their countrymen: we excite an ill-will between the *reformed* and native Indians, and make 100 enemies for 1 friend. The character of the English Government of India has *hitherto* been contrasted with that of its Mahomedan predecessor by its leaving their institutions untouched, by its learning and using the language of the governed. But now in our turn it would seem as though we would assume the haughty tone and force the majority—the overwhelming majority—to talk, conduct the business and keep the records of their courts and offices in the language of the governing

minority. Our new policy is already partly avowed, our political correspondence is ordered to be conducted in English, instead of its being our boast that all languages were equally accessible in our durbar, English envoys are deputed to foreign courts, while those without this knowledge, however superior in abilities, are gradually put aside. There must naturally be a strong bias in the minds of us Englishmen in favour of those who can converse freely with us and as it were enter into our feelings and system. I feel it myself, but I feel it as a prejudice that ought to be combated as an injustice to the millions whom it should be my business (paid for it as I am and enjoying every facility for learning) to study, to comprehend and to protect with an equal hand....." Moreover, he had little doubt like the rest of the Orientalists about the failure of any attempt to diffuse through English a knowledge of science and literature by encouraging, as some proposed to do, expectations of advantages from acquisition of that language. He therefore opposed the proposal entertained by some of the members of the General Committee to elicit from Government a declaration in favour of a policy of giving preference to the students of English in filling up appointments in the public service. He concluded with a pointed retort to the Anglicists: "Such an avowal by the Government would I think excite murmurs and disaffection: it would be a species of intolerance, a bribe to the cultivation of our language, not of our literature: we should rather, I think, maintain that English is to be studied for its own sake, and not bribe people to learn it. It has been urged that we

bribe people to study Arabic and Sanscrit because we give them subsistence money while in college; but which is the greater bribe, an allowance of 5 or 7 rupees a month during hard study for 4 or 5 years with no prospect beyond, or the promise of appointments of 50, 100, nay 500 and 1000, rupees a month for a moderate acquaintance with English."

Another protest came, and that from an illustrious body—the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[1] The Society remonstrated in a restrained yet strong tone against the discontinuance of the support of Government to the cultivation of the Oriental languages. "If the Sanskrit and the Arabic languages," said the letter of the Society, "consecrated as they are by ages of the remotest antiquity, enshrined as they are in the affections of venerating millions, the theme as they are of the wonder and of the admiration of all the learned nations of Europe, if these languages are not to receive support from a Government which has been ever famed for its liberality and its justice, from a Government which draws an annual revenue of twenty millions from the people by whom these languages are held sacred, it is the decided opinion of the Asiatic Society—an opinion which they want words to express with adequate force, that the cause of civilization and the character of the British nation will alike sustain irreparable injury." And on two grounds of practical importance the Society thought the Oriental languages worthy of Government's encouragement: first, the necessity and

1 Letter, 3rd June 1835, from President, A. S. to Govr. Genl: Pub. Cons: 10th June 1835, No. 14 (G. I. R.)

value of those languages to the development of the vernaculars; and, secondly, the apprehended loss of an influence for good among the people by the withdrawal of Europeans from the field of Oriental learning on account of lack of countenance from Government. To put it in the language of the Society's letter: "If the British Government set the example of neglecting Oriental studies, it can hardly be expected that many of their European subjects will cultivate them: the field will then be left in the undisturbed possession of those whose unprofitable husbandry is already but too visible, and who will pursue it with a view to the perpetuation of superstition and defective morality among the people. An influence will thus be lost, the benefit of which to the more intellectual classes of Natives can scarcely be estimated too highly, arising from the direction given to their studies and pursuits by those who can freely acknowledge what is intellectually and morally valuable in their previous systems and distinguish it from what is of an opposite character and who take the first and most necessary step for removing the wrong prejudices of others, by proving that they are without unjust prejudice themselves." Consequently, all that the Society entreated of Government by way of support to Oriental literature and learning was that, if no appropriation could be made for the purpose out of the Parliamentary grant, the Court of Directors might be solicited to give some specific pecuniary grant to be expended annually on the revival and improvement of literature of the country and encouragement of learned men, as provided in the Charter Act; and the Society volunteered to

undertake the superintendence of the expenditure of that sum under such checks as the Government might impose. It also offered to continue, with the necessary pecuniary aid from Government, the printing of the Oriental works which had been interrupted by the Resolution of 7th March. In reply the Government forwarded, for the enlightenment of the members of the Society, a copy of the Resolution and politely refused to accede to the specific requests made by it.[1]

From the Indian side too there came petitions containing respectful expostulations. There was first a Persian petition by over eight thousand (to be accurate, 8,312) of the "Mussalman inhabitants of Calcutta and its environs," which referred to the rumour, circulated at the time the Anglo-Orientalist question was receiving the consideration of the Governor-General's Council, of an intention on the part of Government to abolish the Madressa and to the apprehensions created among the Mahomedan population on that account, and prayed that the institution might be continued as before, stating *inter alia*: "From the time when the report of the abolition of the Mudressa first gained ground, all classes small and great of the people have taken up the idea that the object and end of this measure is to eradicate the literature and religious system of Islamian order, that the measure may lead to the dissemination of the religion of the proposers and originators of the measure itself and so the subjects of the state may be caused to become

1 Letter, 10th June 1835, from Govt. to President, A. S.: Pub. Cons: 10th June 1835, No. 15 (G. I. R.)

Christians."[1] This was followed by a petition from one Sibkissen Sarma and other students of the Calcutta Sanskrit College in which, after alluding to the support that had been vouchsafed to Sanskrit learning by former Hindu and Mahomedan princes as well as by the British Government in the past and expressing their view that the abolition of stipends was calculated to strike a death-blow to the Sanskrit College, they concluded by entreating that the allowances and stipends, which were to be discontinued in future under the Resolution of 7th March, be continued as before.[2] These petitions clearly exhibited the state of ferment caused in certain circles by the change of educational policy and as clearly pointed to, though the Government of the day refused to see, the necessity of a modification of the sweeping Resolution. But, though the necessity was for the time being staved off by assurances in the former case[3] and by refusal to comply with the entreaties in the latter,[4] yet it was not for long that the Government could withstand it. Over a year afterwards another petition, almost similar in substance to the previous one, was made by seventy students of the Sanskrit College.[5] The students of the Madressa too petitioned for the restoration of their stipends. The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, perceived the necessity of some measure, though not in the form of a revival of

[1] Home Pub. Cons: 13th March 1835, No. 9 (G. I. R.)

[2] Home. Pub Cons: 8th April 1835, No. 44 (G. I. R.)

[3] Reply to Mahomedan petition, 9 March 1835: Home Pub. Cons: 13th Mrch 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

[4] Reply to Petition of Sibkissen Sarma & others, 8th April 1835: Home Pub. Cons: 8th April 1835, No. 45 (G. I. R.)

[5] Petition, dated 9th August 1836: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 145-46.

the stipendiary system, to satisfy the petitioners and stop their complaints. He preferred, however, on the suggestion of two members of his council, to await instructions from the Court of Directors before proceeding on those petitions; but at the same time he hastened to record his opinion that scholarships in lieu of stipends might with benefit be attached to the Oriental colleges, and in his view a wide distinction existed between stipends and scholarships.[1] In fact, a spirit of compromise since the advent of Auckland as Governor-General had begun to take possession of Government.

But the Government was pressed forward by events to an actual attempt at compromise, or rather, modification of Bentinck's Resolution. A petition in Sanskrit and in English was addressed to the Court of Directors in the name of the Hindu community of Bengal. It was subscribed by nearly nine thousand persons. The petitioners demanded, first, due encouragement to be given to the Sanskrit Language and Literature; secondly, the adoption of measures for the cultivation of "elemental instruction in pure Bengallee;" thirdly, the maintenance of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta on the same footing as in the time of Lord Amherst's administration, i.e., the resumption of the practice of allowing monthly stipends to the pupils for their sustenance; fourthly, the appropriation of a certain sum of money to the publication of Sanskrit and Bengali books and "that the same sum, 25,000 rupees which was heretofore fixed for that purpose, may be continued to be expended and that works on

1 Minute, 24th August 1836: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 147.

European Arts and Sciences may be translated and published in the vernacular languages."

The petition had the effect of bringing the Resolution of 7th March under review. The petition was referred, on 21st February 1838, to the General Committee for its opinion and report. On the 31st of August the Committee submitted its views on the demands of the petitioners. The Committee was unfavourable to a reopening of the discussion settled by the Resolution of 1835. With regard to encouragement to Sanskrit learning, it did not consider it right or consistent with the orders received in 1835 to do anything beyond keeping up the Sanskrit institutions under its care in a state of efficiency as long as pupils resorted to them for gratuitous instruction. With regard to vernacular instruction, it pointed out that it had attached teachers of vernacular to all institutions under its control and had required English teachers to learn the vernacular dialects. Finally, it decidedly objected to the revival of the stipendiary system.

When the question again came up before the Governor-General in Council with the reply of the General Committee, it was debated upon almost wholly from the point of view of expediency. This point of view is clearly reflected in the minute of 19th October 1838 by Mr. Robertson, who, referring to an earlier minute by him dated 12th April 1836, concluded by asking whether "the Government was prepared for the sake of preserving theoretic consistency with regard to the outlay of the monthly sum of eleven hundred Rupees to persist in a course

that was protested against certainly not without much show of reason by nearly fifty thousand of the most influential individuals of the Mahomedan and Hindoo persuasions." The result of the discussion that took place was that, though the Government decided to refrain from controverting the general principles laid down by the Resolution of 7th March till it received the opinion and instructions of the Court of Directors to whom the matter as agitated from time to time had been referred, yet it determined on a modification of the Resolution to an extent calculated to make it less rigidly exclusive of certain objects which it was thought desirable to encourage in concession to popular protest. Accordingly, Government suggested in the first place to the General Committee that the Oriental institutions be so administered as to remove the popular impression that they were to be ultimately abolished. Next, it approved of the modification of the Resolution as implied in a recommendation of the Committee that scholarships for distinguished merit might be given to students of the Oriental institutions. Lastly, it approved also of a modification of it so as to permit the Asiatic Society to print Oriental works and defray the expense out of a monthly sum assigned by the Court of Directors for the purpose of encouraging publications; and it further agreed that "the Committee had rightly urged that they were not precluded from taking all necessary steps to provide Class Books for students of the Vernacular or of the learned Eastern Languages."[1]

1 India Public Despatch to Court, dated 19th November 1838/ No. 36/.

On these modifications being ordered to be given effect to by the General Committee, that body, however, pointed out, in a letter of 26th January 1839, that the orders of Government in respect of those modifications were not consistent with the Resolution of 1835, or at least with the interpretation of it on which it had till then acted. A divergence of views between the Government and the General Committee appears to have taken place on the matter.[1] The divergence reached a climax when the Committee subsequently sought to put a construction on Bentinck's Resolution which would have gone to justify it in appropriating "the lapsed stipends of ancient institutions and endowments without regard to any pledges for their maintenance except such as made their continuance conditional upon the taste for the particular literature now taught in them." In such a state of things there was one recourse left open to Government. Accordingly, it pressed the Court of Directors for an early declaration of their sentiments on the subject.[2]

But, before the Court issued their instructions, Lord Auckland was obliged to take up the question himself.

§ 3.

At the period at which Lord Auckland attempted a fresh settlement of the controversy, the issue was no longer between the Orientalists and the Anglicists only. A third party had entered the lists since 1835. The claims of those

[1] India Public Letter to Court, 6th March 1839/No. 5/.

[2] Public Despatch to Court, 12th October 1839/No. 33/.

multifarious languages, the importance of which had been recognised in theory but neglected in practice by both the former parties, now found their advocates vocal. In Brian Houghton Hodgson of the Bengal Civil Service, British Resident at the Court of Nepal, the vernaculars had an able champion. In a series of letters contributed to the "Friend of India," and subsequently published under the challenging title, "The Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars: or the Anglicists Answered," Hodgson pleaded with much force and ability for the recognition of the true place of vernaculars in a national scheme of education for India. His disquisition in favour of the vernaculars was indirectly an attack against Bentinck's Resolution; for, though the Resolution as such may not have primarily furnished the *casus belli* for his attack, yet it was an avowed object of Hodgson's to refute the views, opinions and assumptions of the Anglicists and to assail the educational system reared by them on the basis of Bentinck's Resolution. To understand therefore the full scope of the various issues that Auckland was called upon to settle, it is necessary to note this emergence of vernacularicism, chiefly as expounded by Hodgson, in the field of controversy.

What was Hodgson's position in relation to the other two parties? What were his points of agreement and difference with them? These are the preliminary questions that naturally claim attention at the outset. And the answer is that Hodgson essentially agreed with the Orientalists and the Anglicists in one of their fundamental propositions that the knowledge

which was to be the means of intellectual elevation of the people of India had to be drawn from European, and not domestic, sources. To put it in his own words, "it may be granted at once, as a general proposition, that that sound knowledge, to diffuse which throughout India is our purpose, is to be found in the European languages, and not in those of the East."[1] But, again, he was far from discarding with the Anglicists all Oriental learning as unworthy the educationist's attention. Though he saw little intrinsic worth in it, yet he regarded, with the Orientalists, the Oriental languages and literatures as valuable auxiliaries for the purpose of diffusing "the sound knowledge" of Europe. This point will be enlarged on subsequently. At present it may be noted that, whilst he agreed with both the parties on the question as to the knowledge that was to constitute the matter of general instruction, he differed from them in regard to the medium to which predominance was to be assigned in a national system of education. In other words, whilst he admitted the necessity of importing knowledge from Europe, he denied the necessity, on the one hand, of importing the alien language over which the Anglicists went into dithyrambics or, on the other hand, of resuscitating the dead languages which were the theme of admiration of the Orientalists. He refused to consider either of those measures necessary for the enlightenment and improvement of the people or for the development of the vernaculars. On the contrary, he wanted measures calculated or tending to act *directly*

1 Letter I: Essays relating to Indian Subjects, Vol. II, p. 260 (1880).

on and through the vernaculars. He insisted, and not without a goodly array of facts and arguments, that if exotic knowledge was to be naturalised and carried to the mass of the Indian people, then the vernaculars must be given supremacy as educational media by those entrusted with educational affairs.

But, whilst those from whom Hodgson differed, acknowledged the value and importance of the vernaculars in the abstract, they did little to reduce their professions to practice; and the reason alleged was that they saw in their multiplicity and their uncultivated state the main objection to the general employment of vernacular media for purposes of education. It was commonly assumed rather than conclusively demonstrated that the colloquial languages of the Indian people were too many and too inefficient either for the purposes of education or for directly incorporating into them the refinements and technicalities of European knowledge and science. The assumption furnished the Orientalists and the Anglicists alike with the *raison d'etre* of their plan of substituting other languages for the vernaculars, though both considered the improvement of the latter as a desideratum to be striven for. Again, the Anglicists were wont to contrast the singleness and perfection of English as an educational medium against the plurality and intrinsic poverty of the vernaculars. Hodgson disputed the validity of both the assumptions in question. He endeavoured to shew, and not without success so far as the premises from which he argued went, that the plurality and the poverty were as exaggerated

in the one case as were the sufficiency and perfection in the other. If plurality was an objection to the general use of the vernacular medium, then, Hodgson pointed out, neither was English the "singly sufficient organ" for the communication of European knowledge that the Anglicists imagined it to be: for, the fact was patent that Englishmen themselves had to resort to other languages, like the French and German, for an acquaintance with "a large portion of the sound knowledge of Europe" which was not to be found in their own. On the other hand, it was easy to prove the exaggeration involved in the assertion of the plurality of the vernaculars by simply pointing to the extent of the territorial prevalence of the principal vernaculars of the different provinces and to the necessity of keeping in mind the distinction between the merely dialectial and the essential differences of language when reckoning the plurality. Restricting himself to the province of Bengal, Hodgson remarked that "Bengali is the speech of at least thirty-seven millions of people, and Hindee is everywhere current from the Northern frontiers of Bengal to the Indus and the Himalaya, not to mention the ubiquitarian Hindustanee!" and added: "This surely is a range of language enough to satisfy the most ardent of reasonable reformers—is a range rather above than below the average of Europe."[1] If, again, the vernaculars were to be condemned on account of their alleged poverty or inefficiency, then Hodgson pointed out that, barring the terminology of the exact sciences, neither was English possessed of that extraordinary flexibility and precision which

1. *Ibid*, p. 261.

could enable one to dispense with circumlocution and periphrasis in expressing the subtle and refined concepts and reasonings of the mind. Especially was the poverty of the English language in that respect experienced as an almost insuperable difficulty to the direct and precise expression of ideas in philosophy and those other sciences which did not fall under the denomination of the "exact" sciences. And Hodgson invoked the authority of Mackintosh and Malthus on the point. On the other hand, were the vernaculars so rude and barren as often assumed? Hodgson denied it. Taking, again, the instance of the languages of Bengal, he asserted generally "that Bengalee, the language of thirty-seven millions, has good dictionaries and grammars, as well as works which, quoad language, exhibit a respectable share of precision and compass; whilst its connection with Sanskrit, and the peculiar genius of the latter, afford extraordinary means of enrichment by new terms competent to express any imaginable modification of thought..... that throughout the Bengal Presidency wherever Bengalee is not spoken, Hindee is the basis of that almost single vernacular language which is common to all Hindoos and all rural Moslems; that Hindi possesses books which in point of language exhibit very considerable actual and latent power; that the latter may be educed and extended to any requisite degree through the connection of Hindi with Sanskrit; and that, lastly, scarcely any part of the population of our vast Presidency, which uses *not* Bengalee or Hindee, has other language than Hindoostanee—a language rich in grammars, dictionaries, and written works; and from its flexible genius

capable of amalgamating with its existing wealth any and every variety of new terms and vocables which Sanskrit and Arabic can furnish from their inexhaustible fountains."[1]

Cogent as those arguments were, Hodgson proceeded further to question the common assumption regarding the poverty and inefficiency of the vernaculars on a broader ground. He brought to bear on the point fundamental considerations relating to the nature and function of language. Taking the recognised function of language to be simply to put and hold together two minds in the same train of thought, Hodgson went on to argue "the *necessary* capacity of the Indian spoken languages to bear any weight of knowledge coming home to the *business and bosoms of mankind* that we can lay on them." That the Indian vernaculars were capable media of communication for purposes of the ordinary intercourse and business of life was not to be denied: why then could they not be capable media for the communication of all knowledge bearing on the ordinary business of life, of all knowledge intimately connected with the ordinary thoughts and feelings and passions and needs of mankind? No doubt, for the communication of a knowledge of the exact sciences, Hodgson was disposed to favour the English medium:[2] though there too he made a partial exception in the case of Astronomy on the ground of popular conversancy with that science as contained in Sanskrit works. But, as for the communication of all other knowledge which had to do with the things of life, which was so associated with the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 264.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 261.

interests and affairs and common experience of mankind that it had to rely for its expression on ordinary speech and was helpless to create a language of its own in the manner of the exact sciences, Hodgson advocated the vernacular medium as the most appropriate for bringing such knowledge home to the Indian people. For, what was the function of language with regard to that species of knowledge? Did language in the case of that knowledge represent stereotyped concepts and fixed and constant meanings as did the terminology and definitions of the exact sciences? By no means. All that language did with regard to it was to put two minds in the same train of thought. Hodgson held that the Indian vernaculars too, even in the state in which they were, could do the same well, and much better if improved. So far as the ordinary function of languages was concerned, he argued, the Indian vernaculars could not be charged with inefficiency in performing it; but it was when an extraordinary demand was made upon them for giving expression to the refined ideas and reasonings of European philosophy, or of what were generally termed the "moral sciences," that their lack of flexibility and precision might have become apparent, and that too particularly in European hands. And it was to their want of flexibility and precision almost in that respect alone that the general assertions regarding their poverty and inefficiency really related rather than to any intrinsic rudeness or sterility of theirs. But then, Hodgson contended, the same want of flexibility and precision was experienced in the case of a highly developed language like the English when the same extraordinary demand

was made upon it. English too was not such a finely pliant and precise instrument of thought as to obviate the necessity of ample definition and great deal of circumlocution when ideas and knowledge in the departments of philosophy or moral sciences were sought to be conveyed. And yet somehow those ideas and that knowledge did get themselves expressed in English; and there was no reason why they should not do so in the vernaculars. "And," remarked Hodgson, "whoever will advert to the nature and extent of this circuitous communication of ideas in our tongue.....can have no further room to doubt that the same ideas may be conveyed to Indian minds, in their own language, *without much further* circumlocution."[1] It was ignorance or exaggeration that made light of the capacity and potentialities of the vernaculars. "We must exaggerate," concluded Hodgson, "the perfection of our own language as much as we do the imperfection of those of India—we must further shut our eyes to the essential nature and function of speech, to the connection of philosophy with life, and to the high date of Indian civilization, before we can admit the assertion that the Indian languages neither are, nor can readily be made, competent to express our knowledge. Their present competency is great, in most ordinary views; and if a very moderate degree of public patronage continue to be bestowed on the learned languages whence they are derived, the efficient lexicographical and grammatical labours of the past upon the vulgar tongues may be completed so as, without extraordinary pains, delay, or expense, to render the latter as much more

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.

effective as can be required, or can be expected by those who either understand the real state of the language at present, or the nature of language in general."[1]

Still further, Hodgson appealed to the experience of history. Adverting to the fact that the English language in Sir Thomas More's day was probably even less developed than Bengali in 1835, and that the former had subsequently attained to its remarkable growth mainly because of the impetus to improvement which it then received by its having been recognised and resorted to as the medium of popular enlightenment, he pleaded: "Let us awake the popular mind in India, and assuredly *the natives*, with our aid and example, will soon demonstrate that their languages possess capabilities equal to any demand. The history, not only of our own language, but of every vulgar tongue in Europe, justifies the presumption that, so soon as effort is directed towards their improvement, the Indian vernaculars will almost immediately and spontaneously put forth the ordinary strength of language; and as for what may be called its extraordinary strength, I think I have shown that our own tongue has *not yet* put it forth. Our inability to express without extreme periphrasis the recently-elaborated truths of all departments of the philosophy of life is confessed, as we have seen, by the greatest men of the age. In respect to the *remedy* of this particular defect of all known languages, so far as it is remediable, the Hindoos will enjoy, in the genius of the Sanskrit, and in their freedom from our conventional

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

embarrassments, a liberty denied to us; and they will in the meanwhile probably be able to express, as we shall for them, all this class of ideas without more circumlocution than we are now compelled by our poverty of direct terms to use in English."[1]

The commonly prevalent assumption which Hodgson was so much at pains to disprove constituted indeed a vital point. It would have been useless to demonstrate the merits and advantages of the vernacular medium of education or the feasibility of its adoption to those who held exaggerated views regarding the poverty and incapacity of the Indian vernaculars and proceeded to act on those views by rejecting the vernaculars in favour of a foreign language. Not that Hodgson denied *in toto* the truth of his opponents' contention, but he denied that it was valid to such a degree and extent as to justify the actual course pursued. That was his first point of contention. From it the transition to his second point of contention was a natural one—to that relating to the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the English and the vernacular media.

Why was it that Hodgson strenuously upheld the vernaculars as the most proper media for the education of the Indian people in general? Why was it that he as strenuously opposed the adoption of the English medium? What peculiar merit or merits did he observe in the vernacular medium that led him to do so? The answer ultimately lies for the chief part in two leading tenets of what may be called Hodgson's educa-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

tional credo. Hodgson, it may be stated here, viewed the educational question with a keener insight than did the generality of those who engaged in the controversy then raging on it. His keen insight, combined with a wide experience of the people of the country, saved him from the smug beliefs and superficial optimism of Macaulay and Trevelyan. Moreover, a certain democratic outlook, or, at any rate, a strong current of sympathy for the people in the mass, appears to have shaped his attitude on the question of the education of the Indian people. Hence his views of enlightenment extended far beyond Macaulay's aim of creating a class of anglicised interpreters between the rulers and the ruled.

To that democratic outlook may be attributed in great part the first cardinal tenet of Hodgson—that educational endeavours must be primarily and directly addressed to the enlightenment and uplift of the mass of the people (though incipiently through a small, regularly trained body of teachers and translators) and not to that of certain classes who chose to avail themselves of the means of education offered them and to whom, in accordance with the filtration theory in vogue, it was left to work out the mental emancipation of the majority of their countrymen. That was in substance what Hodgson's insistence on the vernacularisation of European knowledge finally appears to have come to. He went a step further and asserted that partial diffusion of knowledge, which was only to be expected from the adoption of a foreign medium, was worse than valueless so far as the good of the country as a whole was concerned. Knowledge as power, when restricted

to a few, was in his decided opinion liable to be a curse; or, in other words, knowledge was dependent for the exercise of its beneficent effect on its free and large circulation among the many. "Have not the waters of knowledge," he asked, alluding by way of simile to the theory that it was only the constant motion and "unrestrained range" of the oceanic waters that rendered them immune from corruption and innocuous to life on earth, "have not the waters of knowledge, wherever restrained in their circulation, become corrupt themselves, and corruptive of all else?" And again, he said "Learning is not, in itself, a blessing; it is so only according to its use and application. *Generally diffused*, and identified with the *ordinary pursuits*, and *thoughts*, and *wants of society at large*, it is beneficent power—power at once incapable of misapplication to the purposes of tyranny, and capable of aiding in the highest degree, the accomplishment of every useful and generous aim and end. But *not* so identified, it becomes stale and unprofitable: *not* so diffused, it becomes noxious, and noxious in the highest degree—the certain engine of deception and oppression."[1]

To a mind dominated by such views the advocacy of the merits and claims of the vernaculars was natural and spontaneous. Hodgson was conscious of the deficiencies of the Indian vernaculars as they then were; he was conscious of the difficulties and disadvantages attendant on their use as media of education; but his whole point was that, however great those temporary difficulties and disadvantages the adoption of

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 282-83.

what he termed an ante-vernacular medium would encounter greater difficulties and be ultimately productive of positive evils. In fact, certain evils he definitely regarded as inseparable from an "ante-vernacular medium;" and he apprehended they were liable to appear in an exacerbated form in India through the adoption of the English medium. One of those evils was the monopoly of knowledge which an anti-vernacular medium tended to create in the hands of a few, because of the difficulty of its acquisition by the many, especially in the circumstances of a country like India. And knowledge, concentrated in the hands of a few, Hodgson visualised as a power for evil rather than for good, as an engine of oppression rather than an instrument of enlightenment of the many by the few. This view, it may be noted, struck at the root of the rather facile assumption of the Anglicists that knowledge would under their system of education pass down from the educated few to the ignorant many. That Hodgson appears at times to over-emphasise that particular view of his, that he seems, again, to take no account of the existence of any factors counteractive of the tendency of knowledge to become monopolised when conveyed through a foreign medium need not surprise us or detract from the importance of his argument, when it is remembered that he was endeavouring to refute those who themselves held extreme views and fell back on convenient assumptions in support of them. The fact cannot be doubted that he hit the nail on the head, though he hit it hard. In his view there was but one counteractive of monopolisation of knowledge, and that was its vernacularisation. For the same reason

that he was opposed to the adoption of English as medium of education, he was opposed also to its introduction as the language of administration. If, as he believed, the English medium was apt in the one case to create a monopoly of knowledge, he regarded it as equally apt in the other to make of the affairs and conduct of the administration a mystery liable to be turned into a weapon of oppression of the many by the few. "The mystification of knowledge and of administration," said Hodgson, "separately evil, are dreadful when combined, and were we to anglicise our courts and our schools, we could scarcely fail, under all the circumstances of the case, to fix on India the curse of this double inequity." So that was the first count of Hodgson's indictment against the imposition of the English language on the people of India—namely, that, whether as the language of education or of administration, the introduction of English, such as was contemplated by the Anglicists, was fraught with dangerous consequences in the actual circumstances of the country. On the other hand, he regarded the vernacular medium a safe one as capable of bringing knowledge within the reach of the many.

Such was in brief one of Hodgson's reasons or arguments against the general imposition of the English language on India. However, to understand it as elaborated by him, we must have recourse to his own words. Any general imposition of the English language, argued Hodgson, implied a conquest of one of the most tenacious habits of mankind, the habit of language; or, at least it implied an easy abnegation

by the Indian people of their own forms of speech for foreign ones. An attempt at such a conquest Hodgson regarded as doomed to failure, and a voluntary effort at such abnegation as not to be looked for. And what were the consequences of the failure likely to be? They may be left to be described by Hodgson himself. "The proposal is," he said, "to make English the sole organ of sound knowledge—the sole instrument of its communication: and it needs no words to prove that, if the organ be but very partially adopted, the knowledge must be restricted in the same degree. Either, then, we must succeed in anglicising the speech of the Indians, or we must, by such an attempt, create a small exclusive body of proficients in our lore. But knowledge is power: English knowledge is in India power of the most formidable character: and if that power *do but get associated with office*, is it possible to doubt its becoming, in the hands of those natives who possess it, an instrument for the oppression of their fellows more formidable even than the present priestly monopoly of learning? Now it so happens that all the advocates for making our language the medium of education, have likewise contended for making it the instrument of administration. Such was Mr. Grant's doctrine in 1792: and such is the doctrine of the present day. It is needless, therefore, to argue tendencies: the association of anglicised education to anglicised administration, is avowed, and declared to be a grand desideratum. This is, indeed, taking the bull by the horns: for the worst exacerbations of the anti-vernacular organ must doubtless flow from such association, how mischievous soever its effects might be, unaided

by such direct connection with power.....sound knowledge generally diffused is the greatest of all blessings: but the soundness of knowledge has ever depended, and ever will, on its free, and equal, and large communication. Partially diffused it is not only no good, but a bitter and lasting curse—the special curse which hath blighted the fairest portion of Asia from time immemorial, and which for hundreds of years made even Christianity a poison to the people of Europe! Would your inchoate plans of education liable to produce such a result? Do you mean to deny the liability? or to contend that it is not a damning one? No one asserts 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. So circumstanced, should you not consider that the many are unapt to seek knowledge for itself, though the few can always be won to pursue, *through it*, the path of profit and of power? and should you not reflect that to wrap up knowledge in a mysterious garb and to connect it directly with authority, is the sure way to cause it to be turned into an engine of oppression of the many by the few? True, Persian is such an instrument at present, and perhaps working more mischief than English could do: true, were English the language of administration, it would tend greatly to the strengthening of our power, in every sense but that large and ultimate one, which identifies the security of dominion with the happiness of

the mass of its subjects. But the cardinal and overruling truth is, that dominion as well as knowledge should have *no secrets*. Now, foreign organs of communication universally tend to create and maintain such secrets; whilst all the circumstances of our situation in India are pregnant with aptitude to educe that tendency; and as the evils flowing from the existence of those secrets are proved by the experience of all ages and countries to be the direst to which a nation can be exposed, this damning liability suffices for the rejection of such organs. It sufficed in England—in all Europe—in the hour of its regeneration: far more should it suffice in India, where the *one thing to be eschewed* by those who have the happiness of its countless millions at stake, is the hazard of making knowledge an official monopoly in the hands of a small number of the people. Any plan for regenerating India which involves such a hazard should be rejected at once on that single ground; and the preference of the vernacular over the English instrument of knowledge is sufficiently established by the exemption of the former, and the non-exemption of the latter, from this hazard...."[1]

As evident from the above words, Hodgson's argument about the hazard of monopolisation of knowledge flowing from the adoption of the English medium of education and of administration presupposed the impracticability of a universal diffusion of the English language among the people of India. The impracticability of it was, however, no mere baseless assumption with Hodgson: it was a conviction. Like many others

1 *Ibid*, pp. 274-76.

of his time, Hodgson was convinced of what was called the chimerical nature of attempts to make English the general language of India: and the grounds on which his conviction rested were not very different from those on which theirs did. "It would seem," he said, "that a certain degree of ease in the circumstances of a people, and a certain degree of popularity in their public institutions, must *conspire* with the facility and aptitude to common use of vernacular media of education, before knowledge can become a blessing, by becoming the heritage of the many, identified with their household wants and familiar experience, and deriving from such identity the power of influencing and being influenced by them, in an easy and effectual manner. This, I say, would *seem* to be the case: but there can be no question that, under any conceivable circumstances of the people of India in relation to us, for the next fifty years, any attempt to make our difficult and strange language the organ of the communication of our effective knowledge is infinitely more likely to entail on the country the curse of a monopolised and perverted, than the blessing of a diffused and justly applied, learning. Where shall we find among the people the leisure and the ease for anything like a general and disinterested conquest of the vast and odious obstacle we thus place at the threshold of the temple of knowledge, obscuring all the beauty within?"[1] This difficulty or impracticability, if not impossibility, of diffusing generally among the mass of the Indian people a knowledge of the English language, because of the difficulty of its acquisition by a people whose mother-tongue

1 *Ibid.*, p. 277.

it was not, was the second count on which Hodgson rejected the English and favoured the vernacular medium.

But there were other equally powerful reasons that led Hodgson to reject the English medium, or for the matter of that, all foreign media of education. "I object," he said, "to the anti-vernacular organ of education, and of administration, not merely as aiding and confirming the tendency of knowledge itself to become monopolised and perverted to the uses of oppression, but also because, firstly, it is apt to generate or confirm servile intellectual habits, especially when combined with the absence of political liberty; and because, secondly, it is not less apt to divorce speculation from experience, theory from practice, abstraction from life."[1]

In illustration of his first objection, Hodgson turned that same historical analogy which the Anglicists familiarly employed in support of their views into an argument against them. The Anglicists sought to give historical authenticity to their views of anglicisation by pointing out the civilising effect of the imposition of the Roman language and culture on the peoples subjugated by Roman arms; Hodgson invoked the same imposing authority of history in order to point out the other side of the shield, the degrading effect of that cultural conquest by Rome on the national character of the conquered. "Those whom Rome subdued, became twice subject by their slavish acceptance of her language; and those who subdued Rome were only saved from vassalage to her learning by the free

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

genius of their political institutions."[1]

In illustration of his second objection Hodgson referred to "the character of learning in modern Europe, until it became vernacularised." "It consisted entirely," he said, "of thorny dialectics, or of flowery mysticism: and this, notwithstanding that its stock and root was the eminently useful and practical lore of Greece and of Rome. Can proof more strong be offered or required as to the debasing and disutilising tendency of a foreign medium, however valuable *itself*, that is, as an organ of thought. I think not; and *therefore* would I not employ such a medium in India."[2] And the explanation of the manner in which learning came to be divorced from utility was that "the difficulty of acquiring the use of the instrument coinciding with the intrinsic difficulty of knowledge, compelled the many to abandon the pursuit of knowledge altogether, and thus enabled the few to turn it into an engine of deception; it was that the unfamiliar nature of the instrument coinciding with the intrinsic tendency of knowledge to abstraction, speedily shut out utility from the view of scholars, and left them, a segregated and separate caste, with the sole alternative of becoming syllogists or mystics."[3] With this and similar testimony of history before him, the conclusion which Hodgson drew was that a vernacular medium was "the only expedient for preserving either the generous, or the simply useful, properties of knowledge." Bringing the conclusion

1 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 284-85.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 285-86...

to bear on Indian education, he pleaded: "Would you, then, make English knowledge a wholesome food—would you prevent its speedily becoming innutritive or poisonous—to the people of India, give it a vernacular organ; for by such an organ only can it acquire and preserve those vital principles of accessibility, and of proneness to identification with household experiences, upon which it must wholly depend, whether that knowledge shall *ever* be a *blessing*, and shall not *presently* be a *curse*, to this land."[1]

Thus Hodgson argued against the essential doctrine of the Anglicists as it ran counter to his first cardinal educational maxim. But that doctrine ran counter no less to his second cardinal maxim or tenet.

Hodgson insisted that it was not enough to communicate European knowledge, but that it was necessary to "indigenate" or naturalise it on Indian soil, so as to become interwoven with the thoughts and feelings of the people and identified with their common experiences and wants. Thus only, he argued, could the Indian intellect be revivified by the "moral energy" of European knowledge,—a result which was in his view not to be looked for from its mere passive reception through a foreign medium. "It is *not* the quality of knowledge, how good soever," he observed, "which makes it work beneficially: it is its identification with familiar general thoughts and feelings in the land where it is planted: and if Greek and Roman knowledge attained no such identification in modern Europe a thousand years, and consequently stirred not

1 *Ibid.*, p. 286.

the slumber of the strong man (according to Milton's noble allegory); whence is derived the presumption that European knowledge is so capable of allying itself to the familiar thoughts and feelings of India, that we may dispense with all facilities in the mode of propagating it? A proposition more directly opposed to reason and to history was never, I conceive, hazarded." And again: "for knowledge to produce any moral effect, it must be wedded to general sympathy: for knowledge to produce any intellectual effect, it must be wedded to general practical experience."[1]

How was that to be done? Of course, by vernacularisation of European knowledge, but not vernacularisation in the superficial sense of a sheer transfusion of it into the vernacular tongues. Something more than mere transfusion, as ordinarily understood, was required for knowledge to exert its moral influence on the people, and that was a thorough adaptation of it to their means and mental texture, to their rooted ideas and pre-conceived notions. And as such adaptation could not obviously be attained through direct communication of European knowledge in English, it constituted one more reason for Hodgson's rejection of the English medium. "To those means and habits and sentiments," he explained, alluding to the means and habits and sentiments of the masses, "sheer English knowledge in an English garb has some such relation to fitness, as have the English ball-room habiliments to the persons of the 80 millions in

1. Letter II: Essays relating to Indian Subjects, Vol. II., pp. 307-308.

the pursuit of their ordinary avocations! Ah! would we, instead of circling round and round the pale of the Presidency, but elevate our contemplation to the physical and moral condition of those 80 millions, and to the possible means of influencing it beneficially, through our knowledge, with due advertence to our scanty numbers and miserable insulation, *then* should we perceive the indispensable necessity of a deliberate, systematic, and uniform plan of education, combining the utmost facilities with the utmost inducements to change."[1]

But where were those facilities to the indispensability of which Hodgson alluded to be found, and wherein lay those inducements? His answer was: in the Oriental languages and literature. He was equally against the adoption of Sanskrit and Arabic languages and learning as media and matter of general instruction, as he was against the adoption of the English language and bald, unadapted European knowledge. Yet he regarded the former as valuable auxiliaries in the work of regeneration of the national mind, the neglect of which he looked upon as an educational folly. But that was precisely what had all along been insisted on by those whom we may call the official Orientalists, to whom Government had for a time entrusted the work of Indian education. Yet there was this difference between Hodgson and them: that Hodgson considered their method of availing themselves of the auxiliaries in question as belonging to the class of obsolete follies. The method which he considered appropriate for making use of the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Oriental languages and literatures was that which Wilkinson had tried with success. In fact, the influence of Wilkinson's ideas and experiment is visible throughout Hodgson's disquisition on the subject. He considered the Oriental languages worthy of encouragement for the sake of their importance to the enrichment of the vernaculars; and Oriental literature for the sake of its importance as a means of rendering European knowledge attractive and acceptable to the people and conciliating any prejudices against it. That was all. For the rest, neither the one nor the other had any intrinsic appeal for Hodgson, especially from the educational point of view. To put the point in his own words, the aims with which he upheld Oriental languages and literatures as worthy of public patronage were "1st. The improvement and literary application of the living languages, considered as the principal *organs* and *instruments* of general instruction in European lore. 2nd. Means of facilitation and inducement, suited to the prejudices and ineptitude of the unlearned many, and of conciliation and check, adapted to the adverse interests and unbounded influence of the learned few, with reference to the introduction and establishment of our knowledge, considered as the sole *subject matter* of general instruction."[1]

The necessity of compromise with existing popular prejudices and of conciliation of the learned classes, with the two-fold view of creating a favourable disposition towards European knowledge preparatory to popular reception of it and of neutralising the hostility or, if possible,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

securing the aid of the learned classes in overcoming the difficulty of not merely communicating but working that knowledge 'into the warp and woof of the popular mind'—this necessity formed the pivot of all Hodgson's arguments and pleadings on behalf of Oriental literature and learning. The necessity was conceived to arise from two principal circumstances—first, the popular attachment and homage to a recondite literature looked upon as sacred; and secondly, the powerful sway exercised over the popular mind by the custodians and expounders of that literature. Hence the importance of skilful use of that literature for recommending European learning to popular acceptance—such use as Wilkinson made of it—and hence the importance of connecting that literature with all general plans of education. For the question was, how could an exotic knowledge, the form rather than the substance of which was not in tune with the prevalent modes of thought and feeling, be rendered harmonious with them? Or, in other words, how could the Indian mind be prepared for the reception of the exotic knowledge which it was decided to convey to it? By Hodgson and others of his way of thinking it was believed that the truths of European science and knowledge could best be rendered acceptable to the learned as well as the unlearned classes by conveying them under sanction borrowed from their own venerated literature. Truths so conveyed they might well hesitate to repudiate, because they would fain not repudiate the authority under cover of which they were sought to be conveyed. That was the idea underlying the educational method advocated by Hodgson. How

that method could be successfully carried out in practice was, within certain limits, demonstrated by the experiment of Wilkinson, and later on, within much broader limits, by that of Dr. Ballantyne.

It is therefore not surprising that Hodgson should have been severe on the Anglicists whose plan of education repudiated all connection with Oriental literature and who often seemed to proceed on the assumption that nothing like a popular attachment to it existed or that no adaptation of European knowledge was necessary to facilitate its popular reception. On the other hand, the existence of popular attachment to the indigenous literature had impressed Hodgson most profoundly, and it was a matter of puzzle to him that it could be disregarded in any national system of education or overlooked as a powerful means of attracting the unlearned many and conciliating the learned few to European knowledge. In some notable, eloquent passages, which stand out in strong relief against the controversial monotony of the rest of their author's disquisition, he vehemently attacked all such blundering assumptions on which he considered the Anglicist system of education to have been founded. "Time," he said, "has set its solemn impress on that literature; the last rays of the national integrity and glory of this land are reflected from its pages: consummate art has interwoven with its meaner materials all those golden threads which nature liberally furnishes from the whole stock of the domestic and social affections and duties. To the people it is the very echo of their heart's sweetest music: to their pastors—their dangerous and powerful

pastors—it is the sole efficient source of that unbounded authority which they possess. To deny the existence of that authority is mere moon-struck idiocy. To admit it is, I conceive, to admit the necessity of compromise and conciliation, so far as may be."[1] Moreover, the popular attachment to that literature and the influence to be gained over the people by a foreign educator through availing himself of that attachment were not matters of mere inference and observation with Hodgson, but of a deeply-impressed personal experience. "I have spent many years in India," he broke out in a personal vein, "remote from the Presidencies and large towns and almost entirely amongst the natives, whom consequently it was ever an object with me to conciliate for my own comfort, and whom I trust I always felt anxious to win, in order the better to accomplish my public duties, as well as to influence the people to their own advantage and improvement. Yes! I say I have *so* spent many years, during which I solemnly declare that the only unequivocal voluntary testimonies I have received of influence over either the hearts or heads of the people have been owing entirely to some little knowledge on my part of their literature. With this instrument I have warmed hearts and controlled heads which were utterly impassive to kindness, to reason, and to bribery; and deeply am I persuaded, by experience and reflection, that the use of this instrument is indispensable in paving the way for any general, effective, and safe measures of educational regeneration."[2] And again: "It is a splendid

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 293.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

compliment we pay to the people to master their difficult literature. The memory of better days connected with it elevates their lowliness to something like a communicable distance from our loftiness. Their shy and shrinking affections, to which we have no direct access of any description, may be poured out to us through this indirect and modest channel which carries the whole waters of their hearts, reflecting from its tranquil bosom, every rite and custom, and thought and feeling, of the land. Hence its influence, with the many, in *our* hands: and, as for the few, with them to know it is to have been initiated into those mysteries, the participation of which is the *ne plus ultra* of authority! they may tremble, but must obey, and, ample as is the ground occupied by this all-pervading literature, we may use its sanctions for general truths to a vast extent as righteously as efficaciously."[1]

So it was he deplored the ignorance or the ignoring, on the part of the Anglicists, of those helpful factors in the work of the regeneration of the people. "To seek to spread our knowledge," he said, "directly through an English organ is to fling away every species of facilitation, conciliation, and compromise." On the other hand, his counsel to his countrymen was: "Let us give to our eminently generous and useful truths the facility and homely aptitude of vernacular media. So, and so only, may we hope gradually to draw over the multitude to our side. And let us, in the meanwhile neutralise the hostility of the learned, and smooth the passage

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 296-97.

of Truth into minds so biassed against it, by borrowing, as often, and as far as possible, the maxims and examples of that sacred literature which in our hands is the only charm to conciliate confidence, lull suspicion, and paralyse opposition. The many cannot, and the few dare not, resist its spell. To the former it recalls the long-past ages of their national greatness: to the latter, it is all things, the source of their power, the mystery of their *willing and unwilling homage!*"[1]

But, whilst Hodgson vehemently advocated a preponderant use of the vernaculars as educational media and a specific use of Oriental languages and literature, had the English language, it might well be questioned at this point, no place in his scheme of education? His ideas and views as set forth above did imply and point to a scheme, though the precise nature thereof is not indicated in them. So it behoves us to ask in the first instance, had Hodgson any definite scheme of education of his own to propound? He had—not, however, a general scheme of education, but a special definite scheme for raising select instruments intended to furnish the substratum of a broad educational system. These instruments were to devote themselves to the vernacularisation of European knowledge: and to them were to be taught the English and the Oriental languages, but each with a distinct purpose, subsidiarily related to the larger general purpose of the development of the vernaculars on their linguistic as well as literary side. In short, Hodgson's project was, by systematic measures directed to a single object, to raise a body of

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96.

pioneers of vernacular literature whose appointed mission it was to be to adapt and transfuse European knowledge in the vernaculars. To those pioneers obviously a knowledge of the English tongue could not but be indispensable as the channel through which the knowledge to be vernacularised was to come: while conversancy with the Oriental languages was considered essential as affording powerful aids in the process of vernacularisation itself. And this project of producing and rearing a body of pioneers was to be executed by means of and through a Normal College expressly dedicated to the purpose of creating a well-trained battalion of translators and teachers. And what was that Normal College to be like? What did Hodgson himself say about it?

> "Now, I consider," said he, "that if we would benefit India by book learning, it must be as we benefit her by our government and laws—that is, by reaching the many, by discasting book lore or enfranchising it, in fact; and that.....we should make knowledge the handmaid of everyday utility, and give its acquisition the utmost possible facilities. Such are my wishes, and therefore I give an unlimited preference to a vernacular medium both for its facility and for its apititude, to make the knowledge conveyed through it practically effective in a beneficial way, and also for its diffusive quality, book-knowledge being so apt to pass away from utility, or to be abused as a mere engine of selfish aggrandisement. But though I give the mother tongues of the people the first and second place, I give English the third; and in my Normal College, which is not so much an educational establishment as an indirect means of making all such establishments efficient, I would have the alumni *equally* versed in both tongues—their own and ours. Again, I think that to indigenate a sound literature in India, to kindle a wholesome spirit of knowledge and

to fit the spoken tongues of the land for being its organs, are mighty projects that call for express systematic measures, subsidiary to education ordinarily so called, but which alone can make such education valuable and effective; and in my college I want to establish and realise such measures: I want to locate therein a set of able men of the West, who shall be competent to give India the *essence* of our indisputable knowledge; and to associate with them other men of this land, English and native, who, together with them, shall transfer this essence into the vulgar tongues of India, in the most attractive and efficient manner, whilst both classes, as professors and originators of the great change, shall have under them a set of pupils, chosen from the best alumni of all our seminaries, for the express and perpetual purpose of diffusing the labours of the professors, in the capacities of teachers and of translators, and of replacing those professors *gradually* as heads of the college; these alumni to have scholarships and to be devoted for their lives as the pioneers of a new literature bound to translating within the College, and to teaching abroad; giving their undivided time and talents to indigenate European lore; and being to the usual educational establishments a *perpetual fount for the supply of good books and good teachers.* Well begun is half done, emphatically: let us once set the people of India in the right path, and they will follow it successfully. But to accomplish this we must produce the essence of our indisputable knowledge in the most attractive form, and spread it with systematic skill; the books and the teachers should be excellent; and yet we have in India now not only not either of the desiderata, but no adequate means of reaching them, except through a wasteful series of failures. No man among us is competent to select the very best books and parts of books: no man among us nor institution is competent to furnish the best translation that might be had soon on system; no man among us can set afoot in India, without system, the splendid methods of teaching now in use in Europe. As for the alumni we now raise, it is passing absurd to suppose that they either can or will put their shoulders to the wheel of a radical change in knowledge and education. *We*

must *devote* a set of select instruments to that work, making them the pioneers of the new literature, *providing for them for life*, and *binding them to teaching and translating for life*. We must also give them exemplars of what is wanted and how to remedy the defect, in the professors of the central or Normal College, and we must choose those professors from among the really able men of England and of India, so that their books and their teaching shall be first-rate, and fitted to set going the vast and noble project of the Europeonisation of the Indian mind. It is idle for any of us in India to fancy we are *masters* of any one branch of science, or that, *not* being so, we can transfuse its essence into Indian tongues in the *most effective mode*; and it is still idler to suppose that our random pupils of ordinary schools will ever, voluntarily and unpaid, devote themselves to the *profitless and painful* walks of instruction and literature, either as bookmakers or book expounders. Yet we must have the best books best translated; we must have a steady supply of able teachers; we *must* have a corps of native pioneers of the new knowledge; and the professors and alumni of my Normal College are to furnish and to be these; the alumni being provided well for life and bound for life to letters as their vocation and glory; and the professors, picked men of England and of India, European and native, masters of the most essential branches of knowledge, and capable of attractively transfusing its vital spirit into the spoken tongues of India, through their books and through their alumni, fully trained by them in the art and science of teaching, one of the most noble and most difficult of the arts and sciences and the handmaid of them all, yet supposed "to come naturally" like the Frenchman's discovery of prose! Ecce totum! behold my college in its professors and its alumni—the latter the normal teachers of any and every school that wants them, and the heirs of the original professors in their own institution whenever fit to direct it. Abroad, these alumni are to teach in English or in the vernaculars,.....as the institution which sends for them, and for the time pays them, shall please. At home they are to study the genius of both tongues, Western and Eastern, and to labour subordinate-

> ly as translators or transfusers (in original works as they are able), whilst they resume their scholarship allowance, suspended so long as they were abroad; their constant suggestive, and useful labours as translators or as teachers preventing idleness or dreamy habits and their perpetual scholarship being liable to forfeiture for proven indolence, incapacity, or bad conduct."[1]

It may be remarked, however, that definite and symmetrical and loftily conceived as Hodgson's project of a Normal College was, yet it was open to certain practical objections. These objections were once expressed in clear and succinct terms by Mr. F. Boutros, Principal of the Delhi College. "Mr. Hodgson's plan of establishing Normal Schools for teachers," he said, "is apparently too much in advance of the state of the country. It is not because the School Masters are deficient that the progress of Education does not advance at a quick pace, but because the inducements to receive instruction are not adequate, or the advantages to be obtained thereby not sufficiently obvious. Besides, what are Normal Schools, but Schools where a higher course of instruction is given by select professors, whose methods are to be adopted as rules? Our present colleges are Normal Schools, with respect to institutions of lower pretentions; the professor in the former establishments, particularly in Calcutta, are generally the best men procurable in India, at the present day, upon the allowances which Government are willing to pay. Under the system of Scholarships now adopted, the scholars will be a select body of men under the best Normal course of instruction procurable in India. Where will Mr. Hodgson find a class

[1] Letter IV: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II, pp. 321-323.

of more talented pupils than the above, and professors better qualified for normal instructors, than the best professors now in the employ of the General Committee of Public Instruction? Besides, it is as well to inquire into the nature of the evil, before we venture to prescribe the remedy; where is the advantage of having special establishments to instruct School Masters in the higher branches of Science, where the general complaint is that no pupils can be obtained to go beyond the first Elements of Scientific Instruction?"

And again: "Mr. Hodgson's liberal and enlightened views, with respect to the necessity of preparing Vernacular School books are worthy of every support, but why should he want to educate a special class of translators for that purpose? Is not this unnecessarily delaying and rendering unduly expensive a general system of Vernacular translation? Why not avail ourselves of the present body of Native teachers, Moulvis and Pandits, in connexion with the English Professors of our Schools and Colleges? We must not expect that the first Vernacular translations shall be perfect; to aim at a presently unattainable standard of perfection would be uselessly to delay the execution of a task which cannot be too early performed. Let us set to work with the means at our disposal, translate the best standard works we can get, and with *correct*, if we cannot get elegant *translation*."

It may be noted, in passing, that this plan of a Normal College was put forward in 1843 at a time when a proposal for the establishment of such an institution was under consideration

by Government. Eventually, Government did establish a Normal school, but it was something far removed from the live fountain of intellectual activity which Hodgson contemplated. In 1848 Hodgson himself strongly remarked against it in these terms: "The English department of education has obtained a Normal school, that is the means of procuring abundance of good teachers, whilst abundance of good books were, from the circumstances of the case, priorly forthcoming in this department. On the other hand, the vernacular department is kept devoid of organised means of procuring either of these appliances of education. And yet it is clear to demonstration that in the former department there was *not* any indispensable necessity for creative machinery, since books and teachers were forthcoming without it, whilst in the latter department it is as clear that there *was* and *is* that indispensable necessity, since neither books nor teachers were, are, or can be, forthcoming without it. That is, where little or no need existed, much has been done; and where the utmost need, nothing! And, to cap the contrast, the former state of things respects the case of the comparatively able and greedy few, the latter, that of the wholly helpless many, among the objects of these partial proceedings."[1]

It remains lastly to mention that Hodgson by no means desired the restriction of the study of English to the inmates or alumni of the Normal College conceived by him. He hesitated not to advocate the diffusion of a knowledge of English

[1] Letter V, 16th March 1848: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 330.

among the wealthy and influential classes with leisure for the study, if the inclinations and domestic customs of those classes permitted of it, which however he saw much reason to doubt. What was more, within the sphere of his personal influence, he did all he could to induce the members of the aristocratic classes with whom his public duties threw into contact to study English.[1] But it was the employment of that language for the purposes of the general education of the country and as the medium to which almost alone the communication of European knowledge was restricted that he inveighed against. "All I say of instruction in English is," he once summed up his position, "that its extreme costliness and no less extreme inappropriateness to ordinary uses, prescribe its employment at the public cost in a special, instead of a general or promiscuous manner, as at present; and this, as well to ensure efficient or profitable study as to prevent such excessive waste of funds as has heretofore totally crippled, and must still do so, that sort of education which alone is suitable to ordinary wants and therefore primarily entitled to public support."[2]

§ 4.

Such were the conflicting opinions on the best mode of educating the people of India, when Lord Auckland stepped forward as mediator to put an end to the prevalent controversy. There were the Anglicists, who, ensconsed behind Bentinck's Resolution and insensible to the necessity or propriety of encouraging voluntarily

[1] Letter VI, 28th March 1848: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 332.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 336-337.

any other scheme of education than their own, stinetd Oriental and Vernacular education alike in order to push forward English education to the furthest extent possible. There were the Orientalists, now of course set aside as educators of the people, but loud and frequent in their protests against the iniquity of the exclusive course of proceedings of the Anglicists. And there were the Vernacularists, who, fortified with the formal justification of the claims of the vulgar tongues by Hodgson and others, urged upon the public attention more strenuously than ever the mode of education favoured by them. It was no easy task to reconcile the view-points of the various parties, and to strike a mean capable of affording some measure of satisfaction to all.

But Lord Auckland's judicious manner and practical turn of mind, and, above all, a sincere desire on his part for compromise, enabled him to do much. He applied himself in the first instance to the removal of one main cause of the violent dissensions on the subject. This was the lack of sufficient pecuniary means for a "full and fair experiment" on the various ideas and plans put forward. Accordingly, he restored the original appropriations to the Oriental Colleges, though he rejected the strict principle of "absolute and irreclaimable appropriation" for the application of which some of the Orientalists contended. He stopped the diversion of any part of those appropriations to the general purposes of education. He was satisfied, he said, "that it will be best to abstract nothing from other useful objects," while he saw at the same time "nothing but good to be derived from

the employment of the funds which have been assigned to each Oriental Seminary, exclusively on instruction in, or in connexion with, that seminary." And he added, "I would also 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." But the difficulty was that the General Committee had been accustomed to apply the savings arising from the funds assigned to the Oriental institutions, after the needs of those institutions had been satisfied, to the promotion of other objects unconnected with them. If these alienations were stopped and the savings recalled to the purposes of the Oriental institutions alone, the general income at the disposal of the Committee was in peril of suffering a diminution and its operations in other directions liable to be contracted. Lord Auckland proposed to solve the difficulty by securing the General Committee from loss on that account. It was calculated that an additional annual disbursement of about Rs. 25,000 was all that such protection to the Committee was likely to entail on the public revenue; and Lord Auckland thought that a moderate price at which to settle the quarrel between the Anglicists and the Orientalists. "I am persuaded," he remarked, "that the Hon'ble Court will approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense."[1]

But the next and most important question,

[1] Minute, 24th November 1839: Sels. E.R., Pt. I. pp. 149-52.

that relating to the various theories of the best mode of education, was in its nature not easy to dispose of to the satisfaction of all parties. Lord Auckland's approach to it was, if we may say so, humble and his manner of dealing with it suasory. He was not sanguine of the Government's decision or measures meeting the approbation of the advocates of different systems nor of any immediate brilliant success accruing from any scheme that might be adopted. "I strongly feel," he said, "that, in all that we can do, we must be prepared for much disappointment in our early efforts to satisfy the demands made upon us on this subject. By some it will be lamented that we do not at once perfect enlarged schemes for general education, by others it will be regretted that what we do for the best pupils of our few seminaries seems to produce so partial an effect. Feelings of this nature will attend us in whatever attempts we may engage for the improvement of any branch of our Indian Government." To him there was no finely fashioned path of reform leading straight to desired results. On the contrary, considering the various difficulties and obstacles that were apt to defeat good intentions and good measures, he was content "to lay even the first rude foundations of good systems, and trust for the rest to time, to the increasing demand of the public and of individuals for the services of educated men, to the extension which must every year take place of the Agency for instruction at the command of Government, and to the certain effects of the spread, however slow, of knowledge, and of the gradual growth of wealth and intelligence in the community."[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

In dealing with the question Lord Auckland appears to have confined himself to the practical merits or value of the various opinions and schemes offered on the subject of education. With their abstract or speculative side he concerned himself but little. And he considerably simplified the issue for decision by accepting the authentic maxim of the day that, in the words of the Court of Directors, a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the people could be produced by affording a higher education to the influential and wealthy classes who had leisure for advanced study than by "acting directly on the more numerous class." The issue was thus narrowed to the practical question of the mode in which a higher education could be communicated with the greatest prospect of success. It was from the point of view of this question that the Governor-General proceeded to consider the three principal educational plans that held the field—that of the Orientalists, of the Anglicists and of the Vernacularists.

Of the three plans, the Orientalist plan failed to attract Lord Auckland, because of the "very partial and imperfect results" he anticipated from the engrafting of European knowledge on the learning to which the Maulavis and Pundits were attached. He was prepared to deal generously by Oriental learning and Oriental seminaries of education. He acknowledged the merits of the Oriental system of education as plainly as he did its defects. But it was not among those trained under the Oriental system that he looked for the "chief instruments in the propagation of a new knowledge and more enlarged ideas." His

reason for thinking thus may be gathered from his remark that "it was not through the professors of our ancient schools, but by the efforts of original thought and independent minds, that the course of philosophical and scientific investigation and of scholastic discipline was for the most part reformed in Europe." Besides, he added, "the process of translation.....into the learned languages must unavoidably be so slow that, on that account alone, the arguments in favour of a more direct method of proceeding appear to me conclusively convincing."[1] And in a previous chapter we noted the ground on which he felt doubtful of the feasibility of a general application of Wilkinson's method throughout the country.

Probably the same bias in favour of a "direct method of proceeding" was at bottom responsible for his rejection of the vernacularist plan. He, however, stated his chief objection to it to be "the extreme practical difficulty of preparing any very extensive course of translated or adapted works." "We are speaking now," he was careful to explain, "*of the means of an advanced and thorough education*, and not of a limited series of works for the purposes of common instruction, to the compilation of which.....I am entirely favourable." Further he went on to observe: "The clear truth seems to be that works of science may, at least to some considerable extent (their range being necessarily contracted), be rendered into other languages within a comparatively modern period, but the translation, within any time the extent of which we

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

could reasonably calculate, of anything like a sufficient library of works, of general literature, history and philosophy is an impossible task."[1] Not so impossible, however, as to prevent Hodgson from thinking that the anti-vernacularists greatly exaggerated the difficulty and the extent of the requisite translation of European knowledge. Writing in 1837, more than two years before Lord Auckland committed to paper his opinion of the impossibility of extensive translation into the vernaculars, Hodgson had said: "Nor need the seemingly Herculean labour of translating our knowledge into the vulgar tongues of India, alarm a rational and unprejudiced person; for, it is just as certain that not one English work in 50,000 would require or even justify translation, as that Hindustani, Hindi, and Bengali (and it were folly to perpetuate more media)[2] are competent, each and all, to sustain the weight proposed to be laid on them." "There is another consideration," he proceeded to point out, "which, whilst it is well worthy of attention in itself, is calculated to show that the extent of necessary translation is by no means such as the enemies of vernacular media have tried to make it. In educating the people of India it should be our object, not so much to imprint in detail all our express thoughts or facts on their minds, as to instil, generally, our *methods of reasoning*, our mathematical and inductive processes, together with that yet small essence of indisputable truths in science, philosophy, and history which has been eliminated by those processes, and which

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[2] Hodgson spoke with special reference to Bengal where those were the most widely prevalent languages.

forms with us, and should do with them, but the starting-point of fresh and vigorous research. "[1]

So, rejecting the principles of the Orientalist and the Vernacularist plans as impracticable of adoption as the basis of a general system of education in the circumstances then extant, Lord Auckland agreed with the view once taken by the Court of Directors that "the higher tone and better spirit of European Literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original language." The practical conclusion to which that view led Lord Auckland was that the communication of a high and complete English education to the greatest number of students prepared to avail themselves of it must be the principal aim of a general system of education. Of course, Lord Auckland recognised the force of the objection commonly made by the Orientalists and the Vernacularists alike to the practical adoption of such a principle, that the wants and circumstances of the vast majority of the Indian people effectually debarred but a few of them from obtaining the complete English education which was contemplated to be communicated to them. But then he confidently relied on an increasing popular recognition of the practical advantages of English education and on the existence of certain strong incentives to the acquisition of it to ensure a wider diffusion of it with the lapse of time. He plainly admitted that "those who come to us for instruction are in search of the means of livelihood either in places under the Government, or in situations under individuals, which in the

[1] Essays relating to Indian Subjects, Vol. II, pp. 317-318.

peculiar constitution of the Indian Government and Society, bring them, in a greater or less degree, in connection with the public administration."[1] Moreover, he believed that inducements of that character would not disappear even were it determined upon not to make English the general language of public administration. "It is true," he said, "and no one has more heartily concurred and rejoiced in the determination than myself, that the vernacular tongues, and not English, will be the future languages of the courts and the offices in the interior of the country. But this circumstance will in no degree detract from the force of those inducements to English study, of which, as regards the vast and most important correspondence which must ever be conducted in English, I have just spoken. Nor need I dwell on the degree to which such inducements will be increased to the mere fact of English being the language of the ruling and governing class in India."[2] This factor Lord Auckland desired to be taken advantage of in order to extend English education to as great a number as possible. He urged therefore a closer adaptation of the education imparted under the established system to the character of the demand for it; or in other words, the bringing of the system of education into closer relation with the needs of public administration. Another means by which English education was sought to be made attractive to the humbler classes was the scheme of scholarships which was referred to in a previous chapter.

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[1] Minute, 24th November 1839: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 160.

[2] *Ibid.*

The type of English education which Lord Auckland had in mind was to be imparted in the higher educational seminaries—the so-called colleges. Even, however, in the common zillah schools the Governor-General decided not to dethrone the English in favour of the vernacular medium of instruction. He thought the introduction of the vernacular medium would be premature at the time, "with no class books prepared or teachers versed in those books yet trained for their duties." Moreover, he argued, "as the contrary system has been actually established, it is right that, unless urgent reasons for abandoning that system demanded attention, it should be fully tried, with the improvements of which it may fairly be susceptible." Again, so far as Bengal was concerned, there was the adverse current of popular feeling to be reckoned with in adopting measures for the promotion of vernacular education. At any rate, the conviction had fairly lodged itself in the official mind of the day that the people were as unfavourably disposed towards vernacular education as they were favourably inclined towards English. This conviction Lord Auckland reiterated when he proceeded to state: "Native youths will not come to our schools to be instructed in vernacular composition. This qualification is more quickly and easily to be attained from other sources. We can in those schools draw little, if any, aid from existing native literature. The desire for the new ideas and information which will be imparted to them must therefore be among the great inducements to attendance, and those who are candidates for such instruction will not, I think, in any important degree be deterred by

having to undergo also the labour of learning the English character and language. The fact indeed is.....that a knowledge of the English language itself with a view to the business, however humble, of life is one main object of most of the scholars. It is fortunate that in the pursuit of such an object, they can be led on to higher studies and ends. For mere instruction of a general nature (such as our masters now give) *through the vernacular* medium it may, it seems to me, well be doubted whether even the number of pupils would seek our schools, who now resort to them."[1]

The recommendations made by Lord Auckland for improvement in certain respects of the established system of education and the measures undertaken in pursuance thereof have been already mentioned. The question now remaining with regard to Auckland's settlement of the controversy is : How far did that settlement affect Bentinck's Resolution or the system of education pursued under its authority ?

One evident feature of Auckland's measures of compromise is that they tended to no radical or even marked departure from the principles of Bentinck's Resolution. On the contrary, Auckland confirmed the policy of his predecessor by laying it down that the promotion of European knowledge through the medium of English must be the chief aim of the endeavours of Government in the field of education. Nor did his measures touch materially the system of education founded on that policy, save in certain respects the externals of it : for, as was seen before, he

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-64 passim.

did make important recommendations for the improvement and enlargement of that system, which were acted upon. Lord Auckland appears for the most part to have been content to broaden and to build higher on the existing foundation rather than seek to lay an entirely new one. What in effect he did was to relax Bentinck's Resolution in favour of Oriental learning, and thus to allay much of the prevalent discontent and heartburning on the subject. It cannot indeed be said that he did away entirely with the exclusiveness of policy which defined Bentinck's attempt to settle the educational controversy: for, it must be remembered, the principal object still remained the promotion of European knowledge through the medium of English. Oriental learning was to be provided for and preserved, but no longer to be propagated. But if Auckland did not abolish exclusiveness of policy, he did do away with exclusiveness of preference. He laid down a principle of fair treatment to the rival system, which the Anglicists, under the aegis of Bentinck's Resolution, were apt to lose sight of.

On the other hand, vernacular education derived the least advantage from Auckland's settlement of the controversy. The only substantial thing Lord Auckland did for vernacular education was to set afoot measures for the compilation of vernacular class-books. In fact, the predominant preference given to English as medium of education prevented the vernaculars from coming into their own. But it is worthy of note, in judging Auckland's intentions on the subject, that, whilst he rejected the vernaculars

as media of general instruction, he introduced them to a large extent as the media of public administration, especially of the judicial branch of it.

No doubt, in relation to the educational wants and needs of the country, Lord Auckland's compromise may not appear in the light of any very striking achievement on his part. But, in judging of it, it is requisite to keep two considerations in mind. In the first place, Auckland's primary object was, not to remodel or jettison the educational policy laid down by his predecessor or to establish a new system of education on different principles, but to put an end to the controversy which Bentinck's Resolution had failed to set at rest. His role was that of a mediator; and as such, his tactful presentation of the points in issue was intended to appease conflicting views by conceding as much as was feasible in the circumstances or consistent with the due maintenance of the previously established system of education. In that task he attained a great measure of success, for the echoes of the Anglo-Orientalist conflict became gradually fainter and fainter; though individuals with extreme views were roused into strenuous lucubrations, as, for example, the Rev. Alexander Duff, who inveighed against the Oriental languages and learning in open letters addressed to Lord Auckland in 1841 through the columns of the "Calcutta Observer." Again, it is to be noted that the question of preference between the English and the vernacular medium of education was far from being settled by Auckland's compromise. Auckland's own inclinations appear to have been in favour of the latter; but he thought he saw in the

prevalent state of things sufficient reason for rejecting the vernacular medium till adequate means and facilities were forthcoming to render its adoption feasible or advantageous. And this brings us to the second consideration. It is this—that it is doubtful whether Lord Auckland could have done more in the prevalent circumstances than he actually did; whether, for instance, he could have commenced an experiment in vernacular education distinct from the established system of education. The Anglicist system, it must be remembered, had been in operation but for a short period when Lord Auckland took upon himself the task of settling the controversy, and its fruits, good or evil, remained yet to be seen. It seemed to him better to await the results of that system than to disturb it by any radical changes. And, as that system did not exclude the vernaculars, it might have again appeared to him better to work out their development through that system than to embark on a new educational venture.

In the measures adopted by Lord Auckland in pursuance of the decision taken by him on the various questions involved in the controversy, he carried with him the Court of Directors. It may be recalled here that the Governor-General had taken up those questions for consideration before the arrival of the expected instructions from the Court. It was, however, only in 1841 that the Court appear to have intimated their long-awaited opinions and orders on the subject. In a brief despatch, dated the 20th January of that year, to the Government of India, they laid down certain propositions for guidance, but

studiedly abstained from entering into the controversy brought to their notice. They generally concurred in the views of the Governor-General. They agreed with him and moreover expressed it as their firm conviction that " the funds assigned to each Native College or Oriental Seminary, should be employed exclusively on instruction in, or in connexion with, that College or Seminary, giving a decided preference within those Institutions to the promotion, in the first instance, of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction." They authorised liberal encouragement to be given to the printing and translation of Oriental works or to works in the vernacular languages, or generally to any works " designed for educational purposes." They concurred in the Governor-General's plan of attaching scholarships to the Oriental institutions, in proportion to their endowments. They also considered it essential to place those institutions under European superintendence. They willingly acquiesced in the increase of expense which the various measures of encouragement to Oriental learning involved. But, whilst there was no demur on their part to the patronage of Oriental learning, they at the same time did not hesitate to declare: " we cordially subscribe to one of the principal declarations of the Resolution of 7th March 1835, that 'it should be the great object of the British Government to promote European Science and Literature amongst the Natives of India,' and have no hesitation in sanctioning it, as a general principle for the conduct of our Indian Governments." They accordingly approved of Lord Auckland's suggestions and recommendations for the improvement, expansion and closer organiza-

tion of the prevalent system of English education. They desired, however, fair and equal encouragement to be held out to the various modes of education prevailing, according to the demands and needs of each. "We forbear at present," they said, "from expressing an opinion regarding the most efficient mode of communicating and disseminating European knowledge. Experience indeed does not yet warrant the adoption of any exclusive system. We wish a fair trial to be given to the experiment of engrafting European knowledge on the studies of the existing learned classes, encouraged as it will be by giving to the Seminaries in which these studies are prosecuted, the aid of able and efficient European superintendence. At the same time we authorise you to give all suitable encouragement to translation of European works into the Vernacular languages, and also to provide for the compilation of a proper series of Vernacular class-books according to the plan which Lord Auckland has proposed."[1]

[1] Despatch from Court, 20th January 1841/No. 1/; Rep. G. C. P. I. 1839-40, App. IV, pp. C. cli-cliv.

PART II.

THE ANGLO-VERNACULARIST CONTROVERSY.

Chapter I

THE VERNACULARIST DOMINANCE.

§ 1.

In 1839, when Lord Auckland undertook an equitable settlement of the Anglo-Orientalist controversy, he happened to remark to the effect that there were at the time two great educational experiments in progress, one in Bengal and the other in Bombay.[1] The Bengal experiment was concerned with the communication of European knowledge to the Indian people through the medium of English; whilst the Bombay experiment was concerned with the diffusion of education through the vernacular languages, though by no means exclusively through them. The experiment in Bombay was in fact a unique one during the period. As was shown in the preceding pages, Bengal neglected the vernacular in favour of the foreign medium. Madras was too much in the morass of frequent changes of plans and policies to make any contribution to a solution of the educational language-problem. The North-Western Provinces no doubt experimented successfully with vernacular popular education, but the experiment was begun at a comparatively late period. Bombay, however, very early set out with a determination to give a trial to the possibilities of the vernacular medium. The fact differentiates in an outstanding degree the educational history of Bombay from that of the other presidencies during the period.

[1] Minute, 24th November 1839.

The experiment in question originated with the educational policy chalked out by Mountstuart Elphinstone soon after he became Governor of Bombay in 1819.

§ 2.

The background to Elphinstone's policy is furnished by the endeavours which were made by official and private agencies for the promotion of education before he applied himself to the formation of a plan of education for the Presidency as a whole. To this background we may here advert before passing on to the examination of Elphinstone's policy. The educational plan based on this policy owes its rich texture to the great talents of Elphinstone; but several of the main threads composing it may be traced to the educational beginnings which were made before and independently of it. For one, it may be interesting to note that in its emphasis on the vernacular medium Elphinstone's policy seems to follow the trend of those educational beginnings in respect of the language-question.

The first institution that prominently meets the eye in a survey of educational beginnings in Bombay is the "Hindu College" at Poona, which was established shortly after Elphinstone's accession to the governorship. The College was projected by Mr. William Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Deccan, who submitted to the Bombay Government a plan of it on 24th November 1820. The immediate motive with which the College was founded was more a political than an educational one—namely, to conciliate the learned Brahmin class who had suffered severely by the change of government on the

overthrow of the Peshwa by the British in 1818. The ostensible object of the college was to encourage and improve "the useful parts of Hindoo learning," and "to introduce as far as possible the means of communicating to our new subjects such branches of European knowledge as they may be able and willing to receive." To ensure its popularity with the Hindu community, stated Mr. Chaplin, he had provided for instruction in the college in "almost all their branches of learning," though he considered many of them worse than useless. The college in its inception was intended to be a purely Sanskrit one, and no measures were taken to introduce any sort of European learning. "I have however endeavoured," said Mr. Chaplin, "to direct the attention of the college principally to such parts of their own Shasters, as are not only most useful in themselves, but will best prepare their minds for the gradual reception of more valuable instruction at a future time. When we have once secured their confidence, but not till then, will be the time to attempt the cautious and judicious introduction of those improvements in the education of our Hindoo subjects, by which alone, joined with good Government, we can hope to ameliorate their moral condition."[1]

Accordingly, Mr. Chaplin proposed the appointment of teachers for each of the following branches of Sanskrit learning: (1) Vyakurn (Grammar); (2) Alunkar (Belles Lettres); (3) Nyaya (Logic, law); (4) Dhurmashaster (Religion, Justice); (5) Jyotish (Mathematics and Astro-

[1] Letter from Chaplin to Govt., 24th November 1820: Genl. Dept., Vol. 9/10, 1821, pp. 1-3 (Bom. Recs.)

nomy); (6) Vedant (Philosophy, Divinity); (7) Vydyn (Medicine).[1] There were also appointed "three Nyediks to teach the Veds, *viz.*, two for the Yejoorved and one for the Roogved." Two features of the plan of the college as formulated by Mr. Chaplin deserve to be noted. First, as the Shasters were believed by Mr. Chaplin to be more useful than the Veds, the former were given importance by making a study of them compulsory in the college. Secondly, the Shastrees or professors were to be considered a committee to whom questions of Hindu law were to be referred.[2]

Mr. Chaplin was authorised by the Governor in Council on 10th August 1821 to establish the college on the plan recommended by him.[3] The institution was accordingly formally opened by him in Vishram Bagh on 6th October 1821.[4]

The Hindu College represented the sole experiment of the Bombay Government in Oriental education, and ultimately it was to meet with no better fate than the similar one carried out under the auspices of the Bengal Government. Exclusive in its scope and character, at least at its inception, the college was not capable of being immediately utilised for the purposes of Elphinstone's general educational policy.

On the 21st of August 1822 was formed the Native School Book and School Society, which

[1] The terms are given as translated by Mr. Chaplin.

[2] Genl. Dept., Vol. 9/10, 1821, pp. 5-8 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Letter to Commissioner in the Deccan, 10th Aug. 1821: Genl. Dept., Vol. 9/10, 1821, pp. 241-43 (Bom. Recs.)

[4] Letter from Chaplin to Govt., 7th October 1821: Gen. Dept., Vol. 9/10, 1821, pp. 249-51 (Bom. Recs.)

with the co-operation of Government, was to play a leading part in the educational affairs of the Presidency. The new Society owed its formation to the discontinuance of a body, known as the Native School and School Book Committee, as a branch of the Bombay Education Society which had been established in 1815 primarily for the education of European children. To the new association was entrusted the task of "general diffusion of useful knowledge among the Native Inhabitants of India subject to the Presidency of Bombay." It was to provide suitable vernacular and English books for use in schools, to assist and improve schools that already existed and to establish and support new ones that might be requisite. Vernacular instruction was to be the primary concern of the society; but one of the rules of that body stated "that although schools conveying knowledge in the languages of the country are to be primarily encouraged and instituted, the Society shall nevertheless, when it may seem useful, promote the formation of schools for teaching English and may render pecuniary or other assistance to Natives desirous of attending such schools."[1] On the 5th April 1823 the Society solicited pecuniary aid from Government,[2] who agreed to support the expense of printing such books as might be thought necessary by it, "leaving the funds of the Society disposable for the Instruction of Native Teachers."[3] In 1827 the Society changed its name for that of the Bombay

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 48, 1821-23, pp. 69-70 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Society to Govt., 5th April 1823: *Ibid.*, pp. 63-66.

[3] Letter from Govt. to Society, 6th May 1823/No. 7561/: *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Native Education Society.[1]

Similarly, on the 15th June 1823 Lieutenant J. B. Jervis succeeded in forming a society, styled the Native School Society of the Southern Conkan, with the object of establishing "native schools" in the Southern Conkan. "It commenced its operations with a fund amounting, in annual subscriptions and donations, to 1,600 rupees, including some liberal contributions made by natives of distinction. With this sum three schools were established at Rutnaghery, Nandewra and Chiploon, for instruction in the Mahratta language. Elementary books have been supplied from the Presidency, and small rewards given to the most forward and attentive children. In addition to the native schools, one school has been established at Rutnagherry for instruction in the English language."[2] In June 1824 the Society received from the Bombay Government a donation of Rs. 1,000 and an annual subscription of Rs. 500, which were subsequently sanctioned by the Court of Directors.[3]

In the Northern Conkan an interesting educational experiment was undertaken on the initiative of a Government Officer. Mr. Saville Marriott, Collector and Magistrate in the Northern Conkan, proposed to Government, early in May 1820, the appropriation of funds accumulated out of the fines levied on the servants of his

[1] Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—p. 302.

[2] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, on the Affairs of the E. I. Company, 16th August 1832—I Public—p. 246.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 246 & p. 309.

office to the establishment of a school for the instruction of their children in the Marathi language and accounts, and if any of them desired, in English. The school was intended by Mr. Marriott for the benefit of the children of Government servants only.[1] Government did not, however, accede to his suggestion, as they could not calculate on sufficient funds being annually raised for the purpose.[2] But Mr. Marriott persevered in his proposal and replied that the funds would be sufficient to carry on the school intended to be established, as instruction upon the indigenous plan was very cheap, and moreover recommended that the principal of the fund in question might be received in the Company's treasury and interest at 9% be paid thereon to defray the current expenses of the school, so that even if the experiment turned out a failure, the principal would remain intact with Government.[3] But Mr. Marriott was informed that Government saw no reason to deviate from its former decision, and there the matter ended for a time.[4]

Some months after, the inhabitants of Panwell petitioned Government for a schoolmaster to teach them the English language. In their petition, dated 29th September 1820, it was stated: "The establishment of the English Government here has given us the utmost satisfaction. We and our children can read and

[1] Letter from Collector to Govt., 2nd May 1820: Pub. Dept. Diary, 436, 1820, pp. 734-37 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Minutes, 18th May: *Ibid.*

[3] Letter from Collector to Govt., 24th May 1820: *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

[4] Letter from Govt. to Collector— 1st June 1820: *Ibid.*

write the Mahratta Language, but we are all desirous to learn that we may be employed in your service and maintain ourselves. We are however so poor that we cannot afford to pay a School-master for teaching English. As your Government is establishing 4 School-masters in various places for the purpose of teaching the English language, we have taken the liberty to present this petition, humbly setting forth that there is a Schoolmaster at this place who can teach English well, being thoroughly conversant both with that language and Mahratta and we are fully satisfied that we could acquire English by means of his instructions." So the Petitioners entreated Government to assign a fixed salary to the schoolmaster.[1] The petition was referred to Mr. Marriott, who was directed to ascertain the real wish of the petitioners in the matter, and if it proved genuine, to report on the practicability of establishing a school subject to his own superintendence at the place and on the amount of stipend which might be allowed to the master.[2] Mr. Marriott in reply declared the petition to be perfectly genuine and strongly supported the entreaty of the inhabitants of Panwell in respect of the master by whom they desired to be taught English. At the same time he took occasion to reiterate his previous proposal for the establishment of a school for the children of Government servants.[3]

Mr. Marriott's reply caused a division of

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 48, 1821-23, pp. 1-3 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Govt. to Collector, 20th October 1820/No. 1243/ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

[3] Letter from Collector to Govt., 23rd May 1821/No. 331/: *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.

opinion among the members of the Governor's Council. The Governor and two members of Council, the Commander-in-chief and Mr. Bell, favoured the establishment of the two schools asked for by Mr. Marriott;[1] but Mr. Prendergast objected to it as unnecessary and expensive. He thought it unnecessary because he believed that in Bombay, which was very close to Panwell, there existed "abundant facility for young natives acquiring the English language;" and on the point of expense he remarked: "I have no doubt if this application is complied with, further aid from Government will ere long be applied for; and if the system is, as contemplated, extended to our other towns and territories, it will grow into an intolerable burthen on the H'ble. Company's finances."[2] Elphinstone's rejoinder to Mr. Prendergast was: "These schools are to teach English as well as the Native languages. I am afraid there is little chance of their spreading rapidly and I own I rather propose them as being happy to have an opportunity of trying the experiment under a zealous superintendent than from any expectation that many will study our language."[3] The upshot of the discussion was that Mr. Marriott was finally authorised to make an allowance to the schoolmaster as prayed for in the petition from Panwell and to establish a school for the children of Government servants.[4]

The establishment of the two schools

[1] Minute, *Ibid.*, p. 12A.

[2] Minute, 14th June 1821: *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

[3] Minute, undated.

[4] Letter from Govt. to Collector, 21st June 1821: Genl. Dept., Vol. 48, 1821-23, p. 21 (Bom. Recs.)

appears to have created a desire among the inhabitants for the education of their children. On 9th May 1822 Mr. Marriott reported that his school had 55 pupils learning English or Marathi, and that he had received several petitions "from persons for the admission of their children" into his school, but that he could not comply with these as the petitioners did not belong to his public establishment. He therefore suggested to Government an enlargement of the plan of his school on an increased scale of expense so as to enable the children of all persons desirous of educating them to participate in the benefit conferred by it. He also recommended a wider course of instruction embracing "the Science of Surveying Land and drawing Plans thereof."[1] Elphinstone viewed Mr. Marriott's school as a desirable experiment,[2] and so the modification of its original scope and plan as proposed by the former was authorised on 24th May 1822.[3]

More than a year afterwards, Mr. Marriott had again occasion to address Government, as he had at different times received applications from the inhabitants for the establishment of schools in their midst. He had, however, not deemed it fit "to be very forward in encouraging the expectation that Government could sanction the measure." He wished to ascertain in the first instance whether it would suit the policy of Government "to place a ready means of instruction in the hands of their poorer and even

[1] Letter from Collector to Govt., 9th May 1822/No. 7/: *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27.

[2] Minute, undated: *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[3] Letter from Govt. to Collector, 24th May 1822/No. 752/: *Ibid.*, p. 29.

middling class of subjects." "I have laid particular emphasis upon the term policy," Mr. Marriott observed, "because in the only other point of view, that of expense, in which the measure is likely to be canvassed, the subject appears to me to be of comparatively very little moment; since, as Government are aware, the native system of education is of such an extremely economical nature, as to enable a single master to instruct a very considerable number of scholars in the common branches of Education, that is simply reading, writing and arithmetic; after the acquirement of which the advancement of the Scholars must mainly depend upon their means of obtaining usefully instructive books on moral and scientific subjects." He asked for sanction of a sum of Rs. 350 to maintain fifteen "native schools," and two for instruction in the English language, in his collectorate.[1] Elphinstone was favourable to an immediate trial being given to Mr. Marriott's plan, after the latter had complied with a request to submit the details thereof,[2] but "the other members of the council not acquiescing, it was deferred till the result of the general inquiry into education should be known."[3]

§ 3.

Early in 1824 a special Committee of the Bombay Native School-book and School Society was appointed "to examine the system of educa-

[1] Letter from Collector to Govt. 8th November 1823/No. 9: *Ibid.*, pp. 31-38.

[2] Letter from Govt. to Collector, 22nd November 1823/No. 1655: *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

[3] Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee, 16th August 1832, I Public—p. 248.

tion prevailing among the natives and to suggest the improvements necessary to be applied to it." The report of the special Committee pointed out certain defects or "evils" (as they were called) of the Indian system of education and suggested remedies by which in the opinion of the Committee they could be overcome. Those evils the Committee found to exist in, first, a deficiency of "books of instructions"; secondly, the want of an easy and efficacious method of teaching; thirdly, the want of properly qualified teachers; and fourthly, the want of funds. For a remedy to the first evil the Committee looked to the exertions of European gentlemen acquainted with the vernacular languages and "capable of pointing out to such intelligent natives as may lend their assistance, the proper mode of reducing these languages to fixed rules and principles, and of employing them in the translation of such works from English as may be approved of by the Directors." The Committee recommended a series of elementary publications on such subjects as languages, arithmetic, geography, philosophy, history, astronomy and ethics. In order to remedy the second defect of the prevalent system of education, the Committee suggested the adoption of Lancaster's and Bell's systems of tuition. In connection with this part of the subject, the Committee observed that "it would be desirable that schools for the teaching of English should be also established." "This measure," the Committee proceeded to state, "would be particularly agreeable to the Natives; but it might be attended with the disadvantage of withdrawing them from the learning of their own vernacular dialects. Any consequence of this kind however might be

obviated, by requiring, that every boy shall attend a Maratha or Gujrathee school for a certain period before he is admitted into an English School; and in this manner, the instruction of the natives might be adapted to their wishes, and be at the same time accompanied with all the benefit which can reasonably be expected from the exertions of the Society."[1] The Committee suggested the removal of the third defect by the training of a certain number of young men as teachers at Bombay. And finally the Committee appealed to Government to provide against the last deficiency by rendering pecuniary assistance to the Society.

There are two salient features of the report of the special Committee which call for particular mention. First, the measures suggested by the Committee were primarily for the promotion of education through the medium of the vernaculars and only secondarily for its promotion through English. Thus the Committee's suggestions and recommendations throughout went to emphasise the importance of the vernacular medium of instruction. Secondly, not only did the Committee seek to give the vernaculars their due place in a national system of education, but was anxious to ensure against their neglect on account of a popular preference for English. Thus from the outset the educational bodies in Bombay exhibited a marked predilection for the employment of the vernaculars for the education of the people of the Presidency. This predilection was reflected too in the educational scheme of Elphinstone.

1 Genl. Dept., Vol. 63, 1824, p. 104 (Bom. Recs.)

The report of the special Committee was forwarded to Government and led Elphinstone to place before his colleagues in council a plan of education as outlined by him in a lengthy minute dated 13th December 1823.[1] In that minute Elphinstone, after premising that no progress could be made in the education of the people without "great assistance from Government," proceeded to point out two modes in which the necessary assistance could be given. One mode consisted in the entire assumption by Government of the control of public education, and the other in the stimulation of private exertions without direct intervention on the part of Government. Elphinstone preferred a combination of the two modes, or in other words, the establishment of a dual control over educational affairs by the Government and the Native School Book and School Society. He said: "Many of the measures necessary for the diffusion of education must depend on the spontaneous zeal of individuals, and could not be effected by any resolutions of the Government. The promotion of those measures, therefore, should be committed to the society; but there are others which require an organized system, and a greater degree of regularity and permanence than can be expected from any plan, the success of which is to depend upon personal character. This last branch, therefore, must be undertaken by the Government." So it was that no distinct official body was constituted for carrying out the educational policy of Government, as was done at the two sister presidencies.

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1 Forrest: *Selections from the Minutes and other Official Writings of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone*, pp. 79-116.

Next, Elphinstone's plan embraced seven objects which he considered requisite to the diffusion of knowledge among the people of the Presidency. The first three of those related to the promotion of elementary education through the vernaculars; the remaining four to the promotion of education in the higher branches of knowledge through English as well as the vernaculars. Under the former head the objects proposed by Elphinstone were: (1) the improvement and increase of "native schools;" (2) supply of school books; and (3) encouragement to the lower classes "to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them." Under the latter head Elphinstone suggested (1) establishment of schools "for teaching the European science and improvements in the higher branches of education;" (2) preparation and publication of "books of moral and physical science in native languages"; (3) establishment of schools "for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries;" and (4) "encouragement of the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge."

Elphinstone suggested definite measures for the attainment of those various objects. For the improvement of the existing schools he suggested (1) supply of trained schoolmasters to them; (2) provision for their maintenance from the income of the village (gaum Khurch); and (3) proper supervision and control. With regard to the supply of school books, he proposed that the expense connected with it should be borne by

Government, while the superintendence of the printing and distribution of them should be left to the School-Book Society. The means suggested by him for encouraging schools was the institution of examinations and a scale of prizes and rewards for proficiency attained by the pupils. As for "schools for European science," Elphinstone did not recommend their direct establishment by Government, but only payment of liberal stipends to those who, after passing a prescribed examination, undertook the instruction of a certain number of scholars. In this connection he looked forward to the aid to be derived from the conversion in future of the Hindu College at Poona into a seminary for instruction in European knowledge. So also with regard to preparation and publication of books he deemed it best to leave the same to private enterprise and confine the endeavours of Government to advertising for the best translations of particular books and holding out liberal rewards to stimulate their production. The establishment of an English school at Bombay was also recommended as a first step towards creating a desire for knowledge of English on the part of the people. Lastly, by way of encouragement to the acquisition of "higher branches of science," Elphinstone suggested inducements in the shape of large prizes and rewards and requiring a certain degree of education on the part of holders of religious grants or pensions.

This was in outline Elphinstone's educational scheme. Its comprehensiveness is its leading feature, embodying as it did, provisions for elementary education for the masses and for higher

education for the wealthy and leisured classes. It also throughout keeps in view the vernacular medium as the most suitable channel under the circumstances for the diffusion of knowledge. Elphinstone entertained no expectations of an immediate, rapid spread of the English language among the people of the Presidency for the sake of the knowledge or learning accessible through it. Hence he appears to have felt himself compelled to assign but a secondary importance to the English language considered as medium of instruction. "If English," he said, "could be at all diffused among persons who have the least time for reflection, the progress of knowledge, by means of it, would be accelerated in a tenfold ratio, since every man who made himself acquainted with a science through the English, would be able to communicate it, in his own language, to his countrymen. At present, however, there is but little desire to learn English with any such view."

But the Bombay Government had a staunch Anglicist in Mr. Francis Warden. He was opposed to almost every part of Elphinstone's scheme, save that relating to the establishment of a central English school at Bombay. He apprehended that Elphinstone's scheme attempted too much, and he deemed it necessary and expedient that Government should restrict its endeavours to the promotion of education through the medium of English. He differed from Elphinstone in the view that there existed little desire among the people for a knowledge of English, though he acknowledged the existence of obstacles to the rapid diffusion of education

among the higher ranks owing to their almost exclusive devotion to commercial pursuits and a corresponding disregard of intellectual or literary ones. But among the lower or middle classes of society he believed that there existed ample means of encouragement to the study of English. "No doubt," he said, "the progress of knowledge can be most effectually and economically promoted by a study of the English language, wherein, in every branch of science, we have, ready compiled, the most useful works, which cannot be compressed in tracts, and translated in the native languages without great expense and the labour of years. A classical knowledge of English ought to constitute the chief object of the Bombay seminary. As far as I have conversed with the natives, they are anxious that their children should be thoroughly grounded in the English language; some of the wealthiest would be glad to send their children to England for education, were it not for the clamorous objection of their mothers; nothing can be more favourable for commencing, or for the establishment of a good system of education, than such a disposition." On the other hand, he objected to the method proposed by the Governor to encourage translations and compositions in the vernacular tongues on account of the expense and tardiness of process involved therein.[1] "It appears to me," he said on another occasion, "that ultimately, and in a very few years, greater benefit will be bestowed on the country, and at less labour and expense, by circumscribing our efforts and funds, to the diffusion of the English language, and the

[1] Minute, 29th December 1823: Genl. Dept., Vol. 63, 1824, pp. 175-98 (Bom. Recs.)

circulation of English books, than in instructing natives in their own languages, printing and circulating their own works, translations of English tracts, and of English works on arts and sciences in all the languages of India. A laborious undertaking. With all our philological knowledge of the languages, our vigilance and our anxiety, we shall, I am afraid, diffuse in our translations a great many serious errors."[1] Mr. Warden, however, did not, like some Anglicists, look forward to English becoming the universal language of India. "I do not contemplate," he said, "the education of a population of eighty millions of souls in the English language; but I do contemplate, and at no distant period, its general use in all our proceedings, and its ultimate foundation, as the language of the educated classes of British India."[2] And his plan of education was a simple, though narrow, one. It was that "without in any manner interfering with the native village schools, bad as they are, seminaries should be established in each zillah, for instructing the children of the higher and middling classes in the English language, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, jurisprudence, political economy, and medicine, by schoolmasters to be sent from England; qualified assistants to teach the elementary parts of the English language may be found in India."[3]

The discussion between Elphinstone and Mr. Warden was the commencement of what was

[1] *Vide* Reply, dated 30th April 1832, to Villiers' Circular, dated 11th February 1832: Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

known as the Anglo-Vernacularist controversy. As yet, however, the controversy consisted of an exchange of views at the Governor's council table on a few practical questions at issue. It was much later that it assumed the proportions of a public controversy which called for authoritative and far-reaching decisions.

The discussion between Elphinstone and Mr. Warden did not, however, cause a total suspension of educational measures. The dispute was referred to the Court of Directors in a despatch from the Bombay Government dated 11th August 1824.[1] In the meanwhile, as Elphinstone intended, an English school was opened at Bombay in July 1824. The instruction to be imparted in the school was originally to consist of "a critical knowledge of English," and, as soon as the boys were sufficiently advanced, of lessons "in books of science, whereby the acquirement of information from them would be procured at the same time with improvement in the language."[2] The school was placed under the management of the Native School Book and School Society. The Court of Directors evinced great interest in the school;[3] and the fact led the Bombay Government to call on the Society in May 1826 to furnish a report on its progress.[4] Accordingly, the Society supplied detailed in-

1 Pub. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 46, 1824-25, pp. 109-50 (Bom. Recs.)

2 *Vide* an undated Minute, probably by Mr. Farish: Genl. Dept., Vol. 63, 1824, pp. 127-34 (Bom. Recs.)

3 Despatch to Bombay Govt., 21st September 1825 (para 13): Pub. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 28, 1825, pp. 122-37, (Bom. Recs.)

4 Letter from Govt. to Society, dated 6th May 1826/No. 42/: Educational Dept., Vol. 2, 1826, pp. 329-30 (Bom. Recs.)

formation regarding the state of the school—the number of pupils, their distribution into classes and their acquirements. According to the Society's report, which was dated 7th June 1826, there were fifty "Maratha pupils" of various castes in four classes, and five Gujaratis in one class. The first class of Marathas contained 12 boys, who read short polysyllabic lessons in English from Murray's spelling and Reading Exercises and translated them into their own tongue. They also translated short pieces of Marathi into English and had gone through an abbreviated course of English Grammar. The second class had 16 boys, who read and translated dissyllabic lessons from the same book and had acquired in English Grammar a complete knowledge of the inflection of nouns and verbs. The third class consisted of 16 boys, who read and translated monosyllabic lessons from Murray's work referred to and had made "a little progress" in English Grammar. The fourth class, the smallest of all, had only 6 boys, who were learning "to write and read monosyllables on sand." As for the class of Gujaratis, the Society reported them as occupied in "learning the powers of the alphabets." Arithmetic formed a part of the studies of the whole school. Evidently, the school as a whole had not advanced much, and the Society felt itself called upon to offer some remarks by way of an apology for the little progress made. "If it should appear," it stated, "……that little progress has been made by the boys in the English School, it will no doubt be recollected that this is a first attempt, and that the mode of instruction adopted is calculated to produce a permanent and not a

transient benefit—For the English language is taught grammatically, and according to the method of double translation, by which means a correct knowledge not only of it, but of the relative capabilities of their mother tongue, is impressed on the minds of the Scholars—Advantageous, however, as this plan is, it would require, in order to produce its effects in a short space of time, more regular attendance and more application than can be expected from the children of natives; and particularly more than one person to conduct and superintend all its details." Accordingly, the Society drew the attention of Government to the various requirements of the school, such as more than one qualified teacher, proper supplies of school books, and other appliances in the form of a Select Library, Maps, Globes, and "Philosophical apparatus."

Although primarily an English school yet the vernacular languages formed an important portion of the studies pursued therein. In fact, considered as an instrument for the enlightenment of the people in general, the English language was held to be of secondary importance; and the general remarks into which the Society's report digressed on this particular subject are interesting as they clearly go to disclose the predominant trend of the educational authorities of the time in favour of the vernacular medium of instruction. "It appears to the Society," the report said, "that the moral and intellectual culture of the Native mind is most successfully effected by employing the Native language as the medium of communication. It must indeed be obvious that the previous acquisition by the Natives of a

sufficient knowledge of English for this purpose, must require a time, which would be much more beneficially employed in enlarging and improving their minds—Little, if any, advantage of this kind can be derived from the course of reading prescribed to them during the four or five years (or even more) which would be necessary for their learning English at all accurately; and when their attention would be occupied by the efforts requisite for retaining the remembrance of the words of a language, which differs so much from their mother tongue, both in idiom and construction. The acquisition also of English has hitherto invariably tended to render a Native negligent of his own vernacular dialect; and consequently, whatever knowledge he might become acquainted with, thro' the medium of English, there was a risk of his being unable to communicate it to his countrymen, and he would thus have been of no use in extending mental and moral improvement amongst the Natives—To obviate this inconvenience the Society requires that each boy shall have acquired a certain degree of conversancy with his mother tongue, before he is admitted into the English School; which qualification is indispensable for facilitating tuition by double translation; and at the same time affords a well grounded expectation that some of the Scholars will become properly qualified for promoting with success the objects of this Institution.—" "Hence it will be observed," the report went on to say in conclusion, "that the Society considers the teaching of the English language as of secondary importance in effecting the mental and moral improvement of the Natives. It is desirable however to render those few Scholars who

evince an inclination and have leisure to continue their studies in the English language, capable of understanding all kinds of English Works on Literature and Science: to the attainment of this object, the genius and ability of Native boys present no obstacle, and the exertions of the Society shall not be wanting—But as these works abound in ideas with which the Natives are totally unacquainted, these ideas will be most easily rendered comprehensible to them by means of the mother tongue of each Scholar. It will therefore no doubt be admitted, that the time and labour both of the Master and Scholar would be materially saved, were these indispensable explanations previously embodied in works written in the Native Languages; and thus it again appears that English can never become the most facile and successful medium of communicating to the Natives, as a body, the Literature, Science and Morality of Europe."[1]

The Society's Report convinced Elphinstone of the need for supplying the school with teachers from England. "A certain degree of knowledge," he remarked, "can be imparted through the medium of the Native languages by persons entertained from among the Natives themselves but the English language and the higher branches of science can only be taught by well educated Englishmen."[2] Consequently, the Government applied to the Court of Directors to "send out one or more European teachers who should if possible be of such a time of life as would render

[1] Letter from B. N. S. B. & S. Society to Govt. dated 6th June 1826: Educational Dept., Vol. 2, 1826, pp. 343-50 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Minute, 8th June 1826: *Ibid.*, pp. 351-53.

them likely to enter with ardour into the task imposed on them and to acquire the languages of this country, without which it is evident they cannot instruct its inhabitants."[1] The Court in reply promised to take the request into consideration on their receiving particulars respecting an institution which was "about to be founded by a subscription among the Natives, for teaching the English Language, and English Literature and Science."[2] The institution alluded to was the Elphinstone College, which will be noticed at length later on.

Another noteworthy institution which was founded was the Engineer Institution. The institution was established in consequence of the great demand on the officers of the line for persons qualified to undertake the numerous surveys which had become necessary on account of the great extension of territory under the Bombay Government. So in 1821 the Chief Engineer had been called on by Government to draw up a plan for training young men for that duty; and the Chief Engineer submitted in January 1823 a plan "directed principally to the education of a limited number of Boys from the Charity School in the duty of Surveyors." The plan met with the approbation of Government; but, subsequently, it was decided to enlarge the scope of the projected institution so as to permit of Indian boys being also trained along with European boys from the Charity School. "In the

[1] Despatch from Bombay Govt. to Court, 1st November 1827 (para 10): Educational Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. I, 1826-27, pp. 55-56 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Despatch from Court to Bombay Govt. 18th February 1829, (para 14): Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 32, 1829, pp. 17-41 (Bom. Recs.)

mean time it occurred to us," wrote the Government to the Court of Directors, "as an object of considerable importance to the well being of your Government in this country, to graft on the Survey Establishment, a plan for instructing Natives in some of the mechanical arts and the lower branches of sciences which might render them useful in superintending Public Works under European Engineers and further the grand design of the Institutions already in full operation in other parts of India for introducing generally among the Natives of the country a more perfect knowledge of Science in its most useful branches founded on European practice." So it was resolved on 18th April 1823 to authorise the establishment of an institution on an enlarged scale and to place it under the superintendence of Lieut. George Jervis, the Secretary of the Bombay Native School Book and School Society. Lieut. Jervis was appointed Superintendent on a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem.[1] The institution was actually started about the middle of July 1823.[2]

A notable feature of the Engineer Institution was that instruction in European science was imparted to the Indian students in the vernacular languages. In the Regulations framed for the institution it was laid down that the prescribed course of studies was "to be imparted to the Native Department of the Institution in *the* two

[1] Despatch from Bombay Govt. to Court, 17th September 1823: Military Dept. Letters to Court, Vol. 18, 1823, pp. 222-28. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Wm. Brooks, Chief Engineer, to Govt., 9th October 1823/No. 22/: Genl. Dept.., Vol. 24/394, 1837, pp. 233-34 (Bom. Recs.)

Vernacular Dialects peculiar to the Territories of Bombay, Maratha and Gujarati."[1] The adoption of the vernaculars for the purpose of imparting the knowledge of a foreign science involved the task of translating into them European works on it. The task by no means proved easy to Lieut. Jervis, whose acquaintance with both the vernacular dialects induced him to undertake the requisite translations. The chief difficulty experienced by him seems to have been a paucity of vernacular words for many of the scientific terms required to be translated; yet he managed to translate successfully "several of the standard books of instruction in Europe, on Arithmetic and Geometry." These translations served to show that the English language was not so absolutely indispensable for the communication of European knowledge as was often made out to be, and that the transfusion of that knowledge into the vernaculars, even in the uncultivated state in which they were stated to exist, was not an impossibility. Of Lieut. Jervis' translations the Chief Engineer wrote in one of his reports: "The books which Captain Jervis has already translated and has in contemplation to translate, cannot fail of greatly assisting the cause of education in general. The estimation, in which they are held, is evinced by the great demand there is for them; they are useful and interesting to all ranks and castes, from the Mechanic, to the Merchant and the man of Science; and it is in vain attempting to disseminate knowledge, to any great extent, in any language but that of the country, for very few

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837, pp. 223-29 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

natives are capable of attaining without years of study, a sufficient knowledge of English, to understand any work of Science in that language." And he added further: "I cannot call to mind that I ever met with one Native during my residence in this country (a period nearly of 30 years) who could read or write English with any degree of correctness, or who was capable of perfectly understanding any English book of a higher class than those calculated for children; although it has been the aim of many of them (probably ever since we had possession of the country) and the means they have had for some years past has been great."[1]

Besides Mathematical works, Lieut. Jervis translated by 1829 a "Preliminary Treatise to the Library of Useful Knowledge," which was intended to be followed by translations of some of the higher branches of Mathematics and some useful treatises in Mechanics and Natural Philosophy. But it was in his translations of Mathematical works that Lieut. Jervis appears to have been most successful and these works proved of great use to the Institution. "If nothing had been done," wrote the Chief Engineer in one of his later reports, "but translating into Maharathi and Gujarati, the works on Arithmetic and Mathematics, by means of which the Native youths who have passed through this Institution, have been instructed, that alone is a boon to the native inhabitants of this side of India of so permanent a nature, as to be well worth all the money that has been expended on this institution,

[1] Chief Engineer's Report, 17th May 1826: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837, pp. 51-62 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

if it could not have been purchased at less cost."[1]

In 1829, during the governorship of Sir John Malcolm, the Engineer Institution was abolished on the footing on which it had till that year been maintained and restored in a different form. The important changes effected in its constitution were: first, the abolition of stipends that it had been customary to pay to students as well as of the stipulations with regard to employment, by which the students, after the expiry of apprenticeship, were called upon to enter into a written agreement to serve the Government for four years; secondly, the throwing open of admission to all young men from recognised educational institutions or from Government Departments, civil or military, throughout the Presidency; and, thirdly, substitution of the direct control of Government for that of the Chief Engineer. The course of instruction remained the same, and the students were taught gratuitously. As the scope of the Institution was enlarged, and its benefit rendered accessible to all youths in the Presidency, its designation was changed from the "Engineer Institution" to that of the "Government Institution," and its superintendent was styled "Superintendent of Public Instruction."[2]

The subsequent history of the Institution does not concern the subject of the present chapter. But it may be noted that in 1830 the abolition of the Institution on grounds of economy

[1] Chief Engineer's Report, 14th December 1829: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837, pp. 247-50 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Govt. to the Chief Engineer, 21st December 1829/ No. 2345/: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837. (Bom. Recs.)

was recommended by the Calcutta Civil Finance Committee, who remarked that "although the success of the institution appears to be considerable, still, in our judgment, it has not been such as at the present period of financial difficulty to justify the expense which attends it."[1] The Institution by that time appears to have fallen off from its once progressive state, and in 1832 it was proposed by the Bombay Government to remove it to Poona—a proposal which, though acted on, met with the strong disapprobation of the Court of Directors, who ordered its removal back to Bombay. Shortly after, the institution appears to have been abolished, probably in accordance with the recommendation of the Civil Finance Committee.[2]

The comments of Lieut. Jervis and the Chief Engineer in justification of the preference of the vernacular medium over the English did not pass unnoticed by Mr. Francis Warden. When the Society's report of 6th June 1826 on the English School and the Chief Engineer's report of 17th May 1826 were laid before Government, Mr. Warden took occasion to dissent from the views therein expressed with regard to the relative advantages of the English and the

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[1] Letter from Committee to Govr.-Genl. in Council at Bengal, 26th April 1830: Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—p. 408.

[2] The Editor of "*Selections from Educational Records*," Part II, broadly states that "as early as 1824 an Engineering Institution was in existence, but its subsequent history is obscure." (p. 350). So far, however, as the present writer's acquaintance with the offical records relating to the institution goes, it appears to him that the subsequent history of the Institution can be more or less clearly traced almost upto the time of its abolition. (*Vide* Ex. gr., Despatch from Court to Bombay Government, dated 17th December 1833/ No. 44/: Public Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 36, 1833).

vernacular media for communicating European knowledge to Indian youth, and particularly from the latter's remarks about the paucity of acquirements of Indians in the English language. Mr. Warden stated that his experience had been "directly the reverse of Colonel Goodfellow's." "I am entirely ignorant," he said, "of the great means that have been afforded to the Natives to learn English.—A Charity School was established in Bombay when the Church was built for the Education of Europeans only. Since 1814 a greater degree of attention has been paid to that Establishment—Natives have been admitted into it—Schools have also been opened by one or two Europeans on speculation. From both sources Natives have been taught the English language, and they speak, read, and understand it perfectly—Having acquired such a foundation, surely the means at their command in enlarging their capacities through the medium of English books are beyond measure greater than they can possibly command, if all the literature of India were within their reach." And he added an interesting piece of personal testimony in support of his contention. "I know not," he observed, "whether a Native or an European penned the Chief Engineer's letter now before me. If the former, it constitutes a decisive evidence against him. But in that art, whether in the beauty or correctness of the writing, the superiority is infinitely in favour of the Natives—at least I have ever found it so in an office where the fullest opportunity of ascertaining the fact was afforded me. In fact the most beautifully copied despatches sent home to the Hon'ble Court are by Natives." He concluded with a

suggestion—which did not meet with the approval of Elphinstone—that the clergy at the outstations might be employed to teach English, and with the expression of his opinion that "whatever sum of money the Hon'ble Court may appropriate towards the promotion of education should..... be chiefly applied to the diffusion of the English language."[1]

The Engineer Institution did not represent the only attempt to spread the knowledge of an important branch of European science through the medium of the vernaculars. In 1826 a Medical School was founded, with surgeon John McLennan as superintendent, who translated, for the use of the students of the Institution, various works on medical science into the Marathi and Hindustani languages.[2] But, despite Dr. McLennan's abilities and well-executed translations, the institution did not succeed to the extent expected. One principal reason assigned for its failure in 1829, when the rules of the institution were revised, was that a sufficient number of medical books had not been translated. In that year too English was mentioned or suggested as the suitable medium for the communication of medical knowledge.[3]

An interesting measure, seemingly of little importance, but which subsequently had a far-reaching result, may be appropriately noted here. It originated in a minute of Mr. Francis Warden,

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[1] Minute, 26th June 1826: Educational Dept., Vol. II, pp. 361-64(Bom. Recs.)

[2] Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832,—I Public—pp. 312-14 passim.

[3] Letter from Govt. to Medical Board, 21 December 1829/No. 2347/: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837 (Bom. Recs.)

penned by him on a perusal of Lushington's work on the history of the Calcutta institutions. Mr. Warden referred to the measures in progress in Bengal in order to drive home the views advocated by him with regard to the education of the Indian people. "The English language appears, as it ought," he concluded, "to be the primary object of interest as best calculated, and, in the end, the most easy and economical mode of enlightening the population of India; for this simple and powerful reason—the most approved works on arts and sciences, on every branch of literature, are extant and procurable on the cheapest terms, correct scientific translations of which into the various languages of India, if practicable, must be equally laborious and expensive and after all very inaccurate." And he put forward a practical suggestion to the effect that a recommendation might be made to the Bohras College at Surat—an institution established by the Bohras for imparting theological instruction—and to the Hindu College at Poona to combine the study of English with their Oriental courses, under an offer from Government to have one or more of the most intelligent of the scholars at those seminaries taught at the Presidency at the expense of the Government and sufficiently perfected in the English language to act as teachers.[1] Elphinstone had no objection to the references being made, provided care was taken "not to alarm the religionists who are to be consulted with the prospect of introducing anything European into their institutions."[2]

[1] Minute, 2nd October 1825: Educational Dept., Vol. I, 1825, pp. 213-21 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Minute, 12th October 1825: *Ibid.*, p. 223.

Accordingly, the references were made on 8th October 1825 through the Judge and Criminal Judge at Surat and the Commissioner at Poona.[1] It seems that Government expected that their offer would be accepted by the authorities of the Bohras' College and rejected by the Pundits of the Hindu College.[2] But the reverse proved to be the case. The offer was rejected by the former,[3] and readily accepted by the latter. Four students of the Poona College volunteered to repair to Bombay and study English for the purpose of acting as teachers on their return.[4] So the Commissioner in the Deccan was asked to send them down to Bombay, and an allowance was assigned to them for their support while learning at the Presidency. At the same time a salary of Rs. 50 per month was sanctioned for an English master in the Poona College and a salary of Rs. 20 for an assistant.[5]

Finally, it remains to be noted that on 10th March 1824 circular queries were addressed to the Commissioner in the Deccan and Collectors of the districts under the Bombay Government, asking them to report on the state of indigenous education. The inquiry was undertaken principally with a view to ascertain whether Elphinstone's proposals with regard to the improvement

1 Educational Dept., Vol. I, 1825, pp. 225-27 (Bom. Recs.)

2 *Vide* Warden's Reply, dated 30th April 1832, to Villiers' Circular: Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832,—I Public—p. 23.

3 Letter from Mr. James, Judge at Surat, 25th September 1826: Educational Dept., Vol. 2, 1826, pp. 727-28 (Bom. Recs.)

4 Letter from Wm. Chaplin, 29th November 1825/No. 165/: Educational Dept., Vol. I, 1825, pp. 419-20 (Bom. Recs.)

5 Letter to Wm. Chaplin, 22nd December 1825/No. 51/: Educational Dept., Vol. I, pp. 421-23, (Bom. Recs.)

of the village schools, as embodied in his minute of 13th December 1823, were practicable. The state of indigenous education which this inquiry disclosed was summed up by the Government, in a despatch to the Court of Directors, as confirming their "former impression of the low state of education throughout the country; that the instruction imparted in schools extends, with very limited exception, only to such an elementary acquaintance with writing and Arithmetic as is absolutely necessary for the business of a shopkeeper, or tullattee, that but a small proportion of the people acquire even this knowledge and that the aid of Government in providing or assisting in the remuneration of School Masters is essential to any advancement of learning, if not, to the preservation of the very inefficient and defective means of instruction now existing."[1]

§ 4.

The retirement of Elphinstone from the governorship of Bombay in November 1827 was signalised by an important event in the educational history of the Presidency. A Committee of Indian gentlemen was formed "to raise subscriptions amongst the Native Princes, and gentlemen, allies, and subjects of the British Government under the Presidency of Bombay, for the purpose of endowing one or more Professorships under the Native Education Society with the denomination of the 'Elphinstone Professorships.' The measure was a spontaneous one on the part of the influential inhabitants of Bombay and

[1] Despatch to Court, dated 15th March 1826: Educational Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. I, 1826-27, pp. 1-15 (Bom. Recs.)

was adopted " with the view of effectually commemorating the very high sense entertained by them of the private and public character of our late Governor, by associating it with that highly honourable, benevolent, and useful object for which he always evinced such intense anxiety from the first moment of assuming the reins of Government, namely, the education of the Natives on sound intellectual and moral principles." Upto 1st December 1827 the fund collected by the Committee amounted to Rs. 2,26,172 and was expected to reach the sum of three lakhs. The sum actually collected was made over to the Bombay Native Education Society in order, as was stated, that no time might be lost " in concerting the best means for giving effect to the important measure in contemplation." The professorships were to be endowed " for the purpose of teaching the Natives the English language and the Arts, Sciences, and literature of Europe." They were intended to be held first " by learned men invited from Great Britain and to continue to be held until the happy period arrive, when the Natives of this country shall be found *perfectly* competent to undertake the office."[1] The Committee appointed to raise the subscriptions preferred a request to Government, through the Society, that a sum proportionate to the amount subscribed be added by Government and that three eminent professors be sent for from England. One of these was to teach " the languages and general literature "; another Mathematics and

[1] The anticipation was fulfilled when Dadabhoy Naoroji became Assistant Professor and subsequently Professor in 1854 in the Elphinstone Institution.

Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy; and the third Chemistry, including Geology and Botany. At the same time the Committee added these important words: "Your Society will be pleased to bear in mind, what the Natives have desired us particularly to express, that, by the study of the English language, they do not contemplate the supercession of the vernacular dialects of this Country, in the promotion of Native Education; but that they regard it merely as a help to the diffusion of European Arts and Sciences among them, by means of translations by those who have acquired a thorough acquaintance with it and as a branch of classical education, to be esteemed and cultivated in this country, as the classical languages of Greece and Rome are in the Universities of Europe."[1]

The Bombay Native Education Society earnestly supported the Committee's request to Government and added one for a suitable building for the professors to teach in.[2] The Government, in submitting the matter to the Court of Directors, recommended the grant of the requested aid to the project;[3] but the Court desired in the first instance to be furnished with a "definite and well digested plan" of the proposed institution before granting the aid asked for.[4] The Governor, Sir John Malcolm, recommended that

[1] Letter to Secy. to B. N. E. Society, 1st December 1827: Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/163, 1828, pp. 17-22 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from B. N. E. Society to Govt., 4th December 1827: *Ibid.*, pp. 6-16.

[3] Despatch to Court, 13th August 1828: Genl. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 48, 1828 (Bom. Recs.)

[4] Despatch from Court, 8th July 1829: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 32, 1829, pp. 289-94 (Bom. Recs.)

two professors might be sent out from England—one "superior Professor of Mathematics, Astronomy, and all branches of Natural Philosophy," and another "an under Professor or Teacher possessed of a complete knowledge of the practical application of the Sciences of Architecture, Hydraulics, Mechanics etc. etc., to the purposes of life." At the same time the Governor touched on several matters regarding the projected institution, such as the need for framing specific regulations for its future management, the place where it was to be accommodated, etc.[1] The recommendations of the Governor were approved of by the Court of Directors in 1832;[2] but it was not till about two years later that the needed professors were sent out. In 1834 Mr. Arthur Bedford Orlebar, B. A. of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Mr. John Harkness of the University of Edinburgh were appointed the first professors; their selection was made by the Court in communication with Elphinstone who had been desired by the subscribers to nominate the first professors.[3] As for the contribution solicited in aid of the proposed institution, the Court empowered the Government, in a despatch dated 29th September 1830, to grant such sum as might be deemed advisable by it.

An interesting fact in connection with the foundation of the Elphinstone Institution remains

[1] Minute, 19th October 1830: Genl. Dept., Vol. 6/203, 1830, pp. 373-75. *Vide* Despatch to Court, 24th November 1830/No. 19/: Genl. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 49, 1829/30. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Despatch from Court, 12th December 1832/No. 56/: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 35, 1832. (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Despatches from Court, 2nd July 1834/No. 20/: and 12th November 1834/No. 34/: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 37, 1834, pp. 68-69 & pp. 104-5 (Bom. Recs.)

to be noted. When the proposal to endow the Elphinstone Professorships was laid before Government by the Bombay Native Education Society, it caused a recrudescence of the old controversy on the language-question. The discussion took place this time between Mr. Francis Warden and Sir John Malcolm, Elphinstone's successor. Mr. Warden regarded the proposed establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships as confirmatory of the views he had all along held about the feasibility of diffusing a knowledge of English among the Indian people, or at least of making that language the general medium of education. "I must confess," he said, "that I did not expect to receive so unqualified a corroboration of the popularity at least of that opinion among the Natives, as is afforded by the letter from the leading Members of the Native Community of Bombay, bringing forward a proposition for establishing Professorships to be denominated the Elphinstone Professorships for the purpose of teaching the Natives the English language and the arts and sciences and literature of Europe—to be held in the first instance by learned men to be invited from Great Britain until Natives of the Country shall be found perfectly competent to undertake the office." And he reiterated his opinion that "the surest mode of diffusing a better system" was by making the study of the English language the primary and not merely the secondary object of attention in the education of the Indian people. "Yielding to no individual," he affirmed, "in a conviction of the advantages of Education to every Country, I have yet differed widely in respect to the best means of successfully pro-

secuting that object. I am so far from abandoning the grounds of that opinion that every year's experience rather confirms me in its soundness. I have urged the policy of directing our chief effort to one object—to a diffusion of a knowledge of the English language, as best calculated to facilitate the intellectual and moral improvement of India. We have as yet made that only a secondary object."[1]

But Malcolm's views accorded with those of his predecessor. He considered that the method of diffusing knowledge adopted at Bombay was of all others the best that could be pursued. He stated clearly the advantages he expected from the founding of the Elphinstone Professorships and the grounds on which he opposed the introduction of English as the general medium of instruction.

> "The chief ground," he replied to Mr. Warden, "on which I anticipate advantages from the Establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships is that a certain proportion of the Natives will be instructed by them not only in the English Language but in every branch of useful Science. To Natives so educated I look for aid in the diffusion of Knowledge among their countrymen through the medium of their vernacular dialects, and I certainly think it is only by knowledge being accessible through the latter medium that it ever can be propagated to any general or beneficial purpose.
>
> "This question may be decided by reference to the history of England. Before the Reformation, our best books on Religion, Morality, Philosophy and Science were veiled in the classical languages of Greece and Rome, and it is a remarkable fact that since all those works have been translated into the vernacular language

[1] Minute, 24th March 1828: Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/163, 1828, pp. 28-34 (Bom. Recs.)

of our native country, though gentlemen, men of the learned professions and those who are to instruct youth still study the classical languages as the fountains of our knowledge, these are unknown to the great bulk of our countrymen to whom improved education has been so useful. The reason is plain, the latter have neither that time nor money to spare which is necessary for such studies. There is a still greater necessity that the Natives of India whom it is our object to instruct, should have the path of knowledge rendered as short and as smooth as possible ; all that we are now doing tends to that object, the complete accomplishment of which will be effected by the establishment of the Elphinstone Professors whose duty it will be to teach the few who are to teach the many, and from whom, as a source the Natives of this quarter of India will be able to obtain that information and knowledge which is best suited to their wishes, their talents, and their various occupations in life.

" I have on political grounds a consolation derived from my conviction of the impossibility of our ever disseminating that half knowledge of our language which is all any considerable number of the Natives could attain. It would decrease that positive necessity which now exists for the servants of Government making themselves masters of the languages of the countries in which they are employed, and without which they never can become in any respect competent to their public duties.

" One of the chief objects I expect from diffusing education among the Natives of India is our increased power of associating them in every part of our administration. This I deem essential on grounds of economy, of improvement and of security. I cannot look for reduction of expense in the different branches of our Government from any diminution of the salaries now enjoyed by European public servants, but I do look to it from many of the duties they now have to perform being executed by Natives on diminished salaries. I further look to the employment of the latter in such duties of trust and responsibility as the only mode in which we can promote their improvement, and I must

deem the instruction we are giving them dangerous instead of useful, unless the road is opened wide to those who receive it to every prospect of honest ambition and honourable distinction.

"To render men who are employed beyond the immediate limits of the Presidency fit for such duties as I contemplate, no knowledge of the English language is necessary. The acquisition of that would occupy a period required for other studies and pursuits, but it is quite essential to aspiring Natives that they should have the advantage of translations from our language of the works which are best calculated to improve their minds and increase their knowledge not only of general Science, but to enable them to understand the grounds which lead us to introduce into the system of administration we have adopted for India, the more liberal views and sounder maxims of our policy and legislation in England. It is to the labours of the Elphinstone Professors that we must look for that instruction which is to form the Native Instruments that must become the medium of diffusing such knowledge, and as no duty can be more important than that of men who are placed at the very head of this course of instruction, and as the power of selecting those qualified for the important task will much depend upon the liberality of the salaries assigned them I trust with Mr. Warden the Hon'ble Court will make a grant to promote this institution, of a sum at least equal to that subscribed by the Natives of this Presidency."[1]

Consequently, Malcolm did not depart from the essential principles of the system of education begun by Elphinstone. That system had in 1829 received the sanction of the highest authority—the Court of Directors. For, the Court at length decided the Elphinstone-Warden controversy in favour of Elphinstone's views and plans. They concurred on the whole with what they stated to be the more comprehensive and

[1] Minute, 4th April 1828: Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/163, 1828, pp. 35-49. (Bom. Recs.)

sounder views of Elphinstone, with whom they agreed in thinking that his plans were not inconsistent with those of Mr. Warden, but went beyond them. "Because," said the Court, "an attempt is made to communicate to the Natives the elements of useful knowledge in their own languages, it by no means follows, that to those who desire them, facilities should not be afforded for learning English. But such knowledge as suffices for the common purposes of life, may, without doubt, be more easily taught to the Natives in their own than in a foreign language. We are persuaded (and experience on the other side of the Peninsula confirms us in the opinion) that a desire for European knowledge and for the advantages connected with (it) is the only effectual stimulus to the acquisition of the English language."[1]

Malcolm sought to consolidate and place on a stable footing the educational system begun by Elphinstone. His plan was to station at the provincial capitals a sufficient number of teachers, drawn from the pupils of the Society's schools, the Government Institution and, if practicable, the missionary schools, "to admit of those best qualified making half yearly circuits of the smaller towns and villages; to distribute books; to give instruction, and to make reports upon the qualifications of the village school-masters and the progress of the pupils."[2] The indigenous village schools were not to be interfered with, but gradually improved. It may, however, be

[1] Despatch from Court, 18th February 1829: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 32, 1829, pp. 17-41. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Circular Letter 21st December 1829/No. 2348/: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837. (Bom. Recs.)

remarked in passing that the improvement of village schools, which had formed an important part of Elphinstone's plan, had been found to be a difficult task and was in fact attended with indifferent success. Even the introduction in those schools of books, printed at the expense of Government as authorised by Elphinstone's Government, was effected to a very poor extent.[1] With a view, however, to encourage provincial and village schools, Malcolm proposed a moderate salary to school-masters, distribution of prizes and rewards, and the holding out of prospect of public employment to those with educational qualifications. With regard to the improvement of the village school-masters, no express provision was made in Malcolm's plan, but it was left to the operation of the system to be introduced to bring it about gradually. But, above all, Malcolm sought to supply a powerful incentive to the spread of education by making public employment as closely dependent as possible on educational acquirements.

At the same time, the eventual establishment of local schools for teaching English formed a part of Malcolm's general plan. But one of the reasons for which he appears to have been desirous of seeing a knowledge of English diffused goes to betray narrow views on the subject. "I have given my sentiments most fully," he said, "upon the expediency as well as impracticability of conveying general instruction to our native subjects in India through the medium of the English language, but I by no means desire

1 *Vide* Sudder Dewanny Adalut's report, dated 16th October 1829/No. 78/: Judl. Dept., Vol. 9/181, 1829, pp. 214-21. (Bom. Recs.)

to express an opinion that schools for that purpose should not be extended. While records of offices, a part of judicial proceedings, and all correspondence and accounts, are written in English, there will be profitable employment for all who learn to read and write this language, and a familiarity with it will open to those who possess it new sources of knowledge, and qualify them to promote improvement. From English schools being established at no place but Bombay, the pay of writers and accountants is immoderately high; and when these move from the Presidency, they require still higher wages and when qualified they can from their limited numbers command almost any pay they demand. This introduces a tone of extravagance of demand from this class of persons in all our departments." The "real mode" according to him of remedying that evil was, as he himself stated, to lower the price by multiplying the article or, in other words, to afford facilities for the acquisition of a knowledge of English by a large number of persons so as to raise up more English-knowing candidates for public employment and thus bring down the market value of English acquirements.[1]

[1] Dhapooree Minute. 10th October 1829. Genl. Dept., Vol. 6/183, 1829, pp. 109-85. (Bom. Recs.)

Chapter II

THE SWERVE TOWARDS ANGLICISM.

Under Malcolm's successors a marked deviation from the principles of Elphinstone's scheme began to occur. The deviation was manifest in the greater attention paid by the authorities to the communication of instruction through English than to that through the vernacular languages.

During the Governorship of Malcom's immediate successor, Lord Clare, an important event took place in the establishment of the first Government English School at Poona. The school was founded under interesting circumstances. One Janardhan Appa Gadgill, in a petition to the Governor dated 15th December 1831,[1] stated that in 1825 he had been sent with other youths from the Poona College to Bombay for the purpose of being qualified as an English teacher for that institution, and he solicited the post as he thought himself sufficiently qualified for it by his knowledge of English. It will be recalled here that some youths were sent to be taught the English language by the Commissioner in the Deccan as the result of a reference made at the suggestion of Mr. Warden to the Poona College and the Bohras' College at Surat. The petition of Janardhan Appa was referred to the Junior Principal Collector at Poona for report.[2] The Junior Principal Collector, Mr. Geo. Giberne, informed Government in reply that he could find no correspondence on

1 Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/229, 1831, p. 26 (Bom. Recs.)

2 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

record regarding Janardhan Appa, and at the same time recommended the addition of an "English branch" to the Poona College, as, according to the Collector, "there would be many desirous of learning the English language." "A knowledge of the English language," he said, "would I humbly conceive tend greatly to the improvement of the Natives generally, the higher walks of literature and science would naturally soon follow and field would be open to many which otherwise for a length of time must remain closed; I should also say that a knowledge of the English language would become a link between the natives and their rulers, it is decidedly a gift, which would scarcely be forgotten in consideration of the valuable works in it." Moreover, the Collector suggested the reduction of the number of "professors for Hindu literature" in the college and the appointment of some for English and Persian.[1] The Governor, Lord Clare, concurred in the opinion of Mr. Giberne that the Poona College might be rendered a more useful institution by reducing the number of professors for Hindu learning and adding some for English and Persian. At the same time he enunciated his view that "in fact in every seminary supported by Government the English language should be taught."[2] A letter was addressed to the Junier Principal Collector on 17th May 1832, requiring him to report as to the number of professors of Hindu literature "which may be reduced in the College to enable Government to effect the object which you have recommended and the amount

1 Letter from J. P. Collr. Poona, dated 29th February 1832/No. 27/ Genl. Dept. Vol. 10/255, 1832, pp. 58-59 (Bom. Recs.)

2 Minute, 8th May 1832; *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

of salary which after such reduction will be available for this purpose."[1] Mr. Giberne's successor referred in reply to the existing strength of the establishment of the Poona College and gave it as his opinion that the professors for Alunkar, Nyaya and Vedanta might be dispensed with, as he thought those branches of Hindu learning "of the least use" and could well be displaced by more useful studies such as those of English and Persian. At the same time he thought it probable "the introduction of a professor in the former language into the College would give offence, if he were not a high caste Brahmin."[2] But, meanwhile, the Governor himself had decided to abandon the idea of adding an English Branch to the College. "I find," he said, "from a communication I have had with the principal of the College that tho' he would be extremely glad to have the English language taught in that seminary he is decidedly averse from any scholar except a Brahmin being allowed to be there instructed. The object therefore being to spread the knowledge of our Tongue it would be very unwise and in my opinion impolitic to confine it to one particular caste; besides any attempt to connect English studies with the system pursued by the Brahmins in the College might alarm their prejudices and would probably fail." Instead, he decided to establish a distinct English school at Poona; and the reasons which induced him to do so are interesting to note. "I am quite satisfied," he said, "that the people in and about the populous

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/255, 1832, p. 62 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Ag. P. Collr., 16th July 1832/No. 89/; *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

City and Camp of Poona are very anxious to learn our language. The number of Situations in the public offices which can only be filled by those who understand it, the Concourse of Europeans, East Indians and Natives of Bombay following profitable Trades, and the number of the Castes whose professions and Education give them a Turn and facility for acquiring languages form a combination of Circumstances which has probably produced that taste for learning English, which I understand evidently prevails to a considerable extent in the City of Poona—For these reasons I do not think a better place could be selected for the establishment of an English School, and I therefore (the principle of extending the knowledge of our Language having been approved at home) propose to establish one at Poona being satisfied that no more useful measure can be devised with a view to enlighten the minds and enlarge the understandings of our Native subjects than to impart to those, who are willing to learn the knowledge of our language and literature and if the experiment shall succeed here, it may be tried hereafter with advantage in the more remote districts of this country."[1]

The Governor himself drew up a "short plan" of the school intended to be established,[2] and selected one Mr. David A. Eisdale, who had previously been recommended by the Secretary to the Bombay Native Education Society, Mr. R. Money,[3] for the situation of head master on

[1] Minute, 27th September 1832: *Ibid.*, pp. 74-77.

[2] Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/225, 1832, pp. 78-79 (Bom Recs.)

[3] Letter from Secy. to B. N. E. Society, 24th May 1832: *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

a salary of Rs. 500. Though the management of the school was to be left solely to the Head-Master, it was at the same time deemed necessary to appoint a Visiting Committee, " for the purpose of making periodical inspections and Examinations, and reporting to Government, whatever information they may deem fit relative to the plan of Study pursued and the progress of the Pupils." On 11th October 1832 Mr. Eisdale was informed of his appointment,[1] which was accepted by him with a becoming acknowledgment of " the honour thus conferred."[2]

On the 7th January 1833 the school was opened by Mr. Eisdale in the Boodwar Palace; and at the time of its opening sixty three " young men and boys " were entered on the Register.[3] Subseqently, there was a falling-off in the number of pupils in attendance owing to disappointment in the expectation of stipends, which it had hitherto been customary in Government schools to give.[4] During the succeeding years of its existence the school maintained on the whole a steady and satisfactory progress.[5] The subjects

1 Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/225, 1832, pp. 80-82 (Bom. Recs.)

2 Letter from Mr. Eisdale to Secy. to Govt., Genl. Dept., 27th October 1832; *Ibid.*, p. 83.

3 Letter from Mr. Eisdale to Secy. to Govt., 7th January 1833; Genl. Dept., Vol. 6/277, 1833, p. 137 (Bom. Recs.)

4 Letter from Mr. Eisdale to Secy. to Govt. 15th March 1833; Genl. Dept., Vol. 6/227, 1833, pp. 148-149 (Bom Recs.)

5 Letter from Visiting Committee, 3rd September 1833; Genl. Dept. Vol. 6/277, 1833, pp. 181-82 (Bom Recs.)

Clare's Minute, 16th September 1833; *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Clare's Minute, 5th October 1833; *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Letter from Visiting Committee, 14th October 1833: *Ibid.*, p. 198.

Report from Visiting Committee, 24th September 1833: Genl. Dept. Vol. 22/354, 1836, pp. 16-19 (Bom. Recs.)

taught, when the school was put in full operation, were, (1) English Reading and Spelling, Grammar and Derivation of Words, (2) Writing, (3) Geography, (4) Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and elementary principles of Natural Philosophy, (5) Translation and Composition.[1] About the year 1838 the study of Chemistry was introduced into the school.[2]

During the governorship of Lord Clare's successor, Sir Robert Grant, was founded the Medical College which to-day bears his name. The proposal for its establishment emanated from the Governor himself, who took a warm interest in the "improvement of medical and surgical science and practice among the Native practitioners in those Departments.[3] A committee of the Bombay Medical Society, whose co-operation was enlisted in the matter, drew up a scheme of a medical school, on different principles from those on which the Native Medical School had been founded by Elphinstone;[4] the latter institution had not succeeded and was abolished in 1832 during the regime of Lord Clare. The two important principles on which the new institution was planned by the Com-

[1] Mr. Eisdale's Report, 15th August 1836; Genl. Dept., Vol. 22/354, 1836, pp. 16-19 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Mr. Eisdale's Report, 1st November 1838; Genl. Dept., Vol. 29/498, 1839, pp. 79-80 (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Grant's Minute, 14th February 1837; Genl. Dept., Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, p. 1 (Bom. Recs.)

[4] Report of Committee of B. M. & P. Society on Native Medical Education, dated 6th (?) July 1837; Genl. Dept. Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, pp. 150-60 (Bom. Recs.)

mittee of the Bombay Medical Society were: first, "that medical education can only be conducted, by approximating as nearly as possible, to the systems of instruction followed in the schools of Europe;" and, secondly, that the English language must be the medium of medical instruction.[1] The grounds advanced by the Committee for the decision it had arrived at with respect to making English the medium of medical instruction were, among others, that the English language was "rich in stores of Medical knowledge," that "the Vernacular languages of the East" were "absolutely barren of all literature," that English was "the language of those who must be the teachers," and that the difficulty of translating scientific works in the vernaculars rendered it possible to impart only the rudiments of medical science through their medium. The Committee however added: "in thus expressing ourselves unhesitatingly on the necessity of the English language being adopted, as the medium of instruction, we are by no means disposed to call in question the opinion, that before Medical Science can be said fairly to flourish, and be incorporated with the Institutions of any Country, that it must exist in the vernacular language of that Country." And it is worthy of note that, on the question, the consensus of opinion among individuals in the medical profession as well as those connected with the educational affairs of the Presidency, whose views were previously ascertained by the Medical Society on the subject of the proposed institution, was in favour of making English the medium of medical

1 *Ibid.*

instruction.[1] A judicious view of the question was expressed by Ball Gangadhur Shastree, the Indian Secretary of the Bombay Native Education Society, who wrote to Dr. Morehead, Secretary of the Bombay Medical Society: "I think it (Medical instruction) should be communicated through the medium of the Native language if the object be to educate the adult practitioners in the elements of the Science, and to make the benefits of the European Systems generally known immediately throughout the Country. But if the end proposed be to give superior education in all branches of Medical Science to a select number of young men, the English is the only medium which can possibly be adopted; as from the difficulty of translating works on Science no more than the rudiment can be taught through the medium of the Native language."[2]

Thus English came to be the medium of medical education in Bombay. The conclusion which the Committee of the Medical Society reached with regard to it was concurred in by Robert Grant, who indeed considered it as one of the defects of the former medical school, leading to its eventual failure, that "instruction

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[1] *Vide* Letter from B. G. Shastree, dated 29th May 1837; Genl. Dept., Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, pp. 175-77, 182-84; Letter from Mr. W. Mackie, dated 28th May 1837; *Ibid.*, pp. 187-194; "Notes," by Mr. A. Gibson, dated 5th December 1836; *Ibid.*, pp. 195-202, (Bom. Recs.) (Mr. Gibson's "Notes" were written before the reference was made to the Medical Society on the subject of Medical Education by Government).

[2] Letter from B. G. Shastree, 29th May 1837; Genl. Dept., Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, pp. 182-84 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

was conveyed in the Hindustanee and Mahrattee languages."[1]

The measures taken during the regimes of Lord Clare and Sir Robert Grant show that English was gaining ground over the vernaculars, which had till the time of Sir John Malcolm been given an unequivocal preference as media of instruction. The tendency became more pronounced by the time that the Government appointed a Board of Education on 13th May 1840.[2] This Board was instituted in compliance with the necessity that was felt for some compact body to organise and superintend the educational operations of the Government over the whole Presidency—a task for which the Bombay Native Education Society was considered inadequate.[3] The Board consisted of six members besides a president. Three members were elected by the Native Education Society and were required to be Indians in order "to represent the feelings and wishes of the Native communities;" and three were appointed by Government in order to represent its "will" on the Board.[4] The first President of the Board was the Hon'ble Sir J. W. Awdry. The supercession, implied by the appointment of the Board, of the agency of the Bombay Native Education Society in the management of public education in the

1 Minute, 5th March 1838; Genl. Dept., Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, pp. 210-36 passim, (Bom. Recs.)

2 Notification, 13th May 1840; Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, p. 151 (Bom. Recs.)

3 *Vide* Minute, dated 21st February 1840; also Letter from Govt. to Committee of the Joint Meeting of the N. E. Society and the Elphinstone College Council, dated 30th April 1840; Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840; pp. 57-63 & 75-84 (Bom. Recs.)

4 Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, pp. 67-69 passim, (Bom. Recs.)

Presidency, did not, as might be expected, fail to call forth a protest from the latter body.[1]

As indicative in some measure of the tendency above alluded to, it is interesting to note the proceedings of the Board of Education as well as of the Government in connection with a matter that first engaged their attention after the appointment of the former. In his minute of November 1839 Lord Auckland had desired to be furnished by the Bombay Government with a report on the mofussil vernacular schools: at the same time he had particularly requested that Government to consider the measures contemplated by him "for raising and adapting to native wants the instruction conveyed in the most advanced of our English colleges." Thereupon the Bombay Government called upon Captain T. Candy, Superintendent of the Poona College and of the Government vernacular schools in the Deccan, for a report and referred to him for opinion certain points arising out of the suggestions of Lord Auckland. Two important points were: "whether inducements might not be held out with advantage to the best scholars of the village schools to prosecute their studies further, and to acquire an improving knowledge of European literature;" and whether he would recommend "the establishment of English schools, with such inducements as may tend to induce the best scholars to continue and prosecute their studies in a few of the interior Districts." Captain Candy submitted an exhaustive and interesting report in which, besides fully exhibiting

[1] Letter from Managing Committee, N. E. Society, dated 30th May 1840: Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, pp. 160-63. (Bom. Recs.)

the state of the Government Marathi schools under his superintendence, he dealt at some length with the question relating to promotion of English education referred to him by Government. On the two particular points noted above, Capt. Candy remarked as follows:

"With respect to.....the Expediency of holding out inducements to the best Scholars of the Vernacular Schools to study English, and of furnishing them with the means of study by the Establishment of English Schools, I beg to say that I think the measure *exceedingly desirable*. The National Education of India cannot be said to be on a suitable basis till there is a *Vernacular School in every Village and an English School in every Zillah*. After these shall have been in operation a few years I doubt not there will be added to them a College for every Province.—

"There is a great desire on the part of Native young men to study English. I would not at all intimate that this desire springs from a love of Knowledge for its own sake. Its source is doubtless the conviction which is daily increasing in the Native mind that ere long a Knowledge of English will be the Chief if not the sole road to situations of honor and emolument.—

"It is the path of wisdom I conceive to take advantage of this State of the Native mind, and to encourage that study which is in every point of view so desirable. Of the many who will begin the acquisition of English with no other object than of securing a livelihood not a few we may hope will be so captivated with the charms of Science as to need no other motive but love to pursue the delightful study. We may look forward, I think to this for some invaluable instruments in the national enlightenment of India. These will be the persons to render accessible to their countrymen true Translations of the rich stores that are contained in the English language.—No foreigner however well versed he may be in the Native languages can do this work so well as these will do it; for there are niceties in every language which can be fully mastered only by those of whom it is the mother tongue."

Accordingly, Captain Candy suggested the immediate establishment of an English school in each of the collectorates of the Deccan and the Conkan, and pointed out Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Kelwa Mahim, and Ratnagiri as the places in want of English schools and in which they could be fittingly located as the inhabitants evinced a desire for the study of English. But at the same time Capt. Candy did not omit to recommend strongly that "it should be established as a rule that no Scholar be admitted into a Zillah English School who has not acquired a grammatical Knowledge of his Native tongue." "The benefit of this," he added, "will be twofold. It will secure to the English Schools a class of Scholars whose minds have been trained and exercised, and who will therefore enter on the new study under favourable circumstances. It will have a most beneficial reflex influence on the Vernacular Schools, as it will stimulate all to acquire that Knowledge which will qualify them for admission into the English School."[1]

The Board of Education, in forwarding Capt. Candy's report to Government, stated their concurrence with his views as to the desirability of establishing English schools, and recommended the measure to Government. "The Establishment of English Schools," said the Board, "at the Chief Zillah Towns of the Districts under this Presidency to be managed by a mixed Committee of the principal European Gentlemen at each Station, associated with the Government Native Officials, and other Natives of respecta-

[1] Candy's Report, 27th May 1840: Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, pp. 197-202. (Bom. Recs.)

bility, would tend much to encourage Vernacular education, and make it popular, as a general belief prevails among the Natives that all Official advancement will ultimately depend on their Knowledge of the English language."[1]

Government on their part were entirely favourable to the plan of locating an English school in each collectorate. The minute of the Governor, penned on consideration of Capt. Candy's report and the recommendations of the Board of Education, clearly reflected the attitude of Government towards the question of the promotion of English education in the Presidency. The Governor wrote :

> "My own opinion is that instruction should be afforded to the utmost extent in our power both in the Vernacular and English Languages and that it is incumbent on us to make some beginning in the latter object. It is a point on which much difference has prevailed whether we should confine ourselves to the encouragement of Vernacular Schools or of Schools teaching the English language.—
>
> "The object is much more comprehensive than that the Scholars should be prepared only for Government employ but appears to me the general diffusion of the English Language and eventually its general adoption in the Country, and though the time may be distant before this object can be accomplished it is desirable I think that Government should make some beginning and institute as recommended by Capt. Candy an English School in each Zilla.—
>
> "As the advantages of English acquirements become more apparent it is to be hoped that other Schools of a similar description will spring up, independent of Government Support."[2]

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[1] Letter from Board of Education to Govt., 9th October 1840 /No. 51/ ; *Ibid.*, pp. 182-84 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Minute, 10th November 1840 ; Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, p. 210. (Bom. Recs.)

So also a member of the Governor's Council stated: "Though I have no expectation that the English language will ever be generally adopted in this Country I am very much in favor of *good* English Schools and shall be glad to see one in every Zilla.—but I am much against *inferior* English Schools which are ten times as expensive as Vernacular Schools, and do not convey to the *minds of the Scholars* nearly so much useful instruction."[1] The remaining member too expressed his assent to the measure.[2]

The sanction of the Government of India was sought for the measure proposed by Capt. Candy. In asking for the requisite sanction the Bombay Government expressed its views in terms which again unmistakably show the new current in favor of education through the English language. The Bombay Government observed that it was "an act of duty" to make some beginning in the promotion of English education, that "the teaching of reading and writing in the English language" was "a great step in our present stage of education," and proceeded to explain:

> "His Honour in Council is aware that it is a point on which much difference has prevailed whether Government should confine their exertions in the cause of Education to the encouragement of Vernacular Schools, or extend them to Schools for teaching the English Language. Some apprehension may be entertained whether the establishment of the latter may not lead to a superficial system of Education, and to the mere acquirement of such knowledge as will ensure admittance into the public service.—but to this objection it may be answered that in most of the Government

[1] Minute, 13th November 1840; *Ibid.*

[2] Minute, 14th November 1840; *Ibid.*

Offices in the Districts, a Knowledge of English is not necessary, and would avail nothing, except as it may give intelligence and knowledge independent of the duty to be done. No man will be the worse for such knowledge, but in cases in which it is not necessary to the duty which he has to perform, his introduction or promotion in the Service of Government could scarcely be aided by it.—

"The chief object to be held in view is however of a much more comprehensive nature than simply that Scholars should be prepared for Government employ and it may be said to be the general diffusion of the English Language, and eventually its general adoption in the country, and tho' the time is doubtless very distant when the accomplishment of this end may be looked for, it seems desirable that some commencement towards its attainment, of the nature of the measures now proposed by Captain Candy should be made, since it may be expected that as the advantages of English acquirements become more apparent, other Schools of a similar description will spring up independent of Government support."[1]

But the reply of the Government of India was not very encouraging. The Governor-General in Council stated it as his opinion that it would not be "reasonable to charge the finances of Bombay with a number of expensive English Zillah Schools as well as with the Vernacular institutions already established." But the Supreme Government was favourable to the establishment of an efficient English school in Gujerat and a similar one in the Southern Mahratta Country.[2]

The Board of Education, however, was shortly to communicate a strong impetus to the

[1] Letter from Bombay Govt. to Govt. of India, dated 4th December 1840/No. 4053/; Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840; pp. 222-24. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Govt. of India to Bombay Govt., dated 16th December 1840/No. 991/; Genl. Dept., Vol. 15/586, 1841, pp. 75-76, (Bom. Recs.)

promotion of education through the English language in the Presidency. But the new movement in Bombay as in Bengal did not escape a conflict with the established ideas and precepts. Let us now proceed to see what that conflict was and what it brought forth.

Chapter III

THE CONFLICT.

The Board of Education was by no means prepared to concede to the vernaculars the pre-eminence which the pioneers of education in Bombay had uniformly given to it. The proceedings of the Board betrayed a tendency to depart steadily from the aims and principles which had guided those pioneers and to approximate more and more to the conclusions that had been reached in Bengal on the question of the medium of education. Neither in theory nor in practice had the early labourers in the field of education in the Presidency ever lost sight of the importance of the vernaculars. But, whatever its theoretic professions, the Board on the contrary deviated in the direction of giving the English language a preponderance in the system of education placed under its control. This was made clear during the very second year of the Board's existence when in its second annual report it proceeded to make certain observations with regard to its proceedings during the year 1842. "The tendency of our proceedings in regard to Vernacular Education," said the Board, "has evinced our conviction that the primary Instruction of the people should be conducted exclusively in the Vernacular language of the respective Provinces, and that it is essential to permanent and real success, that the exertions of Government should be responded to, by that degree of co-operation on the part of the people, which will suffice to give evidence of a sincere desire on their part, to

avail themselves of the benefits of Education.... Whereas on the part of the controlling authority, we trust that we have shown our sense of the importance of practically demonstrating the advantages of Education, by advancing the Educated; of exercising a vigilant system of superintendency over the Schools; of providing well trained Masters; and of preparing a series of Vernacular School-books, calculated to impart a degree of moral and intellectual training to the body of the people, and to lay the foundation of a Vernacular literature to be made, we would hope, ultimately available for the improvement of the adult population, by means of Village Libraries in connection with the Schools, and their Committees." On the other hand, "the measures resolved on or proposed in regard to the English Schools, show," the Board pointed out, "that we are of opinion, that the course of instruction pursued in them should be suitable for the preparatory Education of those Members of the Community, who have higher objects in view than a course of primary instruction is calculated to provide for,—who aim at qualifying themselves for the higher offices connected with the State,—for different Professions as Merchants, Teachers, Civil Engineers, Physicians, Lawyers &c.—In fact we consider that the English Schools should represent the "Secondary Schools" of a system of national Education,—analogous in position to the Gymnasia in Germany and Prussia, and the Grammar Schools in England."[1]

With Sir Erskine Perry, Chief Justice of Bombay, as its President in succession to Sir

[1] Report of the Board of Education for the year 1842, dated 31st March 1843, pp. 76-80 passim.

W. J. Awdry, the Board of Education definitely broke away from the educational opinions and aims that had so long held the field in Bombay. There was an open swerve on its part in favour of adoption of the views and principles on which the system of education in Bengal was grounded. The year 1845 marks a notable turning-point in the history of education in Bombay. In its annual report for that year the Board of Education laid down the principles, which it desired to observe in the management and extension of educational operations in the Presidency, but which, as will be seen subsequently, did not pass unchallenged by a representative of the old school of thought on the Board.

In that Report, hard to rival for the lucidity of its diction, the Board took a survey of the educational proceedings of the Bombay Government, past as well as contemporaneous, and deduced therefrom important general conclusions. In the course of the survey the Board set forth the object or objects to be kept in view in the promotion of Indian education—which had been stated clearly enough before in a previous report[1]—narrated the history of the educational ideas and endeavours of the Bombay and the Bengal Governments, compared the results of the systems of education prevalent in the two presidencies, and dwelt inter alia upon the controversy that had taken place first between Elphinstone and Mr. Warden and then between Mr. Warden and Sir John Malcolm. It was a comparison of the results so far obtained under the Bengal and the Bombay systems respectively

[1] Report of the Board of Education for the year 1844 (paras 89-92); Genl. Dept., Vol. 28/934, 1845, pp. 207-10. (Bom. Recs.)

that led the Board to inquire into the relative merits of the two and perhaps helped it to form its final decision.[1] "It clearly appears," the Board pointed out, "..... that while the resources available for education in this presidency have principally been directed to numbers and to vernacular instruction, the Bengal authorities have chiefly adapted their institutions to the reception of the smaller numbers who desired to acquire the English tongue.—The question therefore at once arises as to the comparative value of the two systems, and as measures have been lately adopted in Bengal for carrying out Vernacular Education on a large scale at that Presidency also, it would be very desirable in many points of view if an accurate account could be presented of what the true results had been of the system pursued at Bombay during the last 20 years."

After a review of the various educational measures taken till that time, the Board concluded that the "true results" of the system of education in Bombay were far from encouraging any hope of inducing any profound change in the Indian mind. It acknowledged that considerable

[1] The Board stated those results in a tabular form thus:—

1843-44

	Bengal Presidency.	Bombay Presidency.
Population	37 Millions.	10½ Millions.
Funds applicable to Education.	Rs. 4,77,593	Rs. 1,68,226
Total number receiving Government Education.. ..	5,570	10,616
Receiving English Education ..	3,953	761

improvement had been wrought upon "what prevailed of old"—in other words, the indigenous system of vernacular education—yet it felt itself constrained at the same time to state: "We do not think we are at liberty to assume that our vernacular establishments as at present conducted are capable of operating any effective permanent improvement on the Native mind, or of introducing habits and tones of thought which may serve to encourage a spirit of progress and self-development amongst the Community."

Consequently, the Board was led to raise two important questions with regard to the system of education hitherto pursued in Bombay: first, whether with the existing means and materials the vernacular schools were capable of reaching the level of improvement to which it was desired to raise them; and secondly, assuming they were, whether any great benefit in the way of the mental and moral improvement of the country was likely to accrue in the result from a perseverance in that direction. The Board did not deny the possibility of improving the village schools by such means as a strict and careful system of superintendence and supply of vernacular class-books; but to the second question the Board's answer was a decided negative. With the kind of ineffectual men available as teachers for the vernacular schools and with the paucity or absence of the needed literature in the vernacular languages as two almost insuperable obstacles to the attainment of the object in view, the Board concluded that the existing system could never take the place of a sound and adequate system of education.

The question which such a state of affairs as that depicted by the Board gave rise to was obvious and the Board itself proceeded to state it. It asked: "Such then being the sorry account which the Board feel themselves compelled to give of their impressions as to the true effect and operations of the Vernacular Schools, what then it may be asked is their practical conclusion? Are the attempts of Government to achieve the objects set forth at the beginning of this report to be looked upon as wholly illusory; are the millions who inhabit British India so immovable and impervious to the active spirit of improvement at work in other parts of the world that it is hopeless to endeavour to bring them within its influence?" And its answer was: "The Board would anxiously guard against the supposition that they entertain any such desponding views. While it is at all times necessary to look the truth steadily in the face, and in the case of a Board constituted like ourselves, it is required that we should be on the watch to avoid being betrayed by any feeling of self complacency into an undue appreciation of the value of our services, we conceive that the important practical lesson which is taught by a careful analysis such as we have made above, is the clear perception of the course which it is expedient for us to pursue in future."

To the Board its future course or policy was clear enough, and it consisted in nothing more than the systematic application to Bombay of the filtration theory, as espoused by the authorities in Bengal and countenanced by the Court of Directors, and of all that that theory

implied or was made to imply. As the Board expressed it in the limpid language of its report:

> "We consider that in order to make a permanent deep impression on the Asiatic mind, and in order to fit it for the reception of the results of Western Civilization, we must apply our chief endeavours to the cultivation of the higher branches of learning and of the superior orders of minds. The growth of opinions in nations appears to us exactly analogous to what takes place in small circles; in these as in the former, the majority have no opinions of their own; they take them from the original mind, from the man who thinks for himself, the man whom they look up to and respect in each Caste or Coterie, and when no person exists sufficient to excite the feeling called hero worship, the mass of opinions existing in the treasured experience of the aged, is sufficient to afford the authoritative decision to which the majority of society is so willing to bow. And of such small circles a nation is made up.—
>
> "Without going the length of the Philosophers of the last century as to the omnipotence of Education, we think it by no means Utopian to suppose that it is possible to train in our higher institutions a number of young men altogether equal to ourselves in acquired information. But to achieve this there must be the same facility available to them as to youths educated in Europe, to carry on their studies after they leave school, and to keep pace with the accumulating knowledge of the day. That is to say they must be made perfectly familiar with the English tongue in which alone they will be able to obtain that supply for their intellectual cravings which will be of any service to themselves or to others.
>
> "To make our vernacular schools really effective therefore, we conceive that it is indispensable and also that it is possible, to place at the head of them a set of men trained as is indicated in the last paragraph and who shall be in reality superior to the rest of their countrymen. Larger salaries, than may be necessary afterwards, will be required in the first instance, and

a respectability needs to be attached to the position which it is so easy within the competence of Government to bestow. The work moreover may not proceed very rapidly; it will undoubtedly be slow in the first instance. But this security seems to attend upon the plan that however little may be done, that little is certain to be effective, and if the course is steadily persevered in without impatience and without despondency, the fine language of Coleridge may perhaps one day or other be applicable to India: "that to every parish throughout the Kingdom there (shall be) transplanted a germ of Civilisation; that in the remotest villages there (shall be) a nucleus, round which the capabilities of the place may crystallize and brighten; a model sufficiently superior to excite, yet sufficiently near to encourage and facilitate imitation."—

"The Board have the satisfaction of knowing that in the conclusions they have arrived at of the necessity of beginning from above downwards, when the attempt is made by a western nation to introduce their own systems of Education, and their own habits of thought amongst a people whose type and character of Civilization have been so wholly different; and further that the language of the governing nation is the only effective medium by which such ideas can in the first instance be conveyed—it is satisfactory, we repeat, to perceive that exactly the same conclusions have been arrived at by the Home Government."

Such was the course laid down by the Board for its own guidance. Accordingly, it proceeded to divide the schools in the Presidency into two "great classes"—the first class comprising all vernacular schools in which elementary instruction was imparted through the medium of the vernacular tongues; and the second class consisting of all those institutions in which a knowledge of the English language and of the literature and sciences of Europe was communicated. At the same time it tried to extend English education, so far as the limited pecuniary resources at

its disposal permitted, by establishing English schools in localities considered of great importance. A circular letter was addressed to the collectors of Ahmedabad, Nuggur, Sholapur, Broach and Kaira with a view to ascertain the disposition of the people at those places towards English education. Encouraging response came from Ahmedabad[1] and Rutnagiri;[2] but with regard to several other districts the Board regretted to state that "our endeavours to stir up the inhabitants of Nuggur, Kaira and Broach have met with either no or unfavourable responses".[3] But in the course of the succeeding years the Board helped to establish an English school in each collectorate of the Presidency, save in Kaira which right upto 1855 remained without an English school[4]

The policy of the Board and the measures taken in pursuance of it, which gradually tended to be exclusively in favour of education through the medium of English, eventually brought it into conflict with two sets of opinions. One was that Orientalist opinion, which held that Oriental learning and languages could be turned to useful account in order to further the cause of Indian improvement and hence was entitled to a place in a national system of education—a representative of that opinion being Captain T. Candy,

[1] Letter from Board to Govt., 17th October 1845/No. 530/; Genl. Dept., Vol. 32/938, 1845, pp. 29-30 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Board to Govt., 30th December 1844/No. 508/; Genl. Dept., Vol. 27/933, 1845, p. 69 (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Report of the Board of Education for the year 1845, dated 16th April 1846; Genl. Dept., Vol. 31/1050, 1846, pp. 11-133 passim (Bom. Recs.)

[4] *Vide* Report of the Board of Education, 1853-54, pp. 2-7; Report of the Board of Education, 1854-55, pp. 2-4 (paras 5-7).

Superintendent of the Hindu College at Poona. The other opinion was that the vernacular medium of instruction required under the prevalent circumstances of India to be given preference to the English and had a staunch advocate in Major George Jervis, who, as secretary of the Bombay Native Education Society, had long been connected with the educational affairs of the Presidency and, though now a member of the Board, held views that belonged to the days of Elphinstone and Malcolm. Thus in Bombay there took place, not only an Anglo-Orientalist controversy on a miniature scale, so to speak, but also a sharp conflict between the vernacularists and the authors of the policy of the Board, or in other words, an Anglo-Vernacularist controversy.

The friction between the Board and Captain Candy arose out of certain measures proposed to be taken by the Board for changing the constitution of the Hindu College at Poona. But the discussion which ensued on the proposed measures was more or less a replica of the Anglo-Orientalist controversy in Bengal, so far as the general views and arguments advanced in the course of it went. Neither Sir Erskine Perry, the protagonist of Anglicism in Bombay, nor Captain Candy, who defended the propriety of encouraging the cultivation of the Sanskrit language and literature for certain ulterior purposes, added anything to the stock of pleas and arguments with which the controversialists in Bengal had combatted each other. Hence the discussion regarding the Poona College needs but a brief mention here.

In a previous chapter the circumstances in which the Hindu College at Poona arose were briefly mentioned. Its subsequent history seems to show that it went the way of similar institutions founded by the British authorities at the other presidency. Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Deccan, had been entrusted with the general superintendence of the College; and in 1826 the Collector was invested with its superintendence on the expiration of the Commission.[1] In 1834, Mr. Baber, the principal Collector of Poona, stopped the payment of stipends to certain scholars of the College on the ground of their exceeding the proper age within which they were entitled to them. Thereupon the scholars petitioned the Revenue Commissioner against the action of the Collector, who, on the petition being referred to him by the superior authority, not only explained the grounds of the step taken by him, but further raised the question whether it was not advisable to abolish the College as in his view it had not been productive of beneficial results. Government on its part demurred to such a drastic measure as was proposed by Mr. Baber, but, for the purpose of ensuring a more vigilant and regular superintendence of the College, it associated the agent for the Sirdars and the Revenue and Judicial Commissioners with the Collector—all of them forming a committee of management.[2]

"The Committee of Supervision took a very unfavourable view of the Institution, and recommended its abolition, on the ground that the

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 14/122, 1826, p. 181 & p. 183 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Genl. Dept., Vol. 8/303, 1834, pp. 129-37. (Bom. Recs.)

advantage was not commensurate with the expense of it.

"Government in reply agreed with the Committee that the Institution had failed of its object; that it had fulfilled no purpose but that of perpetuating prejudices and false systems of opinion, and that unless it could be reformed it had better be abolished. In a subsequent communication Government intimated to the Committee its resolution to maintain the College on a reformed plan, and under special Superintendence. One main ground for retaining the Institution was the importance of the preservation and cultivation of the Sanscrit language with reference to the improvement through it of the Vernacular languages that are derivatives from it.—

"It was argued that Sanscrit is as essential to Students in India as Latin is to Students in Europe. It is the language of the Laws and Literature as well as of the religion of this country. And as English, it is allowed, is necessary in the present circumstances of this Country to furnish ideas to the Native mind so is Sanscrit equally necessary to ensure the right expression of those ideas in the Vernacular tongues. By the abolition therefore of the Study of Sanscrit literature would be lost a powerful aid in the diffusion of true Science."[1] Acting on those considerations, Government reduced in 1837 the branches of knowledge taught in the College and retained only (1) Dharma Shastra ; (2) Vyakurn (Grammar);

1 Capt. Candy's Report, 5th June 1840 ; Genl.. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, pp. 252-63 (Bom. Recs.) ; *Vide* also, Genl. Dept., Vol. 17/349, 1836, pp. 1-30 & Genl. Dept., Vol. 39/409, 1837, pp. 1-29 (Bom. Recs.)

(3) Gyotish; and (4) Alankar (Belles Lettres). To these the branch of Nyaya or Logic was subsequently added. At the same time, as the necessity of an European Superintendent for the purpose of ensuring the efficiency of the institution had been pointed out to Government,[1] Captain T. Candy was apointed superintendent on 9th February 1837 and charged with supervision of the College as well as the Marathi Schools in the Deccan and in the Ratnagiri Collectorate.[2] With the assent of the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, Capt. Candy introduced certain improvements in the College, two of which deserve particular mention. These were that the medical branch of studies, which had been abolished, was revived and a teacher of the vernacular language was appointed to the College.[3] With regard to the latter innovation Capt. Candy had some interesting remarks to offer. "Hitherto," he said, "it had been too much the case that those who had been educated in the College left it with a contempt for their mother tongue, and without the ability to write even a common letter in it with propriety. Of course they were not qualified to enter any Department of the Public Service, except that such of them as had studied the Dharma Shastra might be qualified to become Shastrees of Law Courts. But now the Students are instructed in the Vernacular language in all the Branches of Study that are taught in the Government Maratha Schools.

[1] *Vide* Memorandum by Rev. J. Stevenson: Genl. Dept., Vol. 39/409, 1837, pp. 3-8 passim (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letters to Capt. Candy, dated 9th February 1837/Nos. 364 & 369/; *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22 & 28-29 (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Governor's Minute, 9th November 1837; Genl. Dept., Vol. 39/409, 1837, pp. 210-13 (Bom. Recs.)

The good effect of this it may be hoped will be great and permanent." Under Capt. Candy's superintendence the College showed favourable progress.

To such a state of improvement the College had been brought, when Captain (now Major) Candy in his annual report for 1847-48 suggested an enlargement of the scope of the institution so that it might conduce to the improvement and diffusion of general education in the country. In putting forward his suggestions, Major Candy was led to discuss the value and place to be accorded to the study of the English, Sanskrit and vernacular languages, first, in the Poona College itself, and secondly, in a general system of education for the country. With regard to the first topic, he said :

> "The philosophers, Metaphysicians, dialectitians, Astronomers and poets of Ancient India were men, in comparison with whom the present race are mere pygmies. This generation could not therefore but profit by a perusal of the works of their abler forefathers.
>
> "Much rubbish would indeed be brought from these ancient Sanscrit mines, but with it would also be brought some good ore, which if coined and made current in Murathee, would increase its literary wealth.
>
> "Still as the ancient sages and Philosophers of India were ignorant of *The Truth*, not only in Divinity, but in secular science, and as their Histories are nothing but legend and mythological fables, we must look chiefly to another source for matter with which to enrich the Vernacular and to enlighten the age.
>
> "The best source, indeed the only good one from which we can draw, is the English language with its rich stores of History and Philosophy, Mental, Moral, and physical. It is on this ground that I rejoice at the introduction of English into the Poona College,

and at the study of it being combined with the study of Sanscrit and Murathee.

"As taught in other Institutions, the study of English must be viewed principally as benefitting the individual students of it, expanding *their* minds, enlarging *their* ideas, removing *their* prejudices, and *only as units helping to make up the mass of Society* influencing through the community in general.

"But as taught in the College in combination with Sanscrit and Marathee, its chief aspect is different. Though it will subserve the important end of individual enlightenment, as well when taught in the College, as when taught in other Institutions, its chief use here will be that of *qualifying and training a Body of Translators*, thus operating directly for the welfare of the Public."

On the second topic, Major Candy set forth his views as follows:

"My own view is that the study of the Vernacular cannot be too much encouraged, nor that of English in its proper place.

"The Vernacular should be studied *by all*, from the Prince to the Peasant; and it should, nay *it must*, form the medium through which the Mass of the population shall receive the education suitable for and needed by them.

"English, on the other hand, should be studied by *every Gentleman*, by every one who has leisure and means to prosecute the study, by every one who aspires to a superior situation under Government, and by every one who wishes to be *thoroughly educated*. My educational motto should be "Murathee for the Multitude; Murathee and English for the Elite."

"English should take in this Country the place which Latin holds in England—It does not constitute the medium through which the masses of society are instructed, *but it is necessary* to the education of the Scholar and the Gentleman."

In brief, Major Candy's idea was to convert the Poona College into a regular nursery of translators and school-masters, and with this idea he put forward three important proposals—namely, that an English professor, specially trained in Sanskrit and Marathi, should be selected for the superintendence of the College; that a professor of the vernacular language should be attached to the English department of the College; and that "translation scholarships" or "exhibitions" should be founded in the College.[1]

When Major Candy's report came under the consideration of the Board of Education, the President, Sir Erskine Perry, while agreeing with Major Candy in his views regarding the place of the English and the vernacular languages in a general system of education, proceeded to state his objection to Major Candy's plan for the enlargement of the Poona College thus: "I conceive that it is quite feazible to carry out these views. But the question for the Board is, whether it is consistent with their views and with those of Government to make the Poona College, with its exclusive character, the nucleus of those operations. I conceive that it is not. The institution was established as a sop to the Brahmines on the settlement of the Country, and I agree that we ought to make it as useful as we can *out of its own funds*—but if we set about establishing new institutions having the benefit of the whole community in view, I think we ought to abandon all exclusive principles, and throw

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 11, 1851, pp. 27-39 (Bom. Recs.)

open the door wide to all castes and to merit of all kinds."[1]

But the Board of Education did not think its President's objection of sufficient weight to warrant the rejection of Major Candy's plan, and accordingly he was requested to submit to the Board a draft of rules for carrying his suggestions into effect.[2]

In obedience to the Resolution of the Board Major Candy forwarded an elaborate draft of the rules asked for and embodying the principles enunciated by him in his report. But Sir Erskine Perry objected to the rules on several grounds. In the first place, he was not in favour of giving so much importance to the study of Sanskrit as was contemplated by Major Candy's scheme. He thought it impracticable for a student to acquire such a critical knowledge of both English and Sanskrit as was deemed necessary by Major Candy to make him a fit translator or schoolmaster. He examined the grounds on which in his opinion undue importance was sought to be given to Sanskrit and found the claim usually put forward in its behalf on those grounds to be exaggerated. The grounds in question were stated by him to be two: "First, the knowledge of Sanscrit, like the knowledge of the Classical languages in Europe only in a much higher degree secures a reputation for scholarship and the respect of the community; Second,.....a knowledge of the parent Classical Sanscrit is necessary for those who have to write in the Vernacular languages,

[1] Minute, 19th July 1848: Genl. Dept., Vol. 11, 1851, pp. 40-41, (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Resolution, 3rd August 1848: *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

in order to supplement their inadequacy and poverty." And he proceeded to remark on these as follows:

"The first reason has weight in it, but it must not be pushed too far. A learned Pundit no doubt has influence in a Hindoo Village, but I question whether it ever equals that of the Mamlutdar or other Government officer; and if the new race of school-masters formed by the Board get a superior rate of pay, and are able to communicate information not before known in the village, I conceive that there will be no lack of respect paid to them. Besides which the students of the Poona College will have acquired quite sufficient knowledge of Sanscrit, before entering the Normal Class, to obtain the respect alluded to, and which it must be owned is chiefly factitious.

"The second reason I conceive to be much exaggerated. Major Candy and others are fond of bringing forward the analogy of the English language, which has borrowed so largely from the Latin (or rather from French) and Greek, especially for the expression of scientific terms. But all Scholars are aware that this is purely accidental. The sister tongues to English, the German &ca supply such terms from their own resources, and the English might have done the same if accident had led to the practice,—even now "three cornered" and "four cornered" are probably more intelligible to the English people, and almost as well sounding as triangular and quadrangular, and this observation may be pushed to any extent.

"But even if Mahrathi and Guzerathi should be obliged to borrow from Sanscrit, it seems a wild scheme to teach the latter Language so extensively as Major Candy proposes, for it is well known that there is nothing which requires so much judicious skill as the introduction of new words into literature.....Whereas if the doctrine is put forth that every translator from English is at liberty to introduce a new fangled word from Sanscirt on every new idea that presents itself, the consequence will be that his translation will be unintelligible to his Countrymen."

In conclusion, what he deemed necessary to train up the students of a Normal Department was a knowledge of the English and the vernacular languages .and an elementary acquaintance with Sanskrit. He therefore recommended that the scheme of Major Candy might be revised with a view chiefly to provide for the organisation of a Normal Department in the College.[1]

The views of Sir E. Perry as well as certain other circumstances appear to have induced the Board to change its mind, and Major Candy's scheme was put aside for reconsideration at a future date. When Major Candy referred, in his next annual report for 1848-49, to the fact that his rules had not been acknowledged by the Board, he was informed in reply that "when your draft arrived, and had been considered by the Board, the feasibility of carrying your suggestions into effect was found to be more apparent than real."[2]

Meanwhile, a suggestion for the amalgamation of the Poona English School, founded by Lord Clare, and the Sanskrit College—a suggestion that primarily emanated from Mr. Harkness who had apparently been sent to Poona to organise an English class at the Sanskrit College[3] found favour with the Board and Major Candy was asked to draft rules for carrying out an amalgamation between the two institutions on the lines of that effected between the English and the

[1] Minute, 8th September 1848: Genl. Dept., Vol. 11, 1851, pp. 71-78.

[2] Letter from Board to Major Candy, 17th July 1849: *Ibid.*, pp. 100-02.

[3] Perry's Minute, 22nd September 1848 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-84.

Sanskrit Colleges at Benares under the Government of the N. W. Provinces.[1] Major Candy, however, appears to have been averse to the proposed measure, and on the nature of the amalgamation, which the Board had in view and which was tantamount to the abolition of the Sanskrit College on its old footing, being made explicit to him, he submitted to the Board, not only a scheme for amalgamation as asked for by the Board, but an elaborate "Minute on Education," in order, as he said, "to show the necessity of the study of Sanscrit literature having a place in a scheme of National education for India, and to point out the place which it should occupy, with the end to be attained by it."[2] The Minute, however, contained for the most part the usual ideas and views and suggestions of the Orientalists, and was summarily dismissed by Sir Erskine Perry as "an elaborate defence of Sanscrit College" and "a neat summary of the arguments which Horace Wilson, and two or three students of Sanscrit literature, have been continually putting forward for some years past."[3] Major Candy's scheme of amalgamation gave rise to further discussion among the members of the Board, and one of them, Juggonath Sunkershett, put in a spirited plea for the preservation of the Sanskrit language and literature. "It would be a sad reproach," he said, "on an Indian Board of Education professing to foster Education for the benefit of mankind in general, were so rich and classical a language

[1] Letter from Board to Major Candy, 30th October 1849: *Ibid.*, pp. 103-04.

[2] Letter from Major Candy to Board of Education, 13th November 1849/No. 19/: *Ibid.*, pp. 110-12.

[3] Minute, 17th November 1849; *Ibid.*, pp. 135-37.

as Sanscrit to be excluded from its schools and colleges;.....My prejudices as a Hindoo are of course averse to condemn entirely this ancient and sacred Language as a means of the study of the sciences which Hindoos have supposed can only be properly attained by its knowledge—I am not however so ignorant of the rapid strides which have been made in Knowledge by the inhabitants of the West as not to fully understand that as a country which has for centuries lost its independence, and has been debarred by political circumstances from making those advances in science and the mode of attaining it, which a free and independent nation possesses, must be at this day far behind in the race of intellect, which the 19th century has spread over Europe and America; and therefore that the application and means of teaching such sciences as Astronomy and Medicine may be found in a more efficient form in the English Language than in Sanscrit. But for the sake of the nationality which still lingers in the breasts of Hindoos, I humbly advocate the continuance of the study of Sanskrit at least in the sciences of Rhetoric-Logical Philosophy, Grammar and Law."[1] As a result of the discussion, some concession was made to Sanskrit, and Major Candy, when his scheme was returned to him for being recast, was informed of the Board's views in these terms: "The Board then are of opinion that the study of Sanscrit, as a classical language, is one important element in the improvement of the vernacular languages, but they are also of opinion that it should not be encouraged to a greater extent than may be necessary to enable us to

[1] Minute, 15th December 1849; *Ibid.*, pp. 143-46.

express in the Vernaculars all that we want to impart in the way of secular education. It therefore appears to the Board desirable to determine that course of study which will enable us to cull the flowers we require, without taking more than we can help of the weeds. We want "its copiousness in vocables, its wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and yet more exquisite than either." We want "the facility which it offers for the formation of compound tenses according to the rules of Grammar, the abundance of its inflections, and the multitudes of its synonyms." We do *not* want "its conceits and absurdities of Science falsely so called, still less its polytheism and pantheism," and a course of study should be selected which will give us all we want, with as little as possible of what we eschew."[1]

In the end, rules were framed for the amalgamation of the English school and the Sanskrit College and were forwarded to Government on 10th August 1850 for sanction.[2] The sanction was granted;[3] and the "new Poona College" was opened "with some solemnity" by a member of the Board of Education, Mr. John Warden, on 7th June 1851.[4]

But this amalgamation, it may be mentioned in conclusion, did not ultimately succeed. In 1856, the Director of Public Instruction, Mr.

1 Letter from Board to Major Candy, 1st March 1850/No. 119/: *Ibid.*, pp. 150-53.

2 Genl. Dept., Vol. 11, 1851, pp. 161-66 (Bom. Recs.)

3 *Vide* Governor's Minute, 11th October 1850; *Ibid.*, pp. 181-89

4 Letter from Mr. John Warden to Board, 9th June 1851: *Ibid.*' pp. 271-75.

Erskine, in submitting the reports of the examinations, specially ordered by Government, of the Elphinstone and the Poona Colleges, took occasion to remark: "It is difficult to peruse these papers without feeling that the arrangement known as the amalgamation of the English School and Sanscrit College at Poona in 1851 was an attempt to fuse together elements which had no tendency to combine; and that the Establishments, allowed for the United Institution have in many respects been most inadequate—Those who ordered the amalgamation—in opposition it appears to the wishes and recommendations of Major Candy—would not, I apprehend, have encouraged the introduction of a rigid discipline—if by that means the number of students were to be greatly reduced as it would have been."[1]

The controversy over the re-modelling of the Poona College was preceded by one of far more importance—in fact, considering the question at issue that was involved in it, of perhaps greater importance even than the Anglo-Orientalist controversy in Bengal.

It has already been seen how the Board of Education departed from the educational policy laid down by Elphinstone and Malcolm and how in its report for the year 1845 it proceeded to avow Anglicist views and principles. That report gave cause for the first note of controversy to be struck. Colonel George Jervis, who had for a long period been closely associated with the pioneer endeavours for the promotion of education

1 Letter from Director of Public Instruction to Govt., dated 12th May 1856: Genl. Dept., Vol. 30, 1856, pp. 4-5 (Bom. Recs.)

in Bombay, objected to the introduction of "opinions and discussions" in the report, as it seemed to him to be "altogether without the purpose" for which such a report was intended. He also objected to the mention of the classification of the schools into English and vernacular, as it "might probably tend to convey the idea, that the classification, therein adverted to, did not exist until last year; while on the contrary, it was *contemplated* and virtually practised from the very first institution of the Elphinstone College." And he proceeded to remark:

> "The *Schools* of the Native Education Society were intended for the purpose of teaching the Native youth the vernacular dialects, and English; and thus, of preparing those who wished it, to attend the lectures on European literature of the Professors of the Elphinstone College. Nor has there ever been any difference of opinion, at this Presidency, regarding the system of Education which should be adopted, except with respect to the degree of attention and encouragement which should be given to promoting the study of the English language; and this is a point still in dispute, its settlement, I conceive, depends upon considering that this difference of opinion involves the question,—what are the best and most effective means for instructing Youth in the literature and science of a foreign country? But, in resolving this question, it must be particularly observed that no analogy whatever exists between the acquisition by an English youth of a knowledge of Greek, Latin, or any modern European language and the acquisition of a knowledge of European literature and science by a Native of India or any other Asiatic. For, in the former case, the natural objects described, and the ideas expressed in Greek, Latin, and modern European works, can be easily rendered intelligible and familiar to an English youth. But to a Native of India the natural objects described and the ideas expressed in European literature and science

are, for the most part, so entirely dissimilar to those to which he has been accustomed from his infancy that it is with the utmost difficulty that he can acquire a conception and knowledge of them. It is the same with an European who studies, for instance, Sanscrit or Arabic, for there continually occur passages in the works he reads, which neither commentaries, nor the explanations of learned Natives enable him to understand fully. To instruct, therefore, the Natives of India in European literature and science through the medium of English *only*, is obviously impracticable, because experience shews that Natives, who speak English well, and even write it with tolerable accuracy, cannot read and understand the commonest English work. The fact is, that they have learned words, but not ideas. It seems consequently evident that the only practicable means of conveying to the Natives of India the literary, scientific and moral ideas of Europe, is by explaining them orally in the vernacular dialects, or by translations into the vernacular dialects, of such European works as are best adapted for that purpose—or what would be better, selections from such works, as it would be advisable not to tax, at first, the attention of the Native learner too much. But to understand such oral instruction or such translations it is indispensable that the Native should have acquired a correct and grammatical—not merely a colloquial—knowledge of his own vernacular dialects, and for this purpose therefore the vernacular dialects should form a principal object in Education."

Moreover, Colonel Jervis pointed out in conclusion that Indians, who had contributed to the funds of the Native Education Society and founded the Elphinstone Institution never intended that "the study of their own vernacular dialects should be neglected and that the funds contributed by them should be exclusively appropriated to the study of English." It may be mentioned here that in these views of his Colonel Jervis had the concurrence of two Indian

members of the Board, Juggonath Shunkershett and Mahomed Ibrahim Muckba.[1]

But the immediate occasion, which caused the controversy to blaze forth in full vigour, occurred some time later. It may be recalled here that the Engineer Institution, founded by Elphinstone, was abolished about the year 1832. But the substantial advantages which had accrued from that institution induced Government to attach in 1843 an Engineering class to the Elphinstone College, the class being placed under the charge of a professor specially sent out from England.[2] The class, however, does not appear to have been a success, as there was a dearth of pupils with the requisite preliminary qualifications to attend it. Thereupon it was determined to establish scholarships as an inducement to boys of ability to join the class; and Principal Harkness of the Elphinstone College suggested that, if the scholarships failed to achieve their purpose, it might be advisable to take into consideration the formation of a vernacular class of Engineering. This led the Board of Education to record a resolution in September 1846 to the effect that the proposition of Principal Harkness was regarded by it as "worthy of consideration at some future time." Subsequently Colonel Jervis, under a misconception, stated, in the Military Board, that orders had been issued for the formation of a vernacular class of Engineering, when in fact no such orders had been issued.

[1] Minute, 16th March, 1846: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 191/96 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] *Vide* Letter from Bombay Govt., to Court of Directors, 17th May 1843/No. 45/; Genl. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 66, 1843. (Bom. Recs.)

But the fact led Government to address a letter to the Board of Education, dated 30th January 1847/No. 240/, in which it demanded to know why the formation of a vernacular class had been ordered, when it saw no reason why the instruction in the Engineering class "should not be conveyed exclusively in English."

The letter from Government, the tone of which was animadverted upon by Sir Erskine Perry,[1] was taken by Colonel Jervis to enunciate two principles from both of which he strongly dissented. As stated by him, those were: first, "that instruction of any kind is to be conveyed exclusively in English;" and, second, "that our Board have no authority to issue any orders that would have the effect of changing the constitution of a class without the sanction of Government." The first issue raised by Colonel Jervis gave rise to the Anglo-Vernacularist controversy. With the second issue the subject of the present chapter is not immediately concerned.

Colonel Jervis objected to the first principle relating to medium of instruction, which he believed to be enunciated in Government's letter, both on general and special grounds. The general grounds of his opposition were stated by him ably and at length with a Hodgson ring about them and representing fully the vernacularist point of view.

> "My general objections," he wrote, "are those obvious considerations which for years, regulated, throughout India, the efforts of the British Government and of many of the most distinguished Members of

[1] Minute, 25th February 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 135-37 (Bom. Recs.)

the Service for the promotion of Native Education, and which were unquestioned, until of late years, when the influence of certain men in authority of undoubted talent, but of strong and peculiar prejudices, introduced the idea of giving the preponderating consideration to the study of English, which appears still so unhappily in my opinion to influence the educational views of our present Rulers.—

"Surely it must be admitted, that general instruction cannot be afforded, except through the medium of a language with which the mind is familiar; and therefore the consistent result of the views above mentioned, which would constitute English the essential medium for the intellectual improvement of the Natives of India, (startling tho' it must appear to the commonest sense) is, to withhold all Education from the Native population of this Country, until the English language is so familiar to them, that each individual can think and reason, in that tongue, to the supercession necessarily of his own dialect; and moreover, strange to say, the idea of making English the sole language of our Indian subjects has been seriously entertained and propounded. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the chimerical nature, to say the least, of such extreme views; but the conclusion appears incontrovertible, that, in proportion as we confine education to the channel of the English language, so will the fruits be restricted to a number of scribes and inferior agents for Public and Private Offices, and a few enlightened Individuals—isolated, by their very superiority from their fellow Countrymen.—

"In our endeavours to make the knowledge of English among the Natives so prominent and essential a qualification we are neglecting the benefit of three hundred years' experience in Europe, and we are retrograding to the days, in which Latin was the sole language of Literature; and when, in consequence, knowledge, both spiritual and temporal, was confined to a few Monks—a few Divines—a few men of Letters. Until such an exclusive agency was put an end to—until the modern tongues of Europe were emancipated—the

people could never learn or know for themselves—On the abrogation of the exclusive use of the Latin language, on the inauguration of the language of the People, the acquirement of knowledge was made accessible to all—from the Noble to the Artizan—*all* men could be taught, *all* men could be Teachers—and how wonderful has been the advancement in morality and literature by such a change in Europe. Should we then, here, at this day, so far forget this lesson, and insist so much on imposing the burden of the foreign language of a handful of Rulers on the millions of our Native population? On the contrary I conceive it a paramount duty, on our part, to foster the Vernacular Dialects, and to use every endeavour to free them from the swaddling Bands in which they have been hitherto confined. Aided by their cognate Classical Dialects (Sanskrit &ca) they would be capable of a copiousness of expression, now unknown to them; and of indicating the dependence, the connection, the minute diversity, and transition of ideas, and the various steps in the process of logical deductions, and they would attain to a vigorous maturity, in which the highest powers of language to embody every operation of the mind, from the simplest to the most subtle, would be developed.—

"The popular idioms, which have hitherto been employed, only, in a few meagre productions of the Chronicler and Minstrel must be summoned, under our auspices, to act a new part; and, consequently to receive a new development—In this way we should endeavour to raise up a new world of morality and Literature around the whole mass of Native Society, and not contract their advancement solely within the bounds which the tutelage of our English Government and the medium of our English language would impose."

As for the special grounds of his opposition, Colonel Jervis pointed out the failure of the class of Engineering as conducted through the medium of English, and the admission by the Board, implied in their resolution on Principal Harkness'

suggestion, that a vernacular Engineering class might be a necessity at some future time.[1]

Sir Erskine Perry of course did not agree with the views of Colonel Jervis on both the questions dealt with by him, though he resented the tone of several recent communications from Government; while another member of the Board, Dr. McLennan failed to see, in the letter from Government, the enunciation of any such principle regarding the use of the English medium as seemed to him to be assumed by Colonel Jervis. He thought that it was a mere practical necessity, and not an abstract consideration of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of English and the vernaculars as media of instruction, that had dictated the preference for the former.[2]

Subsequently, at a meeting of the Board of Education on 18th March 1847, the President remarked that the definite object of Colonel Jervis in the discussions regarding the Board's system of education was not sufficiently apparent. Hence Colonel Jervis in a minute of 13th April 1847 defined in precise terms the object he had in view.

> "My object is," he wrote, "to establish the point, that we must look to the diffusion of a truly sound, intellectual and moral education, primarily and mainly thro' the medium of the vernacular dialects; and, that for that object, we should make considerable efforts and sacrifices to obtain good translations; and well educated Englishmen, as Teachers, who would enter with ardor in the task imposed on them, and would acquire the languages of this Country, "without which

[1] Minute, 24th February 1847; Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 115-34 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] McLennan's Minute, undated: *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42.

they cannot instruct the Natives."—These were the views of Mr. Elphinstone and of Sir John Malcolm, and for some time they were the basis of the Hon'ble Court's instructions to this Government.—

"I will here recapitulate the two principal grounds of these views—Vizt, the greater ease with which the instruction is communicated in the first place, and, in the second, the fact that an individual, when educated solely thro' the medium of a foreign language, is still unable, to impart the results to others, thro' the medium of his own.—

"The practicability of the view I advocate hinges upon the practicability of obtaining good translations.... I believe that the best mode of obtaining good translations would be to advertise liberal rewards for approved translations, as was proposed by Mr. Elphinstone, in his general Minute on Education of the 13th December 1823, and the funds for the purpose should either be obtained by a curtailment of our present operations in some respect or by requesting Government for a special grant for the purpose."

At the same time he brought the question to issue by moving "that the object, most prominently demanding our attention, is the improvement of the means of Vernacular instruction—That the first step must be the translation of standard works—and that we take into immediate consideration the means of obtaining such, whether by a curtailment of our present operations, or in any other manner that may appear feasible."[1]

Replying to Colonel Jervis, Sir Erskine Perry stated the view-point of his party. Preliminary to entering on an examination of Colonel Jervis' views as stated in his minute of 13th April, Sir Erskine observed that the latter had not "quite placed the difference between him-

[1] Minute, 13th April 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 153-66.

self and the majority of the Board in a proper light." "The true difference," he proceeded to point out, "between the Board and Colonel Jervis is, that the former think the superior branches of education and the information of modern times can only be conveyed to the Natives, at present, through the medium of English, and that vernacular education can be most effectually promoted by improvements wrought upon the upper classes of Natives: Colonel Jervis on the contrary thinks that a great deal too much attention is paid to English education, that the chief object of our exertions should be to produce a vernacular literature, and that it would be expedient at once to draw off from our English establishments those gentlemen who are employed in teaching, and to employ them in the translation of standard European works."

Such being the practical proposal to which, as understood by Sir Erskine, Colonel Jervis' arguments tended, the former went on to demonstrate next that it was impolitic and impracticable.

> "Impolitic," said the President, "because all experience shews that the improvement of a Native in knowledge, and probably in morality also, must always proceed from above downwards.—The example Coll. Jervis cites from the middle ages is most unfortunate. The Petrarchs, the Calileos, and Luther were able to speak with effect to their countrymen because they had made themselves masters of all the recorded knowledge of their day, which was to be found only in the learned tongues.—If they had not made themselves acquainted with those languages they could have produced no effect on the world. And their predecessors moreover wrote in Latin, not for the purpose of veiling their knowedge, but in order to address a larger audience,

the learned of Europe, a very remarkable example of which may be found in Bacon's direction to have his Novum Organon translated into Latin. So soon as the thirst of knowledge had sprung up, and a reading class presented itself of sufficient numbers at home, men of genius addressed them in their mother tongues. And exactly the same course I hope, but do not feel sure, will prevail in India. Natives who wish to be as instructed as ourselves must go to the same sources where we gain our information, and we must lend them every assistance in our power. Whether a reading Hindu public will ever spring up, eager to hear of the wonders of art and science, each in his own tongue, is a problem that only time can solve.—

"Colonel Jervis seems to think that a vernacular literature and men of genius can be raised to order. I, on the other hand, conceive that Government is exceedingly impotent in these matters, that all that statesmen can do is to watch carefully the indications of the phenomena which the thoughts, polity and dispositions of the people evolve in its daily growth, and then to mould them to the best of their ability. But if any phenomenon connected with the education presents itself in a more marked form than another during the experience of the last 25 years, it is this, that the tendency and desire of the Natives throughout India is to *acquire a knowledge of the English language*.....I say then that sound policy and experience dictate that we must bow to circumstances, adopt what we find to be the disposition of the people, and if, in addition to this imperious necessity of bending to events, we are satisfied that the disposition is a happy one, we may go on cheerfully with our task."

Again, the President thought Colonel Jervis' proposal impracticable both on the score of expense that translations would involve and on that of lack of competent men "to make good translations."[1]

Colonel Jervis' rejoinder to Sir Erskine Perry was to the effect that his main contention was

[1] Minute, 14th April 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848; pp.167-73.

simply that the ultimate object of diffusing education through the vernaculars was apt to be lost sight of in the exertions made to impart it through the medium of English exclusively. What it was essential to do, in his opinion, was to preserve a connection between the educated few and the rest of their countrymen by ensuring in the case of the former an adequate knowledge of and sufficient interest in their own tongues.[1]

Almost throughout the controversy, it is interesting to note, Colonel Jervis had the support of the Indian members of the Board; and, as coming from an Indian, the views of Juggonath Shunkersett, who actively participated in the controversy, on the question at issue have an interest of their own. Juggonath Shunkersett carried with him the other Indian members, Framji Cowasji and Mahomed Ibrahim Muckba.

> "I am persuaded," wrote Juggonath Shunkersett, "that the vernacular languages possess advantages superior to English as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the people of Western India. It cannot be denied that they must have less difficulty in understanding what is communicated to them in their own language than in a foreign tongue. When a native is inclined to prosecute the study of the English, his progress is more rapid and his usefulness doubled provided he be first well grounded in his own language—I say his usefulness will be increased, because it is only by this preparation that any knowledge he may have acquired can be imparted by him to his countrymen through the medium of the vernacular languages. It is in my humble opinion an impossibility to teach the great mass of the people a language such as the English

[1] Minute, 13th May 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 185-88. (Bom. Recs.)

so widely different from their own, I must also observe that when the Native chiefs and others gave large subscriptions for the establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships they contributed them with an understanding that the vernacular languages (were ?) not to be neglected but carefully fostered and improved and brought into use as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the great body of the people. The Vernacular languages have been much neglected by the people in Bombay, and this being the centre from which we expect the beams of knowledge to spread these languages are pre-eminently entitled to our fostering care. It was to this that the early efforts of native education were directed. It was to this end that all Mr. Elphinstone's plans tended—For a time these efforts were eminently successful, but they have remained in abeyance and the state in which they now are though somewhat improved, requires the most strenuous effort for improvement to render them efficient organs of imparting European knowledge to the Natives.—Our worthy President has observed that the Board are equally alive with Coll. Jervis to the necessity of the vernacular languages being the medium of instruction to the masses of people, to the importance of promoting the growth of vernacular literature and to the urgency of providing schools. This is true nor have I any hesitation in stating that the desire of acquiring a knowledge of the English language and literature evinced by the natives is very great and very prevalent; and this is evident from the efforts which Parents make to get their sons as quickly removed from the Vernacular into the English schools as they can. Their motives for this acquirement are obvious: public employment and a facility of intercourse with Europeans, but it seems to be hopeless that we can ever change the language of a whole country. In reality how insignificant the portion of the whole population are acquainted with English, or have any prospect or means of becoming so. If our object is to diffuse knowledge and improve the minds of the natives of India as a people, it is my opinion that it must be done first by imparting that knowledge to them in their own language. By what other channel we can ever hope to extend the advantages of education

generally to our females? I repeat I am far from wishing to discourage the study of English but I believe it to be beyond the reach of the masses of people. I cannot at the same time help remarking that the encouragement which we provide to vernacular education is far less than what real interest of Native Education demands, the Masters pay is so small and we have never as yet conferred any scholarships on vernacular students.".[1]

The controversy was at last brought to a head when, at a meeting of the Board on 27th May 1847, the proposition of Colonel Jervis that the object most prominently demanding the Board's attention was the improvement of the means of vernacular instruction, was carried by a majority of the members of the Board; but "as this resolution clashed with the scheme of education laid down by the Board in their report for 1845 and approved of by Government," it was consequently resolved that the whole question at issue should be submitted to the decision of Government.[2]

The deliberations of Government on the question submitted to it were marked by two noteworthy characteristics. In the first place, they showed that the Government was decidedly in favour of a preference being given to the vernaculars; and, in the second place, they revealed the attitude of Government as candidly critical of the policy and system of education followed.

The Governor, the Hon'ble George Arthur, had little to say on the immediate question of

[1] Minute, 1st May 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 179-81. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Board to Govt., 31st May 1847: *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

the medium of education; but what evidently appeared to him a matter of greater importance was the condition and character of the system of vernacular education under the management of the Board. On the former topic he contented himself with remarking:

> "The main question at present in which there is a difference of opinion in the Board of Education is as to the medium through which the higher branches of education shall be taught. Had we the funds, and the qualified superintending ministers of Instruction, to apply extensively to restoring to the East the learning existing in Europe, by means of Vernacular languages, I should consider that such means were incomparably the readiest, and the surest; that by such means more education of a high order would be acquired in India by some, and more of beneficial Education by millions, in twenty years, than through means of our language in two centuries. But, unfortunately, we are altogegether unable to supply the translations, the teachers, and the establishments, requisite for carrying out, over an extensive field, an almost exclusively vernacular system of Education. There seems to be therefore no alternative but to follow the course of keeping both the present systems at work as well, and as fairly, as we can; admitting all who seek it, and who have capacity so to acquire learning, to be educated in the English language, and, for the rest, to use every exertion to extend useful education by means of vernacular classes and schools."

But on the latter topic the Governor had a good deal to say. He had noticed that the zillah vernacular schools were flagging. "There is little appearance," he said, "of directing energy on the part of a superintending Board of Instruction, and there is still less of the people voluntarily making efforts to improve themselves through such means tendered to them by us." The main reason for the want of effort on the

part of the people he found in the fact that the Government system of education was not adapted to the wishes and wants of the people. "Whatever may be the higher aim," he declared, "that we may have in view, it is by the standard of its utility in this respect and by such standard only, that those, for whom any educational measures of ours in this country are intended, will test it. It would therefore be well that we should strive either to afford to the rising generation a degree of education suitable to their allotted occupation through life, or that, if we aspire to raise them, by means of the Government affording them a higher mental culture, to a sphere above their own at present, we should be careful to provide for sometime to come adequate encouragement, by throwing open to them various departments, the situations in which afford a respectable livelihood in those more elevated ranks of society. It is however obvious that to no more than the comparatively few can any Government offer such direct encouragement. It is therefore the more practical kind of education, adapted to common life, that requires to be introduced extensively—an education that will not consume, in study which must prove useless to the greater part of mankind, that time which ought to be given to the acquirement of whatsoever it is useful for those to learn who by their own efforts alone can be preserved from starvation." He observed this lack of adaptation throughout the established system of education and hence also its want of popularity. "From what I have observed of the system of education now being pursued in Bombay," he concluded, "I do not feel any great confidence in it as a system

adapted to the wants of the people throughout the Presidency generally; altho' as respects the Island of Bombay, where offices of various kinds, shops, trades, and other thriving establishments of European commerce, provide ample encouragement to hundreds of natives, it proceeds with vigor and success proportionate to the care, assiduity and labour bestowed upon, and the direction given to, by the superintending Board of Education. But I think it is rather doubtful, whether even at the Presidency itself, it is popular among the leading Natives; not that their opinions ought to be our only guide. They are certainly looked upon by some people as having advanced considerably towards European civilization; but it seems to me that the steps they march in that direction are very exactly measured to the adoption of some English habits of relaxation, and to the attainment of the English language with a view solely to marcantile success in that English part, or to local employment in its various English offices and shops. They appear neither to have imbibed, nor to hold out the slightest promise of inbibing a love of letters, though in the enjoyment—many of them—of ample wealth and leisure. But looking elsewhere in this Presidency there are signs not to be mistaken that for its own sake it is neither very popular among those natives who are the most respected and influential, nor useful and improving as yet to the mass of the people in general."[1]

In a similar strain another member of Government proceeded to record his sentiments on the

[1] Minute, 10th October 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 201-30 (Bom. Recs.)

subject. Referring to the question of the medium of instruction, he remarked that so much had been written on it that

> "..... it is quite unnecessary at this period to do more than to range oneself under the English or the vernacular banner. And I have no hesitation in declaring my acquiescence in the opinions of those who give the preference to the native languages, so far that I consider that our main efforts for the general education of the people, should be in their own language, though I would afford them the means of acquiring the higher branches of knowledge in ours.
>
> "We have now the practical experience of many years to guide us, and this should be sufficient for the purpose, without losing ourselves in the mazes of controversy or disquisitions upon the human mind, and the means of fitting it for the reception of knowledge.—
>
> "I think an error has been committed in judging of this question by the assumed analogy of other states of society, to which that of India has no resemblance. No two states of society can be more dissimilar than that of Europe, when, after having been overrun by barbarians for centuries, it struggled to emancipate itself from the darkness of ignorance and error, and the present state of India, where we find an assemblage of nations in a certain state of civilization, governed by foreigners who are in a far more advanced stage.—
>
> "We ought not to forget that we do not go with the natives in our educational efforts—We are forcing education upon them—We are not aiding any exertions they are making. They are not dissatisfied with the present state of their own knowledge, imperfect though it may be. Of this there needs no greater proof than the fact that throughout this large Presidency there is not a single Printing press beyond the island of Bombay.
>
> "Even among the higher classes there is little desire of knowledge for its own sake. That which formerly existed under the Native Rule seems greatly

to have diminished, owing probably to the absence of the encouragement which Native Princes afforded to those skilled in the learning of their nation. And we have not succeeded in substituting for this an ambition to excel in the learning of their conquerors.

"The reason of the desire to learn English is not that such learning will open out the paths of literature and science, but that it will afford the chance of more lucrative employment than the study of the vernacular tongue, and a greater facility in the pursuit of commercial gain. This may be fairly stated as the result of our experience from the commencement of our efforts to extend the knowledge of our own language.

"We have not acted on the mass of the people. We may have produced better, or at least a greater number of, English writers for public or private employment, but I doubt much whether any impression has been made by our teaching on the native mind in general. We may have instructed a few individuals—we may feel gratification in observing the success of our periodical examinations—but there we stopped. We have made no advance towards producing better, more learned or more moral men.—

"We strive I think at the wrong end—that is, we give our greatest attention to the study of English, and treat the communication of knowledge in the vernacular languages as of secondary moment. We ought to reverse the process.—

"To impart knowledge through the native languages is deemed impracticable, because those languages possess no literature of their own, such as we desire for our purpose, and because it is impossible to supply its place by translations. This last impossibility I have never been able to understand. What has been done under little or no encouragement suffices to show what may be done, if that encouragement be increased. The dissemination among the people of elementary works whether of science, literature or morals will create a demand for further works, and I see no reason to doubt the supply progressing, under such encouragement as the Government may in the first instance afford, with the demand.—

> "I quite concur with the Hon'ble the President in the opinion.....that we should keep both the existing systems at work, but I think that for the present at least, and perhaps for many years to come, we should make our greatest exertions in the Village and district schools :—that we should provide for them good elementary works in the vernacular languages—that this should be our first care—and that our efforts in English should be confined to a school in each Province, and the College at the Presidency, where moreover I would teach the higher branches of learning in the vernacular tongue, as the progress of translation may enable this to be effected."[1]

The final decision arrived at on the question and communicated to the Board of Education was in perfect accord with the trend of opinion noted above among the members of Government. In a letter dated 5th April 1848—a document as important in the annals of education in Bombay as Bentinck's Resolution is in the annals of education in Bengal—Government informed the Board that :

> ".....The Honorable the Governor in Council is decidedly of opinion, that any one who observes and compares the proficiency attained by the pupils in the English and Vernacular Schools cannot fail to be convinced of the superiority which the latter manifest in sound and accurate understanding of the subject of their studies. He has no hesitation in declaring his acquiescence in the views of those who give the preference to the Native Languages, in so far that he considers the main efforts for the general Education of the people, should be exerted in the Language familiar to them from infancy, at the same time he would unquestionably afford them the means of acquiring the higher branches of Education in the English language.—

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1 Minute, 30th November 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 233-41 (Bom. Recs.)

"Hitherto the greatest attention appears to have been devoted to the study of English, and the communication of knowledge in the Vernacular seems to have been treated as of secondary moment. But before any lasting or effectual impression can be made by our teaching upon the native mind in general, or any advance towards producing better, more learned, or more moral men, the Governor in Council feels convinced that the process must be reversed, and that the Vernacular must become the medium for the diffusion of sound knowledge among the masses. He is consequently of opinion that particular efforts ought to be directed towards increasing the efficiency of the District and Village Schools in which that medium is employed and in order to effect this object, it is very desirable that a more highly qualified class of school masters should be trained up, and that their salaries should, where superior qualifications exist, be raised much above the small sum which is now assigned to them.

"The dissemination of education through the native languages is by some deemed impracticable because the natives possess no literature of their own such as is desirable for the purpose and because it is impossible to supply its place by Translations. With regard to providing Translations of useful elementary works in the Vernacular Languages, the difficulty seems to His Honor in Council to be somewhat overrated, for what was effected by the zeal and ability of Colonel Jervis and Dr. MacLennan many years ago may, he conceives, again be effected by men imbued with the same earnest desire to promote the improvement of the Natives. The duty of supplying a sufficient number of works of the kind required devolves upon the Government, who are prepared to consider the best means of providing Translations, either under the superintendence of their own officers, or by offering premiums for good ones as proposed by Colonel Jervis. With a view to this object the Governor in Council requests that the Board will be so good as to revise the list of Works now available and forwarded to Government and that they will, after careful consideration, suggest such additions as they may deem best calculated to provide systematically for the diffusion of general

knowledge and to promote the spread of useful and rational education.

"In bringing the observations on this point to a conclusion I am directed to intimate, that the Governor in Council is of opinion that the present system should be maintained in as efficient a state as possible, admitting all who seek it, and who have capacity to acquire European learning to the advantage of Education in the English language—The chief and greatest exertions should however be directed to the promotion generally of education, by means of Vernacular Classes, and Schools; Good elementary works in the Vernacular on science literature and morals ought to be provided: While the efforts in English should be confined to a school in each Province, and the College at the Presidency, where moreover the higher branches of learning should be taught also in the Vernacular tongue as the progress of translations may enable this to be effected."[1]

The decision of Government, as conveyed in its letter of 5th April, did not, however, set matters at rest. On the contrary, it created a commotion. Each party on the Board of Education interpreted the letter as supporting its own particular opinions. Consequently, a fresh reference to Government was necessitated; and though Government thought that no sufficient ground had been made out for a further reference as it considered its letter to be explicit, and, moreover, that it was not its province to engage in controversies, yet it did explain its decision on the question in terms that could admit of no doubt. Government explained that it had had no intention "to condemn the *principles* upon which the Board have hitherto ostensibly proceeded, but rather to point out in what respects the process pursued appeared to Government to be erroneous." It agreed with the Board that

[1] Letter from Govt. to Board, 5th April 1848/No. 1169/: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 243-55 (Bom. Recs.)

"education of superior quality" could only be imparted through the medium of English, and further that "if ever the deplorable ignorance and error prevailing throughout the country, is to give place to the high order of education and enlightenment, which now distinguishes the European race, the triumph will be due to minds imbued with the science and literature of England, *acquired through the English language.*" But at the same time it added: "although all this were granted, it by no means follows that the income at the disposal of the Board ought to be exclusively or disproportionately devoted to the single object of producing men of very superior attainments, the presumed regenerators of their Country. Before such men can exercise any decided influence, their Countrymen must be prepared to receive it by sound elementary and general instruction. Government are clearly of opinion that this general instruction ought not to be communicated to the masses through the medium of English, but in the language in which people speak and think. Instead therefore of multiplying English district schools, such schools they think should be limited in number, and should be accessible only to pupils of a superior order, who were distinguished either for their intelligence or for their wealth. On the other hand it was considered that the attention of the Board should be turned more earnestly than formerly to the improvement of the *district Vernacular schools.*" Moreover, it was pointed out that there were two ways of effecting the improvement of the vernacular schools. The first was "by providing a highly qualified class of district school masters"; and the second "by encouraging

translations into the Vernacular of useful standard works." To both those objects the attention of the Board was " directly solicited."

To place its meaning completely beyond doubt, Government indicated the order of precedence in which it desired to see the education funds to be appropriated to the various purposes of education, and it was as follows :

" 1. Provision for superior education through the medium of English—strictly limited however to the education of

the wealthy who can afford to pay for it—

the highly intelligent among the native youth who can establish their claims to admission into the English schools by a standard of acquirements to be regulated by the Board—

the class of young men who are trained up as masters of the Vernacular schools—

2. The production through the same medium of superior class of district school masters and the providing for them an adequate scale of salaries—

3. The education of the people under these masters in Vernacular Schools ; their number and location—

4. The systematic encouragement of translations into the Vernacular from works of science and general literature."[1]

1 *Vide* Falkland's Minute, 9th September : Genl. Dept. Vol. 29, 1850, pp. 131-41, (Bom. Recs.) Also Letter from Govt. to Board of Education, dated 24th April 1850/No. 1635./

Thus the educational language-question was at the period settled in Bombay. Both the terms and the spirit in which it was decided by the Bombay Government earned the approval of the Court of Directors on their being apprised of the controversy that had taken place.[1] The Court considered the controversy, after all that had been before written on the subject, "an unprofitable occupation of the time of the Board and of the Government." They went on to observe: "We do not think that any good purpose would be answered by entering into any detailed review of the points in debate, especially as the difference is rather that of degree than of substance. It is admitted on all sides that the Education of the whole people of India can be effected only through their own languages; and it is equally admitted, that whilst those languages are the most appropriate channels for distributing knowledge, the *material*, the knowledge, is to be derived, if not wholly yet mainly from an European source *viz.*, the literature and language of England. The necessity of the cultivation of English is therefore undisputed, but the point in question is the extent to which it is to be carried and whether all the funds at the disposal of the Government shall or shall not be exclusively devoted to the encouragement of English instruction and the support of public establishments in which that alone is to be taught. This mode of procedure would virtually nullify the principle that the mass of the people are to be instructed through the medium of their spoken languages,

[1] Despatch from Bombay Govt. to Court, 16th October 1850 No. 95/: Genl. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 93, 1850, pp. 163-66. (Bom. Recs.)

and we are satisfied would be unjust to the people at large and would be fatal to the extensive dissemination of useful instruction. We therefore, entirely approve of the directions which you have given to the Board in the letters to which we have referred."[1]

A just and wise decision, but, as the lapse of time showed, the tide of Anglicism could not be stayed.

[1] Despatch from Court to Bombay Govt., 22nd June 1853/No. 21/: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 68, 1853, pp. 211-43, (Bom. Recs.)

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION.

Our survey of the first great educational controversies in India under the British rule is at an end. The question remains: What does it tell us?

In answering the question we have to remember that our present-day system of education is a product of slow and chequered growth and our survey helps to reveal two facts which have a profound connection with it.

One fact is that the controversies we have surveyed laid the foundation of the existing educational system of British India. The working conclusions or solutions which were the outcome of the controversies were almost bodily taken over and developed as the basis of the educational policy laid down in those official documents which historians love to style "the charters" of Indian education. Without labouring the point we may only refer to the famous Wood's Despatch of 1854, which was a logical corollary of the controversies that preceded it, and to the Hunter Report which was a masterly amplification of that corollary in various directions. Our present educational policy and system therefore owe a historical debt to the controversies we have related so much so that it is not easy to understand fully the one without a knowledge of the other as it is not easy to appreciate the qualities of a tree without some knowledge of the soil in which it germinated.

Again, an important consequence of the controversies was the emergence of our language-problem which remains yet without a satisfactory solution despite a century of discussion. The controversies gave shape to the problem as it exists to-day, but did not contribute to a permanent solution of it, mainly because the controversialists adopted or were obliged to adopt a temporising attitude towards it. The professed ultimate aim of the controversialists was the uplift of the vernaculars to the status of literary languages ; but their immediate object was the spread of some superior literary language, English or Oriental, to aid and vitalise the process of development of the vernaculars. When the Anglicists finally prevailed, they too acknowledged a duty to the vernaculars, but a duty capable only of remote fulfilment. On the other hand, they exalted the indispensability of the English language in the immediate formative period into a creed. The two—the abstract duty to the vernaculars and the apparent necessity of a foreign language—were not easy to reconcile with each other nor with the Anglicist conception of cultural conquest whereby Indians were to be anglicised in thought and speech. But a rough-and-ready compromise was arrived at with the help of the favourite filtration theory of the time. What the Anglicists in effect said through their policy was: "We shall have English for the elite and the vernaculars for the multitude: we shall propagate the knowledge of English first and leave the growth of the vernaculars to follow popular enlightenment aided by such encouragement as it may be in our power to give." Such a compromise was from its

inception weighted against the vernaculars and the idea of their active development receded to the background with the lapse of time. Instead of helping vernacularisation the compromise succeeded in imposing a foreign language with which our national genius carries on as best as a disabled man might with an artificial limb.

The tragedy of the Anglicists was that they failed to take correct or complete measure of the environment in which they set to work on their theory. They overlooked factors that militated against their professed ultimate aims. They overlooked, for example, what the Orientalists and the Vernacularists perceived in the particular political situation of India—namely, the predilection of a conquered people for the language of their conquerors in preference to their own. They also underrated the consequences of the isolation of the educated few from the uneducated masses inherent in the process of an overwhelming Anglicisation from above. For want of sufficient counteractives to such tendencies the ultimate aim of the uplift of the vernaculars lost its original significance, while the immediate objective of the spread of English assumed a pre-eminence retained by it to this day. Moreover, the Anglicists played with the notion of making English the lingua franca of the Peninsula. But here, again, they did not see clearly enough to realise that India had already a lingua franca—one of the finest spiritual legacies of the Mughal rule—capable of proving with the attainment of its full literary stature a formidable rival to English as the medium of inter-provincial intercourse.

The point is important as indicated by the survey of the controversies that the present predominance of the English language in India owes its origin to what was in essence a compromise between the conflicting claims of the various languages, a half-way house rather than a final and lasting solution. A further point is that if our national genius is to be given full and unfettered scope for expression through its natural medium, we have to outgrow the compromise, break away from the subservience to the foreign language and not passively accept the half-way house for the final abode at the journey's end. Compromises can outlast their usefulness and, if adhered to with blind persistence, may have unexpected consequences. As it is, for example, our linguistic compromise has been with us long enough to produce the typical phenomenon of an educated breed who, in ordinary intercourse, speak two sentences of English for one of the vernacular.

Incidentally, a study of the controversies may also help us to do at least belated justice to the Orientalist phase of Indian education. We have seen what Orientalism was and its aims were. What is striking is that some of the apprehensions of the Orientalists, who were on the whole an intelligent and acute group, regarding the effects of a purely English education have come true. They appear to have foreseen some of the present-day reactions to the system of education founded by the Resolution of 7th March 1835. One is left to speculate whether, with more time and trial granted to them, the Orientalists might not have overcome their

partial failure and succeeded in maturing a national system of education truer or better adapted to the soil. However that may have been, Orientalism could not withstand that surge of new ideas on which Anglicism rode triumphantly, taking as little count of the virtues of the opposed system as a whirlwind of the obstacles in its path. Above all, Orientalism was doomed with the appearance of a new politico-social conception in the minds of the British rulers in the thirties of the last century. That conception loomed behind Bentinck's Resolution, which in historical retrospect appears not only as the grave of Orientalism, but as a landmark at a great turning-point in the intellectual history of our country.

This takes us to the other fact brought out by our survey.

Curiously enough, the importance of that fact has been hardly ever noted as it should be by works on Indian education. An incorrect or improper appreciation of it has led to a conflict of interpretations. Several intelligent writers have tried to take to pieces the ideological framework within which the British educational policy in India has evolved to its present stage, but they have for the most part ended by attributing this or that praiseworthy or damning motive or set of motives to that policy as inclination or sentiment dictated. Broadly speaking, two rival schools of opinion exist at present. On the one hand, there is the official school which with an ubiquitous undercurrent of cant about the white man's trusteeship insists on the humanitarian aspect of the British educational policy. On

the other hand, there is the new school of what may be called nationalised history, still in the stage of infancy, which has a sharp eye mainly for self-serving motives on the part of the British rulers as the incentive to that policy and points to the loss of indigenous educational institutions as a sin to be laid at Britain's door. Both the schools are wide of the mark, though not without a modicum of truth to their credit, because they fail to probe to the ruling conception at the back of the minds of the British administrators who formulated the much criticised educational policy.

The conception we are referring to is that of the cultural conquest of India. It was a conception hatched in the spring-day of Imperialism and brought to maturity in a singular political situation which permitted of the administration and the education of the country being combined in one and the same hands. True to the type of all imperialists down from the Romans, the British Rulers early aimed at a dual conquest to consolidate their hold on this country. The conquest was physical or territorial followed and supplemented by the cultural. As a matter of fact, the physical and the cultural conquests were the two facets of an imperialist plan—the inseparable components of a total Imperialism.

Here it may well be asked: What was exactly that conception of cultural conquest? In trying to describe it we must avoid the tendency to identify the conception of cultural conquest with educational policy. The one was an aim to which the other was a means. Cultural conquest

was something thought of in wider terms than mere educational means and methods. It implied not only the formation of a new system of education, but also a modification to some extent of the general administrative system to suit the changes brought about or likely to be brought about by the propagation of the new knowledge. It implied a certain degree of covert and indirect interference with the social customs of the country. It implied in its ultimate effect a break with the old civilisation of the people and the inception of the new one of the rulers. It meant an active, deliberate attempt at the transmutation of the Indian ways of life and thought into a Western pattern through all the direct and indirect means at the command of the Government.

The next question and one that needs somewhat detailed answer is, Why was this cultural conquest of the Indian people or classes of people—the transformation of their ways of life and thought in the Western mould—undertaken and systematically pursued through and by means of an organised system of education? Our survey of the educational controversies in the previous pages has already supplied a casual answer. But we shall now attempt a fuller one even at the cost of some reiteration, the purpose here being to show how the various ideas and influences of the period finally crystallised in the conception of cultural conquest.

The British policy which ultimately came to embody the conception of cultural conquest was of a varied texture not easy to analyse without reference to the circumstances in which it was formulated. We find in this rather curious

texture the fine strands of liberalism mixed with the base ones of selfish utilitarianism. Taking the policy as we find it, we cannot fail to perceive that it was the outcome of various contemporary influences each of which went in turn to shape it and of which the two most potent but the least expressed were the English Liberalism of the early nineteenth century and the birth of the Imperialist outlook on colonial affairs. Hence we find this policy of cultural conquest at the formative stage reflecting both the humanitarianism and the political necessity of the age. However, with the passage of time and the dimming of the glow of liberal sentiment, the imperialist outlook and motive gradually overshadowed the entire policy.

It was but natural in the sequence of historical events that the influence of the imperialist tendencies should have preceded that of the others. Quite at the outset of the last century the British rulers had begun to think of their Indian possession in terms of an Empire. True, those rulers were themselves the servants and part and parcel of a mercantile Company; but the Company had learnt that the policy of mere greedy acquisitiveness was a short-sighted one and apt to rebound adversely to its interests. The Company, as it grew more and more to consider itself the political heir of the Great Mughal, was forced to modify its mercantile propensities in favour of better government of its Indian subjects. This gave rise to a class of British administrators in India whose devotion to the art of government has not since been surpassed. The existence of that class owed much to the efforts of a brilliant Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, who

conceived and carried into execution a plan for rearing educated civil servants for the government of the Indian Empire. To that end special colleges were founded both in India and England and, although those institutions did not meet with the anticipated measure of success, yet they succeeded in turning out superior instruments of government to those the Company possessed in the days of its first territorial acquisitions. It was that class of rulers and administrators which steadily acquired and fostered the imperialist outlook on Indian affairs.

To the astute amongst them the peculiar origin and foundation of the British Empire in India could never escape attention as fraught with serious problems and lessons in Government. It did not take them long to realise that the sword could carve an empire but not permanently sustain it. They surveyed the grand territorial conquests before them. They saw that they had become by accident or design the successors to the wealth and grandeur of a mighty Empire. They were gratified with their gains and thanked Providence for the superb compensation India offered for the recent loss of America. But at the same time they could not fail to be struck by the perpetual menace to the safety of their rule which existed in the deep gulf between the Anglo-Saxon ruler and the Asiatic ruled. As they settled down to the task of governing an alien people and studied and gained experience of the latter's ways and ideas, they became increasingly conscious of their own peculiar, isolated position. They were amongst the people they ruled but not of them. There was practically no enduring bond

to unite the rulers and the ruled—either of race, creed, customs, habits or even that mutual sympathy which led to the considerable fusion of the Mogul conquerors with their Hindu subjects. The gulf had to be bridged and it could only be bridged if by some means a community of ideas and interests could be established and the affection or sympathy of the ruled could be drawn to the rulers. Mere good government resting on bayonets could not do that or win that popular affection which was deemed a necessary moral prop to the alien regime.

Various means were tried in the early days to gratify the populace. The encouragement to "Oriental learning" owed its origin in part to that incipient imperialist policy of securing the attachment of the people. It was thought that a sure means of creating a favourable impression about the British rule was to display a solicitude for the preservation of the learning and the learned of the land. But the idea that finally gained ground and was noted in treating of the controversies, was that the best way of establishing the community of ideas and interests between the rulers and the ruled so necessary from the political point of view was to Europeanise the Indian mentally and morally rather than to confirm him in his traditional beliefs and ideas.

To this line of political thought a new impetus was added from a totally different quarter. The British Imperialists who ruled India eschewed carefully the proselytizing professions of the missionaries from political expediency, but they could not help being touched by the revivalist

religious spirit that was abroad in their country and of which Wilberforce was one of the most dynamic representatives. As already noted in an early part of this work, the famous education clause found its place in the Charter Act of 1813 through Wilberforce's exertions which thus secured at least a formal recognition to the duty of educating the people of India. So far as the British-Indian administrators were concerned, what they avoided with their lips they could not entirely avoid with their hearts. However scrupulously the policy of religious neutrality was observed, the men at the helm could not quite forgo the desire to see what was called the "light" of Christianity introduced amongst the "heathens" of India. In this place, if a parenthesis can be pardoned, it would be apposite to recall Macaulay's well-known words written to his father in 1836 that if the plans of education were followed up, there would not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years later. To such men the idea of conquest of India by European civilisation presented itself with a reinforced appeal. If they could not introduce Christianity directly, they could at least help to clear the ground for it by undermining the indigenous beliefs and dogmas through contact with European ideas and knowledge. In this aspect of the matter the cultural conquest of India was supposed to be directed not only to the intellectual but the moral regeneration of the country. For, Christianity was considered to be the supreme factor for moral regeneration and it was a simple assumption of those days (which may make us

smile now) that the hoary intellectual and religious heritage of India could be effaced by the mere impact of Western culture and that, once that was done, Christianity would have a smooth passage to the Indian mind and heart. With the British Imperialists religious neutrality was more an affair of the letter than of the spirit.

Finally, there was superadded the influence of the new liberalism in English politics which found one of the strongest practical expressions in the Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832. It supplied the philanthropic motive to the attempt at cultural conquest. In England the zeal for political and moral reform was in the air and, though we have to be careful in connecting that zeal with the reformist tendencies of the Indian Government of the period, there seems to be little doubt that Bentinck and his successors did not escape its infection which in their case found practical expression in measures of administrative and other reforms. It was that reformist enthusiasm that was responsible for such a bold stroke of Indian social amelioration as the abolition of Sati as also certain other measures noted in a foregoing chapter. It gave confirmation to the idea now firmly anchored in the British mind that the moral, intellectual and social amelioration of the Indian people could be brought about only by bringing Western civilisation to India or, in other words, by the cultural conquest of the country with a view to reshape it on Western lines.

At this point we must not forget that the trend of thought in the British rulers was greatly encouraged and aided by the reformist

movements of our own countrymen. The period which saw the culmination of that trend also saw the first fruits of the labours of the magnificent Rammohun Roy who was one of the first to protest against the Government's support to indigenous systems of learning and who boldly advocated the introduction of Western knowledge and culture. The British rulers at first looked askance at the new reformist tendencies amongst their subjects, but later on took advantage of them to push forward their plan of cultural conquest.

Intermingled with all these ideas was also the utilitarian aim of obtaining a class of Indian public servants to help the handful of white rulers to carry on the Government. The necessity of raising such a class of servants by imparting to them Western education was very early perceived. It was however really a subsidiary aim which need not be magnified into a major one.

All those factors or influences ultimately combined to produce a realisation of the need for the cultural conquest of India and to shape the British policy for the future of the country. To stress one particular factor or motive to the exclusion of the others is to see the policy of cultural conquest in part and not as a whole. If we may say so, its components are varied and unless we put them all together, we cannot get a complete picture of it. Or, to put it in different words, that policy resulted from the confluence of the various tendencies of the age, and we cannot judge it aright unless we trace each contributory stream to its source.

When translated into practice, the policy meant a changed attitude on the part of the

British rulers towards the enlightenment of the people, the establishment of an organised system of education and a new orientation of administrative policy. Of course, the main plank in the programme of cultural conquest was education on Western lines, for it was only through education that it was hoped to make the Indian as close an approximation to the Anglo-Saxon as possible; or, to create, as Macaulay put it, a class of Indians who were to be English in everything, except their blood and colour.

Thus the policy of cultural conquest of India came to be formulated. It represented one of the great endeavours in history for the moral conquest of an alien people. That its feeble execution through stinting methods creditable to trafficking pedlars rather than to rulers of an empire left much to be desired from the Imperialist's point of view is another matter. From our point of view we shall be better able to judge of its final and abiding results when the present moral and political evolution of our people started by it reaches its culmination.

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Educational Controversies in India.

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EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSIES IN INDIA

Those whom Rome subdued, became twice subject by their slavish acceptance of her language; and those who subdued Rome were only saved from vassalage to her learning by the free genius of their political institutions.

—Hodgson.

EDUCATIONAL CONTROVERSIES IN INDIA

The Cultural Conquest of India under British Imperialism

BY

B. K. BOMAN-BEHRAM, M.A., LL.B.

Author of "the Rise of Municipal Government in the City of Ahmedabad."

PART I

ANGLO-ORIENTALIST CONTROVERSY

PART II

ANGLO-VERNACULARIST CONTROVERSY

D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & CO.,

TREASURE HOUSE OF BOOKS

210, Hornby Road ... ... BOMBAY

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PREFACE

The chief object of the following pages is to give a somewhat fuller account of the educational controversies in the days of the East India Company than is usually given in works on the history of Indian education. Considering the historical importance of the controversies in question, it is sometimes surprising to note how lacking in illuminating details or in sympathetic insight the treatment of them by writers on Indian education is. They are often regarded as entirely things of the past without any practical concern or interest for the present.

But little more than a century has elapsed since the voice of the controversialists was silenced. And it is important to remember that a controversy may die down, but the issues involved may not die out. Phœnix-wise, they rise again and again out of the ashes of dead controversies demanding a better and more comprehensive solution under altered circumstances. They have a vitality which survives rough and ready solutions and make-shift arrangements or compromises. The controversies dealt with in the succeeding pages involved issues of this abiding nature and hence their interest for the present no less than for the past.

Those issues were briefly two. First, whether European or "Oriental" learning and knowledge was to form "the stuff" of education to be imparted under official auspices. And, secondly, whether the English or the Oriental or the vernacular languages were to be the means of communication of learning, European or Oriental. The first issue may to all appearance be a dead one now and may seem to superficial eyes settled once for all. Yet in our own time there have been powerful reactions to the official settlement of it as manifest in the rise of institutions aiming at resuscitation of Indian culture and rejecting the theory of the superiority of European knowledge or science. And certainly one cannot dismiss as negligible the volume of opposition that continues to exist to the basic principles of our educational system from the time those principles were first propounded.

As regards the second issue, it would not be an exaggeration to say that it remains alive to this day, though the novelty and exciting interest which it once possessed have disappeared. Opinion still remains as sharply divided on our educational language-question as it was divided a century ago, and the feeling is far from uncommon that the question must needs be one day reopened with a view to arrive at a more satisfactory settlement. Moreover, it is certain that those who imposed the settlement of the question as actually in force to-day did not intend it to be a final and permanent one.

No apology seems therefore to be needed for the present humble attempt to bring to life century-old controversies. Believing as the author does that several of the outstanding questions in the field of Indian education are, in substance if not in form, a legacy of the generation that witnessed the controversies, he thinks some useful purpose may be served by a retrospective survey of the genesis and development of those questions and the circumstances and the manner in which they were threshed out and settled. But he has aimed only at a historical delineation and has thought it best to leave the discussion of the abstract merits of those questions and their possible solutions to abler hands.

Such a survey brings out one important fact, among others, which must be kept in view throughout for a proper understanding of the educational controversies dealt with in these pages. It is that the period of the controversies was essentially an experimental period. That period witnessed on the part of Indians the establishment of incipient contacts with European civilization and the resultant intellectual attacks by them on the ancient traditions and institutions of the land. It witnessed on the part of British rulers the beginning of an organised attempt to impose European civilization, chiefly through the medium of education. It should be noted, however, that the British rulers, with very imperfect knowledge and experience of the people they governed, could not but be conscious of the tentative nature of their first incursions in the field of Indian education. Difficulties had to be overcome, problems solved, views tested, the foundation had to be laid and the kind of foundation to be laid determined on. Hence the ample instances of mistakes committed, of failures of

designs, of the fecundity of plans and their criticism and sometimes hyper-criticism, and even of enthusiasm without a clear discernment of the proper ends and means. Hence the frequent clashes of views and opinions which constitute a very prominent characteristic of the period. And through the welter of fiercely opposed opinions and doctrines the authorities responsible for the final decision of the matter picked their way to certain working conclusions which have ever since governed, with some modifications, the course and conduct of our educational system.

But it is important to bear in mind that those conclusions were working conclusions dictated by practical considerations and the peculiar circumstances of the period. They were far from constituting a final and permanent solution of the questions at issue, though they may appear to do so at this distance of time. And if the narrative of the controversies from which those conclusions emanated succeeds in making the point clear, one of the main purposes of this book will have been served.

The book has also another purpose and that is to analyse the idealogical background of the educational policy of the British Government in India. After all, a true history of education is more a history of ideas and ideals than of institutions. Hence the author has repeatedly dwelt on the motives, ideas and influences that bore on the formation of the policy which continues with variations to rule Indian Education. The author believes that if we look for a master conception without which it is not easy to explain some of the obscure or dubious aspects of that policy, we shall find it in the British conception of the cultural conquest of the country.

For the materials of the book the author has drawn extensively on the original, unpublished official records—the best and largest source at present available. This has of course entailed the tedious task of poring over the numerous mouldy files on the subject both in the Record Office of the Government of Bombay and in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta. But the labour has not been without its compensations, and the greatest compensation would certainly be the Reader's appreciation, if the author can dare hope for it.

The Author.

BOMBAY, 13*th July* 1943.

ABBREVIATIONS

Pub. Cons. (Dept./Progs.)	..	Public Consultation (Department/ Proceedings.)
H. Pub. Cons. (Dept./Progs.)	..	Home Public Consultation (Department/Proceedings).
Poll. „ „ „	..	Political „ „ „
Judl. „ „ „	..	Judicial „ „ „
Genl. Dept.	..	General Department.
As. Jour.	..	Asiatic Journal.
Sels. E. R.	..	Selections from Educational Records.

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PART I.

THE ANGLO-ORIENTALIST CONTROVERSY

Chapter I.

THE PIONEER.

§ 1.

If a pioneer in doctrine be not the direct or immediate cause of a controversy, he is usually the precursor of one. It will be evident from the following pages that Charles Grant—in certain respects the pioneer of Indian education—was far from engendering or even foreseeing the subsequent educational developments in the land of his evangelistic dreams; but that all the same his utterances bore in them the sparks which bespoke the later polemical blaze.

Of Scottish descent, Grant came to India at an early age to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his family, served under the Company, accumulated a handsome fortune and retired with it to England to indulge in philanthropic schemes. In India he experienced a revolution of religious feeling which directed his thoughts towards evangelising work for the Indian people, but his schemes bore no immediate fruit. In England he became one of that small band of humanitarians of which Wilberforce was the acknowledged leader and which later came to be denominated the Clapham Brotherhood. There his plans met with the needed encouragement as a result of which he was stimulated to produce his pioneer work on Indian education.

Grant's elaborate tract, written in 1792, was entitled "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals; and on the

Means of improving it."[1] The title gives a pretty clear indication of the scope and object of the work. We find Grant devoting himself in the first three chapters to an examination or exposition, supported by an imposing parade of what he believed to be unquestionable facts and authorities, of the degraded condition of the social and religious life of the Indian people. These chapters are a sort of prolegomena to the final one which deals with the ways and means of remedying the evils and "disorders" that, according to the author, had penetrated deep into the vitals of Hindu social existence and stood as an obstruction to "every species of improvement among them." It is the concluding chapter that possesses interest as an important document in the early history of Indian education. As for the preceding chapters, their historical value is extremely dubious, to say the least. The dark picture of Indian society presented in them is on the face of it one-sided and exaggerated, if not totally false; and it is quite understandable why Grant should have been led, unconsciously perhaps, to dip his brush in the darkest colours for depicting the social condition of the Indian people, when the immediate object with which his treatise was written is borne in mind.

That object was to draw attention to the harvest that lay to be reaped in this country by Christian evangelizing zeal and to induce the

[1] Printed in "General Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, 16th August 1832." For the circumstances in which the tract originated and its subsequent success, *vide The Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, 1845, pp. 221-22, footnote, and Morris' *Life of Grant*, pp. 324-29.

Directors of the Company and the Government in England to permit missionaries and school-masters free access to India by a legal provision to be embodied in the Charter Act of 1793. Though the motive of Grant's exertions was doubtless philanthropic and evangelistic, yet, when philanthropy is devoid of sympathetic insight, it tends to unduly magnify the festering sores of others' social system or even one's own in order to excite attention to the object of its pity. Philanthropy can thus at times be a saviour and a slanderer. The fact explains incidentally why Grant's discussion of his proposals for the amelioration of the people of India is preceded by a nauseating account of the circumstances of their general social life. To enter on an examination of the facts (or what were supposed to be so) and the statements and half-truths with which that account bristles would be beyond the scope of these pages; nor does it seem to be necessary at this time of day when the modern literary successors of Grant —those at least possessed of open and honest minds—seem to have improved considerably in a knowledge of the country and its people. We may therefore at once turn to that part of Grant's work which has an immediate bearing on the present subject.

§ 2.

After laying bare what he conceived to be the degenerate state of the Hindus, Grant proceeds to ask: How was "a healing principle" to be applied to rid their social organism of the diseases which, as he viewed the prevalent state of things, appeared to have become "inveterate" in it?

"Shall we resort to the power we possess", he asked, "to destroy their distinctions of castes, and to demolish their idols? Assuredly not. Force, instead of convincing them of their error, would fortify them in the persuasion of their being right; and the use of it, even if it promised happier consequences, would still be altogether unjust." His diagnosis pointed to a different treatment. He stressed the Hindu's "ignorance" as the primary and principal cause of his moral and social degradation, and knowledge as the true and natural remedy. "The true cure of darkness, is the introduction of light. The Hindus err, because they are ignorant; and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders; and this remedy is proposed, from a full conviction that if judiciously and patiently applied, it would have great and happy effects upon them, effects honourable and advantageous for us." In short, the remedy proposed by Grant was the introduction of the Protestant Christianity of England and the arts and sciences of Europe. It is his insistence upon the efficacy of what he called the "superior lights" of the West that gives him, historically, the position of a herald of Anglicism in India.

Logically, Grant was next led to a consideration of the *medium* through which the "superior lights" were to be communicated to the people of India. And here it may be observed that Grant was careful to make a distinction between what he termed the "principle" and the "mode" of imparting Western knowledge—an important

distinction which was sometimes overlooked at a subsequent period. The principle regarded by him as indisputable was that no other than Western knowledge could be effectively counteractive of the evils of Hindu society and that, therefore, the "matter of instruction" was to consist of that knowledge. But he recognised that there might be differences of opinion regarding the "mode" of communicating it—that is, as he intended the term to mean, the language or languages in which this was to be done—and thus foreshadowed, though faintly, the controversies of a later period on the question of the most suitable medium of instruction for India. "There are two ways," he said, "of making this communication: the one is, by the medium of the languages of those countries; the other is, by the medium of our own." And, though he expressed a decided preference for English, Grant may on the whole be said to have preserved an open mind on this specific question. "Upon this subject," he declared, "it is not intended to pass an exclusive decision here; the points absolutely to be contended for are, that we ought to impart our superior lights, and that this is practicable; that it is practicable by two ways, can never be an argument why neither should be attempted. Indeed no great reason appears why either should be interdicted, since particular cases may recommend, even that which is in general least eligible."

What he considered "in general least eligible" for the purpose in view were the languages of India. He preferred the English to the vernacular medium. His reasons for the preference were simple and such as might have occurred to anyone

even on a superficial view of the subject. One of these may be quoted here in his own words. He observed: "The acquisition of a foreign language is, to men of cultivated minds, a matter of no great difficulty. English teachers could therefore be sooner qualified to offer instruction in the native language, than the Indians would be prepared to receive it in ours. This method would hence come into operation more speedily than the other; and it would also be attended with the advantage of a more careful selection of the matter of instruction. But it would be far more confined and less effectual; it may be termed a species of deciphering. The decipherer is required to unfold, in intelligible words, what was before hidden. Upon every new occasion, he has a similar labour to perform, and the information obtained from him is limited to the single communication then made. All other writings in the same character, still remain, to those who are ignorant of it, unknown; but if they are taught the character itself, they can at once read every writing in which it is used. Thus superior, in point of ultimate advantage, does the employment of the English language appear; and upon this ground, we give a preference to that mode, proposing, here, that the communication of our knowledge shall be made by the medium of our own language."

Besides, Grant was not one of those who regarded as visionary and impracticable any scheme for diffusing widely a knowledge of English among the people of India. "In general," he remarked, "when foreign teachers have proposed to instruct the inhabitants of any country, they

have used the vernacular tongue of the people, for a natural and necessary reason, that they could not hope to make any other mean of communication intelligible to them. This is not our case in respect of our Eastern dependencies. They are our own, we have possessed them long, many Englishmen reside among the natives, our language is not unknown there, and it is practicable to diffuse it more widely."

Having thus set forth his opinion on the question of the medium to be used, Grant proceeded to outline a plan of education. Under his plan, English was to be the channel for the communication of the "superior lights." He said: "....it is perfectly in the power of this country (England), by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions, upon a variety of subjects; and, let not the idea hastily excite derision, *progressively* with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and religion. These acquisitions would silently undermine and at length subvert the fabric of error; and all the objections that may be apprehended against such a change, are, it is confidently believed, capable of a solid answer. The first communication, and the instrument of introducing the rest, must be the English language; this is a key which will open to them a world of new ideas, and policy alone might have impelled us, long since, to put it into their hands."

But Grant's preference for English was not restricted to its employment as medium of education. He argued on practical grounds the neces-

sity of another innovation closely connected with the success of his general plan, and that was a change in the language of administration. Dwelling on the abuses accruing from the use of a language unknown to, or at best imperfectly understood by those who ruled the country, he was inclined to think a suitable opportunity had been allowed to pass on the acquisition of the Dewannee to substitute the use of English for that of Persian in the transaction of public business. Now, in 1792, he strongly advocated the substitution of the one for the other, not merely for the sake of administrative convenience and facility, but also for the sake of the impetus it was calculated to give to the study of English among the people. Herein, again, he anticipated the later Anglicists who demanded the employment of English in the conduct of administrative business in order that the study of it might spread abroad widely. Grant seems to have been at one with them in thinking that the school-master needed the co-operation of the administrator in his task of broadcasting the English language among the people of India.

The plan of education, as proposed by Grant in outline, was a simple one. Once again his own words may serve to unfold it. "It would be extremely easy for government to establish," he propounded, "at a moderate expense, places of gratuitous instruction in reading and writing English: multitudes, especially of the young would flock to them; and the easy books used in teaching might at the same time convey obvious truth on different subjects. The teachers should be persons of knowledge, morals and discretion;

and men of this character would impart to their pupils much useful information in discourse: and to facilitate the attainment of that object, they might at first make some use of the Bengalese tongue. The Hindoos would, in time, become teachers of English themselves, and the employment of our language in public business, for which every political reason remains in full force, would, in the course of another generation, make it very general throughout the country. There is nothing wanting to the success of this plan, but the hearty patronage of government. If they wish it to succeed, it can and must succeed. The introduction of English in the administration of the revenue, in judicial proceedings, and in other business of government, wherein Persian is now used, and the establishment of free-schools for instruction in this language, would insure its diffusion over the country, for the reason already suggested, that the interest of the natives would induce them to acquire it. Neither would much confusion arise, even at first, upon such a change: for there are now a great number of Portuguese and Bengalese clerks in the provinces, who understand both the Hindostany and English languages. To employ them in drawing up petitions to government, or its officers would be no additional hardship upon the poorer people, who are now assisted in that way by Persian clerks; and the opportunity afforded to others who have sufficient leisure, of learning the language of the government gratuitously, would be an advantage never enjoyed under Mahomedan rulers."

With the aid of such means as were comprised or indicated in his plan, together with that

of the printing press, Grant saw little difficulty in transplanting the arts and sciences and mechanical inventions of the West into India. Though his cautious nature did not indulge in hopes of any immediate advent of a millenium thereby, yet he did entertain pleasant anticipations of the material prosperity and moral happiness that the adoption of his plan was to bring to the people. "It is not asserted," he said, "that such effects would be immediate or universal; but admitting them to be progressive, and partial only, yet how great would the change be, and how happy at length for the outward prosperity, and internal peace of society among the Hindoos: Men would be resorted to the use of their reason; all the advantages of happy soil, climate, and situation, would be observed and improved; the comforts and conveniences of life would be increased; the cultivation of the mind, and rational intercourse, valued; the people would rise in the scale of human beings; and as they found their character, their state, and their comforts improved, they would prize more highly, the security and the happiness of a well ordered society. Such a change would correct those sad disorders which have been described, and for which no other remedy has been proposed, nor is in the nature of things to be found."

Such was the dream (if it may be so called) of Grant. No doubt, his views were not free from liability to criticism on several points. In the first place, the manifold practical difficulties to the execution of a plan of education such as was proposed by him were not easy to dispose of. Again, the resisting forces of Hindu social institutions and culture were entirely beyond Grant's

ken. His knowledge of the life of the people and of their past history was too partial and restricted and the mental limitations to which he was subject with his age too dominant, to afford him even an inkling of the resistance that might be made to the impact of European ideas and knowledge or civilisation. Above all, if he meditated making English the general language of India, as he seems to have done, he certainly failed to realise the chimerical nature of the project; though it has to be remembered at the same time that Grant spoke in 1792 with reference to the portion of territory under the Company's rule at the period. But, notwithstanding all that can be said in discount of the intrinsic value of Grant's views or plan of education, the fact remains that no impartial man can deny praise to the pioneer attempts of this eighteenth century philanthropist to induce those on whom the responsibility for the administration of the country rested to give it an organised system of Western education. The root principle of his scheme, that of the introduction of Western knowledge through the English language, was definitely accepted by the Government of India in 1835, and is with some modifications in operation to the present day. And what is further noteworthy is that Grant's proposals went much further than what was implied in the endeavours of the early European educationists of India like Ziegenbalg, Grundler, Schwartz, Bell, Kerr, Stevenson, Kierander and Briercliffe or was probably dreamt of by them: for Grant came very near to proposing what the Anglicists headed by Macaulay and Trevelyan professed much later as one of the grand aims of their efforts—the Westernisation of India by means of education.

Chapter II.

EVOLUTION OF THE ORIENTALIST POLICY.

§ 1.

Charles Grant's proposals for the introduction of the knowledge and science of the West into India remained embalmed between the covers of the blue book for a long time before the Company's administrators in India deemed the time ripe for turning their hand to the framing of an educational policy for the Company's possessions. But when the time did arrive, they approached their task with an altogether different attitude of mind from that of Grant—nay, an attitude almost antithetic to his. We can clearly perceive a new mental trend governing the official outlook on things educational. Grant proposed a mental and moral reform of the Indian people by a radical method—namely, by the propagation amongst them of a foreign religion and foreign knowledge through a foreign medium. But in India there prevailed the voice and counsels of men whose Indian experience had made them conservative and cautious and who were apt to regard schemes like that of Grant as of more academic than practical interest under the conditions as they perceived them to exist. More than a generation elapsed before our pioneer came into his own.

It was not, however, only the conservatism and cautiousness of the ruling authorities, or individuals connected with them, which prevented

ideas and suggestions of the nature of those propounded by Grant from finding acceptance as the basis of an official educational policy. There was another factor distinctly unfavourable to the influence of Grant's views, and that was the prevailing literary tendency of the period. During the latter part of the eighteenth century Europe was in the grip of an enthusiastic vogue for Oriental languages and classics. To minds jaded with the outworn forms and models and themes of the Greek and Latin classics and with the endless changes rung on them by later scholars and commentators and imitators, the products of the research of European scholars into ancient Oriental lore came as a surpassingly stimulating mental food. As an illustration of the fact the rapturous lines of Goethe on 'Shakuntala' may at once occur to one's mind. A writer in the Calcutta Review for 1845, who was however an uncompromising opponent of Orientalism, describes in a florid vein the first reactions of the European mind to the discoveries in Oriental literature and philosophy and religion. "Now," he says, "men of education and literary accomplishments, imbued in different degrees with the peculiar spirit and wants of their age, had gone forth to India, but unendowed with those commanding powers that could distinctly articulate their own thoughts and feelings, or create for themselves new schools of literature and philosophy to supersede the old. Here, however, was the very turning point, or rubicon, which determined their future destinies. What Rousseau and his co-adjutors achieved, by the emanations of original genius, for the literary republics of the West, the European adventurers on the plains of India found already achieved for

them by the poets and sages of that gorgeous land. When the portals which, for unknown centuries, had guarded the entrance to these flowery realms, were thrown wide open, it seemed like the revealing of new gardens of delight,—the discovery of new and more glorious worlds. It seemed as if the fountains of the great deep of an unfathomable antiquity had been broken up—disclosing pearls of inestimable price. It seemed as if the primeval sources, whence had welled forth such copious rill of story and heroic song—of language, philosophy, and science—among the Western nations, had been unsealed. It seemed as if the innermost shrine of all ancient heathen wisdom, with its recondite lore and mystic symbolisms, had been at length unveiled....The whole seemed so new, so fresh, so original, so unlike all the antiquated types and models of the West, that the mind was at once aroused and enraptured."[1]

In India too the influence of the vogue for Oriental literature pervaded the literary and governing classes among Europeans. And one practical outcome of the prevailing tendency was that, when the British rulers had their attention directed to the duty of improving the intellectual and moral condition of the Indian people, they turned to the "revival" and encouragement of Oriental[2] literature and learning as the most appropriate mode of fulfilling that duty under the circumstances as they believed them to exist.

[1] The Calcutta Review, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 229-30 (Art: The Early or Exclusively Oriental Period of Government Education in Bengal).

[2] The term "Oriental" is used in a restricted sense to signify the literature and learning contained in the Sanskrit and Arabic languages.

Hence the experiment of the education of the people of India commenced, under the Company's auspices, not so much with endeavours on the part of the Government to introduce the "superior lights" of the West which Grant advocated, as with endeavours to raise Oriental learning from the state of decline to which it was observed to have been reduced at the time.

Moreover, this particular literary drift coincided admirably with the contemporary political and administrative exigencies of the Company's Government. Circumstanced as the British Rulers were, with no bond of race, religion, culture or colour between them and those whom they ruled, it was often a matter of anxiety to them to conciliate and attach the people to their rule. "We are among the people, but not of them," said William Adam, "We rule over them and traffic with them, but they do not understand our character and we do not penetrate theirs. The consequence is that we have no hold on their sympathies, no seat in their affections."[1] It was to draw the sympathies and affections of the people to themselves, that the British rulers early perceived the expediency of patronising Oriental literature, or in other words, of manifesting a regard for what their subjects prized and cherished. Again, the Company's administration stood in need of a class of judicial officers, and it was the expectation of raising such qualified officers that often furnished a motive for the institution of seminaries for the cultivation of Oriental learning.

1 Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar* (Third Report), p. 340, (edn. 1868).

Hence the educational possibilities of the idea of a "revival" of Oriental literature and learning came to possess an attraction peculiar to the period. The fact brings us to a point at which it would be convenient to trace the development of the Orientalist policy in education from its earliest beginnings.

That policy was adumbrated in the establishment of two institutions for Oriental learning (the earliest of their kind) under the direct patronage of the Company's government. In 1780, at the request of a number of Mahomedans of distinction, Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madressa, or Mahomedan College, at his own private expense, which was reimbursed to him two years after by the Company who thenceforth bore the charges of the institution. It may be noted here that Hastings was but instrumental in establishing the Madressa; the idea of the institution did not originate with him, as is evident from the immediate circumstances under which it was founded. To quote Hastings' own words: "In the month of September 1780 a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussulmen of credit and learning, who attended in a body for that purpose praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mudgid O'din who was then lately arrived at the Presidency to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law, and in such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favourable occasion to establish a Madressa or College, and

Mudgid O'din the fittest person to form and preside in it, that Calcutta was already become the seat of a great empire, and the resort of persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan, that it had been the pride of every polished court and the wisdom of every well regulated Government both in India and in Persia to promote by such institutions the growth and extension of liberal knowledge, that in India only the traces of them now remain, the decline of learning having accompanied that of the Mogul Empire, that the numerous offices of our Government which required men of improved abilities to fill and the care which had been occasionally observed to select men of the first eminence in the science of jurisprudence to officiate as judges in the criminal and assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature, and....the belief which generally prevailed that men so accomplished usually met with a distinguished reception from myself afforded them particular encouragement, to hope that a proposal of this nature would prove acceptable to the actual Government."[1] Accordingly, Hastings sent for the learned scholar referred to by the petitioners and prevailed upon him "to accept of the office designed for him." Mudgid-o-deen opened a school about the beginning of the following October, and conducted it with an ability which soon earned for it success and reputation. Apart from Government's good will towards their subjects which his patronage of the institution manifested, the professed object of Hastings in founding it seems to have been "to promote the study of the Arabic and Persian

[1] Minute, 17th April 1781: Selections from Educational Records, Pt. I, pp. 7-9.

languages," and of the Mahomedan law, with a view, more especially, to the production of well qualified officers for the courts of justice."[1]

The other institution was a Hindu College at Benares founded during the regime of Earl Cornwallis. In 1791 Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, proposed to the Governor-General the appropriation of a portion of the surplus revenue of the province (about Rs. 20,000 per annum) to the establishment and maintenance of a Hindu College or Academy " for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of that nation, at this centre of their faith, and the common resort of all their tribes."[2] Incidentally, it is interesting to note the apologetic comment of Nicholls, the chronicler of the College, on the object of the proposed institution as stated by Duncan. " The above proposition," says Nicholls, " of cultivating the Hindoo religion may appear startling to some, but it will be found that the proposition was subsequently very materially altered, so that even at this period, the charge, so frequently brought forward, of Government supporting Hinduism, will fall to the ground."[3] The alteration to which Nicholls refers was contained in the words of Duncan himself who subsequently stated the object of the institution

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1 Fisher's Memoir: Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee I Public—16th August 1832—p. 196. Arthur Howell states the particular object of the institution to have been " to qualify the sons of Muhammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State, even at the date largely monopolised by the Hindus."—*Education in British India*, p. 1.

2 Letter from J. Duncan to the Governor-General-in-Council, 1st January 1792: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 10-11.

3 G. Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, p. 1.

to be "the cultivation of the Laws, Literature and, *as inseparably connected with the two former, the religion of the Hindus*...."[1]

Duncan, however, anticipated great advantages from the establishment of the proposed institution. "Two important advantages," he wrote to the Governor-General, "seem derivable from such an establishment, the first to the British name and nation in its tendency towards endearing our Government to the native Hindoos; by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their system, the care shewn even by their own native princes; for although learning has ever been cultivated at Benares, in numerous private seminaries, yet no public Institution of the kind here proposed ever appears to have existed; to which may, in a considerable degree, be attributed the great difficulty of now collecting complete treatises (although such are well known to have existed) on the Hindoo religion, laws, arts, or sciences; a defect and loss, which the permanency of a college at Benares must be peculiarly well-adapted to correct, and recover by a gradual collection and correction of the books still to be met with (though in a very dispersed and imperfect state) so as with care and attention and by the assistance and exertions of the possessors and students to accumulate at only a small comparative expense to Government, a precious library of the most ancient and valuable general learning and tradition now perhaps existing on any part of the globe." "The second principal advantage," he went on to say, "that may be derived from this Institution will be felt in its effects more imme-

[1] Ibid., pp. 1-4 passim.

diately by the natives, though not without being participated in by the British subjects, who are to rule over them, by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindoo Law and proving a nursery of future doctors and expounders thereof, to assist the European judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people." Lord Cornwallis, not only immediately gave his sanction to Duncan's proposal, but generously enough gave permission that in case no surplus revenue accrued on account of the unfavourableness of the season (a contingency feared by Duncan at one time), the whole expenditure of the institution might be charged to Government.[1] The Resident, in pursuance of his design, having selected a certain number of "professors" in the principal Hindu sciences, and a house having been hired for their reception, they met for the first time on the 28th of October 1791. The Resident paid his first visit to the new college on 17th November 1791.[2]

At both those colleges the courses of instruction laid down were purely Oriental and sought to embrace practically the whole range of learning contained in the Arabic and the Sanskrit languages. And in the case of the Benares College it was expressly laid down as a rule that the discipline

1 Letter from Governor-General-in-Council to J. Duncan, 13th January 1792 : Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 12-13.

2 There seems to be a slight incongruity in dates. Both Fisher's Memoir and Nicholls agree in giving 1791 as the year of the establishment of the college. But the dates of the documents on the subject printed in Mr. Sharp's "Selections from Educational Records" (Pt. I, pp. 10-11, 12-13) would lead one to take 1792 as the year in which the college was founded.

of the college was "to be conformable in all respects to the Dharma Sastra in the chapter on education."

Those institutions were the prototype of others that were subsequently projected or established and they set the type of education which, with some modifications, Government considered it prudent and expedient to impart for about the next forty years. They foreshadowed an educational policy, the object of which was for the most part to communicate to the Hindus their own learning through the medium of Sanskrit and to the Mahomedans their own learning through the medium of Arabic and Persian. So it was a fairly well marked track that Lord Minto trod when in 1811 he proceeded, with an illustrious member of Council, H. T. Colebrooke, to project two new institutions for Hindu learning. The Governor-General was induced to do so by the sad state of decay in which he observed the science and literature of India to have fallen. "The number of the learned," remarked his Lordship, "is not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrine of the people." The prevalent state of things he attributed to the inevitable withdrawal of the patronage and encouragement of learned men which followed the supplantation of the Hindu and Mahomedan rulers by the British. Impressed by these circumstances Minto wrote: "It is seriously to be

lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the Empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature." And also: "It is not, however, the credit alone of the national character which is affected by the present neglected state of learning in the East. The ignorance of the natives in the different classes of society, arising from the want of proper education, is generally acknowledged. This defect not only excludes them, as individuals, from the enjoyment of all those comforts and benefits which the cultivation of letters is naturally calculated to afford, but operating as it does throughout almost the whole mass of the population, tends materially to obstruct the measures adopted for their better government. Little doubt can be entertained that the prevalence of the crimes of perjury and forgery, so frequently noticed in the official reports, is in a great measure ascribable, both in the Mahomedans and Hindoos, to the want of due instruction in the moral and the religious tenets of their respective faiths...." And, like Grant, he declared that the seeds of the many evils frequently remarked upon (and frequently exaggerated too) could only be destroyed by a general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people.[1] But, besides the promptings of those laudable motives, what acted as a further inducement to Lord Minto to extend encouragement to Oriental learning were the general beneficial results he had witnessed "from the prosecu-

[1] Minute, 6th March 1811: Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16th August 1832, pp. 325-28.

tion of Oriental studies at the College of Fort William and through the medium of the learned works produced by the Serampore press."[1] So it was he proposed the establishment of two institutions of the type of the Benares College at Nuddea and Tirhoot—once famous seats of learning—and the remodelling of the Benares College itself as its affairs had not gone well for a long period. He desired also equal encouragement in the same manner to be given to Mahomedan learning provided the Court of Directors permitted further extension of the plan proposed by him.[2] But nothing substantial came of his proposals till 1823.

Lord Minto's Minute represents the divergence before alluded to from the ideas and views of Grant in its completest form. There is no mention made therein about the introduction of the English language or of European knowledge in the country. But more than that, it will be observed, the Minute associates the moral improvement of the country with the resuscitation of Oriental learning to its former flourishing state. In other words, it impliedly attributes a moral efficacy to Oriental learning which Grant insisted upon attributing to European knowledge alone. As such, the Minute marks the peak of stark, unadulterated Orientalism in the educational policy of the state at the period.

The next event of importance after Minto's project was the parliamentary recognition in the Charter Act of 1813 of the Company's duty towards the people of India in the matter of their

[1] "*Lord Minto in India*," by the Countess of Minto, pp. 374-75.

[2] Minute, 6th March 1811.

mental and moral reform. An earlier attempt by Wilberforce and Grant in 1792-93 to obtain such recognition had failed.[1] Their opponents among the Court of Directors, who advocated the withholding of enlightenment as the best means of keeping the Indian people in subjection to British dominion, and to whose arguments in support of their peculiar doctrine Grant intended his treatise to be an effective rejoinder, had then successfully argued "that the Hindus had as good a system of faith and of morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed." But twenty years later, on the renewal of the Company's charter, the endeavours of the philanthropists met with a better fate. Some sop had perhaps to be given to Wilberforce who, since 1792, had been "inconveniently vocal in the Commons on measures for the moral and religious instruction of the natives."[2] A clause was inserted in the East India Company Act of 1813, which required the Company to allot annually a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees out of its surplus revenues to the education of their Indian subjects. As the interpretation of this clause formed the subject of a great dispute later on, it may be worth while to quote it here in full:

> "And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General-in-Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues

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1 For an account of the circumstances of the failure, *vide The Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, pp. 219-24. (Art: The Early or Exclusively Oriental Period of Government Education in Bengal).

2 Mayhew: The Education of India, p. 10 (1926).

and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil, and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the science among the inhabitants of the British territories in India; and that any schools, public lectures, or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or in any other parts of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such Regulations as may from time to time be made by the said Governor-General in Council, subject, nevertheless, to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries; provided always, that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships, and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the governments within which the same shall be situated."[1]

This clause of the Charter Act is worthy of careful note from the point of view of the development of the Orientalist educational policy. Here is to be found, practically for the first time, the revival and encouragement of Oriental learning authoritatively coupled with the introduction of European knowledge, as two distinct objects desired to be conjointly pursued. Certainly, it is by no means quite clear what were the sciences the British legislature desired the knowledge of to be promoted; but, on a strict construction of the word "introduction" used in connection therewith, it does not seem unreasonable to deduce an intention on its part to refer to European science and knowledge.

[1] 53 Georgii 3, cap. 155, sec. 43.

Nor was the point elucidated in the Court's letter of instructions to the Government of India on the subject of the clause. At best, that letter affords but a vague indication of the intentions of the Legislature with regard to the introduction of European learning and science in India. But one thing seems certain, and it is that the interpretation of the terms of the clause in the practical language of the Court of Directors set the seal of approval on the Orientalist educational policy as hitherto pursued.

In June 1814 the Court for the first time conveyed to the Supreme Government in India their views and sentiments as to the mode in which they wished the enactment to be given effect to.

"In the consideration of it," said the Court prefatorily, "we have kept in view those peculiar circumstances of our political relation with India which, having necessarily transferred all power and pre-eminence from native to European agency, have rendered it incumbent upon us, from motives of policy, as well as from a principle of justice, to consult the feelings, and even to yield to the prejudices, of the natives, whenever it can be done with safety to our dominions." They then proceeded to suggest to the Supreme Government certain general measures of education that might be taken in pursuance of the Charter Act. Adverting to the principal object of the clause of the Act, they said: "The clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration: first, 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." But the Court thought that neither of those objects could be attained through the establishment of public colleges on the model of those at the European universities, because they apprehended "natives of caste and of reputation" would not be amenable to "the subordination and discipline of a college." Under such circumstances the Court doubted whether it was feasible to devise any specific plan which would promise "the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration." Hence the import of all their suggestions was to indicate simply the manner in which indigenous learning and methods of instruction might be aided and encouraged. The Court said :

> "We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance.
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> "In a political point of view, considerable advantages might, we conceive, be made to flow from the measure proposed, if it should be conducted with due attention to the usages and habits of the natives. They are known to attach a notion of sanctity to the soil, the buildings, and other objects of devout resort, and particularly to that at Benares, which is regarded as the central point of their religious worship, and as the great repository of their learning. The possession of this venerated city, to which every class and rank of the Hindoos is occasionally attracted, has placed in the hands of the British Government a powerful instrument of connection and conciliation, especially with the

Mahrattas, who are more strongly attached than any other to the supposed sanctity of Benares.

"Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we desire that your attention may be directed in an especial manner to Benares, and that you call upon your public representatives there to report to you what ancient establishments are still existing for the diffusion of knowledge in that city; what branches of science and literature are taught there; by what means the professors and teachers are supported; and in what way their present establishments might be improved to most advantage."

The Court next referred to the peculiar village system of instruction prevalent throughout India, and which had supplied Dr. Bell with the main principles of his famous system. They desired that system to be supported by the village teachers being afforded the protection of Government "in all their just rights and immunities;" for most of those teachers were believed to have sustained themselves on endowments of land or money from former Hindu and Mahomedan rulers, which had been lost sight of under the British Government. The Court also desired some mark of distinction to be conferred on individuals of superior merit or acquirements amongst the teachers.

The Court then turned to the question of encouragement of higher learning, especially Sanskrit learning, and this was what they had to propose regarding it: "We are informed that there are in the Sanskrit language many excellent systems of ethics, with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to

those natives who may be destined for the Judicial department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit we are told on the virtues of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner, and there are treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra, which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of Engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences." Hence "with a view to these several objects we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of those departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanskrit language, and we desire that the teachers who may be employed under your authority, for this purpose, may be selected from those amongst the natives who may have made some proficiency in the sciences in question, and that their recompense should be liberal." And of particular interest are the Court's concluding words on the subject: "We encourage ourselves to hope, that a foundation may in this way be laid for giving full effect in the course of time to the liberal intentions of the Legislature; and we shall consider the money that may be allotted to this service as beneficially employed, if it should prove the means, by an improved intercourse of the Europeans with the natives, to produce those reciprocal feelings of regard and respect which

are essential to the permanent interests of the British Empire in India."[1]

It is apparent that the manner in which the Court suggested the clause of the Charter Act to be given effect to could necessitate no substantial departure from the course pursued before the Charter Act. It was on the encouragement of Oriental learning that the Court laid predominant emphasis; and they referred but vaguely to the promotion, perhaps at some distant date, of European scientific knowledge in connection with Sanskrit learning.

In 1814, the year of the Court's letter of instructions, the Orientalist policy is found formulated nearly in the form in which it eventually came to be made the basis of official educational operations in Bengal. Mr. J. H. Harington, who was subsequently appointed a member of the General Committee of Public Instruction, instituted by Government in 1823, wrote a paper, dated June 19, 1814, entitled "Observations suggested by the provision in the late Act of Parliament for the promotion of science and literature amongst the inhabitants of the British possessions in India." In that paper Mr. Harington dealt with the question whether the English or the learned and vernacular languages of India were more suitable media for the communication of knowledge to the Indian people. He expressed the conclusion which he reached on the subject in these terms: "My own idea, on an imperfect

[1] Public Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General-in-Council of Bengal, dated 3rd June 1814; Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16th August 1832, pp. 329-31.

consideration of so extensive a subject, is that both of the plans noticed have their advantages and disadvantages; that neither the one nor the other should be exclusively adopted, but that both should be promoted so far as circumstances may admit. To allure the learned natives of India to the study of European science and literature, we must, I think, engraft this study upon their own established methods of scientific and literary instruction; and particularly in all the public colleges or schools maintained or encouraged by Government, good translations of the most useful European compositions on the subjects taught in them, may, I conceive, be introduced with the greatest advantage."[1]

The idea of 'engrafting' the knowledge of Europe on that of India, expressed by Mr. Harington, constituted the quintessence of the Orientalist theory or policy as subsequently followed in Bengal.

§ 2.

Although the Charter Act of 1813 directed the Company to set apart a minimum of one lakh of rupees annually for purposes of education, no appropriation of it was actually made till the year 1823. The intervening decade is not distinguished by any marked activity on the part of Government in the field of education, except in so far as it consisted of encouragement to certain private educational institutions and societies by grant of pecuniary assistance. None the less,

[1] Quoted in Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar, p. 310 (edn. 1868).

the period was not barren of educational enterprise. However, the educational activities witnessed at the time owed their impulse not so much to Government as to various unofficial agencies. It was during this period that a most interesting event in the history of education in Bengal occurred. It was the rise of the famous Hindu College or Vidyalaya of Calcutta.

That event but reflected an intellectual stir within the Hindu society of Bengal of the last century. The factors that created the stir were manifold; but we shall indicate a few broad ones here. At the principal seats of Government, and notably at Calcutta, Indians were brought into contact with European civilisation, and in the result they could not fail to be struck with European superiority, at least on its material, if not quite on its intellectual or moral, side.[1] Moreover, a new mental horizon was opened up to them though the literary exertions of philanthropic individuals among Europeans, and this produced an intellectual awakening which assumed a widely different direction from that followed by intellectual or spiritual "revivals" in the past history of Indian thought. As has been pointed out, "Nothing strikes a man so greatly as his contact with a person who possesses qualities other than his own, and the Bengalis are a race who owing

[1] Sir E. Perry observed in 1855: "As a general rule, the natives, I think, are not disposed to yield the same pre-eminence to their European lords in wisdom and intellectual qualities that they willingly admit in mechanical arts and physical powers. So far as my means of observation enable me to form an opinion, the Hindus look upon the English as a race who have admirable contrivances for applying combined labour to the purposes of life, who are reckless and daring in war, "those English devils," as the Chinese called us, but who are inferior to themselves in diplomacy, civil wisdom, and government." *A Bird's-eye View of India*, pp. 94-95.

to their keen intellectual powers can at once enter upon a new field, as soon as it is presented to them. European hand-books and manuals took them by surprise. They disclosed a world to them of which they knew nothing. They saw in the civilisation of Europe a success and acquisition of power which struck them with wonder and they became willing disciples of the new teachers. In the passionate sincerity of our race to acquire new knowledge, they forgot their home, their literature, their wonderful success in metaphysical learning, and their great spirituality, and felt that they were dwarfed in the presence of that great materialistic civilisation which, armed with thunder and lightning and with the tremendous power of steam, stood knocking at their door—demanding audience."[1]

Naturally enough, this contact with an alien civilisation roused a curiosity regarding the source or sources of the European superiority observed by Indians; and one principal source of it they were led to seek in the knowledge and science of Europe. "The Natives have an idea," observed Mr. W. W. Bird of the Bengal Government to a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1853, "that we have gained everything by our superior knowledge; that it is this superiority which has enabled us to conquer India, and to keep it; and they want to put themselves as much as they can upon an equality with us. Therefore they come to us, and are desirous of obtaining this knowledge on any terms; they do not mind the consequences; they go to the Missionary schools, where they learn the Bible, and run the risk of being converted for

1 D. C. Sen: *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 882.

the sake of obtaining the knowledge which they obtain there."[1]

Intimately associated with the Hindu social and religious life of the time was another contributory factor in the shape of the reformist movement of the great Rammohun Roy. Of the personal part taken by Rammohun Roy in the educational affairs of his day something will have to be said later on. But here it will suffice to refer in passing to the stimulating effect of his literary and reforming activities on the low-sunk mental condition of his countrymen. "The movements in various fields of enlightenment started by the Raja," it has been remarked, "have borne ample fruit. The educated community have followed his lead in the general awakening of the intellect observed throughout the country after his advent."[2]

One evident result of the operation of those various factors was to create an interest in European literature and science. And it was but a further step in the process of intellectual awakening for that interest to pass into a desire for the acquisition or mastery of the medium which supplied access to the knowledge that was believed to be the mainspring of European superiority. Hence there spread a vogue among Indians for a knowledge of the English language; while other circumstances, such as the much-prized qualification which an acquaintance with that language conferred for public and private employ-

1 Evidence, 30th June 1853: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence, session 1852-53—Q. 7183.

2 D. C. Sen: *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 987.

ment as also the sheer fact of its being the language of the ruling race, went to reinforce its importance in Indian eyes. Thus a knowledge of English came to possess, not only a cultural, but also an utilitarian value with Indians; and the perception of its dual worth lent a strong impetus to its general study amongst them.

Of the desire or curiosity that was thus aroused for European knowledge, and particularly of the desire for conversancy with the English language, there is no dearth of recorded testimony. The missionaries early perceived the new tendency of the times and it stimulated their exertions in the furtherance of their cause.[1] "I may be fully justified in saying," declared Rammohun Roy in 1824, on the occasion of answering certain queries from a Unitarian Minister of Harvard College (Cambridge, United States) on the subject of the prospects of Christianity in India, "that two-thirds of the native population of Bengal would be exceedingly glad to see their children educated in English learning."[2] Whilst Rammohun's estimate of the extent to which the people were prepared to receive European knowledge through the medium of English may be demurred to by some, it appears undeniable from testimony from other quarters that a state of things had been brought into existence which was markedly favourable to the diffusion of European learning through English, at least at the seat of government. The Calcutta School Book Society, which was in a position to judge of the prevailing literary

1 Bryce: *A Sketch of Native Education in India*, Ch. I, p. 15; Ch. II, pp. 54-55, 62-64 passim; Ch. III, pp. 104-105 passim.

2 Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 59-60 passim.

taste from the sales of their publications, pointedly referred in their fifth report to the Indian willingness to imbibe European knowledge. The Society found "European teaching" to be "highly acceptable to the natives;" and proceeded to remark: "What was before speculation is now matter of fact. It is no longer doubtful whether the natives will receive help from us; it is ascertained that they will gladly avail themselves of our aid; they flock to the schools; they advance in their learning; they prove, to a demonstration, that if the European will condescend to labour for their good, the native will gladly receive the aid offered."

Further, the increased use into which English came as medium of instruction in private educational institutions furnishes testimony of no small value. In a school founded in 1818 at Benares by the munificence of Joyanarain Ghosal, and to which children flocked for instruction, the English language was taught along with Hindustani, Persian and Bengali.[1] Again, in a report submitted to Government in February 1823 on the progress of the Cawnpore Free School which was established about the year 1820, it was stated that "the English, Hindoo and Mahomedan lads, who were all educated together, mutually assisted each other in the acquisition of their several languages, and particularly in the correct pronunciation of them; *that the native children flocked to the school in pursuit of the English language, with an ardour of mind truly gratifying;* and particularly that several 'sepoys from the

[1] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—pp. 208-9.

corps of the station, as well as a number of Mahomedan and Hindoo grown-up lads of the most respectable families, had become class fellows with the English boys in reading the Bible, without discovering the slightest objection on the score of the prejudices in which they were born, and that among those who thus read the Bible, and appeared vehemently desirous of understanding what they read, there were some who had not only acquired a wonderful facility in the rules of English cyphering and arithmetic, but were read in Arabic and in Euclid's Elements."[1] Nor was that all. Schools had sometimes to be discontinued because the English language was not taught in them; for, it was observed that "the desire to obtain a knowledge of the Engish language has been so great that a school in which this was not taught was sure to dwindle away."[2]

Lastly, a striking and interesting proof of the new intellectual tendency in Bengal is to be found in the rise of the Calcutta Hindu College or Vidyalaya, designed chiefly for the promotion of a knowledge of European literature and science through the English tongue. As it has been remarked before that this institution was an outward expression of the change that had commenced beneath the apparently placid surface of Hindu society, its origin deserves to be mentioned at some length. It may also be remarked at the same time that, while the governing authorities of the period felt a great deal of hesitation on the question of the introduction of European

[1] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—pp. 211-12.

[2] Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, (First Report), p. 25 (edn. 1868).

learning and science and the English language into India and continued to cuddle their pet notions of "revival" of Oriental learning and engrafting of European knowledge on it, their Hindu subjects, by projecting the Vidyalaya on their own initiative without offiicial countenance or encouragement, may be said to have taken that question out of their hands and to a certain extent decided it for themselves. That was probably why it was said at a subsequent date that "English education was in a manner forced upon the British Government; it did not itself spontaneously originate it."[1]

The idea of founding the Calcutta Vidyalaya originated under interesting circumstances. It was first mooted at a meeting called by Rammohun Roy and his friends "for the purpose of establishing a society calculated to subvert idolatory." David Hare, a philanthropist and intimate friend of Rammohun Roy, attended the meeting uninvited. There he "submitted that the establishment of an English school would materially help their cause. They all acquiesced in the strength of Hare's position, but did not carry out his suggestion." But Hare's zeal for the cause of Indian improvement led him to confer on the subject with Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, whose benevolence of disposition inclined him favourably to the former's views. At this point Sir Edward steps into the narrative and, moreover, occupies a more prominent position in it than those from whom the original idea of the institution emanated;

[1] Rev. A. Duff's Evidence, 3rd June 1853: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, &c, (1852-53), Q. 6098.

for, he was principally instrumental in carrying the idea into execution. Rammohun Roy abstained from associating himself with the measures subsequently taken for the establishment of the college as his active participation was likely to arouse opposition from the orthodox class of his countrymen to whom his name was an offence.[1]

It may be mentioned here that Sir E. H. East, in several letters to Mr. Harington, senior Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adalut at Calcutta, then absent in England, gave a simple but vivid account of the origin of the institution and of the part played by him in founding it.[2] Writing under date 18th May 1816, Sir Edward narrated the circumstances in which the project of the Vidyalaya was formed :—

> "An interesting and curious scene has lately been exhibited here, which shows that all things pass under change in due season. About the beginning of May, a Brahmin of Calcutta, whom I knew, and who is well known for his intelligence and active interference among the principal Native inhabitants, and also intimate with many of our own gentlemen of distinction, called upon me and informed me, that many of the leading

[1] Collet : *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 20-22. *Vide* also Duff's evidence on 3rd June 1853 in Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, (1852-53) —Q. 6098.

[2] Extracts from these letters were worked by Sir E. H. East into a paper on the subject of the Hindoo College which was read before the Lords Select Committee on Indian Affairs by Mr. W. W. Bird in the course of his evidence on 30th June 1853 and printed in the Committee's Report. Mr. Bird said of this paper : "It was given by Sir Edward Hyde East to Sir Charles Trevelyan a short time before his death, in order, he said, that having been principally instrumental in establishing that institution, the information it contained might not be lost to the world. Sir Charles Trevelyan, hearing that I was summoned to-day to be examined, put it into my hands, and I should be glad to read it if the Committee will give me leave."—Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, &c. (Session 1852-53) : Q. 7097-98, pp. 235-38.

Hindoos were desirous of forming an establishment for the education of their children in a liberal manner as practised by Europeans of condition; and desired that I would lend them my aid toward it, by having a meeting held under my sanction. Wishing to be satisfied how the Government would view such a measure, I did not at first give him a decided answer; but stated, that however much I wished well, as an individual, to such an object, yet, in the public situation I held, I should be cautious not to give any appearance of acting from my own impulse in a matter which I was sure that the Government would rather leave to them (the Hindoos) to act in, as they thought right, than in any manner to control them; but that I would consider of the matter, and if I saw no objection ultimately to the course he proposed, I would inform him of it; and if he would then give me a written list of the principal Hindoos to whom he alluded, I would send them an invitation to meet at my house. In fact, several of them had before, at different times, addressed themselves to me upon this topic, but never before in so direct a manner.

"After his departure I communicated to the Governor-General what had passed, who laid my communication before the Supreme Council, all the members of which approved of the course I had taken, and signified, through his Lordship, that they saw no objection to my permitting the parties to meet at my house.

"It seemed indeed to be as good an opportunity as any which could occur of feeling the general pulse of the Hindoos, as to the projected system of national moral improvement of them recommended by Parliament (and towards which they have directed a lac to be annually laid out) and this without committing the Government in the experiment. The success of it has much surpassed any previous expectation. The meeting was accordingly held at my house on the 14th of May 1816, at which 50 and upwards of the most respectable Hindoo inhabitants of rank or wealth attended, including also the principal Pundits; when a sum of nearly half a lakh of rupees was subscribed, and many more subscriptions were promised. Those who were well acquainted with this people, and know how hardly a Hindoo parts with his money upon any abstract specula-

tion of mental advantage, will best know how to estimate this effort of theirs. It is, however, a beginning made towards improvement which surprises those who have known them the longest, and many of themselves also. Most of them, however, appeared to take great interest in the proceedings, and all expressed themselves in favour of making the acquisition of the English language a principal object of education, together with its moral and scientific productions.

"I first received some of the principal Hindoos in a room adjoining to that where the generality were to assemble. There the Pundits, to most of whom I was before unknown, were introduced to me. The usual mode of salutation was on this occasion departed from; instead of holding out money in his hands for me to touch (a base and degrading custom), the chief Pundit held out both his hands closed towards me; and as I offered him my hand, thinking he wished to shake hands in our English style, he disclosed a number of sweet-scented flowers, which he emptied into my hand, saying that those were the flowers of literature, which they were happy to present to me upon this occasion, and requested me to accept from them (adding some personal compliments). Having brought the flowers to my face, I told him that the sweet scent was an assurance to me that they would prove to be the flowers of morality, as well as of literature, to his nation, by the assistance of himself and his friends. This appeared to gratify them very much."

Before the business of the day commenced, the conversation turned on Rammohun Roy, when the orthodox animus against him was freely voiced by an individual at the meeting who hoped that no subscription would be accepted from the famous heretic. But Sir Edward's tact was equal to the occasion and matters proceeded amicably. The meeting next proceeded to the principal business for which it had been called:—

"The principal objects proposed for the adoption of the meeting (after raising a subscription to purchase a handsome piece of ground, and building a college

upon part of it, to be enlarged hereafter, according to the occasion and increasing of funds), were the cultivation of the Bengalee and English languages in particular; next, the Hindustani tongue, as convenient in the Upper Provinces; and then the Persian, if desired as ornamental; general duty to God; the English system of morals (the Pundits and some of the most sensible of the rest bore testimony to and deplored their national deficiency in morals); grammar, writing (in English as well as Bengalee), arithmetic (this is one of the Hindoo virtues); history, geography, astronomy, mathematics; and in time, as the fund increases, English belles lettres poetry, &c. &c."

Sir Edward then goes on to refer to the features of the memorable meeting which particularly struck him:—

"One of the singularities of the meeting was, that it was composed of persons of various castes, all combining for such a purpose, whom nothing else could have brought together; whose children are to be taught, though not fed, together.

"Another singularity was, that the most distinguished Pundits who attended declared their warm approbation of all the objects proposed; and when they were about to depart, the head Pundit, in the name of himself and the others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated in their country with considerable success, but which were now nearly extinct) was about to be revived with greater lustre and prospect of success than ever.

"Another meeting was proposed to be held at the distance of a week; and during this interval I continued to receive numerous applications for permission to attend it. I heard from all quarters of the approbation of the Hindoos at large to the plan; they have promised that a lakh shall be subscribed to begin with. It is proposed to desire them to appoint a committee of their own for management; taking care only to secure the attendance of two or three respectable European gentlemen to aid them, and see that all goes on rightly."

A second meeting was accordingly held on 21st May 1816. Meanwhile, nearly a lakh of rupees had been subscribed for the purpose of establishing the intended college. But there was some delay in carrying the intention of the parties concerned into effect, as no contribution or aid from Government, eagerly expected by all, was forthcoming. The attitude of the Government of the day in the matter was to all appearance curious. Writing under date the 21st May, Sir Edward says:—

> "The completion of the institution has been retarded in deference to the opinion of one of the Members in Council, who thought that the Government should not show any outward marks of countenancing any plan of this description, by giving patronage, land or money (all of which the subscribers wished), which might give umbrage to the Hindoos in the country, though it was desired by all the principal Hindoos in Calcutta. The intervening time, however, since the plan was set on foot, has shown how groundless this apprehension was; for, not long after, the Rajah of Burdwan, one of the greatest Hindoo landowners under the Company, sent in a subscription of 12,000 rupees, with an offer of much more if the plan succeeded; and other sums have been subscribed by the Hindoos in the different provinces, who have their agents in Calcutta; many, indeed, of the principal Hindoos in Calcutta who were the promoters of the institution, are themselves considerable landowners, by purchase, in different parts of the country. The committee appointed amongst themselves have framed their general rules, and take the active management of it on themselves, and intend opening their underschool in January next. They still hope that the Government will patronise their endeavours, and assist them, either with land or money, to build their college, and encourage their efforts to acquire something more of a classical knowledge of the English language and literature than they are able individually to acquire in general by private instruction. When they were told that the Government was advised to

suspend any declaration in favour of their undertaking, from tender regard to their peculiar opinions, which a classical education, after the English manner, might trench upon, they answered very shrewdly, by stating their surprise that any English gentlemen should imagine that they had any objection to a liberal education; that if they found anything in the course of it which they could not reconcile to their religious opinions, they were not bound to receive it; but still they should wish to be informed of everything that the English gentlemen learnt, and they would take that which they found good and liked best. Nothing can show more strongly the genuine feeling of the Hindoo mind than this clinging to their purpose, under the failure of direct public encouragement in the first instance. Better information as to their real wishes, and accumulating proofs of the beneficial effects of an improved system of education amongst them, will, I trust, remove all prejudices on this subject from amongst ourselves, with some of whom they actually exist in a much stronger degree than amongst the Hindoos themselves."

In the end, though the Government refused to give the scheme countenance, a college was established, styled the Hindoo College of Calcutta or the Calcutta Vidyalaya. In the rules originally framed and dated 27th August 1816, it was provided that the college was to include a school (pathshala) and "an academy" (mahapathsala); the former to be established immediately, and the latter as soon as practicable. The primary object of the institution was declared to be "the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos, in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia." One noteworthy rule was that the English language was not to be taught to boys under eight years of age, without the permission of the managers of the institution in each particular instance. At a meeting of the Managers on 8th February 1817, it was ordered

"that 17 free scholars should forthwith be admitted, under the patronage of the committee, into the school of the institution."[1] On 28th May 1817 Sir Edward Hyde East wrote to Mr. Harrington in England: "I send you the enclosed rules of our Hindoo College as a curiosity....; it is making progressive improvement, and is very popular with the Hindoos, who have subscribed nearly a lakh of rupees, and have paid up above two-thirds of the subscription. If it be approved at home, the Hindoos will consider themselves much honoured by the subscriptions of their friends in England."

The establishment of the Hindu College was not the only manifest sign of the intellectual awakening in Bengal. Almost synchronously with it was founded the Calcutta School Book Society. In the letter just quoted from Sir Edward went on to communicate the following piece of information: "This plan (of the Hindoo College), having taken so well, has encouraged the formation of another for the providing books of moral and amusing and scientific instruction, for Native youths of all descriptions; in which plan the Hindoos and Mussalmans have united with English gentlemen." In the prospectus of the Society it was stated that "a few individuals engaged in establishing schools for the instruction of Native children having found a great obstacle to their exertions in the want of lessons and books, in the Native language, suited to the capacities of the young, or at all adapted for the purposes of enlightening their mind, or improving their morals, proposals

[1] Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories (Session 1852-53), pp. 250-52 passim.

have been circulated for a subscription, for the publication of elementary books in the Bengalee and Hindoostanee languages. The favourable reception which the plan has met with, has encouraged its friends to propose an immediate extension of it, so as to include the several languages, English as well as Asiatic, which are or may be taught in the provinces subject to the Presidency of Fort William."

The Society was formed on the 6th of May 1817. While the objects of the Society were broadly laid down to be "the preparation, publication, and cheap or gratuitous supply of works useful in schools and seminaries of learning," it was also explicitly declared in the preliminary rules "that it forms no part of the design of this institution to furnish religious books—a restriction, however, very far from being meant to preclude the supply of moral tracts, or works of a moral tendency, which, without interfering with the religious sentiments of any person, may be calculated to enlarge the understanding and improve the character." The affairs of the Society were entrusted to a committee composed of English gentlemen, of whom Sir E. H. East was one, and Hindus and Mahomedans of distinction.[1]

§ 3.

Thus two cross-currents are distinctly perceptible in the stream of educational activity of the early period of the nineteenth century. On

1 Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, (Session 1852-53), pp. 252-253 passim. *Vide* also Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee I Public—16th August 1832, pp. 210-11.

the one hand, there was a group of individuals, closely associated with the Government of the country and so capable of influencing its decisions, who were evolving an Orientalist formula that was soon to be translated into action. On the other hand, there were events in train that were ultimately to produce a change of a character and complexion out of harmony with Orientalist ideas and principles. Considering the opposed trend of the two currents, it is not surprising that in the end there should have resulted a hard conflict of views and ideas, historically known as the Anglo-Orientalist controversy. As it was, the conflicting nature of the tendencies of the time came to the surface at the very moment at which the Government stepped forward to organise educational measures in pursuance of the Charter Act. On that occasion the new tendency in Bengal found its protagonist in Rammohun Roy.

By a Government Resolution, dated 17th July 1823,[1] a committee was appointed, called the General Committee of Public Instruction, to which was entrusted, subject to the general control of Government, the education of the country. The annual sum of one lakh of rupees, which was required by the Charter Act to be appropriated to the purposes of education, was placed at the disposal of the Committee. Moreover, as it was considered desirable that the Committee should possess at starting a considerable fund to enable it to carry out the measures it might think fit or necessary to undertake, without being stinted in the means of doing so, it was resolved by Government that the assignment of one lakh of rupees

[1] Sels. E R., Pt. I, pp. 53-54.

should take effect from 1821-22. Accordingly, for each of the years 1821-22 and 1822-23, the sum of Rupees 83,200 (which remained after deducting the expenses of certain existing schools at Chinsurah, Rajpootana and Bhaugulpore that were charged on the one lakh) were carried to the credit of the Education Fund.[1] The arrears from 1813 to 1821 were not accounted for to the Committee.[2] The first members of the Committee were men with Orientalist views and ideas or with strong predilections for them ;[3] and the profound Sanskrit scholar, Dr. H. H. Wilson, was appointed its secretary.

In its letter of instructions to the Committee, dated 31st July 1823,[4] Government referred "to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction of useful knowledge including the sciences and arts of Europe, and to the improvement of their moral character" as the grand object to the attainment of which the Committee was to direct its endeavours. There was no explicit reference in the letter to Oriental learning or literature. Consequently, the set form of words used in it appears to have led later on to the notion that the Government of the day did not contemplate an Orientalist basis for its educational

1 General Letter from the Governor-General-in-Council, in the Dept. of Pub. Instn., to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826, paras 6-8.

2 For the reasons usually given for non-appropriation of the lac during the period, see Evidence of Holt Mackenzie and Charles Lushington on 22 March 1832 and 8th March 1832 respectively : "Evidence on East India Affairs : Select Committee of the House of Commons—I. Public or Miscellaneous"—Q. 695 & Q. 935. (1832).

3 The Committee was composed of—H. J. Harrington, J. T. Larkins, N. B. Martin, N. B. Bayley, H. Shakespear, Holt Mackenzie, Henry Prinsep, A. Stirling, J. C. C. Sutherland and H. H. Wilson.

4 Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 54.

policy and that it was in favour of education in European knowledge, but that the General Committee with its Orientalist prepossessions was responsible for the different course actually pursued.[1] But the notion was incorrect. The broad lines of the future policy of the Committee were clearly indicated in a "Note," dated 17th July 1823, by Mr. Holt Mackenzie, secretary to Government in the Territorial Department, which appears to reflect the views of Government on education on the eve of its embarking on measures for its promotion, and which, moreover, is said to have led to the appointment of the General Committee itself.

Although the general question of the best mode of education for the Indian people was invested with much uncertainty to Government, its mind seems to have been at the cutset made up on two outstanding features of the educational policy as followed and developed subsequently. The first was that the education of the people was to commence with the higher, and not the lower, strata of society. The second was that the higher and influential classes were to be instructed in Oriental learning and were to be gradually introduced to European knowledge and science according as they evinced a desire for the same.

The adoption of the first principle of the policy in question can only be fully understood in conjunction with the circumstances that prompted it. Its adoption was induced by three broad considerations. Those were (1) that the best method of approach to the people for the purpose of educating them was for the Government to

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 98-99.

address itself in the first instance to those who were by their position and influence in society fitted to become their teachers. As Holt Mackenzie said: "But my present impression is, that 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. These objects being provided for, the support and establishment of colleges for the instruction of what may be called the educated and influential classes seem to me to be more immediate objects of the care of Government than the support and establishment of elementary schools; though these in particular places may claim attention;"[1] (2) that the education of the great body of the people was not feasible in the circumstances then extant. Besides, it was believed that the indigenous means of education were not insufficient, though they might be in many respects deficient, for the ordinary purposes of the life of the poor; and (3) that, when once the influential classes had been educated, the learning and culture of which they were possessed would seek a downward course and permeate the masses, somewhat as water collected on a mountain might roll down to the plain below. Since Government recoiled at the magnitude of such an undertaking as the direct education of the vast poverty-stricken population of India, it was content for the time being to leave their enlightenment to what was believed to be a natural process bound to set itself in operation sooner or later.

1 Note, 17 July 1823: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 59.

This was the theory of the downward filtration of knowledge. In Holt Mackenzie's words, "Further, the natural course of things in all countries seems to be that knowledge introduced from abroad should descend from the higher or educated classes and gradually spread through their example. We surely cannot here, at least expect the servant to prize a learning, which his master despises or hates. The influence of Europeans, if they use not the influential classes of the native community, must necessarily be very confined. What is taught in our schools will only be thought of there. Our scholars, if of the common people when they enter the world, will find no sympathy among their fellows, and until the lessons of the master, or professor become the subject of habitual thought and conversation, they cannot touch the heart, they will little affect the understanding. The acquirement will be an act of memory, with little more of feeling or reflection than if nonsense verses were the theme."[1]

As for the second principle, that of instruction in Oriental learning and the gradual engraftment of European knowledge on it, nothing more need be said here about it than that it was in a manner implied in the first. Since the best course was thought to be the education of the influential and leisured classes before all others, and the prevailing official notion was that Oriental learning was most acceptable to them, it followed that Oriental learning must be the primary object of Government's attention and encouragement. So it was that Holt Mackenzie gave it as his opinion "that the limited classes, who are now instructed (with

[1] Note, 17 July 1823: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 59-60.

great labour certainly whatever may be the use) in the learning of the country, should be the first object of attention. This, of course, implies the association of Oriental learning with European Science, and the gradual introduction of the latter, without any attempt arbitrarily to supersede the former. It implies too the support and patronage of existing institutions, so far at least as the furnishing them with Masters and supplying them with translations. And further, if our 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."[1]

The mental certainty exhibited in the expression of these views did not extend to the allied and no less important question of the introduction of the English language in the country. Mr. Mackenzie's ideas on the question of the medium through which European knowledge was to be communicated seem to lack definiteness. He spoke of "translations into the native languages;" but whether they were to be in the classical or colloquial languages of India does not appear to have crossed his mind. As for making English directly the medium for imparting European knowledge he had no definite opinion to give. He expected that Government would hold out some encouragement to "induce natives to acquire the English language so as to qualify themselves to become translators and teachers." And he remarked further: "As to instruction in the English language, it is not easy to fix the limits,

[1] Note, 17th July 1823: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 60.

to which it should be attempted. Community of language seems to be the surest means, perhaps the only sure means, of creating community of ideas, and I confess that I am disposed to think the difficulties of the attempt are generally overrated. Persian, it should be recollected, is essentially a foreign language. It may be doubted whether what is recorded in that tongue is much better understood by the generality of the parties interested, than it would be if recorded in English."[1] But he clearly perceived that "it would scarcely be consistent to make any effort at general instruction in English, unless the gradual introduction of it as the official language of the country were contemplated."[2]

Finally, it will suffice to refer in Mr. Mackenzie's words to another aim, distinct from that of the intellectual and moral amelioration of the people, which inspired Government in its undertaking. "In framing any rational scheme of public instruction, we must necessarily consider in a general way, at least, how far our other institutions are suited to the state of things, which the diffusion of knowledge may be expected ultimately to produce, and more immediately,

[1] In the course of his evidence on 2nd March 1832 before the Commons Select Committee Mr. Mackenzie said: "Persian cannot in any part of the provinces belonging to the Bengal Presidency, be said to be almost as foreign to the natives as English. In Bengal proper, indeed, it is I believe unknown to the great bulk of the people, I mean of those who read and write....In Behar, and in the Western Provinces, most men, whether Musselmen or Hindoos, of any pretence to education, understand Persian; and although it be unknown to the great bulk of the people, who are agriculturists following the plough, and do not read or write at all, speaking only their local dialect, still the Persian is known to a great multitude of persons, not only in the chief towns, but throughout the country."—Evidence on East India Affairs—Select Committee of the House of Commons—I Public Q. 706.

[2] Sels. E. R. Pt., I, pp. 60-61 passim.

how the acquirements of the students at the public seminaries can best be rendered subservient to the public service, and how the constitution of public offices and the distribution of employments can be made the means of exerting to study and rewarding merit. To those points, therefore, the attention of the committee (*i.e.*, the General Committee of Public Instruction) will be particularly directed; and I should, with some confidence, anticipate from their labours, a great accession, within a moderate time, to the number of persons, who can now be looked to as good instruments of civil government, of which the details must, I apprehend, though our service were multipled tenfold, be left to the natives of the country."[1]

Such were the guiding aims and principles sought to be kept in view at the outset of the experiment of educating the Indian people. The Orientalist trend is unmistakable. Even some time previously to the appointment of the General Committee, Government had proceeded to revive the project of Lord Minto for the establishment of Oriental colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot. Since 1811, when the project was first approved by Minto's Government, no serious step had been taken to carry it into execution. Committees of superintendence had been then appointed at both places to investigate and report on the existing state of learning and generally to devise means for giving effect to the design of Government. But the Committees seem to have carried on the work entrusted to them in a languid manner. The report of the Committee at Nuddea appeared to doubt the success of the contemplated college in

[1] Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 62.

view of the prevailing conditions in the district.[1] Consequently, the scheme remained in abeyance till it was finally abandoned in 1821. In that year, on the suggestion of Mr. H. H. Wilson, Government were persuaded to redeem the "pledge" given in 1811 for the establishment of the colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot, by instituting a Sanskrit College at Calcutta. On 21st August 1821 Government recorded its decision to that effect. The carrying out of the necessary arrangements was entrusted to the General Committee of Public Instruction which was soon after established; and the institution was opened on the 1st of January 1824.

The event, however, is not by itself of so much importance to the history of education as for two memorable protests which the establishment of the college called forth. One was from the Court of Directors; the other from the indefatigable Rammohun Roy. These protests for the first time unmistakably called in question the educational policy of Government, and the protest of Rammohun Roy is more important as the first shot fired in the Anglo-Orientalist conflict.

The Court of Directors, to judge from their tone, were by now thoroughly disappointed with the results of the Orientalist policy, so far at least as those results were evidenced in the case of the Benares Sanskrit College and the Calcutta Madrissa. They were now made aware that the principal objects with which those institutions had been founded—namely, the conciliation of the people and promotion of "useful learning"—were yet far from being achieved. In fact, their Indian

1 Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Committee—I Public—16th August 18

Government had confessed that "it must be feared that the discredit attaching to such a failure has gone far to destroy the influence which the liberality of the endowment would otherwise have had." Hence their protest against the founding of a new institution on the model of its predecessors. They now propounded their own views on the kind of learning they desired to see imparted. And in doing so they were led into making inaccurate assertions regarding the contents and character of Oriental learning. "With respect to the sciences," they said, "it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in the Oriental books. As far as any historical documents may be found in the Oriental languages, what is desirable is, that they should be translated, and this, it is evident, will best be accomplished by Europeans who have acquired the requisite knowledge. Beyond these branches what remains in Oriental literature is poetry; but it has never been thought necessary to establish colleges for the cultivation of poetry, nor is it certain that this would be the most effectual expedient for the attainment of the end." Consequently, they were inclined to believe that the plan of the Oriental institutions was "originally and fundamentally erroneous;" for, they affirmed that "the great end should not have been to teach Hindoo learning," and added further that "no doubt, in teaching useful learning to the Hindoos, or Mahomedans, Hindoo *media* or Mahomedan *media*, as far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed, and Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices would have needed to be consulted, while every thing which

was useful in Hindoo or Mahomedan literature it would have been proper to retain; nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing, under these reservations, a system of instruction, from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing, on the other hand, to establish seminaries for the purposes of teaching mere Hindoo, or mere Mahomedan literature, you bound yourself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned." But the feeling of caution was as strong with the Court of Directors as with their Indian Government, and so, immediately after their diatribe against Oriental learning, they hastened to assure the latter that thereby they did not intend or suggest any radical innovation in the system of instruction pursued. "We think," they stated, "that you have taken, upon the whole, a rational view of what is best to be done. In the institutions which exist on a particular footing alterations should not be introduced more rapidly than a due regard to existing interests and feelings will dictate; at the same time that incessant endeavours should be used to supersede what is useless, or worse, in the present course of study, by what your better knowledge will recommend." They hoped that the principle of utility would be paid more attention to than heretofore in prescribing a course of study for the Sanskrit College.[1] The Benthamite made himself plainly heard in the educational affairs of India.

[1] Revenue Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated 18th February 1824; Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16 August 1832, pp. 331-32.

Of course, the strictures of the Court of Directors did not go unanswered. On their being communicated to the General Committee of Public Instruction, the Committee vindicated the course that had been hitherto pursued. Its vindication rested mainly on two grounds: that the people were not prepared to be instructed in anything, except Oriental learning and that means were not available for the introduction of European knowledge on a large scale. It first tried to make out that the establishment of institutions in which Oriental studies were exclusively pursued had been a case of necessity. As, according to the Committee, the people, or at least the influential classes ("the learned and Brahmanical caste"), were willing to accept only Oriental learning or nothing, the only obvious course for Government to take was to afford them the means of acquiring that learning. "Any other offer," declared the Committee, "would have been useless; tuition in European science, being neither amongst the sensible wants of the people, nor in the power of Government to bestow." The argument was a specious one; and not difficult to understand to some extent when it is remembered that the Orientalists in the Committee appear to have derived their impression of the state of public feeling from the Maulvies and Pundits with whom they usually came in contact. And yet, curiously enough, so far back as 1816, Sir E. H. East had expressly noted that the learned Pundits who attended the memorable meeting at his house had warmly approved of the project of imparting Western knowledge, and that too through the English language, to the children of respectable and influential classes. At the same time, how-

ever, the Committee could not entirely ignore the rising tide in favour of European knowledge and the English language; but then that body appears to have been under the influence of the tendency, always produced in controversy, to be little inconvenient facts when it proceeded to state, as a general proposition, that the learned as well as the unlearned classes in India at the time held "European literature and science in very slight estimation." "A knowledge of English," they continued, "for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, is, to a certain extent, a popular attainment, and a few of the natives employed by Europeans, accustomed to an intimate intercourse with their masters, may perceive that their countrymen have something in the way of practical science to learn. These impressions, however, are still very partial, and the Maulvi and Pundit, satisfied with their own learning, are little inquisitive as to anything beyond it, and are not disposed to regard the literature and science of the West as worth the labour of attainment. As long as this is the case, and we cannot anticipate the very near extinction of such prejudice, any attempt to enforce an acknowledgment of the superiority of intellectual produce amongst the Natives of the West could only create dissatisfaction, and deter those whose improvement it is most important to promote as the best means of securing a more general amelioration, the members of the literary classes, from availing themselves of the beneficence of the Government, by placing themselves within the reach of instruction."

But, in the next place, the Committee argued that, "supposing that the disposition of the native mind was even as favourable as could be desired,"

the means were lacking by which such disposition could be fully taken advantage of. As the argument had not only considerable force in view of the limited resources at the disposal of the Committee, but stated incidentally a leading principle on which their proceedings were based, it may be well to quote it here at some length. "The Hon'ble Court," the Committee pointed out, "admit the necessity of employing Hindu and Mahomedan media, but where are such to be obtained for the introduction of foreign learning? We must teach the teachers and provide the books and by whom are the business of tuition and the task of translation to be accomplished? Until the means are provided, it would be premature to talk of their application, and 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, however, 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 upon the minds of their countrymen." As for the ignorant dicta of the Court of Directors on the quality and compass of Oriental learning, it was easy for the Committee, the reputations of some of whose members were founded on their Oriental acquirements, to refute them; and they did not fail to do so.[1]

[1] Letter, dated 18th August 1824, from G. C. P. I. to the Governor-General in Council: Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, etc., Minutes of Evidence, pp. 18-20 (8th August 1853). The letter was delivered in by H. H. Wilson in the course of his evidence before the Select Committee on 18th July 1853.

More spirited than that of the Court of Directors was the protest of Rammohun Roy, and, because of his extensive acquaintance with Oriental erudition, his attack against it more pointed. On 11th December 1823 he forwarded his famous letter or "address" to Bishop Heber to be placed before the Governor-General in Council. In his letter of March 1824 to Sir Wilmot Horton, Bishop Heber referred to Rammohun's letter in these terms: "Rammohun Roy, a learned native, who has sometimes been called, though I fear without reason, a Christian, remonstrated with this (Orientalist) system last year, in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst's hands and which for its good English, good sense, and forcible arguments, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic." And Collet, the biographer of Rammohun, in quoting these words, adds the comment: "The patronizing tone of these remarks reveals only too plainly the unfortunate attitude which Christian missionaries, even the most devout, assumed towards the natives of India, who were, to say the very least, certainly not their inferiors." [1]

In that letter Rammohun expressed profound disappointment with the Government's measure in founding the Calcutta Sanskrit College. A reformer to the core, he did not expect of the British Government a step that seemed designed to perpetuate an antiquated system, when it could have afforded his countrymen the means of acquiring the knowledge and enlightenment through which Rammohun hoped to see the prevalent

[1] Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 71-73 passim.

evils and superstitions of Hindu society exterminated. Instead of planting in Asia the Arts and Sciences of modern Europe, he said, "we now find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindoo Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This Seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtilities since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India." And he proceeded to expose the kind of learning that the Government had set out to support by establishing the Sanskrit College. Of special interest are his disparaging observations on the Vedanta. In fact, a careful perusal of his criticism of Oriental learning leaves behind the impression that both Rammohun Roy and the Court of Directors were agreed on one great point, namely, that Oriental learning was not "useful," or, in other words, of no practical value so far as the amelioration of society was concerned. They both looked to the strong solvent of Western knowledge to effect the desired amelioration. "If it had been intended," declared Rammohun, "to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be

the best calculated to keep this country in darkness if such had been the policy of the British Legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy, with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus." [1]

Of course, it is a question how far some of the sweeping dicta in his letter to Lord Amherst represent the real views of Rammohun Roy on Oriental learning and whether he was not carried away by the ardour of his enthusiasm for European enlightenment into an undue disparagement of the former. In connection with it, two facts deserve to be noted. First, almost at the same time that he penned the letter to Lord Amherst, he was busy defending the Vedanta in a theological controversy with the missionaries. Secondly, hardly two years after the date of the letter, he founded about 1826 a "Vedanta College" in which a few youths were instructed by a Pundit in Sanskrit literature with a view to the propagation and defence of Hindu unitarianism. It was also further stated that he was willing to introduce in the "college" instruction in European learning and science, provided it was conveyed in Bengali or Sanskrit language. Certainly, the inconsistency of these

[1] Address, dated 11th December 1823, from Raja Rammohun Roy on English Education, Sels. E. R., Pt. I., pp. 99-101.

proceedings of Rammohun Roy with his animadversions on Vedanta and Oriental learning contained in his letter to the Governor-General is apparent, but, like several inconsistencies of his character, not irreconcilable on a closer view. A detailed treatment of this point would be, however, outside the scope of these pages.[1]

It may be remarked in conclusion that with those two protests against the establishment of the Sanskrit College one turns the first page of the Anglo-Orientalist controversy.

1 *Vide* Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, pp. 73-74 passim.

Chapter III.

THE ORIENTALIST POLICY IN ACTION.

§ 1.

Till, however, that historical controversy reached the vigour of its climax, the Committee of Public Instruction carried on for several years undisturbed their experiment in Oriental education. During those years the Committee established several important institutions and tried to reform the old ones which were placed under their superintendence. They also printed a number of Oriental works and translated several important scientific works from English into the Oriental classical languages. Into the Oriental institutions under their control they introduced, to an extent consistent with the constitution and character of those institutions, European learning and knowledge of the English language. The Anglicists, in fact, never did justice to the Committee's endeavours either on behalf of European knowledge and science or on that of the English language.

Enough has already been said regarding the main principles which guided the Committee; and something more it may be necessary to say when their educational policy as a whole comes to be examined. Meanwhile, it will be useful to observe those principles actually at work in the proceedings of the Committee. A review of the commencement and progress of their educational operations during the years 1825-30 will serve a

two-fold purpose. It will, in the first place, elucidate and illustrate the principles and policy of the Committee perhaps better than any mere statement of them can. It will, in the second place, show the growing importance which the question of the introduction of English as medium of education came to acquire during the period. Incidentally, it will also make clear the attitude of the General Committee towards that question.

The first measure of the Committee on their appointment was to address, in September 1823, certain Circular Queries to the Local Agents in the various districts of the Bengal Presidency, with the object of ascertaining the existing state of education in each district, the existence of any peculiar circumstances which might be favourable or otherwise to its further promotion, and the existence and condition of any former endowments capable of being utilised for the maintenance of schools and learned men.[1] But in a number of cases no answers seem to have been returned to those queries; and in very few of those received, were any detailed particulars of information or general views furnished which could in the least aid the labors of the Committee. A creditable exception occurred in the case of the Local Agency of Delhi, whose Secretary, Mr. J. Taylor (an uncovenanted Servant of the Hon'ble Company) submitted "a full and interesting detail of the circumstances relating to the state of Education amongst the population of that City."[2] Nor does the General Committee appear to have been

1 Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 69-71.

2 Educational Despatch from the Governor-General-in-Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 20).

persevering in their inquiry; for, it must be remembered, the education of the masses formed no important part of their present plans.

It is in the proceedings with regard to the institutions for higher learning that the Committee's aims and principles are best exemplified.

And it would be appropriate to begin with the earliest of such institutions—the Calcutta Madrissa of Warren Hastings. From an early period since its foundation, the affairs of that institution continued in an unsatisfactory state. There was a recurrence of abuses in its management, neglect of studies, and a general condition of inefficiency. Government introduced measures of reform now and again, of which two important ones were the appointment of a Committee of Superintendence in 1791, consisting of European Government officials, and the appointment of an European Secretary in 1818. In October 1820, when the Governor-General in Council sanctioned some Regulations for the government of the Madrissa as proposed by the Committee, the system of examinations seems to have been for the first time introduced. The Committee's report of an annual examination held on the 15th of August 1821 showed the institution to be in a favourable state of progress. The Committee stated that the happiest effects "appeared to result from it in dissipating the ancient prejudices of the institution against examinations, and, together with those prejudices, much of the lethargy and indolence which had so long tended to depress it, and to degrade its character." The report of the next annual examination also exhibited favourable results; but the Committee

represented " that the prejudices of the preceptors opposed considerable obstacles in the way of reform," and requested the Government to sanction the employment of " a native assistant under the secretary, with a view to the counteraction of those prejudices." Government approved of the proceedings of the Committee, but advised caution in the introduction of reforms.[1]

In June 1823 Government resolved to remove the Madrissa from its original site to a place called Kalingah, and subsequently denominated Hastings Place. It was decided to house the Madrissa in a specially constructed building, which was commenced early in 1824; and the Government informed the Court of Directors in 1826 that it promised soon to become " no less an ornament to the City, than a striking monument of the interest taken by the Brtish Government in the welfare and moral improvement of its subjects and the importance which it attaches to the flourishing and respectable condition of an Institution destined for the education of one of the principal and most influential classes of the Native population."[2]

This was the first event of importance in the career of the Madrissa on its passing under the control of the General Committee. In connection with the new Madrissa the Committee proposed to Government in May 1824 an important arrangement recommended by a former " Mudrissa Committee." In view of the inadequate means

[1] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16 August 1832, pp. 196-200.

[2] Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 39).

which existed of communicating to Mahomedan youth "a liberal elementary education," the General Committee proposed the establishment of a "day school" attached to the College, "under the same superintendence, preceptors and books being supplied, but no pecuniary allowance to the scholars," such as was given to the students of the Madrissa. At the same time, the Committee took the further step of recommending to Government, as preparatory to the diffusion of European science among the people, the employment of an individual named Abdoor Raheem "as a translator from English Works of Science into Persian and Arabic, under the superintendence of the Secretary of the Madrissa, at a monthly salary of Rs. 100." "The Committee stated also that it appeared equitable to reimburse Dr. Lumsden (the secretary of the Madrissa) the expense he had incurred in securing the residence of the above individual in Calcutta during 13 months at a cost of Rupees 60 per mensem, under the hopes and expectations of his being eventually employed at the public charge. They added that this disbursement was the more warranted as Dr. Lumsden had transferred to them the translations of two works executed by Abdoor Raheem; one the Article Geometry, from the Encyclopædia Brittanica, rendered into Persian, and the other on Arithmetic from the same authority, and Hutton's Course of Mathematics rendered into Arabic."[1] To those works Abdoor Raheem subsequently added a translation of Bridge's Algebra into Persian. Government acceded to both the propositions of the Committee, relating to the opening of a

[1] Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (paras 35 & 38).

day school subordinate to the Mudrissa and the employment of Abdoor Raheem.

The results of the annual examinations in 1824 and 1825 showed the Madrissa in a state of progressive improvement. The Committee had been successful in bringing the institution up to the requisite point of efficiency. The reports of the examiners exhibited "the most unexceptionable proofs of the efficient and respectable state of the institution, the spirit of emulation and study prevailing among the scholars, and the progress made by them in the acquisition of useful knowledge." And it says something for the impartiality of the reports that the body of examiners consisted of men who were not connected with the daily duty of instruction in the Madrissa, such as the examiners of the College of Fort William, the principal Mahomedan officers of the Sudder Dewanny Adalut, and other European gentlemen of learning who voluntarily assisted at the annual examinations. The principal subjects in which the students were examined were Mahomedan Law, General Literature (Arabic and Persian), Logic and Rhetoric, and Mathematics—all taught according to the Oriental system, with some departure here and there in favour of modern European science. In regard to the last mentioned branch of study, a few words are necessary.

Although Geometry and Arithmetic were specifically included among the branches of knowledge to be taught at the Madrissa by the Madrissa Committee of 1791, yet the active pursuit of the study of Mathematics in the institution dated from the appointment of Dr. Lumsden as

Secretary in 1822. Dr. Lumsden strove to render the study a favourite one among the students, and he was not unsuccessful. In 1823 a few students only were examined in the first Book of Euclid, in 1824 the classes passed a satisfactory examination in the four first Books and in 1825 they exhibited "considerable proficiency" in the six first Books. In a letter to Dr. Lumsden, dated 27th January 1825, the Rev. Mr. Thomason, who had examined the students in Mathematics at the annual examination, wrote: "Several of the students have learned the whole of the six Books (of Euclid) published by the School Book Society, and nothing of the kind can be more pleasing than the proficiency manifested by them. It is plain that they are capable of learning anything that is placed before them, comprehended in a Course of Scientific Study, but they are in a manner at a stand for want of Books, and except a system of regular teaching be adopted, they cannot advance much further, and so the Students will go on, from year to year, in a limited sphere pursuing a cycle of mere elementary learning, without attaining to any thing like maturity."

And he pointed out one main reason for the limited progress of the students in mathematical science—the lack of direct access to a higher knowledge of it through the medium of the English language. In the Mudrissa, instruction in mathematics was conveyed by means of Persian and Arabic translations or imperfect original Arabic works on the subject. "It appears to me," said Mr. Thomason, "that Mathematics and Natural Philosophy claim a very large share of our attention, as a peculiarly important portion

of that knowledge by which the mind is opened, and labours of public utility are conducted with effect. Much of the difficulty which is in the way may be traced to a want of the material for any enlarged system of instruction. To provide the means of study for the students of the two colleges, 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 point therefore would be gained, if instead of translating Books into the Eastern languages, Scientifical Instruction were conveyed in English. A multitude of Books would be at command, admirably fitted for every kind and degree of Mathematical learning, from things elementary, to the most profound treatises. We seem to have arrived fully at the period when it would be at once easy and popular to treat the English language as a Language of Science, at the Hindoo and Mussalman Colleges. A sufficient acquaintance with our Language might be soon obtained, considering the facilities for acquiring it which now exist, and thus, not only would encouragement be afforded to the study of our language, but much time and labour will be spared, which must otherwise be consumed in the preparation of useful Books." He concluded by suggesting that a Mathematical Professor be procured from England for the purpose of instructing the classes in the Madrissa and in the Sanskrit College, if a qualified person could not be found in India.

In similar language the Rev. Mr. Mill referred to the question of the use of English as

medium of scientific instruction. In January 1825 an examination was held for the first time in Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometrical mensuration as taught in an Arabic (?) work called the Kholasset-ool-Hisaab. Mr. Mill conducted the examination in that branch of the studies of the Madrissa. He was greatly satisfied with the proficiency displayed by the students, and with the great interest evinced by them in the subject; but he could not help regretting that larger scope was not afforded for their intellectual expansion. He arrived at the same conclusion as the Rev. Mr. Thomason regarding the restrictive effects of the employment of Arabic and Persian as vehicles for the communication of scientific instruction. In his letter dated 3rd February 1825, he said: "Indeed it is impossible to witness the vivid interest which they all, without exception, take in the subject (greater than what I have usually found in the same number of European students of the same age in far more favourable circumstances); and the manner in which their minds are evidently fitted for the study without regretting that they have not better books to assist them. The Kholoasset-ool-Hisaab, tho' a treatise not without merit in its kind, only gives the system of the Arabs 1000 years since; the only advantage of this over the older system of the Greeks, that of the decimal notation, is much impeded by the awkward mode of managing it. Even in the common rules of multiplication and division, the cumbersome Algebraical Symbols already noted, prohibit all approach by this path to the higher branches of Analysis; while the manner in which in this Treatise, the rules for measuring surfaces and solids are given (*i.e.*, as

mere Rules without any demonstration or any intimation to the learner that they are merely approximations tho' ingenious ones) tends to defeat the purpose of Geometry as an useful discipline of the mind altogether. The Arabic translation of Bridge's Algebra (which appears correct and perspicuous as far as I have been able to examine it) will do something towards the remedy of this evil and a few other plain Treatises of the same kind following it, on Fluxions for instance, and the curvelineal Geometry built upon it, would doubtless do much more, but it certainly appears to me (as it does to Mr. Thomason) that we should not depend upon Translations for this most desirable object, but that the proper channel for requiring Native learners to become acquainted with the European Mathematics, is only thro' the English Language. A very slight knowledge of any language is sufficient to read Mathematical Books in it, and the students are evidently not deficient in the curiosity that would animate them to such a pursuit. When sufficiently instructed by this means, it will be for themselves to consider what English books they might translate with advantage, for the benefit of their countrymen."

Thus the necessity for the use of English as medium of instruction in scientific knowledge made itself felt at a very early date. It may be remarked that the question of the medium of instruction was not raised with regard to other branches of study—Law, Literature or Logic and Rhetoric—and the progress of the students in them was very favourably reported on.

In the course of 1824 the General Committee introduced the study of the English Language

into the Madrissa. But the experiment does not appear to have been quite a success at the commencement. In reviewing the operations of the General Committee in the year 1827, the Bengal Government observed to the Court of Directors: "We noticed, however, with regret that instruction in the English language had not yet become a part of the Madrissa course of study, and considering that the omission should be supplied without further delay, we directed the General Committee to give their best attention to the means of carrying into execution the highly important and desirable object of introducing English tuition into our principal Seminary for the education of youth of the Mahomedan persuasion."[1] In 1828, however, the results of the experiment were somewhat assuring; and the Government wrote to the Court: "In the Mahomedan College of Calcutta we have at length succeeded in establishing an English Class, on a footing which promises permanent results, and we are given to understand that the number of Youths of the Moslem persuasion who attend it, already amounts to 42."[2] Later on, in 1830, the success of the class was referred to in terms of satisfaction. "We informed the Committee," wrote the Government, "that we had perused with much satisfaction the report of the first Examination of the English class of the Madrissa, and were disposed to afford every encouragement to the disposition thus evinced by the Mahomedans

1 Letter from the Governor-General in Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 8): Home Dept., Public General Letters to Court, 1826-30 (G. I. R.).

2 Letter from the Governor-General in Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 37): Home Department, Public General Letters to Court, 1826-30 (G. I. R.).

of Calcutta to acquire the English language;" and proceeded to make the further interesting remarks.: "We were not, however, prepared to adopt the Committee's suggestion that we should pass a formal resolution to give a preference in the appointment of Government Vakeels in the several Courts and of Agents with the several Commissioners to those who had acquired our language being otherwise duly qualified, but we authorised the Committee to acquaint the students that in selecting officers of the class alluded to, a familiarity with English would on all occasions be considered by the Government to constitute a recommendation to preference where acquirements of Candidates did not otherwise offer any marked and special grounds for deviating from that rule."[1]

Like that of the Calcutta Madrissa, the early history of the Benares College was remarkable for nothing more than for the failure of the intentions of its founders. For a long period the institution existed, not because of any inherent vitality in it, but because the Government wished it to exist. Its languid existence was marked by intervals of conspicuous decline alternating with periods of "reform." But the reforms introduced by Government from time to time were calculated more to correct and check abuses than to infuse life into the institution; judging from actual results, they touched its external organisation rather than its inner spirit. Moreover, the reforms were seldom of permanent effect. The consequence was that the College soon fell into disrepute

[1] Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 27th August 1830 (Para 3): Home Dept., Public General Letters to Court, 97, 1826-30 (G. I. R.).

among the inhabitants of Benares. As early as 1804, Mr. F. Brooke, then Second Judge of Benares, wrote, in his capacity of Acting President of the College Committee which had been formed in 1798 by the orders of Government on discovery of serious maladministration of the affairs of the institution, as follows: "The college instead of being looked up to by the natives with respect and veneration, is an object of their ridicule; instead of an assemblage of learned Hindus, it resembles a band of pensioners supported by the charity of Government." [1]

At last, on 4th February 1820, Government called for a thorough investigation into the condition and affairs of the College, its past operations and future prospects. [2] To aid in the investigation Mr. H. H. Wilson and Lieutenant Fell, a Sanskrit scholar, were associated with the College Committee. The committee submitted an exhaustive report, dated 17th March 1820. The Committee, to judge from their report, did not consider the college an unmitigated failure. They were inclined to believe that of the two principal objects with which it had been founded by Duncan, one at least had been attained. "Whatever may have been the defects of the institution," they wrote, "or however limited its utility, the motives that led to its foundation, never can have been mistaken, and the appropriation of a liberal fund to the cultivation of Hindu Literature, and encouragement of its professors, cannot have failed of producing a suitable impression on the minds

1 Minute, 7th January 1804: Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Pathshala or Sanskrit College*, pp. 9-11.

2 *Ibid*,. p. 24.

of the Hindu population. So far, therefore, one important object has been attained, and the existence of the Hindu College is a measure that must tend to endear the Government to the people." It is not clear, however, on what grounds the Committee arrived at the supposition. On the contrary, it is difficult to see how an institution, that aroused no enthusiasm or interest among the people, could tend to endear the Government to them. Two years later, on the 4th January 1822, the College Committee reported a donation of Rs. 1,000 to the College from the Raja of Benares on the occasion of the "public disputations," and Nicholls makes the following significant remarks: "This appears to be the first time that the native gentry of Benares showed any apparent interest in the college, and it is lamentable to have to remark that....it is extremely problematical whether their liberality arose from an appreciation of the merits of the institution, or from a desire to obtain a place in the good graces of the authorities; it is much to be feared that the latter was the prevailing motive, for it will be found that at subsequent periods when the college was in as flourishing a state, if not in a more flourishing one, the annual donations decreased to a most insignificant sum."[1] And yet the committee of 1820 almost attributed to the people a feeling of attachment for the Government, because it had established an institution in which they took little or no interest.

With regard to the second object, the Committee admitted the failure of the institution to realise it. "The second advantage has as

1 Minute, 7th January 1804: Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, p. 49.

certainly not been realised," they said, "the college has not furnished on more than two occasions expounders of Hindu law to the English Courts, and, from the report of the examination, comprehends at present no pupil calculated in the lowest degree to discharge such an important function. We are not disposed, however, to consider the failure anything more than might have been expected; the objects of study in the Hindu College even if successfully cultivated are not particularly legal, but are general and literary; and so we conceive they should remain; there is no special inducement held out to the cultivation of Law, and even the appointment of the pupils to vacancies in the Courts would in many cases be an objectionable measure, and as a general one, could not, we imagine, be enforced." Again, a little further on they said: "The failure in the department of legal study, which we have thus noticed, is not the only one that has occurred; in fact from the report of the examination it appears that a corresponding want of acquirement pervades all the other classes, and that the college has done little more than contribute to the maintenance of a certain number of Pundits and pupils, amongst whom Literature and Study have merely served as pleas for securing a maintenance. The special cause of this failure we cannot doubt has been the want of effective control, the absence of which has led to a total deficiency of arrangement in the order of study, and utter want of diligence and zeal in its prosecution."[1] In the end, the committee concluded its survey of the state of the college by suggesting certain

[1] Minute, 7th January 1804: Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, pp. 28-37 passim.

reforms with a view to the introduction of effective superintendence and reorganisation of the various departments of study. The suggestions of the Committee were given effect to by a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, and on the basis of it rules were framed for the future government of the college.[1] It was of these reforms that the Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General in their despatch of 18th February 1824: "We are by no means sanguine in our expectation that the slight reforms which you have proposed to introduce will be followed by much improvement; and we agree with you in certain doubts, whether a greater degree of activity, even if it were produced, on the part of the masters, would in present circumstances, be attended with the most desirable results."

The college being so recently reformed, the General Committee did not introduce any particular change or innovation when it was placed under their control. It was doubtful even whether during 1824-25 serious attempts were made "to carry into effect the system of progressive and general study which was part of the anticipated reform."[2] Lord Combermere, however, in a Minute of 20th August 1827, reviewing the operations of the General Committee for the past year, referred to the Benares College in the following terms: "The Benares College continues to exhibit the same diligence in the cultivation of studies purely national, that it has displayed for some years past. Arrangements have been also made

1 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

2 Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 32).

to encourage to a greater extent, the useful and necessary study of the Laws of the Hindus at this institution, as well as to obtain a more general and finished conversancy with the Sanscrit language."[1]

Here may be related two facts of the history of the Benares College which aptly illustrate what may be called the dual aspect of the policy of the General Committee. In 1827 Captain C. Thoresby, the Secretary of the College, proposed the abolition of the "Veda classes", of the progress of which he gave a very unfavourable report at a meeting of the College Committee held on the 19th of February of that year. The College Committee concurred in Captain Thoresby's suggestion; but, on its being communicated to the General Committee, they took occasion to express their views on the subject in general, which may be best set forth in their own words. The General Committee said: "The Local Committee has concurred in the recommendation of Captain Thoresby, to abolish the Veda classes and, constituted as they have hitherto been, we see no objection; the sole object of tuition having been the recitation of such parts of the ritual, as are still in use, agreeable to fixed cadences and intonations, without any attempt to explain the sense of the original passage. As observed by Captain Thoresby, the only end of this institution was to enable indigent and ignorant Brahmans to gain a livelihood, as underling priests. Although however, we concur in the arrangements adopted by the Local Committee, we should regret to see

1 Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829.

the study of the Vedas altogether excluded from the Government Colleges as it would be by its abolition at Benares, there being no Veda classes in the Sanscrit College at Calcutta. The act itself might be misconstrued into a design to obliterate that which is the basis of the original Hindu system, and it would certainly contribute to the total loss of works, which are valuable for the light they throw upon the history of the Hindu religion, and Sanscrit language. The Veda exercise but little influence upon the present practices of the Hindus, and much of their language is obsolete; if wholly neglected therefore they will soon become unintelligible. Without therefore attaching undue importance to the study, we should wish it to be cultivated to a sufficient extent to provide a few Pundits able to explain the ancient text. We should accordingly propose to keep one class for the perusal of the Vedas, with the commentaries attached to them, not with the same object as hithertofore, but for the purpose of understanding their purport, and interpreting their language."[1]

It was probably such solicitude for antiquarian learning that led the Anglicists subsequently to accuse the General Committee of having behaved as if it had been a subordinate branch of the Bengal Asiatic Society.[2] But if the Committee's policy during this period be viewed as a whole, and not in individual instances of patronage of antique lore, the charge will be found to have been not entirely true. Revival of the

[1] Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, pp. 64-65.

[2] Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, Ch. III., pp. 53-55.

ancient learning of India, which the Charter Act of 1813 contemplated, was no doubt a part of their policy. But their immediate educational aim was to impart in their institutions such parts of "useful" Oriental learning, selected for the purpose from the rest of the useless mass, as were calculated to lead up to the easy and gradual introduction of Western arts and sciences. From the very nature of the aim it was inevitable that greater emphasis should have been placed in the beginning upon Oriental learning. And, again, it must be noted that what made the Anglicists impatient was the slow, and rather circuitous, process of enlightenment involved in the carrying out of the Committee's Orientalist policy. The Committee could not show quick results in the "intellectual and moral improvement of the natives;" and when, later on, the Anglicists assumed control of educational affairs, they frequently pointed out by way of contrast the rapid progress made under their guidance. But what the Anglicists seem to have overlooked was that the rapidity of progress exhibited under their management was possible because they pursued a limited and exclusive aim compared to that of the Orientalists and contributed all their energies and resources to its fulfilment. They forgot that comprehensive aims—such as the Orientalists undoubtedly had in view—are not the quickest achieved.

In March 1829 Captain Thoresby recommended to the General Committee the establishment of a class or classes for instruction in European knowledge through the English language on various useful subjects commonly taught in

English schools. In submitting his proposals to the Committee, Captain Thoresby indulged in certain observations of a general nature which deserve quotation at some length, as they bear upon the attitude of the Orientalists towards the question of the introduction of Western knowledge and the English language in this country.

"The propriety and expediency of imparting a knowledge of the English language and of European literature to the natives of India," he said, "appears to be so fully recognised by Government as well as by most individuals, who have considered as well the subject of education, with reference to the peculiar circumstances of the question as it occurs in this country, that it is superfluous for one to dwell upon the good which according to my apprehension would be affected by a successful prosecution of the measure.

"I wish it to be understood that I consider the communication of sound practical knowledge the true point of aim; an attempt to diffuse suddenly through all classes merely an imperfect knowledge of the English language might be of a dubious tendency; possibly it might be attended with immediate mischief, besides being in a great measure impracticable; but no doubt can be felt as to the result of a careful instruction of the children of families respectable from their situation in life.

"I therefore propose that one or two classes should be established at Benares for the cultivation of the English language and literature to be communicated through the medium of it, which shall be open to a select number of scholars who are respectably connected, without reference to their general place of abode.

"Of the feasibility of the plan I entertain no doubt, for not only does no prejudice exist in the neighbourhood against the English language and literature, but I believe there is a general desire to be acquainted with both.

"I must here state my conviction that the unaided medium of translation superintended by Europeans, however well these may be qualified for the task by comparison and indefatigable in labour, will ever be inadequate to produce any great result among the native population of India; as the work of foreigners, they must be generally faulty and harsh in language and sometimes obscure, and thence must arise the prejudice against it; then they are merely detached links of the great chain, and it is unreasonable to expect them, thus imperfect, to have any great weight with minds pre-occupied and biased or to be considered otherwise than as curiosities and not as the repositories of a literature worthy to support, or make up the deficiency of their own. By educating youth in the English language and thus enabling them to imbibe at the foundation head, numerous difficulties are avoided, and favourable impressions become indelible.

"In after-life the former student may become instructor, if he has the inclination, and communicate the foregoing learning he has acquired to his countrymen in that way in which he knows will be most engaging and useful."[1]

The General Committee agreed with the suggestion of Captain Thoresby. But the English classes were not to form an appendage of the Sanskrit College. For reasons to be noted later on, the General Committee had by this date come to prefer the plan of establishing wherever practicable an English seminary on a distinct foundation. The Governor-General in Council sanctioned the establishment of "an English College at Benares" at an expense not exceeding Rs. 800 per mensem which was to be defrayed from the general Education Fund. As the Local Committee at Benares objected to the General Committee's suggestion for the appointment of an

[1] Letter from Capt. Thoresby to the General Committee, dated 25th March 1829: Nicholls' "Sketch," pp.67, 72 passim.

European master, with "two native assistants," to the school, the services of two students of the Calcutta Vidyalaya were requisitioned. The school was opened on the 15th June 1830. As Nicholls tells us, "in June 1830, two pupils from the Hindu College in Calcutta, Babus Guru Charan Mittre and Eshwar Chandar Dey, were appointed teachers to the English seminary which was dignified with the title of the Benares Anglo-Indian Seminary, which title it retained until November 1836, when it was called the Benares English Seminary or the Benares Government School." It was finally united to the Sanskrit College in 1844.

It is thus evident that if the Orientalists of the General Committee, were, on the one hand, solicitous regarding the extinction of the study of the Vedas, they were, on the other, not reluctant to encourage the diffusion of European learning and the English language among the people they sought to educate. But the demands of their policy were too great for the resources at their disposal and imposed strict limits on the extent of encouragement they could afford.

One fact more remains to be noted in conclusion. Soon after the establishment of the English School, it was intimated to the Local Committee in July 1830, that Government had been pleased to authorise it to communicate to the students of the Benares College that in the nomination of Government vakils in the Courts and agents with the Commissioners, familiarity with English would on all occasions be considered to constitute a recommendation to preference when the acquirements of candidates did not

otherwise offer any marked and special grounds for deviation from that rule. In dealing with the Calcutta Madrissa the circumstances which induced Government to take the above step were touched upon. Its effects were, however, dubious at least in regard to Benares. Nicholls remarks: "This order was calculated to encourage the study of English among the pupils of the College, but it had not the expected effect, nor indeed do I believe it was ever acted upon."[1]

The origin of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta has already been noted. At a very early period Government expressed its intention to make some provision for the introduction of "European science" into the institution in addition to the study of the Sanskrit language and literature. A convenient opportunity offered itself when in 1823 the Managers of the Vidyalaya sought pecuniary assistance from Government and applied for a Lecturer to teach the elements of European science. Government decided to endow a professorship of Experimental Philosophy for both the institutions. It was sought to combine the Sanskrit College and the Vidyalaya so far as to give their students jointly the benefit of philosophical instruction. Nor were the means for such instruction entirely lacking. In 1823 "an extensive philosophical apparatus" had been placed at the disposal of the Sanskrit College by the British India Society in London.[2] It how-

1 *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala or Sanskrit College*, etc., p. 73.

2 A list of articles of which the apparatus consisted will be found in Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—1 Public—16th August 1832, pp. 213-214.

ever remained unutilised for want of a qualified professor or lecturer on experimental philosophy.

The proposal of Government relating to the endowment of a professorship in "experimental philosophy" was warmly supported by the General Committee. They anticipated from the measure "advantages of the most important description," particularly with reference to the Sanskrit college. "The diffusion of sound practical knowledge," they said, "amongst the able and respectable individuals of whom its members will consist; of men, who by their Brahmanical birth, as well as by their learning, exercise a powerful influence on the minds of every order of the community, cannot fail to be attended with beneficial effects. That the curiosity and intelligence of these individuals will be excited, we can scarcely doubt, when we advert to the interest, which is inherent in the subjects of the lectures, and the improved means of verification, which they will possess in an extensive apparatus, and amusing as well as instructive experiments. The chief advantages however are, that as the connexion will be effected in an unobtrusive manner, it will not be likely, in the first instance, to give any alarm to the prejudices of the Brahmanical members of the college; and as it may be expected to become attractive by its own merits, it is probable, that with proper regulation it will spontaneously ripen into intimate association. 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 be thus successfully and extensively promoted."

The particular subjects which the General Committee desired to see embraced in the course of instruction to be given by the professor were: Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Electricity, Astronomy and Chemistry. They, however, wished Chemistry to be separated from the rest and a practical course appropriated to that science alone.

The arrangement which the Committee recommended for the purpose of affording the benefit of "philosophical instruction" both to the Sanskrit College and the Vidyalaya was, in their own words, as follows: "The pupils of the philosophical school are to be those of the first class of the present native college (*i.e.*, the Vidyalaya); upon all of whom, it would be made obligatory to attend one course of philosophy, a further continuance should be made a matter of favour and granted only when the desire and capability of learning were undoubted. The duration of the period of study may then be regulated, only by the wish of the parties and the report of the professor. The lads of the native college should not be permitted to attend the philosophical class, until they are well grounded in the English language; a qualification, it might be supposed, it is unnecessary to provide for by any other condition, than that of their entering the first class of the present college." It is here interesting to note that, in regard to the pupils of the Sanskrit College, the Sanskrit or the vernacular language seems to have been the medium of instruction contemplated by the Committee. "Their num-

ber will consequently not much exceed a dozen at a time," continued the Committee, "and the professor will be able to extend the benefit of his instructions to at least an equal number of the lads in the upper classes of the Sanscrit College, when he shall be qualified to communicate with the pupils either in Sanscrit or some of the vernacular languages; to the acquisition of which his attention should be immediately addressed and in the study of which he should be aided with teachers and books at the public expense."[1] It may be added that a Lecturer on Natural and Experimental Philosophy for both the institutions was found in a Mr. Ross, Foreman to the Calcutta Mint, who was stated to be "a gentleman possessing considerable scientific acquirements."

Further steps towards the introduction of European learning into the College were taken during 1827 when two important innovations were made. A medical class was instituted for imparting to the pupils instruction in "the first elements of European anatomy." And an English class was established for affording the advanced students of the College tuition in the English language. The success of these classes as evidenced in the results of the annual examination in 1828 seems to have been very gratifying to the General Committee. "Several of the Medical students," they observed in their report, "described at the examination, with great readiness, either in English or Bengali, the organs of the human body, and others maintained conversation in English with tolerable facility. They have

[1] Letter from the General Committee of Public Instruction, to the Governor-General in Council, dated 6th October 1823 : Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 86-91.

also displayed a very respectable conversance, in the English in Translations from Thompson and Milton into Sanskrit verse. At the same time we cannot expect that the English class will ever possess that command of the language which is attained, where, as in the Anglo-Indian College (the Vidyalaya), it is the exclusive object of attention, and where it is commenced at an early age, and laboriously cultivated through a series of years. The English students in the Sanscrit College have their Sanscrit studies to attend to and with reference to their character as Brahmins, and their prospects in life as expounders of the Hindu Literature, Sciences and Law, actually give the preference to that course of study, on which their reputation and subsistence depend—such attention, however, as they do pay to the English, cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence upon their minds, and will liberalise their feelings, and enlarge their views, and in a few individual instances of superior Talent and Industry will form a substantial and highly advantageous acquirement. The ability to consult the English Translations of the Law books is of itself an important benefit and the importance of English in the Medical class is already sensibly felt, the best English Scholars being invariably the best Anatomists."[1]

It has previously been seen how the Vidyalaya came into existence in 1816. Till 1823 Government avoided all interference with the institution. Its affairs were under the control of a Managing Committee consisting of Europeans and Indians.

1 Quoted in Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 38).

But mismanagement reduced the institution to sorry straits and necessitated applications to Government for assistance. The Bengal Government wrote to the Court of Directors in 1826 that "owing to an injudicious outlay at starting, and to the reduction in the rate of interest on all public securities, the funds of the institution experienced a considerable decrease and applications were on more than one occasion made to Government by the Native Managers for pecuniary aid."[1] In 1823, when the very existence of the institution seems to have been in jeopardy, an application was made (and forwarded through the General Committee under date 7th April 1824) to Government by the managers, requesting "an allowance for house-rent and the aid of a person competent to teach the elements of European Science until the completion of the new college and the permanent appointment of a Lecturer." Government expressed its willingness to grant the assistance solicited, but in return demanded a certain degree of authoritative control, to be exercised with the consent of the managers, over the concerns and management of the institution. To this stipulation the Indian managers demurred; but after some discussion, it was finally settled, with the concurrence of the parties concerned, that the General Committee were to exercise "a regular inspection and supervising control as visitors of the Anglo-Indian College (another name for the Vidyalaya) through the medium of such of their members as they might from time to time appoint." Mr. Wilson, Secretary to the General Committee, was the first

1 Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 56).

Visitor selected "to act as the organ and representative of the General Committee in the discharge of that duty." It was further agreed that reports of the condition and progress of the institution were to be from time to time furnished to the General Committee, and that all recommendations proceeding from that body relative to the conduct of the affairs of the institution were to be acted upon by the Managers unless sufficient reason were shown to the contrary in writing. Government then decided to allow a sum of Rs. 300 per mensem for house-rent; and the arrangements that were made in compliance with the request of the Managers for a professor in European science have already been noticed. Thus it was, in short, that the Vidyalaya was brought partially under the control of the General Committee.

Having for its primary object the diffusion of European learning and the English language, the Vidyalaya excited a keener interest in the Government as well as the General Committee regarding its progress and success than perhaps any of the Oriental institutions. And its progress within the next few years was such as to evoke encomia from all who witnessed it. It soon came to be looked upon as "a most important and efficacious instrument for raising the moral worth and improving the intellectual condition of the Native subjects of the Hon'ble Company." Mr. Wilson reported in his visitorial capacity on the annual examination of the college for 1825 in these terms: "I am happy to state that great improvement has been made this year in the command of the English language, and that by

enforcing attention to written translations the Senior Pupils are now able to express themselves in writing with tolerable accuracy. Considerable progress has been also made in their Arithmetical studies and the whole of the classes, except the very youngest, are now engaged in this useful acquisition. The senior classes are advanced in fractions. The more particular attention to this branch of Education is of so recent a date, that greater progress could not have been looked for." At the same time he added: "The greatest advance, however, has been made in the Department of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and the Senior class has acquired singular conversancy with the elements of the several sciences. Their acquirements reflect great credit on their application and on the pains taken with them by their Instructor Mr. Ross." And the General Committee, in corroborating Mr. Wilson's report in respect of the attainments of the scholars, added some interesting observations. "It is equally gratifying to find," they remarked, "that the most respectable classes of the Native Community of Calcutta have evinced a disposition to secure the benefits of the Institution to their children, and have sent so many scholars who pay for their education since the last annual examination. The evident superiority of the Institution and the low rate of charge, have no doubt their weight in operating this improved state of native feeling, but we are satisfied that much may also be attributed to the diffusion of liberal ideas, and to confidence felt by the parents of the pupils in the present system of management." With regard to the ultimate good which the institution was calculated to effect, were its scope

enlarged, the Committee said: "The importance of the extended activity of the Anglo-Indian College will admit of no doubt, and as long as a body of two hundred boys, most or all of whom are respectably connected, can be trained in useful knowledge and the English language a great improvement may be confidently anticipated in the intellectual character of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta. This must, however, be the work of time and will depend upon the consistency to be given to the operations of the College by a steady and prudent attention to the object of its institution." The favourable progress to which these reports attested induced the Government, on the recommendation of the General Committee, to authorise the endowment of scholarships in the institution, to an extent compatible with the prevailing circumstances and the state of the funds.[1]

During succeeding years too the progress of the Vidyalaya was all that could be desired or expected under the circumstances. In a Minute of 26th July 1826 Lord Amherst remarked that "by the report of the annual examination in January last (1826), it appeared that 196 pupils, of different ages, the sons of the most respectable members of the Native Community, were in course of instruction at this seminary, in the English language and literature, and in European science; and the knowledge of the senior pupils reflected the highest credit upon their talents and application and upon the system of tuition by which they had been instructed. At present there are

[1] Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826.

280 scholars; of which 190 contribute to defray the expense of their own education; of the rest, 60 are upon the foundation, and 30 are supported by the School Society." And his Lordship went on to add: "It is to this establishment that Government especially looks for the successful diffusion of that knowledge which is equally applicable to the purposes of active and contemplative life, and which unites reason and philosophy with the happiness and improvement of Society." So also, in the following year, Lord Combermere, in the Minute already qouted from, said: "It is in the Vidyalaya, however, that the study of English is most successfully prosecuted. At the public examination held also in January last (1827), the Senior classes were examined in Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry, and proved their acquaintance with the language of Shakespear, by declaiming several of his scenes. Since then the first class has been introduced to the elements of Mathematical knowledge, and to the acquirement for Drawing, which may be of service to them in after life. The progress made by the pupils of this college, is highly creditable to their own talents and assiduity, and the care with which their studies are superintended. The number of scholars is between 4 and 500; of whom those on the original foundation and that of the School Society (altogether ninety) remain as before. Subscribers to the Education Fund have been permitted to add to these one free Scholar for every 10,000 rupees subscribed, and from part of similar donations, small scholarships have been attached to the College for a number of the pupils of the first class, to contribute towards defraying their maintenance, and obviate any

urgent necessity for their premature removal from studies of so much interest and importance to themselves, and to the diffusion of useful information."[1]

In connection with the Vidyalaya the General Committee put forward at an early date an interesting proposal. Although the Vidyalaya was termed "a college," the knowledge imparted in it was of an elementary character; nor were the teachers men of sufficient acquirements in the English language and literature to lead the pupils beyond the elementary stage. The General Committee were convinced that, if the standard of instruction was to be raised and the cultivation of the English language extended, qualified teachers had to be procured from England. Again, the General Committee were constrained to admit the difficulty of the attempt to accomplish either of those objects by translations from the English into the Oriental languages. In these circumstances, the Committee, in submitting in April 1825 their report of the annual examination of the Vidyalaya, seized the occasion to urge upon Government the formation of a distinct institution "for the admission of a certain number of the most advanced pupils from both the Hindu and Mahomedan seminaries for gratuitous instruction in Literature and Science through the medium of the English language." In short, they proposed the establishment of a real College where a higher degree of European knowledge through the medium of English would be obtainable to young men of promising talents, after the

1 *Vide* Education Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829.

necessary preliminary attainments had been acquired in the English classes attached to the Oriental seminaries. In laying the Committee's proposal before the Court of Directors the Governor-General in Council referred to the motives in which the proposal originated. Said the Governor General: "An arrangement of this nature they (the Committee) observe is obviously calculated to introduce the native youth, to a much more thorough conversancy with the actual state of European intellect, than the circumscribed education which they now receive, and which, whilst it communicates words, imparts but very scantily ideas. It is due also, they very justly add, to the British Government that they should uphold a public seminary for the instruction of their subjects in that knowledge which their enlightened judgment knows to be most worthy of attention. Justice has been done to the learned part of the Native Society, in the encouragement of the studies which they most value, and both Mahomedans and Hindus have been provided by the Government with facilities for pursuing Literature and Science in sources which they respectively venerate. Having accomplished this, it is now incumbent on us to open to them a channel for acquirements of a more elevated description and which when duly appreciated and diffused, must exercise a powerful and ameliorating influence on the intellect and morals of our Indian Subjects."[1]

The General Committee expressed their readiness to appropriate Rs. 2,000 per mensem to the

1 Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826.

maintenance of an English College on the footing proposed by them. But the aid of competent instructors from England was a great desideratum. Two such were for the present urgently required —one for Mathematics, and another for instruction in "general literature and composition." As for their emoluments, the Governor-General informed the Court that "the rate of salary proposed for the preceptors is besides certain contingent advantages, about rupees 400 per mensem, the state of the Education Fund not admitting of a larger offer being made, but should not this prove an adequate inducement, the Committee trust that your Hon'ble Court may deem it proper with reference to the importance of the end proposed, to sanction the separate grant of a sufficient addition to the amount specified with a view to secure the services of two individuals of the required character and qualifications and of whose fitness in all respects you may be pleased to approve."[1] As the Government entirely concurred in the proposal for an English College, it joined with the Committee in the above request to the Court of Directors.

The Court of Directors, satisfied with the manner in which the educational operations of the Committee were conducted, were willing enough to co-operate in the measure for the promotion of higher European learning in India. They wrote to the Governor-General: "We shall immediately take steps for procuring two preceptors, who, besides having the necessary literary attainments, may unite discretion and

1 Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826.

good sense with an ardent zeal for the work in which they are to be engaged. The supply of books and of instruments, the expense of which it is proposed by the Committee to defray out of the Education Fund, will also be attended to, and you will receive due notification as soon as the objects have been effected."[1]

But the project of establishing the proposed English College at Calcutta was not carried into effect. It seems to have been tacitly abandoned about 1829, as the Vidyalaya was stated, under proper superintendence, to have been found capable of answering the end for which an English College had been sought to be established.[2]

So far those educational institutions which existed, with the exception of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, prior to the establishment of the General Committee in 1823, have been treated of. Even the Sanskrit College, as was seen, had been projected before the Committee was instituted, There remain now two important institutions to be noticed which were founded after the Committee began to function and founded through its instrumentality. These institutions were the Oriental Colleges at Delhi and Agra.

It was noted at the commencement of this section that Mr. H. J. Taylor, an uncovenanted servant of the Company, had submitted, in answer to the Committee's Circular Queries of September 1823, a detailed report on the state of education in the City of Delhi. Mr. Taylor

1 Public Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated 5th September 1827 (para 22).

2 Public Letter from the Court to Bengal, dated 29th September 1830 (para 12).

represented that public education stood in great need of encouragement in that city: that the ancient endowments there had fallen into neglect and ruin; and, that, whilst the circumstances even of the respectable portion of the community did not permit of their incurring the expense of providing education for their children, they had not obtained any assistance from the public fund. Such assistance was needed; and opportunities of affording it were particularly favourable. For, the old seminaries still existed in a condition that could be rendered easily available "to the accommodation of a new seminary," and "many individuals could be found familiar with the business of instruction and highly competent to afford it." Though their acquirements were confined to Mahomedan literature and science, yet it was considered possible to introduce "an improved course of study at Delhi," through the agency of those persons, when suitable means for doing so were placed at their disposal.

Under the circumstances represented in Mr. Taylor's report, the General Committee recommended to Government the formation of a "Literary Establishment" to be designated the Delhi College. A fund of about Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 3,500 per annum, applicable to the support of such an institution, was reported to exist by the Local Agency of Delhi; and the General Committee proposed to contribute Rs. 600 per mensem out of the Education Fund for its maintenance. The Committee, "satisfied that without proper superintendence it would be wholly useless to establish any institution whatsoever," re-

commended that Mr. Taylor should be appointed superintendent, under the control of a Local Committee, with "a small allowance of Rs. 150 per mensem payable from the College Fund." The establishment of the College was to consist of one preceptor at Rs. 100 per mensem, five Maulvis at Rs. 50 each, and 89 scholars who were to receive a stipend of Rs. 3 each per mensem.' The proposals of the Committee having received the sanction of Government, the Delhi College was founded in 1825.

The principles on which the institution was to be conducted were broadly indicated in the letter of instructions addressed by the General Committee to the Local Agents at Delhi. "In the present want of Books and Teachers," said the Committee, "it is not possible to suggest any innovation in the course or objects of Tuition 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 Mahomedans consider the higher branches of learning, Arabic, Philosophy and Theology. The attention of the students, in the opinion of the General Committee, should be especially directed, in the first instance, to a command of their own language, and to Composition in a classical and unaffected style of Hindoostany. The next step 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 conversancy with the Language of

Arabia. In the progress of the Students through these gradations, opportunity should be taken to convey a knowledge of Arithmetic and Mathematics. In Hindoostany, perhaps, little exists but works of light reading; but if any of a historical character can be met with, they should seem to merit preference. It might be expedient to give the students some knowledge of the division, notions and peculiarities of the Hindoos. In Persian also, in addition to works of imagination, Historical works should be chiefly studied. In Arabic the student should begin with those works read in the Calcutta Madrissa, as best calculated to impart a knowledge of the Language; and his attention should then be directed to such parts of Mahomedan Jurisprudence, as may qualify him to be serviceable in the Courts. This is as much as may be considered the regular College course, although, if the Scholars are disposed to learn, or the Professors to teach, any other branch of knowledge, and such tuitions do not disturb the established series, the arrangement may be sanctioned."[1]

In his Minute of 26th July 1826 the Governor-General expressed satisfaction with the progress made by the College within a year of its establishment. "The first Annual Report from the College of Delhi," he said, "states the number of resident scholars to be 120, of whom the classes more advanced are engaged in the study of the Arabic language, Mahomedan law, and the elements of Euclid; and the junior in the cultivation of Persian and the elements of the Arabic language.

[1] *Vide* Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826.

The Report of the Local Committee is highly favourable to the zeal with which the Teachers and the students of this seminary have been animated; the diligence with which it has been superintended; and the popularity which, even in this early period, it has attained; and these circumstances have determined Government to extend the beneficial operation of the College, by placing more liberal allowances at its disposal, and thus opening a door to a greater number of pupils; of whom, from the advantageous situation of Delhi, there is likely to be a considerable resort from the Upper and Western Provinces of Hindoostan."

In 1827 it was stated there were 40 students in Arabic, 50 in the higher classes of Persian, 97 in elementary classes, and 17 in Sanskrit, making in all 204. Moreover, the elements of Astronomy and Mathematics on European principles were introduced, although the principal objects of study in the college were the Arabic language and Mahomedan Law.[1] Shortly after, the study of the English language was also added. But the introduction of the study of English into the Delhi College led to interesting and important developments which must be considered in some detail.

In their report of the annual examinations for 1828 of the Delhi College, the Local Committee expressed themselves as follows with regard to the English class of the College: 'Altho' the Delhi College gives sufficient opportunity to a limited number of students, of attaining the

1 Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829.

rudiments of the English tongue, yet it affords at present, neither the means of acquiring that degree of advancement in the language, without which no useful result is to be expected, nor of teaching any European learning or Science; and persuaded of the paramount advantages of such proficiency and instruction, the Committee solicit in the most earnest manner the timely appointment of a qualified Professor of the European Sciences and literature; private intimation alone, that of the two Professors expected from England for the Hindu College (the Vidyalaya), the services of one would be rendered available to this Institution, having prevented an earlier application on this account."

But the Local Committee, not satisfied with the modicum of knowledge of English which was all that could be imparted in an Oriental institution, put forward bold proposals for the extensive diffusion of a knowledge of the language among the people at large. In two communications addressed to the General Committee they advocated in as impressive a manner as possible the extension of "English tuition" in the Upper Provinces and the gradual introduction of the English language as the language of public business throughout the British dominions in India. The General Committee did not admit the soundness of all the views and able arguments advanced by the Local Committee; but they expressed themselves "fully disposed to concur in their general conclusion, and to recommend the adoption of such arrangements as their means would permit in furtherance of the important object contemplated." The General Committee

accordingly recommended the formation of "a separate English class at Delhi," at an expense not exceeding Rupees 800 per mensem to be defrayed from the General Education Fund. But, having regard to the particular object in view, the General Committee, it must be noted, were not in favour of the course pursued at an earlier date in similar cases of appending an English class to the existing Oriental college. The reasons for which they recommended a separate English class are interesting to note as indicating their views at this date on the subject of English education.

> "As a part only, and subordinate part of the course of study followed in a Native College," the General Committee observed in their report, "the acquirement of English can be only a secondary object, and will be pursued with inferior zeal and assiduity. The acquirement is also more difficult than the Local Committee seems to apprehend. Although the grammatical rudiments of the language be simple, its structure in written composition is complicated, and the whole body of expressions and ideas so unlike those to which Asiatics are accustomed, that they can only become familiar to the Native mind by a long and laborious course of study. Tuition in English also is not intended to be confined to the language. The more important object is instruction in History, Ethics, and Science, and the various branches of the latter alone, whether physical or abstract, leave but little opportunity for the cultivation of Native literature. Where they are prosecuted together, one must be comparatively neglected, and in a Seminary established for Oriental studies, the portion of time and attention devoted to the English class must be too trifling to afford any hope of considerable proficiency. The almost exclusive demand which the study of English on a liberal scale, must necessarily form upon the time of the pupils, constitutes an objection of some weight to its introduction in the present condition of the people of India, as a knowledge of English alone will be of much

less value as a means of gaining a respectable livelihood, than either Sanskrit or Arabic. At the same time we trust it will be found practicable even where English is made the main scope and end of the course of study to engraft upon it a subsidiary cultivation of the Native languages; that shall be sufficient for all practical purposes.

"However this may be found practicable, we are decidedly of opinion that if the study of English is to be beneficially extended, it should be effectively prosecuted. A mere smattering of broken English, will lead to no improvement in the intellectual or moral character of the Native population. With this view therefore we would propose to establish an English College at some Chief City or Cities in Hindustan, on similar principles to those which regulate the Anglo-Indian College of Calcutta. We should not have selected Delhi for the experiment, but the locality comes powerfully recommended by the considerations adduced by the Delhi College Committee, by the testimony they bear to the popular feelings in favour of the study, and above all by the reliance we may place in their zeal and judgment, in carrying into effect any arrangement for the establishment of an English College and superintending its conduct."

Government concurred in the views of the General Committee. In their educational despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829,[1] they said: "We expressed ourselves decidedly favourable to the policy of disseminating our language, science and literature throughout India, to the utmost extent, which the Funds available for the purpose, and the obligation incumbent on us of cherishing the Native learning of the country, will permit-concurring with the General Committee in their view that the best mode of encouraging and promoting the study

1 Home Dept.: Public General Letters to Court, Vol. 97, 1826-30 (G. I. R.)

would be the formation of separate English Colleges rather than the attaching of classes for the cultivation of that language to Institutions already existing, We entirely approved the plan of the new Seminary proposed for Delhi....."

So what was sometimes known as the Delhi Institution was founded "by the appointment of teachers, provision of elementary books, and the assembling together of 68 pupils."[1]

The Agra College originated under the following circumstances:—

One Gungadhur Pundit, who died in 1813, "held certain villages in the Agra and Alygarh districts rent-free under some grant for Public and Charitable purposes which lapsed his demise. On the 5th January 1816 the Government in reply to a reference from the Western Board resolved that ¾th of the produce of the Estates should be applied to such purposes. The Local Agents of both districts were charged with the Management.

"Some correspondence and a variety of suggestions were interchanged between the Local Agents of Agra and the Board as to the application of the Funds and after much delay it was agreed that a Collegiate Institution should be established at Agra for the instruction of natives.

"When the General Committee was formed in July 1823, Government referred to it all the correspondence with intimation that the fund

1 Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee, I Public—16th August 1832, p. 254.

was to be applied to Public Education and with direction to consider the subject....."[1]

The Committee submitted a report dated 24th October 1823. The proceeds of the lands in question were stated to amount to nearly Rs. 1,50,000, capable, when laid out at interest, of yielding an annual income of Rs. 20,000. The Committee considered the fund adequate to the maintenance of a collegiate establishment on a liberal scale. They, therefore, strongly recommended that "the funds should be applied to the maintenance of a single institution, and that this should be established in the city of Agra, under the designation of the Agra College."

As for the principles on which the institution was to be founded, the General Committee considered the existing Government seminaries exclusive in their character, "each being confined to studies belonging to peculiar classes, and more or less connected with their religious persuasions; but it appeared to them very desirable to place the new Institution on a more liberal footing and to direct its instruction to general purposes of business and of life."[2] Another feature of the projected institution was that it was to be open to all classes of the population.

Hence the Committee placed before Government the outline of a rather comprehensive plan

[1] Letter from Secy. G. C. P. I. to Secy., to Government in the General Dept., dated 21st January 1835; Public Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 7. (G. I. R.). Mr. Sutherland's version as above of the origin of the College has been followed, as that given in the General Committee's printed report of 1831 was stated to err in a material particular.

[2] Education Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 27th January 1826 (para 12).

of the college. In it Persian and Arabic, as the languages of the courts of justice and of Mahomedan literature, were to form part of the subjects of study; while Hindee and Sanskrit, as the languages of common life and of the literature of the Hindus, were deemed equally necessary. In consequence, the Committee proposed that "the whole of these languages should be taught in the College." The introduction of the English language was postponed. In regard to it the Committee observed: "Hereafter it may be desirable to provide the means of teaching English, but we could not consider this necessary in the first instance, and do not, therefore, offer any recommendation on this head. We must at 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. Nothing, it is evident, can be expediently taught, in which the people do not take an interest, and a considerable period must elapse before new Books can be supplied. Although, therefore, 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 to be at least premature to establish separate classes for any of the several branches of it. In like manner it is not our purpose to urge the students generally to pursue the abstruse parts of Native Science." A teacher of Arithmetic was, however, included in the plan, "as indispensible under the most popular scheme." In the course of instruction in the Sanskrit and Arabic languages for the higher classes respectively, was to be included a general acquaintance with "the best popular written works" in either

language as well as the study of such parts of Hindu and Mahomedan law as would be serviceable in the courts of justice. It was likewise suggested that the perusal of the Regulations of the British Government should be specially enforced among both Hindu and Mahomedan students, who might be capable of profiting by the study.

Such being the plan of the projected institution, the General Committee were led to remark in conclusion that they looked forward "to the result with peculiar interest, as the principles and objects of the Agra College, although perfectly in unison with the maxim of benefiting the people in India by methods derived from themselves, are in a great degree new amidst the systems hitherto devised for promoting public and useful education in this Country." The foundation of the college on the plan proposed by the Committee was authorised by Government on 7th November 1823.

In 1826 the number of pupils in the College was reported to be 117, of whom 43 were comprised in the Hindu classes and 74 in the Mahomedan. In 1827, at the time of the annual examination, there were 121 students studying Arabic and Persian, and 63 studying Sanskrit and Hindee. The progress of the former was stated to have been "most respectable"; but that of the latter to have been retarded, especially in Hindee, by the want of books. Some additions had been made during the year to the means already extant at the institution of acquiring proficiency in the Mathematical sciences. The study of Hindee seems to have been a popular one. The whole number of students in the college reading Hindee,

either exclusively or with Persian, was stated to be 120—a fact which proved very gratifying to Government. And with regard to it the General Committee observed: "The situation of the Agra College is well adapted to the successful cultivation of the Hindee language, and we trust it may be made the instrument of giving a fixed 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. A form of speech that becomes unintelligible every century, is a fatal bar to the progress of literary acquirement."

In 1827 also the Local Committee at Agra proposed the introduction of the English language into the college. The Committee pointed out the necessity of procuring from the Presidency teachers qualified in the principles of European science and in the Arabic and Sanskrit languages, if the study of Mathematics and Geography was to be successfully prosecuted in the institution; and suggested as a preferable alternative that instruction in those subjects should be conveyed through the medium of English. The General Committee hesitated to assent to the latter proposition; and the following extract from their annual report for 1827 clearly brings out their attitude at this date towards a question which was now steadily growing in importance. Referring to the above suggestion of the Agra Committee, they said:—

> "We trust it is unnecessary for us to state, that we entertain no objection to the introduction of the English language into any of the Government Seminaries,

where a reasonable prospect exists of its being serviceably acquired, or effectually taught; but we think that at present English instruction at Agra is of secondary importance, and are certain that we have not the means at command of imparting a sound and thorough knowledge of the language. Any attempt of this nature would, we are certain, end in the communication of a little broken English to a few individuals, sufficient to fit them for copyists in the public offices; and we are of opinion that it would not be desirable to incur any considerable outlay for such a purpose. When the system at Agra is fully established, and superior Scholars in Persian and Hindee 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 those languages must first be acquired. It should always be recollected that the Government Institutions are not intended for a temporary existence; and although it may be mortifying sometimes for laudable zeal to leave anything undone that it may hold beneficial—yet it is better to defer improvements in the consequences of which a few years are but a moment, than run the risk of embarrassing the benefits in progress, by multiplying in the outset, the ends which it is proposed to effect. Under these impressions we feel obliged still to object to the establishment of an English college at Agra; and to repeat our recommendation that for the present diligent attention should be paid to mature and methodise the course of Oriental tuition—an object which, it is clear is yet very far from being accomplished."[1]

And Government reported its own action in the matter to the Court of Directors as follows: "We concurred with the General Committee in opinion that, under the circumstances represented, there did not appear to be sufficient grounds to warrant the expectation that a favourable result would attend the attempt to introduce

[1] Quoted in Education Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 15).

the study of English into the Agra College; but reminded them at the same time of the wish we had often expressed that every fit occasion should be taken for promoting the cultivation of European Science and Literature, through the medium of the English language, in all the Government Seminaries."[1]

But in 1828 the Agra Committee again urged the formation of an English class in the College. They stated in support of the proposed measure that a knowledge of English was in popular demand in the Upper Provinces, and that the means of learning the English language were "earnestly solicited from Government by the most wealthy and leading classes of Natives." Moreover, the establishment of such a class, they said, would result in rendering a collegiate education much more sought after by the children of the opulent Hindoos and Mahomedans of Upper India than had been hitherto the case. The General Committee yielded, though not without some doubt as to the extent of success the English class might meet with. In recommending to Government compliance with the wish of the Agra Committee, they took occasion to address the following remarks:

> A small portion only of the time of the student can be devoted to the acquirement, and it will probably not engage much of his interest or preference. As also he will commence the study at a comparatively advanced age, his faculty of acquirement will be diminished, his progress will be tardy, and his final proficiency inconsiderable. At the same time as we have not the means of creating an independent English College at each Station,

1 Quoted in Education Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 16).

> we must therefore for the present be content to avail ourselves of the less effective plan of attaching an English Class to an Institution established principally for other objects like that of Agra. We therefore beg to recommend that this Class be formed, as proposed by the Local Committee, at the charge specified, *i.e.*, Rupees 200 per mensem for a teacher, and Rs. 50 for Books and Contingencies."

Government agreed with the recommendation of the General Committee. "We entirely approved the proposal," they wrote to the Court of Directors, "for attaching an English Class to the Agra College on the recommendation of the Local Committee, and to meet, in some degree, the desire for instruction in the English language, which was stated to have manifested itself spontaneously in that quarter, as well as elsewhere in the Upper Provinces. Should any of the wealthier Natives, we observed, as anticipated by the Local Committee, desire to contribute to the support of an English Class, or of a separate English College on a more enlarged and effective scale, it would be proper to consider of the expediency of associating the principal subscribers in the Committee of management, at least as honorary members—a measure, we conceived, which would give to the influential classes of the community a more lively interest than they could otherwise be expected to feel in the success of the institution, and at the same time afford to the public at large a distinct and unequivocal pledge, that nothing was therein taught or practised, at variance with native feelings, habits, and prejudices, whether social or religious."[1]

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[1] Quoted in Educational Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated 21st August 1829 (para 44).

This brings us to the end of our review of the principal educational activities of the General Committee down to the year 1830. The various measures of the Committee noted in the course of the narrative—whether in the way of the establishment of new institutions or of the introduction of innovations into previously existing ones—go far to illustrate clearly the principles which that body attempted to carry into practice during the period. The main tendency of the Committee's measures was to place a preponderant emphasis on Oriental learning which was sought to be used as a lever to raise the intellectual condition of the country to a point favourable for the dissemination of Western knowledge. It is not surprising, therefore, that progress towards the direct introduction of European science and the English language should have been slow and should have made the increasing Anglicist element in the country impatient.

Exclusive of the seminaries for higher learning, there were other schools of a more or less elementary character under the supervision of the General Committee, such as the Chinsurah schools, the Rajpootana schools, the free School at Cawnpore, the Bhagalpore school. Though under the General Committee's supervising control, the general policy which the Committee adopted with regard to the higher seminaries was not enforced in the case of those schools, as they had been for the most part founded before the institution of the Committee, and the primary object and character of the schools would not have harmonised with any attempt to apply that policy to them. Besides those schools, the

Committee supported from the Education Fund another of a similar character, namely, the Allahabad School established by some English gentlemen in 1825, in which the Persian and Hindustani languages and arithmetic and geography were taught.[1] In 1827 the Committee planned and made preparations for the establishment of an Oriental College at Bareilly of the usual type, but with a teacher for English attached to it; the scheme was, however, at the last moment abandoned on the ground of the expense which would have attended its execution, and which the Bengal Government does not seem to have been prepared to incur, though it had concurred at first in the scheme as submitted by the General Committee.[2] But two schools, which were generously patronised by the Committee, deserve particular mention on account of the purpose for which they were founded. These were the Bhawanipore and Kidderpore schools for the tuition of Hindu boys in the English language. The following brief account of them given in Fisher's Memoir will suffice here: "These schools were established by Native gentlemen for the instruction of Hindoo lads in English; they were supported by voluntary subscription; and in May 1829, were placed upon an improved footing. In the management of them, Europeans and Natives were then associated; they were open to day-scholars, and the School Society in Calcutta made them a monthly grant towards their support; but this resource not proving adequate to their wants, they applied to the Education

[1] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16th August 1832, p. 260.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 261-64.

Committee for assistance.' Their immediate wants extended only to about Rs. 500 for the necessary school furniture; but the Education Committee placed Rs. 1,000 at the disposal of the School Society for the use of each school, considering it to be 'a great object to establish schools of this description, which might in time serve as preparatory steps to the Hindoo College (the Vidyalaya), and relieve that institution of part of the duty of elementary tuition.' They have since been united, and have been found to realise the advantages expected from them."[1]

Nor were the activities of the General Committee confined to disseminating knowledge through schools and colleges. Shortly after the Committee commenced its operations, a Press was established under the control of its secretary, at an expense of about Rs. 13,000 and maintained at a monthly charge of Rs. 715, which were defrayed from the Education Fund. In submitting its proposal to Government for the establishment of the press in question, the Committee had observed: "There can be no doubt that the multiplication of printed books is an immediate step towards facilitating and extending Native study. The imperfect and inaccurate condition of manuscripts, the labour of their preparation and their consequent rarity and expensiveness are insuperable obstacles to the general diffusion of a taste for literature. To generate this taste is among the first objects of the labours of the Committee and this can only be effected by furnishing the ready means of its

1 Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee—I Public—16th August 1832—p. 264.

excitement. When once inspired it will be directed with comparative ease; and the use of books being established it will be very possible to regulate the character and secure the advantageous tendency of the supply." The Government authorised the requisite expenditure on the proposed Press, "conceiving that the advantages promised by the measure would be cheaply purchased by such an outlay."[1]

The Calcutta Education Press, as it was called, existed as a separate establishment till 1830 when it was transferred to the Baptist Mission Press. But during the period of its separate existence between July 1824 and February 1830, the output of the Press was as follows: Works in Sanskrit 15; in Hindi 3, in Arabic 2; in Persian 4. Besides, there were in hand for publication works in Sanskrit 3; in Arabic 5; and in Persian 1. All these books were standard works on Hindu or Mahomedan law or were required for the classes of the colleges under the General Committee's control. What were called "useful publications" comprised such works as Bridge's work on Algebra translated into Arabic; the first books of Euclid both in Persian and Arabic; a new edition of Wilson's Sanskrit and English Dictionary; a short treatise on Logarithms and another on Surveying, etc., etc. In July 1829 the Bengal Government authorised a series of such publications, the cost of which amounted to Rs. 4,891. These publications were intended to convey a knowledge of the sounder or (as in the case of the study of law) indispensable parts of Oriental learning, or, more generally, the truths

[1] Educational Despatch from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors dated 27th January 1826 (para 72).

of European Science. The purely Orientalist side of the activities of the Press was well illustrated in a series of works undertaken for the use of the Sanskrit College and recommended by the Pundits of the various classes. The series comprised Sanskrit works on Law, Literature, Rhetoric, Logic, Vedanta, Grammar and Mathematics. [1]

In May 1830 the General Committee submitted for the sanction of Government an ambitious proposal. "We recommend strongly for publication," they said in their report of 28th May 1830, "a work of a more extensive and costly description; the heroic poem, entitled the *Mahabharat*. This work appears to be the chief source from which the whole body of the Puranas is derived, and comprises every authentic tradition that has been preserved by the Hindoos of their former social and political condition. Independently, therefore, of its high estimation among the Hindoos as a sacred poem, it merits from its comprehensive and historical character, perpetuation by the press, whilst it will form a very acceptable class-book, and be a reward of the highest value as a prize-book at the public examinations. We therefore beg to recommend its publication according to the form and estimate

[1] (1) Law—Vivada Chintamani; Dattalea Chandrika Mindusa; Vyvaha Tatwa; Asoneha Tatwa; Uhnika Tatwa.

(2) Literature—History of Cashmir; Naishadh, with Commentary.

(3) Rhetoric—Kavyadersa; Kavikalpatata; Kavalayananda.

(4) Logic—Kusa Manjali; Muktivada; Vidhivada Tarkasara.

(5) Vedanta—Bhasy Bhashya. The Ten Upanishads.

(6) Grammar—List of Roots; and Commentary on Magdabadhoo.

(7) Mathematics—Bija (Algebra); Surya Sidhanta (Astronomy).

submitted by Mr. Pearce, or in five volumes quarto, at a charge not exceeding Rs. 20,000. The work must occupy several years before it is completed, and it will be much cheaper as well as correcter than manuscript copies. We doubt not it will find an extensive sale amongst the Hindoos, sufficient prboably to reimburse the cost of printing." Government assented to the proposal; but the undertaking was never perhaps carried to completion by the General Committee due to the change of educational policy which took place within the next few years.

In this survey of educational institutions one fact stands out with unmistakable clearness—the fact of the growing importance of the question of education through the medium of English. It may have been observed that the question was more than once forced upon the attention of the General Committee. And it was bound to be so in view of the indubitable evidence with which both the General Committee and the Government were confronted of a desire on the part of important classes of the people of the upper as well as the lower provinces of Bengal for a knowledge of the English language. This particular trend of public feeling probably helped to dispel much of the indecision and hesitation with which the question had been regarded on the inauguration of systematic education in the country. There was an increasing preception by the authorities concerned of the feasibility of wider diffusion of a knowledge of the language in question than had been considered possible at the commencement of educational operations. The facts as brought forward by the Delhi and Agra Committees in particular, and the

opinions expressed by the General Committee thereon, were sufficiently convincing to the highest governing authorities—the Court of Directors—to inspire them to state more explicitly than ever before their views on the question controverted in Bengal. Incidentally, it may be noted that, though the Court had remonstrated in 1824 against the Orientalist policy in education, they had subsequently bestowed throughout warm approbation on the measures of the General Committee and of the Government.[1] In 1830 they declared themselves in favour of affording a greater measure of encouragement to the acquisition of a knowledge of English by Indians. "While we attach much more importance," said the Court, "than is attached by the two committees[2] to the amount of useful instruction which can be communicated to the Natives through their own language, we fully concur with them in thinking it highly advisable to enable and encourage a large number of the Natives to acquire a thorough knowledge of English; being convinced that the higher tone and better spirit of European literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original languages. While, too, we agree with the Committee that the higher branches of science may be more advantageously studied in the languages of Europe, than in translations into the Oriental tongues, it is also to be considered that the fittest persons for translating English scientific books, or for putting their substance into a shape adapted to Asiatic students,

1 *Vide* Public Letters from Court, dated 5th September 1827, 29th September 1830, 24th August 1831, and 24th October 1832.

2 The Delhi Committee and the General Committee.

are Natives who have studied profoundly in the original works."[1]

But, it is worthy of note that the Court of Directors, while advocating an extensive cultivation of English, not only did not overlook, but strongly emphasised the importance of the vernaculars as vehicles for wide diffusion of useful knowledge. They detected and pointed out in clear terms the tendency of the General Committee to neglect these. Indeed, the remarks and suggestions of the Court on the whole question as it stood then were entirely fair and judicious. "While we thus approve and sanction," they wrote to the Bengal Government, "the measures which you propose for diffusing a knowledge of the English language, and the study of European science through its medium, we must at the same time put you on your guard against a disposition of which we perceive some traces in the General Committee, and still more in the Local Committee of Delhi, to underrate the importance of what may be done to spread useful knowledge among the Natives through the medium of books and oral instruction in their own languages. That more complete education which is to commence by a thorough study of the English language, can be placed within the reach of a very small proportion of the Natives of India; but intelligent Natives who have been thus educated, may, as teachers in colleges and schools, or as the writers or translators of useful books, contribute in an eminent degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements

1 Public Letter from Court to Bengal, dated 29th September 1830 (para 13).

which they have themselves gained, and may communicate in some degree to the native literature, and to the minds of the native community, that improved spirit which it is to be hoped they will themselves have imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments. You should cause it to be generally known that every qualified Native who will zealously devote himself to this task, will be held in high honour by you; that every assistance and encouragement, pecuniary or otherwise which the case may require, will be liberally afforded; and that no service which it is in the power of a native to render to the British Government, will be more highly acceptable."[1]

It may be convenient to note here that it was during the same period that the question of the adoption of English as the language of Government was raised. This fact supplies an additional indication of the growing importance of the problem of English as medium of education. The first fruit of the agitation of that question was the introduction of English as the language of political and complementary correspondence between the British Government and the Indian rulers and notabilities. With the above-quoted remarks of the Court on the educational question may be here conveniently juxtaposed those by the same authority on the latter question. Only such a juxtaposition can fully reveal the broad spirit which animated the views of the Court of Directors on the whole problem of the introduction of English into this country.

[1] Letter from Court to Bengal, dated 29th September 1830 (para 16).

The Court addressed the following remarks to their Indian Government on the question of the adoption of English as the language of administrative business :—

"With a view to give the natives an additional motive to the acquisition of the English language, you have it in contemplation gradually to introduce English as the language of public business in all its departments; and you have determined to begin at once by adopting the practice of corresponding in English with all Native princes or persons of rank who are known to understand that language, or to have persons about them who understand it. From the meditated change in the language of public business including judicial proceedings, you anticipate several collateral advantages, the principal of which is, that the judge, or other European Officer, being thoroughly acquainted with the language in which the proceedings are held, will be, and appear to be, less dependent upon the Natives by whom he is surrounded, and those Natives will, in consequence, enjoy fewer opportunities of bribery or other undue emolument.

"If the question were solely between retaining the Persian as the language of public business and replacing it by the English, the change would not be *prima facie* decidedly objectionable, and we should willingly rely upon your judgment and superior local knowledge as a security that its advantages and inconveniences would be duly weighed. *But if any change be made in the existing practice, it is deserving of great consideration, whether that change ought not rather to be the adoption of the vernacular language than of our own, as the language at least of judicial proceedings.*

"It is highly important that justice should be administered in a language familiar to the judge, but it is of no less importance that it should be administered in a language familiar to the litigant parties, to their vakeels, and to the people at large; and it is easier for the judge to acquire the language of the people than for the people to acquire the language of the judge. You are indeed partly influenced by a desire to render this

last acquirement more common, but the poorer classes, who are the parties concerned in the great majority of cases, which come before our courts, cannot be expected to learn a foreign language, and we, therefore, are of opinion, that at least the proceedings of the Courts of Justice should be excepted from the practice which you propose gradually to introduce, and be conducted in the vernacular language of the particular zillah, or district, unless, upon consideration, you should see good reason for adhering to the present practice.

"These objections do not apply in an equal degree to the introduction of English as the language of complimentary correspondence, of Arzees from Natives of rank and the replies to them, and of political negotiation, but we do not think that you have sufficiently adverted to the danger of rendering the parties with whom you correspond in English dependent upon the Natives (perhaps in the employment of the officers of Government) to whom they would probably have recourse to explain the communications made to them, and to put their own representations into English."[1]

§ 2.

In 1831 the General Committee were in a position to take stock of their achievements. By that year the system through which they sought to carry their educational principles into effect had been organised and brought into full operation. It had reached the stage at which the tree could be judged by its fruits. No new accession to the number of institutions under the Committee's care or control took place, save for the Hooghly Madressa which was projected but not actually established in 1831, and for some minor schools such as the "Jonpore College" and the Saugor Schools. The Com-

[1] Letter from Court to Bengal, dated 29th September 1830 (paras 27-30).

mittee continued with their costly enterprise of printing and publishing, and encouraging the publication by others, of Oriental works in Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian. So at this stage of the Committee's experiment in Oriental education, the question may be appropriately asked, What were the actual results achieved so far? Before, however, one can proceed to estimate the results of the Orientalist policy, it is necessary to see what measure of success the General Committee claimed for themselves.

In their annual Report, dated December 1831, the General Committee gave a lucid resume of their general principles and their endeavours for the promotion of education, which may be quoted here in part:—

> "The introduction of useful knowledge is the great object which they (the General Committee) have proposed as the end of the measures adopted or recommended by them, keeping in view the necessity of consulting the feelings, and conciliating the confidence of those for whose advantage their measures are designed.
>
> "The Committee has therefore continued to encourage the acquirement of the Native Literature of both Mohammedans and Hindus, in the Institutions which they found established for these purposes, as the Madressa of Calcutta and Sanscrit College of Benares; they have also endeavoured to promote the activity of similar establishments, of which local considerations dictated the formation, as the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, and the Colleges of Agra and Delhi, as it is to such alone, even in the present day, that the influential and learned classes, those who are by birthright or profession teachers and expounders of Literature, Law, and Religion, Maulavis and Pundits, willingly resort.
>
> "In the absence of their natural Patrons, the rich and powerful of their own creeds, the Committee have

felt it incumbent upon them to contribute to the support of the learned classes of India by literary endowments, which provide not only directly for a certain number, but indirectly for many more, who derive from Collegiate acquirements consideration and subsistence among their countrymen. As far also as Mohammedan and Hindu Law are concerned, an avenue is thus opened for them to public employment, and the State is provided with a supply of able servants and valuable subjects, for there is no doubt that imperfect as Oriental learning may be in many respects, yet the higher the degree of the attainments even in it possessed by any Native, the more intelligent and liberal he will prove, and the better qualified to appreciate the acts and designs of the Government.

"But whilst every reasonable encouragement is given to indigenous Native education, no opportunity has been omitted by the Committee of improving its quality and adding to its value. In all the Colleges the superintendence is European, and this circumstance is of itself an evidence and a cause of every important amelioration. In the Madressa of Calcutta, and Hindu College of Benares, and Institutions of earlier days, European superintendence was for many years strenuously and successfully resisted. This opposition has long ceased. The consequences are a systematic course of study, diligent and regular habits, and an impartial appreciation of merits, which no Institution left to Native superintendence alone, has even been known to maintain.

"The plan of study adopted in the Colleges is in general an improvement upon the Native mode, and is intended to convey a well-founded knowledge of the languages studied, with a wider range of acquirement than is common, and to effect this in the least possible time. Agreeably to the Native mode of instruction, for instance, a Hindu or Mohammedan Lawyer devotes the best years of his life to the acquirement of Law alone, and is very imperfectly acquainted with the language which treats of the subject of his studies. In the Madressa and Sanscrit College, the first part of the course is now calculated to form a really good Arabic and

Sanscrit Scholar, and a competent knowledge of Law is then acquired with comparative facility and contemporaneously with other branches of Hindu or Mohammedan learning.

"Again, the improvements effected have not been limited to a reformation in the course and scope of Native study, but whenever opportunity has favoured, new and better instruction has been grafted upon the original plan. Thus in the Madressa, Euclid has been long studied and with considerable advantage; European Anatomy has also been introduced. In the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, European Anatomy and Medicine have nearly supplanted the Native systems. At Agra and Delhi, the Elements of Geography and Astronomy and Mathematics are also part of the College course. To the Madressa, the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, and the Agra College also, English classes are attached, whilst at Delhi and Benares, distinct schools have been formed for the dissemination of the English language. Without offering therefore any violence to Native prejudices, and whilst giving liberal encouragement to purely Native education, the principle of connecting it with the introduction of real knowledge has never been lost sight of, and the foundation has been laid of great and beneficial change in the minds of those who by their character and profession direct and influence the intellect of Hindustan.

"In addition to the measures adopted for the diffusion of English in the Provinces, and which are yet only in their infancy, the encouragement of the Vidyalaya or Hindu College of Calcutta has always been one of the chief objects of the Committee's attention. The consequence has surpassed expectation—a command of the English language, and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. A taste for English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools conducted by young men, reared in the Vidyalaya, are springing up in every direction. The moral effect has been equally remarkable, and an impatience of the restrictions of Hinduism, and a disregard of its ceremonies are openly avowed by many

young men of respectable birth and talents, and entertained by many more who outwardly conform to the practices of their countrymen.[1] Another generation will, probably, witness a very material alteration in the notions and feelings of the educated classes of the Hindu Community of Calcutta."[2]

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1 Of this change effected by English education in the pupils of the Vidyalaya, Alexander Duff spoke on one occasion as follows: "And certainly, neither the British Government nor the Hindoo Committee at the outset could foresee, and they did not anticipate some of the results which followed from this attempt to introduce the full range of purely secular English literature and science, wholly unconnected with religion, at once through the medium of the English language. Results, however, within a few years did begin to appear which somewhat astonished them all—results for which they were not in any way prepared, in as much as everything was new, and there had been no antecedent experience....The result, then, of introducing the wide range of English literature and science into this institution called the Hindoo College, uncorrected and unregulated by any religious influence, was, that at a very early period those young men had their minds opened up to a new and strange world. Every thing to them was fresh and novel and exhilarating; they were made to gaze, for the first time, at a grand panoramic succession of phenomena in the unsealed realms of true history, science and philosophy; it seemed, like the unsealing of the entire range of their mental vision. They were thus suddenly thrown adrift from their ancestral hereditary ideas; completely tossed from the moorings and the anchorages of old Hindooism. No wonder, though, for a while they became perfectly wild and extravagant. They had been taught in this institution no religion, because the policy of the Government was not to interfere with religion directly. They now did, however, very essentially interfere, without designing it; because they helped to destroy the authority of the system and sacred books upon which their religion depended. In opening up the minds of the young Hindoos in the manner now explained, it is a simple fact, that by the year 1829, or thereabouts, that is to say six or seven years after the Government undertook the assistance and supervision of the Hindoo College, at the request of the native managers, all the higher young men in it were no more believers in Hindooism than if they had been born and brought up in Great Britain. Hindooism to them was destroyed utterly; and they began to parade their emancipation and freedom from the ancient yoke, by sporting some very wild opinions, and indulging in sundry extravagant freaks and excesses. The parents and guardians not unnaturally took the alarm at all this outburst, and resorted to various plans and expedients to arrest its further progress." Duff's Evidence before the Lords Select Committee on 3rd June 1835: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence. Q. 6099, pp. 48-55 *passim*.

2 "Report of the Colleges and Schools for Native Education, under the Superintendence of the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal."—1831—pp. 44-49.

Finally, there may be noted a striking reason which the General Committee gave for supporting certain elementary schools at Saugor, although elementary education did not at this period fall within the purview of the Committee's activities. These schools were established in 1827 by private subscription and were subsequently assisted by the Committee, numbering in all nine in 1830.[1] The General Committee observed with regard to them: "The schools at Saugor, although of the nature of village schools, are apparently required by the great want of means of instruction in that part of the country, and by their being situated amongst a population so essentially Hindu. *One of the Committee's objects has always been the formation of a standard language for the Western Provinces, by the cultivation of the Vernacular dialects*, and as the Saugor Schools present a favourable medium for effecting this purpose, it has been thought expedient to grant them some support from the General Fund, to be extended hereafter should experience confirm the expectations now entertained."[2]

Such were the principal objects pursued and the measures undertaken by the General Committee. In concluding its review of them, the Committee remarked: "Something has already been effected in the great business of the education of the people of India; but their numbers are too vast, their wants too serious, and the means too inadequate, for the Committee to expect any great or sudden advance, and they

1 "Report of the Colleges and Schools for Native Education, under the Superintendence of the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal."—1831—pp. 25-26.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49 *passim*.

look for beneficial results on an extensive scale, to a quiet and vigilant perseverance by their successors for many subsequent years, in the course which they have commenced."[1]

The "something" which the Committee claimed to have achieved in the field of Indian education was evidently far short of the requirements of the people. Of course, by the Anglicists the something was considered to be nothing. But, without entering at present on any critical analysis of the Committee's Orientalist policy, it may be here briefly pointed out how the Committee's endeavours to carry out that policy failed in several important respects to provide for the educational needs of the country. As has been repeated more than once, attention to Oriental learning was, in the opinion of the Committee, the *sine qua non* of the success of any attempt to promote education in India. Further, it was sought to develop Oriental education by incorporating as much of European scientific knowledge as practicable into the indigenous learning. But the transfusion of Western science and knowledge into the Oriental languages involved a slow and laborious process which absorbed much of the Committee's pecuniary resources. And eventually, as it turned out, it met with but partial success. The Committee was obliged to admit, as was seen when dealing with the Vidyalaya in the previous section, the inadequacy of that method for any wide diffusion of European knowledge and, moreover, to declare that instruction in the higher branches of that knowledge could best be conveyed in the English language.

1 *Ibid.*

That was why, as was also noticed, the Committee at a later date preferred the plan of establishing separate institutions for the cultivation of the English language, literature and science to that of appending English classes to Oriental institutions.

In fact, in their tender solicitude for Oriental learning and its expounders, the Maulvis and Pundits, the General Committee, on the one hand, completely overlooked the education of the masses and, on the other, failed to hold out adequate encouragement to those classes of the people who desired and demanded English education. It must, however, be conceded that without the sacrifice of a certain amount of support to Oriental learning the Committee's resources would not have permitted of providing for these wants, though the Committee might have been willing to do so, as it was in the case of English education. As a result, the vernacular languages were neglected. Not only did the cultivation of the vernaculars form no part of the object of the Oriental institutions generally, but even the Committee's Press, as was stated in the Report of 1831, had never any occasion to print Bengali books. The encouragement afforded to vernacular education, as exemplified in the case of the Saugor Schools or of the Agra College where Hindee was encouraged, was too slight to have any marked effect. Nor was the Committee's attention ever seriously directed to the improvement of the indigenous system of village education which still largely survived in Bengal.

Another result of the Orientalist policy as it was actually worked was an inevitable sub-

ordination of the English language in the Committee's scheme of education. Notwithstanding this fact, however, it would scarcely be just to assert of the General Committee that they overlooked the importance of English as a powerful medium for the communication of European learning and science. Not only were they quite alive to it, but, tied as they were to their Orientalist commitments, they afforded to the study of English that degree of encouragement which they considered advisable or feasible under the circumstances. And, in spite of their pronounced bias in favour of Oriental learning, there was nothing in their policy as such to prevent them from holding out greater encouragement to the promotion of knowledge of English, had the means at their disposal permitted of their doing so. Moreover, the Orientalists did not deny the superiority of the English medium for the transmission of Western knowledge over the Arabic or Sanskrit or Persian: but the question with them was, through what medium could Western knowledge be rendered most acceptable to the Maulvis and Pundits? They never doubted this could be done only through the media of the Oriental classical languages.

Two practical difficulties in the way of a wider diffusion of the knowledge of English in the country arose from the pursuit of the Orientalist policy. First, a good deal of the resources of the General Committee being devoted to the cultivation of Oriental learning, the Committee were left without adequate means to establish purely English Colleges (distinct from Oriental ones) which they recognised as essential for the

promotion of a higher degree of English education. In consequence of limited means, and acting upon their theory of engraftment of European on Oriental knowledge, the General Committee sought to promote the study of the English language through their Oriental institutions. But, secondly, organised as those Oriental institutions were, the study of English was not only bound to be subordinated to Oriental studies, but was in fact comparatively neglected. Pre-occupation with Oriental studies left little chance for any zealous application to English at those institutions. For example, in the Calcutta Madressa, it was imperative upon the pupils "to make themselves good Arabic scholars and proficient in the Law Books taught." They were also expected to acquire some knowledge of the Mathematical sciences. Logic, Metaphysics and Philosophy, they read "at their own pleasure." Seven years was the period of study allowed, at the end of which, if a pupil passed a creditable examination, he obtained a certificate of proficiency and quitted the College.[1] Assuming that during those seven years the Oriental course of study was efficiently prosecuted, it would naturally have been impracticable for a pupil, even if he had had the inclination, to acquire more than a rudimentary knowledge of English. Consequently, the English class of the Madressa never took a pupil beyond the elementary stage. What was taught there were the rudiments of the English language, Arithmetic, Geography, History, and the elements of Natural Philosophy; and the books read were the Committee's Spelling Books and Readers;

[1] Report of the General Committee for 1831, pp. 3-6 passim.

Murray's Grammar; Goldsmith's Geography and History of England; and Introduction to Natural Philosophy, printed by the Committee. These books comprised the whole range of Western knowledge imparted through the medium of English to the Madressa students who chose to avail themselves of the benefit of the Engish class. The same remarks are applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the Calcutta Sanskrit College. There the course of instruction was divided into two branches —the first being intended to give the student a command of the Sanskrit language, and the second, of "such branches of Hindu Science" as might have been "an object to the student, especially Law." Six years were allowed for a progress through the Grammar, Sahitya, and Alankara classes; during one year of which at least, attendance on the Arithmetic class was imperative. Attendance on the English class was "expected" to commence soon after admission into college. A further period of six years was allowed for the completion of the studies, during which a student was permitted to take up any branch of Sanskrit learning it pleased him to.[1] No wonder that, as at the Madressa, the English class was elementary, used the same books, and learned but to lisp the English tongue.

§ 3.

Whilst the General Committee looked forward in 1831 to a "quiet and vigilant perseverance" in the course they had commenced, and which they were permitted to continue for the next three years or so, the rumblings of dissatisfaction

[1] Report of the General Committee for 1831, pp. 6-10 passim.

with the Orientalist policy, especially among the British officials who interested themselves in Indian education, were increasing apace. With those officials the policy of the General Committee was fast losing favour. Outside the official circle the Anglicists were becoming more and more vocal. They pointed to the growing Indian feeling in favour of English education, and accused the General Committee of withholding it from the people and busying themselves in futile endeavours on behalf of Oriental learning. The prevailing trend of opinion, which seemed to spell the doom of the Orientalist policy, was clearly reflected in a Report, dated 15th January 1834, from the Local Committee of the Delhi College and Institution.[1]

After mentioning the fact that the Arabic class of the Delhi College did not comprise a greater number of scholars than three, although the allowance given to each scholar was considered ample, being 16 rupees per mensem, the Report of the Local Committee proceeded to say: "It is the opinion of those qualified to pronounce it that the Arabic tongue is not studied so generally or so profoundly as it used to be not many years ago. Our Quazees and Mofties, like the Buvestanaveeses, are no longer in that estimation, which a few years ago rendered Arabic and Sanskrit erudition so certain a means of gaining wealth and distinction. A tolerable acquaintance with the Persian is now found by intelligent Natives to be at least as sure a path to rank and emolument as the most successful prosecution of those difficult

1 *Vide* Appendices F & G of the Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction for 1833.

languages which of late are beginning to be regarded as productive of nothing beyond an empty and unsubstantial celebrity among a literary few. Learned Pundits and orthodox Molvies think it no longer heresy to reject as barren and unprofitable the antiquated lore of their ancestors, and enter their sons at the English School: nor are instances by any means rare of intelligent adults of both persuasions, preferably adopting the new literature as the surest road to those moral and scientific acquirements without which, it is beginning to become daily more manifest, they must remain excluded from every object of honourable ambition, which is available to the superior intelligence of educated Europeans. Hence the greater part of the Madressa students leave College when they have completed their Persian Course; of those who commence the Arabic the greater part withdraw after they have read as far as the Kafia or Shurch Molla; and not above four or five in a hundred, apply themselves to the higher branches of Oriental learning."

On the other hand, the Report represented the English Institution to have been in a flourishing condition. "During the year under review," said the Local Committee, "there can be no doubt that the desire to learn English has become more extensive at Delhi. The total number of admissions in that period has been 116. The number of students and scholars on the stipendiary Establishment of the Institution on 31st December last, was 79; of students of the Madrissa, who have been voluntarily transferred to the Institution, 37; and of free scholars or those who receive no pay 44; in all 160." And the Committee

anticipated a considerable augmentation of that number in view of certain measures it was about to adopt. Already, it may be noted, the Committee had decided to discontinue stipends in the Delhi College to future candidates for Sanskrit learning except in special cases; and also to render it optional with students borne on the abstract of the Oriental College to study English at the Institution.

The Local Committee pointed out three principal causes which in its opinion had served to awaken attention "to the prospects of Fame and Fortune opened to the successful cultivation of the English tongue." These were, first, "the respectability of the appointments" obtained by some of the pupils of the Delhi Institution; secondly, the demand for English Teachers and Secretaries on the part of Indian Chiefs and Princes; and, thirdly, the operation of certain recent Regulations of Government. And the Committee further added: "It may be here stated in proof of the growing taste for the new literature, that no less than 50 copies of an English Grammar in Persian, sent to me (the Secretary), by the Calcutta School Book Society, were bought up here in the course of a single day."

Chapter IV.

TWO EXPERIMENTS IN ORIENTALISM.

On the threshold of what was regarded at the time as a revolutionary change of educational policy, it will be worth while to examine the principles of the Orientalists, and their bearing on the question of the introduction of English as general medium of education, in the light of two brilliant experiments which are usually but incorrectly treated as isolated incidents in the history of Indian education. Such an examination, even if cursory, may make clear to us afresh the great end which the Orientalists set before themselves, but which, during their brief period of authority, they failed to achieve in a substantial degree, chiefly owing to the pursuit of defective methods. And not only that, but it may serve to show how remote from realities both the parties to what is historically known as the Anglo-Orientalist Controversy were carried by their bias and rancour and injudiciousness.

From all that has been narrated in the previous chapter it is not perhaps difficult to gather more or less precisely what it was that the Orientalists in general sought to achieve. But a recapitulation of their guiding aims would not be amiss here. As has already been observed, the Orientalists aimed at a fusion or blend of what was correct and of permanent value in Oriental learning and literature with the modern accessions which the various departments of human knowledge had received in the West. The underlying idea of the attempted fusion was to adapt and

render acceptable to the settled prepossessions an mental habits of the learned classes of India the exotic knowledge which was sought to be communicated to them. Broadly speaking, the Orientalists, conservative in outlook as they were, were averse to educational measures that had a tendency to force the genius of the people out of its accustomed channels of thought and feeling; but they tried instead to improve and broaden those channels by letting into them, wherever practicable, the invigorating waters of European knowledge. In view of this aim of theirs, the "revival" of Oriental literature was to the Orientalists more of a means than an end—the acknowledged end being the introduction of European arts and sciences into India. It was not only that the Orientalists aimed at a revival of the ancient literature of the country, but they aimed at the creation of a new literature in India, the form and style of which were to be Oriental, but the substance mostly European. As was remarked by one of the most learned exponents of Orientalism, "If the people are to have a literature, it must be their own. The stuff may be in a great degree European, but it must be freely interwoven with home-spun materials, and the fashion must be Asiatic."[1]

At this point it would be convenient to advert to a question which may naturally suggest itself, namely, what were the reasons or motives which led the Orientalists to formulate such an aim to themselves as the union of Oriental and European learning? It may be well to note here that the

1 Wilson: Education of the Natives of India. *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. xix, 1836, p. 14.

idea of conveying the substance of European knowledge in a Sanskrit or Arabic garb did not originate in the first instance with the members of the General Committee. By tracing in a foregoing chapter the circumstances in which the Orientalist policy came to be formulated, it was indirectly shown that the idea had already taken on a definite shape before the General Committee began to act upon it. What the Committee actually did was to translate it in terms of an educational experiment. And there were several circumstances which invested that idea with a peculiar appeal to the Orientalists.

As remarked in a previous chapter, the General Committee never thought seriously of acting directly on the masses: it believed its resources to be inadequate to the task. Consequently, the immediate task, which it felt itself called upon to confine its endeavours to, was the rearing of suitable instruments for spreading abroad the knowledge which it desired to see diffused among the people. Among the Pundits and Maulavis, whose acquaintance the literary pursuits of the Oriental scholars led them to make, the requisite instruments were perceived to exist-imperfect and deficient instruments no doubt, but not incapable of being trained and turned to useful account. Moreover, the conviction was strong with the Orientalists that the propagation of European knowledge would be most effective, and even extensive, through the agency of the "learned classes," because of the great influence they wielded over the minds of their countrymen. "As long as the learned classes of India," said Dr. Wilson, "are not enlisted in the cause of

diffusing sound knowlege, little real progress will be made. In the history of all philosophical and religious reformation, it will be found that the most effective agents have been those who had been educated in the errors they reformed: such men alone can come fully armed into the contest, as are masters not only of their own weapons but of those wielded by their adversaries. Bacon was deep in the fallacies of the schools: Luther had preached the doctrines of the church of Rome: and one able Pundit or Maulavi, who should add English to Sanscrit and Arabic, who should be led to expose the absurdities and errors of his own systems, and advocate the adoption of European knowledge and principles, would work a greater revolution in the minds of his unlettered countrymen than would result from their own proficiency in English alone."[1]

Thus the Orientalists considered the winning over of those who were looked upon as the repositories of the learning of the country as a primary condition of the success of all educational endeavours. At the same time the Orientalists possessed some insight into the mental peculiarities of those they had to deal with. They knew well the exclusiveness of the learned classes; they knew that the learned classes were not to be expected to come to them for European knowledge, but that European knowledge had to be carried to them. The problem was, How was that to be done? It was in the commanding hold which the classical languages and lore of India possessed over the minds of the learned throughout

[1] As. Jour. XIX, 1836, p. 10.

the country that the Orientalists found a solution. As it was an object of great importance in their eyes to conciliate the influential learned classes, the necessity or expediency of working on them through their own cherished ancient literatures and languages could not fail to impress itself on them. Yet, again, as much of what constituted Oriental learning was regarded as useless for the practical purposes of life, or contrary to the accepted scientific or moral truths of the West, the next step that naturally suggested itself was to retain and confirm and impart what was correct and valuable in Oriental learning as the basis on which to raise a superstructure of European science and knowledge for India. The ruling idea was that the acknowledged exponents of the secular and religious learning of the country were, not only to have the best of that learning preserved to them, but to have their minds imbued with the scientific and moral truths arrived at in Europe. With men so intellectually equipped on their side, the Orientalists thought to give a new and powerful impulse to the progress of mental and moral improvement of the country.

So it was that the Orientalists decided to confine their endeavours to the education of the influential few and to utilise, when the appropriate time came, the indispensable aid of those few for diffusing knowledge among the many. But, obviously, it would not have done to inculcate Oriental learning exclusively; for, that might have shut off all possibility of the seeds of Western knowledge being ever planted among the people through the instrumentality of the chosen few. Nor would it have done to give an exclusive

preference to inculcation of Western knowledge; for, as was apprehended not without reason, that might have had the effect of separating the torch-bearers from the main body of the people, whom they were intended to enlighten, by the altogether different, almost antithetic spirit and mental outlook and habits of thought induced by a purely Western education and of thus leaving them bereft of the essential pre-requisites to the success of their mission. A judicious combination of both appeared likely to serve best the cause of enlightenment of the country. This was essentially the stand-point from which the Orientalists envisaged the question of the education of India at the time.

But, further, one great aim of the Orientalists was to give India a vernacular literature of her own. The barren and uncultivated state of the vernaculars was, however, considered an obstacle to the formation of a literature; and the Orientalists looked to the resources of the Indian classical languages to improve the vernaculars. The fact furnished an additional reason for the prominence given to Arabic and Sanskrit in the Orientalist scheme of education. "Every person acquainted with the spoken speech of India," it was affirmed, though with a touch of exaggeration, "knows perfectly well that its elevation to the dignity and usefulness of written speech, has depended, and must still depend, upon its borrowing largely from its parent or kindred source; that no man who is ignorant of Arabic or Sanskrit can write Hindustani or Bengali with elegance, or purity, or precision; and that the condemnation of the classical languages to oblivion would consign the

dialects to utter helplessness and irretrievable barbarism." [1]

It thus becomes plain why the Orientalists refused to make the English language the exclusive medium for the communication of European knowledge or to make the diffusion of knowledge of it a primary object of their endeavours. The Orientalists considered such a measure unnecessary and productive of little ultimate good in the way of intellectual improvement of the Indian people. The Orientalist case against an exclusive preference to the English medium in a system of education for India was on one occasion stated in its completest form by Dr. Wilson. This was what he said :

> "To extend a smattering of English throughout India, is to do little good. Every day's experience shows that a command of the English language, sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life, is quite compatible with gross ignorance and inveterate superstition. The Bengali sircar or kerani, who copies letters and keeps accounts, who understands all that his employer says to him, and who can communicate intelligibly to his master all that it is necessary for him to impart, is as genuine and unenlightened a Hindu as if he had never known or spoken any other than his mother-tongue. Nay, there are well-known instances of individuals of rank and education, who have acquired the elegancies of our language, and who speak and write it with purity and precision, who are not the less bigotedly devoted to their national belief. If it is expected that a knowledge of the English language merely, will work a beneficial change in the principles of the people, the end will most assuredly be disappointment. To spread a thin sheet of water over a vast tract, will generate only slime and weeds; fertility is the consequence of deep and judiciously distributed irrigation.

1 Wilson: Education of the Natives of India. As. Jour. Vol. XIX, 1836, pp. 14-15.

"Whilst the wide dissemination of superficial acquirements will be of little real good, it is an object on which it is quite unnecessary for the Government to bestow attention or cost. The demands of the public service and of private interests already offer a sufficient inducement to the Natives to acquire the use of English, to an extent fully equal to all they could derive from the multiplication of petty schools at the Government charge. It is probable that the demand for English in public affairs is on the increase, and it will, no doubt, create its own supply. All the Government need attempt is to provide teachers; and one or two seminaries, like the Hindu College, in which English is well taught, will answer this purpose. At the time I left Calcutta,[1] there were, it was estimated, about six thousand youths studying English, of whom only between three and four hundred were in part educated at the expense of the Education Fund.

"The Government of India, then, need not resort to measures of spoliation to provide funds for rearing clerks and copyists; there will be no want of them, as long as their services are in request. To produce any improvement in the notions and feelings of the Natives, their education must extend to things as well as words; they must be taught knowledge, not speech. They have already the means of communicating ideas, what they want is an additional and a better stock of ideas. To furnish this through the medium of English, they must be well grounded in our literature as well as in our language; they must receive a high English education; but it is impossible to impart widely an English education of a high description, for, even if competent teachers in sufficient numbers could be salaried, their labours would be attended with a very inadequate result. The great body of those who are willing to engage in the study want the language and nothing more. Of the language, also, they want only as much as can be turned to profit, as will enable them to earn subsistence. They have not the inclination, nor, if they had the will, have they the leisure, to follow that protracted and persevering career, which alone can give them the mastery of that

1 Wilson left India in 1832.

immense store of words, of those infinitely varied combinations and those unfamiliar and, to Asiatics, often incomprehensible allusions and imagery, which compose the unwieldy mass of the literature of England. It is, therefore, as vain to seek to extend very widely a profound acquaintance with English literature, as it is needless to disseminate a superficial use of our language. Either attempt will be a mischievous waste of labour and money, diverting them from objects of greater practicability and advantage.

"Although it is impossible so to extend the study of the English language, as by its instrumentality to change the whole colour and complexion of the native mind, yet it may be so cultivated as to form the basis upon which great and important changes may be founded. The leading principle in this project is that which actuated the first committee,—the principle of concentration. Instead of reducing instruction to a thin insubstantial vapour, by spreading it over the largest possible surface, the object of the committee was to condense it, in a solid and permanent form, in a few bodies favourably circumstanced for its preservation, like the Hindu College of Calcutta. The scholars thus reared are the most ready, most economical, and most effectual means of acting upon the mass, not merely by becoming their instructors personally, but by assisting in what is of more value than oral instruction, the formation of an indigenous literature. It is not by the English language that we can enlighten the people of India; it can be effected only through the forms of speech which they already understand and use. These must be applied to the purpose, either by direct translation, or which is preferable, by the representation of European facts, opinions, and sentiments, in an original native garb. In the early stages of improvement, the former mode is the only one that can be expected; hereafter, the latter would take its place, and would give to the people of India a literature of their own, a legitimate progeny of that of England, the living resemblance, though not the servile copy, of its parent." [1]

[1] As. Jour., Vol. XIX, 1836, pp. 11-13.

In fact, an exclusive preference to English in the Orientalist scheme of education would have been counter-active of the principal aims underlying it.

Those aims have now been sufficiently dwelt upon. It dos not appear as if there was anything intrinsically impossible or chimerical in them or in the idea of welding European and Oriental learning in men who were to be brought up under a system of education designed to carry such aims or idea into execution. The question which therefore occurs is, Why was it then that a policy which was, so to speak, the very embodiment of that idea, which was manifestly comprehensive enough to answer most of the intellectual or educational needs of the time, and which sought to stimulate mental progress in more varied directions than the Anglicists thought necessary, or even desirable—why was such a policy finally jettisoned? Or, to put it from another point of view, how was it that the Orientalists failed to realise satisfactorily the undoubtedly broad aims underlying their policy? Was the failure or the rejection due to unfavourable conditions in which the policy was sought to be worked out, or to some intrinsic defect in the principles or methods adopted?

The answer is: to both. The policy was rejected or abandoned because at a later stage it came up against and was incapable of resisting the current of new forces; while its want of success was due to an inability or neglect to devise the correct technique which the immediate educational aims of the policy demanded.

Various reasons for the abandonment of the policy in 1835 may emerge in the course of the controversy to be narrated in the next chapter. But some important ones, which do not appear on the surface, may be noted here. First of all, the paucity of immediate, tangible results from the pursuit of the Orientalist policy, however comprehensive and attractive to some its aims, seemed to many to invalidate the principles on which it was founded; for, people at large sometimes have no patience even with good principles or measures that do not yield quickly the desired results. The fact certainly had much to do with the increasing dissatisfaction felt later on towards the policy. Especially was the dissatisfaction great with regard to the little spread of European knowledge and the English language that the Orientalist policy was able to effect. Doubtless, there seems to be some truth in the claim of the Orientalists that it was their policy and measures which created a disposition among the people favourable to the study of the English language and that the very fact that in 1835 it was considered possible to make it the exclusive medium of instruction was proof of "great and unexpected change."[1] Yet this was a result that was not apt to be placed to the credit of the Orientalists in judging of the merits of their policy, because it was not manifest to the common eye.

The Orientalists, secondly, in undertaking to foster and revive Oriental learning, seemed to many observers to have placed themselves in unnecessary opposition to the new tenden-

[1] Wilson: Education of the Natives of India. As. Jour., Vol. XIX, 1836, p. 8.

cies that were manifesting themselves in Bengal. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, a popular desire, though the extent of its prevalence seems to have been sometimes exaggerated a great deal, had sprung up for "English education," particularly for a knowledge of the English language. Rammohun Roy had early protested against the founding of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and there were not a few among Indians of advanced views who sympathised with him in the act. But preoccupation with measures for carrying out its own policy prevented the General Committee from affording an adequate response to the popular demand for English education. It therefore appeared equitable and necessary to the Anglicists that the Committee should adopt a different course and employ its limited resources in giving the people what they desired and felt the need of rather than in offering what they did not care to have. But the Orientalists, in spite of their occasional admissions, felt doubtful regarding the facts on which the Anglicist argument proceeded. They doubted whether that popular desire for English was really so great or gratifying as to warrant a radical departure from their policy. Here, again, it may be noted, the misunderstanding was chiefly caused by the different standpoints from which the two parties judged of the prevalent state of things. The Anglicists judged of the state of public feeling on the subject from their intercourse with the new generation in Bengal (or rather, strictly speaking, in Calcutta) which was being influenced by the Calcutta Vidyalaya or by Rammohun Roy and his band of reformers. The Orientalists judged of it from their acquaintance with the

conservative spirit of their Pundits and Maulvis. This difference of view-points was on one occasion rather well expressed by Dr. Wilson. "Of course, it is rather a delicate thing to say," he told the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1853, when asked to suggest a mode by which the then existing educational authorities in Bengal could be rendered less partial to European learning and less exclusive of the Oriental, "but I attribute the partiality and the bias of the Council of Education, and of the Board of Education before it, to this circumstance, that for many years past the control has been in the hands of European judges, English lawyers. Now English lawyers undoubtedly are men of great ability and acquirements; yet, confined as they are to Calcutta, and coming out to India without having had any previous preparation, they cannot appreciate the real merits of the question; they cannot be aware of what the Natives, whether the learned classes or the vulgar classes, require. They have about them in Calcutta young men who are highly qualified in the English language; they communicate readily with them, and from them they receive all their impressions. If they could talk to a Pundit, they would form very different notions."[1] The latter portion of the statement was particularly true of the majority of the Anglicists who rose against the Orientalists in 1835, and especially of that arch-Anglicist, Macaulay; though Wilson seems to have overlooked that the Orientalists were equally at fault in confining themselves to a view of things which had regard almost solely

[1] Evidence of H. H. Wilson on 18th July 1853: Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, etc., Q. 8501. (8th August 1853).

for the opinions and feelings of the Pundits and the Maulavis.

Yet this was but one of the many differences of opinion which sharply divided the Anglicists and the Orientalists. In fact, the whole question relating to the introduction of the arts and sciences of Europe and of the English language was looked at by the two parties in a spirit of fundamental antagonism to each other. The methods by which each proposed to solve the question were conceived to be altogether incompatible. The Orientalists, no less desirous than the Anglicists of seeing European learning diffused amongst Indians, wished to work for the attainment of that desideratum, not by a total rejection of the intellectual heritage of the country's past, but by superimposing on it by gradual degrees the new learning as conveyed through the classical languages of India. In short, they pointed to the synthetic way of solving the question as the best to adopt in the circumstances of the country. The Anglicists, who knew little of the country's intellectual past and wished less to have anything to do with its heritage in framing an educational policy, desired to accelerate the progress of mental improvement among the Indian people by means of European knowledge conveyed through the channel of the English language. This method of substitution of a foreign for the national culture advocated by the Anglicists may well appear at first sight totally contradistinctive to that advocated by the Orientalists. Yet, on a closer view, the Anglicist and the Orientalist doctrines do not seem to have been insusceptible of a compromise or reconciliation on several important

points. Both parties, for example, were agreed on the necessity and importance of Western knowledge for the intellectual uplift of the country. The Orientalists equally with the Anglicists were alive to the advantages of the English medium, so far as direct access to that knowledge was concerned. Moreover, the Orientalists had been led by later experience to confess to the inadequacy of their method of promoting Western knowledge through the Indian classical languages and to emphasise the necessity of the English medium for the communication of at least the higher branches of that knowledge and the desirability of distinct institutions where English studies could be singly pursued. On the common ground of those facts the two parties could have made at least an approach to compromise. But the spirit of compromise was foreign to the heated mood of the combatants. In the stormy controversy that ensued each party sometimes tended to take its stand on grounds which did not really belong to the essence of the question at issue. Political and other extraneous considerations were permitted to influence the discussion of what was after all a purely educational question.[1] This helped to add an air of irreconcilability to the opposed doctrines; and so, when finally the point was reached which made adjudication by a higher authority necessary, it was in an irreconcilable form that the cases of the two parties were presented to the Supreme Government for decision. The members of the Supreme Government, again,

[1] Trevelyan in his work on the subject devotes a separate chapter to "the Political Tendency of the different Systems of Education in use in India," meaning the English and the Oriental systems. "*On the Education of the People of India*," pp. 187-205.

being themselves divided on the question, took sides; and the fact that the head of that Government happened to be prepossessed in favour of the brilliant law member of his Council, who championed the Anglicists, was sufficient to turn the scales against the other party, forcing the Orientalists to make way for their opponents. Thus the whole question was decided in a partisan spirit; and, when the fact is borne in mind, the discomfiture of the Orientalists does not seem to mean so much a failure of their policy as a triumph for the Anglicists due more to a fortunate combination of extraneous factors than to the sheer merits of their case.

In order, however, fully to understand the absence of a desire for compromise on the part of the two parties, it is necessary to glance at another distinct aspect of the controversy. At bottom, the Anglo-Orientalist dispute was as much over principles and methods as over the pecuniary resources requisite to translate them into practice. Each party fought for the appropriation of the previous endowments and the Parliamentary grant of one lakh to the particular course it favoured and clamoured for. The fund was too small to be amicably apportioned between the two rival plans of education. Possibly, however, it would have gone a great way to put the disputants in a conciliatory mood, if sufficient funds had been forthcoming to enable the Anglicist and the Orientalist plans to be pursued and developed along their respective lines, without either being stinted of its fair share of the Government's pecuniary indulgence. But the dispute over the existing paltry sum was the more heated, as no larger financial

assistance from Government was forthcoming. Lord Auckland saw through as much in 1839, when the controversy still continued to smoulder and demanded some sort of satisfactory settlement. In an elaborate minute on education, in which he reviewed the various educational projects put forward, he pointed out that "the insufficiency of the funds assigned by the State for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that if the funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English Education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all." And again more explicitly: "The sum immediately at command was limited. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly, the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable, and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail."[1]

Those are some of the reasons which explain why the Orientalist policy came to be rejected—first, the want of impressive results; secondly, the discordance with the new trend of feeling in Bengal on the subject of education; and, thirdly, the real or supposed irreconcilability with the new educational policy advocated by the opponents

[1] Minute, 24th November 1839: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 148-49 *passim*.

of Orientalism. It should, however, be noted that rejection and failure are two distinct things; and it must be admitted that the Orientalist policy was not only rejected, but it partially failed —that is to say, the General Committee failed so to combine or fuse in its educational institutions European and Oriental knowledge as to lead to the fulfilment of the expectations originally entertained with regard to the results of the combination or fusion. But the reasons which explain the rejection of the policy in question do not go far, if at all, to explain this failure: they leave behind a feeling that something more was involved in the failure than is apparent from the facts which account for the rejection of Orientalism in education. It may be noted here that Dr. Ballantyne's experiment (to be described shortly), which was essentially based on Orientalist principles, met with a fair amount of success within a shorter time than was allowed to the plans of the General Committee. Why was it then that the Committee's experiment failed ?

The reason appears to be that the Orientalists of the General Committee did not clearly comprehend one essential condition of the success of their experiment. This condition was the adoption of a proper educational method or technique conducive to the peculiar end of encompassing the union of Eastern and Western learning.

As often said before, the Orientalists aimed at naturalising the exotic knowledge of Europe in India by fusing it with that which already existed among the people and was devoutly cultivated by the learned classes. Now, on its specific educational side, this aim implied the necessity of so

co-ordinating and correlating European with Oriental studies in the educational institutions under the control of General Committee as, first, to emphasise the common basis of correct knowledge to be found in Oriental and European learning; secondly, to enable the exotic knowledge to be understood in terms of a system of learning familiar to those to whom it was sought to be imparted; and, thirdly, at those points at which the familiar knowledge stopped short, to lead the learners to anticipate its further European developments. But such co-ordination or correlation only was not enough. Having regard to the peculiar condition of the Indian mind, a successful educational method had further to be stimulative so as to produce an awakening to the values of European culture. "The native mind of the present day," remarked William Adam in 1838, "although it is asleep, is not dead. It has a dreamy sort of existence in separating, combining, and re-casting in various forms, the fables and speculations of past ages."[1] From this state of dreaminess the Indian mind had to be aroused if European knowledge was to be effectively communicated in the manner desired by the Orientalists.

But that essential condition the General Committee in the actual application of their policy failed to satisfy. In order to introduce the study of European learning into the Oriental seminaries, the Committee attached English classes to them. But between the activities of the Oriental and English departments there was little

1 Adam's *Reports on Vernacular Education* (Third Report), pp. 198-99 (1868).

co-ordination or correlation. In fact, the English class of an Oriental seminary was far more in the nature of an appanage than a vital organ. For the most part the Committee seem to have placed a passive reliance on their Arabic and Sanskrit translations and on the proximity of the Oriental students to the English classes for stimulating them to unite European acquirements with their Oriental ones. No specific plan or method, directly and actively calculated to bring Oriental and European studies into intimate connection with each other, was adopted ; and the lack of connection meant the retention of a state of separation between the Oriental and European systems of learning, and hence a failure of the General Committee's policy.

But a question, which goes to the root of the whole matter, still remains : Was the co-ordination or correlation between European and Oriental learning, referred to as essential to the success of the Orientalist experiment, practicable ? The Anglicists denied its feasibility. But it is precisely with reference to this question that the significance of two individual experiments, casually mentioned before, becomes most obvious; for these experiments were an answer to the question often raised at the time. The experiments, so far as they went, translated the Orientalist dream of a synthesis of Oriental and European learning into a concrete fact. They took up the Orientalist idea or theory and demonstrated how it could be carried to its proper practical conclusion through the adoption of appropriate method or methods. As such, the experiments, far from being isolated phenomena in the history of Indian education,

have a close relation to the general educational activities of the period of Orientalism.

Connected with these experiments is an interesting question, namely, how far was the English language really indispensable for the communication of European knowledge, at least to the learned classes, if not to the people in general? Were the Orientalist views regarding the function of the English language in a national system of education for India sound or correct? It is as particularly bearing on such questions that the experiments alluded to have to be described at somewhat greater length than might otherwise be necessary.

Two notable figures were respectively connected with the experiments in question. One was Launcelot Wilkinson, Political Resident at Bhopal, who was also usually styled Wilkinson of Sehore, the place where he established the school in which his famous experiment was conducted. The other was Dr. Ballantyne who made the Benares College, of which he was appointed principal on the 3rd January 1846, the field of his still more famous experiment. It may be noted that, of the two, Wilkinson has the credit of being the pioneer; and, though his experiment was confined to a limited circle of Oriental learning, yet it compelled attention and anticipated in a great degree that of Dr. Ballantyne.

Wilkinson, like the rest of the Orientalists, had no illusions as to the measure of success capable of being achieved by spreading education through the medium of English. He had a clear recognition of the fact that under the peculiar circum-

stances of India the spread of English, and consequently the influence of the knowledge conveyed through it, would be confined only to a few among the vast population of the country. He was not therefore prone, like the Anglicists, to magnify unduly the importance or significance of the spontaneous desire for English manifested by certain classes in certain parts of the country under the influence of particular circumstances. In a letter to the Agra School Book Society, apropos the publication of certain Sanskrit mathematical works, he thus set forth his views: "Much progress has been made as well at Bombay as at Calcutta, through means of English. Hundreds of youths have received, through that language, an education which would be held to be liberal and sufficient, even in Europe; still no man of any experience of the interior of India, can, with any justice, for a moment uphold that the system which is found to answer at the Presidencies, should be applied also to the Mofussil. The acquirements of a youth, educated through the means of English, and only English, would be found almost utterly useless for contributing towards the advancement of his success, in any branch of business in the Mofussil. A few students might here and there be collected to prosecute the study; but, even if their education in English was completed, they would have extreme difficulty in gaining a livelihood by its means. The parties so educated would be, and are, regarded with suspicion by the mass of the people, who receive their announcement of new and strange truths, with almost as much distrust as they do those taught by ourselves. The truths, which have thus cost so much labour, time and

expense in inculcating, do not spread, or take root among the people; and indeed, were we to institute rigorous inquiry into the extent of education at the Presidencies themselves, we should find that the whole number of individuals educated there by us, is small in comparison with the population, and belongs to one section of Society—the Baboos in Calcutta, the Purboos in Bombay, with a slight sprinkling of the mercantile community."[1]

Such views compelled Wilkinson to turn to a different mode of diffusing knowledge from the one through English; and he propounded that "for the education of the mass of the people, it is clear that the vernacular languages alone can be of general use and benefit: and if we wish, that what we teach should take root and spread amongst the people, it is equally clear that it must be adapted to the tastes and genius of the people."[2] As such, it is perhaps needless to say that Wilkinson was far from treating all Oriental learning as "useless" or worse than useless. On the contrary, he saw much in it that was valuable and capable of being profitably turned to account for the great purpose in view. Moreover, he could not fail to be aware of the mischievous consequences accruing from a contemptuous neglect of it. He would have thoroughly concurred in the opinion expressed at a later date by one who was imbued with his views and confirmed in them by the results of Dr. Ballantyne's

1 Quoted in the printed "Proposal" of the A. S. B. Society for printing by subscription certain Sanskrit works recommended by L. Wilkinson, (26th July 1839).

2 *Ibid.*

experiment. "Our desire is proper," said Mr. J. D. Cunningham, referring of course to the general desire of his countrymen for the introduction of Western science and "morality" in India, "but how have we attempted to achieve the great task? By ourselves studying Arabic and Sanskrit, rather with reference to subjects of European inquiry than to objects of Indian amelioration; by giving young men a superficial acquaintance with the *writings* of a few of our great authors rather than a full and clear insight into our *principles* of criticism and speculation; and by a series of puerile tales and meagre historical epitomes, and of imperfect or inaccurate scientific summaries in the several provincial dialects, which are moreover usually written with little of idiom and less of perspicuity and elegance. To this, as to everything else, there are exceptions, and perhaps the Bombay publications are on the whole better than others. For reading these text-books, we have here and there established schools, which are frequented some by hundreds and the rest by tens rather than by thousands, and rather because the thing is novel and the instruction gratis or cheap in the extreme, than because error can be got rid of and truth found. Our method is thus weak and inefficient, and it is rendered ungracious and even repulsive to the priests as well as to the laity, by our systematic depreciation of Arabic and Sanskrit lore, and by our contemptuous disregard of all that our subjects look upon with respect as customary, if not with implicit faith as rationally certain. We foolishly place ourselves in a state of antagonism not only to the many we wish to instruct, to the regular followers of learning, who completely sway the

minds of their countrymen, and who may themselves have many prejudices to overcome, but who are yet accessible to the truth, if it be conveyed in a modest manner, and with logical or mathematical precision." And Cunningham proceeded further to note what was generally overlooked or ignored by those who posed as champions of enlightenment. "All our writers moreover forget," he said, "that the learned of India make as much distinction as ourselves between popular belief and demonstrative science. As Col. Kennedy and Sir William Jones long ago observed, the Brahmins do not confound the cosmogony of poets and rhapsodists with mathematical astronomy, and a little inquiry will show that they equally separate theology from mathematics. Thus under the term "Mimans," they include the two systems of creation based on the revealed writings, and under the term "Turk," they include the four systems based primarily on the human reason. In this way, a Brahmin will dispute about life and the soul as independent of the literal meaning of the Veds as "Alghazali", would have argued independent of the Koran, or as we now do of the Law and of the Gospel; yet we wholly disregard this scientific phase of the Indian mind, and seize hold of its popular or ignorant aspect for the petty purpose of depreciation; while thus condemning the knowledge of our subjects, we have done so little to convince them of the reality of our own superiority, that very few Indians believe we have any high or pure science at all. They have every day proof indeed of our pushing worldliness of character and of our mechanical dexterity, but there is no living impression abroad of our excellence as moralists,

as critics or as logicians; and hence no one seeks to become acquainted with our literature."[1]

It was that "scientific phase" of the Indian mind, emphasised by Cunningham, to which Wilkinson in great part addressed himself and adapted his methods. He began his experiment by organising schools at Sehore in which instruction was imparted through the medium of the learned as well as the vernacular languages of India. The number of pupils attending his schools was stated to be 74 in the Mahomedan, and 116 in the Hindu Lower School, and 24 in the Sanskrit classes who read the higher Mathematics and Grammar. For the purposes of lower branches of instruction, Wilkinson "caused to be used all the printed school books that he could find," though he complained of their deficiency, "excepting however particularly from the complaint some 'admirable' Marathee books printed at Bombay...." But his best efforts were devoted to, and most striking success achieved in, the instruction of the Sanskrit branch of the higher class of his school.

Mathematics and Astronomy were the subjects which afforded the most convenient starting-point for Wilkinson's operations. As adaptation was his guiding principle, he did not begin by directing the attention of his pupils in the first instance to the astronomical and mathematical facts and theories as established in the West. Such a course he felt could only mean failure, or, at best, imperfect results at great labour and cost;

1 Cunningham's letter, dated 20th December 1849, to the "Bombay Times" in reply to Sir E. Perry's minute of 26th October 1849, published in the same journal.

for, as he stated on a later occasion, "the assent to truths, which cannot be commanded by any appeal to reason, has been found to be much readily given to the authority of Bhascar Acharya even by the most bigotted and learned of the Brahmins."[1] So, instead, he sought for his pupils an approach to those facts and theories through the Hindu system of astronomy as taught in the "Siddhantas," which recommended itself by its consonance at many points with the astronomical knowledge of Europe. In these Siddhantas Wilkinson discovered a system of astronomy resembling, save in a few unimportant points, that of Ptolemy, and much more accurate than two other systems which commanded belief amongst the Jains and the followers of the Purans.[2]

A proposal, such as that of Wilkinson, to teach seriously a system of astronomy long exploded in Europe was apt to appear on a superficial view subversive of the aim of diffusing sound, scientific knowledge. But Wilkinson's wide personal experience and keen perceptions were far from leaving him with superficial views on a great, and at the time fiercely controverted, question. So, though the Siddhantic system as a whole lacked the validity of scientific truth, yet in Wilkinson's view it could be put to a perfectly valid use as, so to speak, a convenient though antiquated rudder for steering a tradition-bound people towards real enlightenment. A line of least resistance to prevalent Hindu notions and habits

[1] Letter from Wilkinson, dated 5th October 1839, to R. S. Reid, Secy. to Bom. Govt.: Genl. Dept., Vol. 45/516 of 1839, pp 1-2 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, No. 34, October 1834, pp. 505-506. ("On the Use of Siddhantas in the Work of Native Education" by Lancelot Wilkinson, etc.)

of mind was what Wilkinson desired; and the Siddhantas favourably attracted him as affording an easy, and even speedy, means of demolishing, as it were from within, the citadel of fantastic current Hindu beliefs in matters astronomical and of thus clearing the way for the reception of correct ideas and knowledge in their place. For such a purpose unadapted Western knowledge conveyed through the English language could not be of service. At this point Wilkinson's own words setting forth the basic idea of his system of education may be quoted with profit at some length. Anticipating the obvious objection to the use of the Siddhantas as suggested by him, he said:

> "Here I shall be at once met with the question, 'Why go back a thousand years in search of truth avowedly containing some admixture of error, when the pure and the unadulterated truth is at hand, and may be communicated with equal facility?'
>
> "To this I reply, that the pure and unadulterated truth not only cannot be communicated with equal facility, but is absolutely rejected by the mass of the Hindu population of India; but that with the aid of the authority of the Siddhantas, the work of general and extensive enlightenment may be commenced upon at once, and will be most readily effected, the truths taught by them being received with avidity. To explain and correct their errors will at the same time be easy."

And in support of his contention, he contrasted the conditions in the Presidency towns, which lent some force to the objection to his proposed use of the Siddhantas, with those in the interior, for which his plan of education was shaped.

> "With regard to the population of the three Presidencies," he proceeded to explain, "the argument of

my supposed opponent may, and I believe, does apply. The native mind there is fully prepared, nay, eager to, receive any cultivation that can be given to it; but what has led to this? For generations indeed, I may say for centuries past, the native populations there have enjoyed the humanizing advantages of daily intercourse with enlightened Europeans and foreigners of all nations; of a moderate and steady government; and of an extensive foreign commerce; there too the Brahmans and the studious have for the same long period, had the benefit of many schools, colleges, and learned institutions, superintended by English teachers, distinguished for their learning and science; there the Press, English and Native, disseminating its daily modicum of knowledge, has at length succeeded in awakening a spirit of inquiry and discussion, and taught the people the grand uses and advantages to which it may be applied; and there the Missionary, for generations past, has never intermitted in his sacred labours to root out the widespread degrading superstition, and to plant in its stead the seed of the purest morality and of true religion. There, in short, the population have already advanced far in their course of civilization.

"But how widely different is the state of all the rest of the vast continent of India; at least of all Central India, including Nagpur, Berar, Malwa, and Rajputana, in which my own personal experience has lain. The mass of the population is as rude and barbarous, and ignorant, and superstitious, as it was 17 years ago, when the supremacy of the British Government was first established. Of all the advantages, which have contributed to the enlightenment of the Native mind at the several seats of Government, it cannot be said to have enjoyed even one. What reception then can the announcement of the pure truth be expected to experience amongst a people in such state? With what reason can it be hoped, for a moment, that the English language and English literature, with its varied stores of knowledge, can here receive any cultivation? Even the most learned of the Hindu population find it impossible to comprehend, without assistance, the very best of our translations into their own languages. The

native mind, habituated to the idlest absurdities, has neither relish nor taste for plain sober truth." [1]

Moreover, Wilkinson was careful to point out that whatever was found to be correct in the Siddhantas was to be used as a bridge for his pupils to cross over from the old to the modern science of astronomy. And explaining the necessity for such use of the old system he said:

> "The Surya Siddhanta they firmly believe to have been communicated to men by the sun himself, the author of all they believe to have been divinely inspired. These works are now thought to be, like the Vedas, wonderful displays of divine wisdom, but totally beyond ordinary human comprehension. That man who has mastered their contents, they regard, and even fear as one possessed with superhuman powers."

On the strength of this irrefragable fact Wilkinson proceeded to ask:—

> "With this blind veneration and strong prejudices in favour of the Siddhantas, prevailing particularly amongst the Joshis scattered all over India (and the latter are by no means an inconsiderable part of the learned of India), and in some degree, now also amongst the Jain and followers of the Puranas, can we for a moment hesitate in admitting the vast benefits to which the proper employment of these prevailing prejudices will lead? How readily may a knowledge of the science, as taught in the Siddhantas, be re-communicated, especially to the Joshis, whose lives are now idly spent in wading through unintelligible calculations deduced from the Siddhantas? With what exultation will every man of ingenious mind amongst them receive explanations making plain and clear what is now all unintelligible and dark! They will not stop in simply admitting what is taught in the Siddhantas. Grateful to their European instructors for bringing them back to a knowledge of the works of their own neglected, but still revered, masters, they will in the fulness of

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 506-07.

> their gratitude, and from the exercise of their now improved powers of understanding, also readily receive the additions made during the last few hundred years in the science.'

In the same strain he proceeded to state further that "there can be little or nothing which we have to teach in Geometry, Surveying and Trigonometry generally, in Geography or Astronomy, of which Bhaskar Acharya has not already given us the first principles, and for enabling us to explain which, he will not afford us many new and also the most appropriate arguments, inas-much as they will be best suited to Hindu taste. And what can be more flattering to the vanity of the Hindu nation, or more grateful to their feelings and prejudices as men, than to see their own great and revered masters quoted by us with respect, to prove and illustrate the truths we propound. At the presidencies, and even at many large stations, we may prosecute with success a scheme for educating the people, by at once teaching them English, or by other means equally directly attacking all that is false and absurd in their belief. At these places, all the causes above enumerated concur to prevent the failure of such a scheme. But this plan of educating the mass of the people in the interior of India, where English can never be of any practical avail to any but a very few, is perfectly visionary; to hope to educate them by translations in the Roman character,[1] is little less so. Even translations into their own language and in their own character are frequently, as above mentioned,

1 At the time at which Wilkinson wrote several projects were put forward for introducing the Latin script for the Indian vernaculars.

wholly unintelligible to the best educated Natives. I could quote many proofs of this, but the mention would be invidious ; the obvious cause of failure in all these cases is, that in these schemes we make no account of men's passions and weaknesses and prejudices, and have neglected to consult their tastes and present state of knowledge. By pursuing the course I now advocate we sail with the current, favourable gales vastly accelerating our progress ; by directly attacking on the other hand the strongest prejudices of our nature, as is done in the other case, we struggle with an adverse stream, and with baffling winds, and will be found to have struggled comparatively in vain." [1]

These were the principles on which Wilkinson proceeded with his work of enlightenment. Accordingly, the course of study at his Sehore School was founded on Hindu mathematics and the Siddhantic system of astronomy. And not only in those branches of learning, but in the case of all other abstract sciences taught in the school, the general principle followed was to work in the first instance upon the basis of existing indigenous lore and then, in the process of correcting its errors or supplying its deficiencies, to superadd to it the information available from the stores of Western knowledge. By this method Western knowledge was also at the same time illustrated and conveyed to the pupils in terms familiar to them. The Siddhantas, aiming at formulation of scientific knowledge and being able, in Wilkinson's words, " to carry the student just to that point to which the science of Astronomy had been carried in Europe when Copernicus, Newton, and

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, No. 34, October 1834, pp. 509-10.

Galileo appeared to point out and to establish that the sun and not the earth was the centre of our system," admirably fitted his purpose, so far as the teaching of Astronomy was concerned. By their aid he was enabled to communicate to his pupils all the principal facts of astronomy. Through their instrumentality, again, he was able not only to rouse the Pundits and pupils of his school to the errors and deficiencies of their venerated system, but to turn the mental gaze of the more curious beyond it towards the more accurate, more positive and more highly developed knowledge which the Siddhantas in some respects anticipated but did not encompass. Thus a proper handling of the Siddhantas prepared the approach to the further developments and additions which the science of astronomy had received in Europe; and when this stage in the process of enlightenment was reached, where the Siddhantas ceased to furnish intellectual guidance, Wilkinson necessarily drew upon the European knowledge in existence on the subject. The European knowledge so drawn upon for the purpose of adding to the stock furnished by the Siddhantas, could not be difficult of acceptance to those who had learned to look beyond their own system for the further truths of astronomy. In this way, Oriental and European scientific lore were conjointly brought to bear on the task of enlightenment; and with what results will be noted a little later. But here it is deserving of remark that Wilkinson did not confine himself to any one lingual medium for the purpose in hand; he excluded neither English nor Sanskrit nor Persian, but on the contrary, as he stated, " made extensive use of all." " Wherever I found," he explained,

"a moral truth or a fact in the abstract sciences, already acknowledged and taught in any of their established popular works, which was capable of an extended application or which could be used to prove something new, I immediately fixed the attention of the teachers upon it, made them study and reflect upon it and then shewed its before unseen and undiscovered consequences. By thus using the rational, popular, and standard works as the tests and basis of the system, the cordial concurrence of the existing learned Natives was at once given to me, and I was thus saved from the necessity of teaching from the beginning a new system for which I never could afford time; but by supplying a running commentary on their text from our own stores of English science as far as I could, their errors have been in a great measure corrected and most of their deficiencies have been supplied. By this use, pruning, extension, and correction of their own indigenous popular and standard works, the system adopted here seems to me the most likely to thrive with the least degree of encouragement; the Astronomical class consists of but a small number of students; this has in a great degree arisen from my strict exclusion of the study of Astrology from the school, but it is my Astronomical class, which though it consist of so few, has been of most extensive use in disseminating amongst all the rest of the boys and to very many others a knowledge of the various truths which they alone at first were capable of appreciating and understanding."[1]

[1] Quoted in Colvin's Note, para 25. *Vide* Report of the Genl. Committee of Public Instruction for 1839-40, App. No. 1. (Calcutta: 1841).

The best justification of Wilkinson's method was seen in the immediate results produced by it. With regard to his own students, it led to so rapid an acquisition of knowledge by them that Wilkinson early declared that in the short space of four or five months, during which he had availed himself of the Siddhantas in teaching not only the boys of the Sehore school but also "the Joshis and Brahmans of the town," he had succeeded in communicating "more real knowledge and information" than he had done in "the previous ten years" of his career. In proof he appealed to the testimony of independent witnesses who had observed the progress of his school in the "perfectly astonishing" acquisitions of the students.[1] But perhaps far more striking and valuable than their acquisitions in knowledge and information was the active "spirit of inquiry" aroused within them. Their mental curiosity led some of them to do what was a rare thing in those days. Wilkinson himself, in describing the results of his method, particularly called attention "to the eagerness with which a large party of the most advanced of the Hindee and Sanskrit pupils, together with the head teacher of Hindee, sought of me leave to visit Bombay with a view of seeing its various wonders and institutions, and of further improving themselves in a knowledge of some subjects on which I had not time to instruct them." At Bombay their conversancy with various branches of learning impressed those they met and gained for them a certificate in recognition of their accomplishments from one of the masters of the Scottish Missionary Schools. They

[1] Letter to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No. 34. October 1834, pp. 510-11.

returned to Sehore "highly delighted with all the wonderful things" they had witnessed and "also much improved in many respects." But, more interesting still, one of the boys "conceived a strong desire to learn the English language, and heedless of the entreaties of his family stopped behind, and entered himself as a student of the Elphinstone College."[1]

But the influence of Wilkinson's experiment also spread beyond the school in which it was carried out. A stir was created amongst the learned throughout Central India such as had not been witnessed for a long time past. The exposition of false beliefs led to sharp opposition on the part of those who clung to them, but this opposition was probably not unexpected and, far from being undesirable, seemed to augur well for the spirit of awakened intellectual activity which it manifested. Once again, Wilkinson's own words may be quoted on the point: "But as the class advanced, their new opinions, and more especially the talented summary of them by Soobajee Bapoo in his "Sheromuni Purkash," which has been widely circulated, have not failed to attract the attention and bring down upon them the condemnation of the most learned Shastrees and orthodox Pundits of Oojain, Poona, Benares, Muthoora, Nagpore and Satara. The Oojain Pundits contended for the unadulterated Poorans, denying that the earth was a sphere and asserting that Bapoo's book was full of heterodoxy. The Muthoora Pundits, candidly and with a keener foresight of the consequence of their study, pronounced the Siddhantas and the whole

[1] *Vide* Colvin's Note.

Jyotish Shastra (though acknowledged by all the Shastrees to be a Vedanga) to be an infidel science. The Nagpore Pundits displayed an utter ignorance of the Siddhanta. The Poona and Benares Pundits admitted the truth of both the Pooranic and Siddhantic systems, and maintained that their contradictions were only apparent and might be reconciled. Our Satara opponent alone sets the Pooran aside and contends for the truth of the Siddhantas, condemning only the heterodoxy of our arresting the sun in his course to make him the centre of the system."[1] But, as said before, this opposition constituted a hopeful sign rather than otherwise, and Wilkinson viewed it in the same light. "But instead of regarding my mode of instruction," he said, "as ill adapted to the people, and instead of being discouraged by these attacks, I see in them the best proof that what I have taught is understood by the people, and its effects apprehended infinitely more than could be, by anything taught in English, and on English authority. Of truths learned through English, the learned of this country acknowledge neither the authority nor worth. From the authority of the Siddhantas, they find the utmost difficulty in escaping; and they themselves feel, that they have daily, nay hourly, necessity of recourse to, and use for, their Punchangs, and all the determinations of their Jyottishu Shastru. They have need of all their duplicity and tact in escaping, therefore, from any truth of the Siddhanta. My Pundits, however, who are well founded in the Siddhants, are too knowing, and too earnest advocates of truth, to let their cunning or dog-

[1] *Vide* Colvin's Note, para 23.

matism avail them; and the Siddhantas have proved so admirably adapted to Native taste, that I have had no more trouble in propagating the knowledge of them, (which is now extended to so many) than was in the first instance necessary to give Soobajee Bapoo an insight into them."[1]

With regard to the effects of Wilkinson's experiment, it may be permissible finally to quote the testimony of one who was an interested witness of it. Mr. Mcleod, recalling at a subsequent period his friend's labours in the cause of Indian education with reference to the efforts of Dr. Ballantyne, described the effects of Wilkinson's system as "in a manner electrical." "The most inveterate Pundits," he affirmed, "were won over in a manner truly surprising; one of them, who had been engaged to read the Poorans to an assembly of Hindoos, avowed in my presence that he could not have the face to read before him the chapter treating of the fabulous creation and form of the earth and heavenly bodies. Two of their number wrote treatises in Hindee and Mahratti, on the comparison of the Copernican, Ptolemic, and Siddhantic systems; all who could obtain the privilege of access appeared anxious to co-operate; learned discussions by letter arose upon "the new philosophy" between them, and the Pundits of Benares, Nagpur, Poona and other places; and a large part of Malva and Central India including some of the children and dependants of the petty native chiefs of those parts, appeared to be flocking in for instruction attracted by the rising fame of the Junta at Sehore, when the lamented death of

1 *Vide* Letter quoted in the prospectus of the Agra School Book Society, dated 26th July 1839.

Mr. Wilkinson virtually terminated the undertaking in its bud."[1]

Of course, Wilkinson's method may not sometimes have been perfectly successful in its results, but that detracts little from its intrinsic merits. For example, though it was entirely possible for Wilkinson to cast out from the minds of his students some of their absurd traditional beliefs and even cause them to shed their imperviousness to reason and argument, yet it was not always within his power to lead them to a conviction of the truths of Western science or to convert their sceptical attitude towards those truths into one of positive assurance. In illustration, it may be well to take an instance furnished by Wilkinson himself. He mentioned once, in writing on his favourite topic of the value of the ancient Sanskrit works of science for the propagation of education in the country, that through the aid solely of the Rekha Gunittee and the Leelavutee he had carried the head mathematical class of the Sehore School so far as to be able to take them through a course of Plane Trigonometry; and proceeded further to communicate that " some of the individuals of this class were two years ago utterly ignorant of Mathematics and the most bigotted, as they were the most learned of Pooranics. Now they are so far enlightened and so far open to conviction and reason as to declare that though they can hardly believe the Earth to have the befold Kolun we allege, still there is a very strong probability and even a preponderance of

1 *Vide* Extract of Mr. Mcleod's Minute in the General Report on Public Instruction in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1848-49, pp. 32-36 passim.

proof that it is so."[1] Again, in regard to the intellectual excitement created among the learned classes, we cannot simply dismiss as an unjustifiable lack of optimism the circumspect assertion of a contemporary, who was also actively connected with educational affairs, that "the extent and permanence of the impression which his (Wilkinson's) most laudable labours may produce in this respect can be shown alone by time."[2] Nevertheless, that Wilkinson was able by his method to lay the minds of his Pundits and pupils open to reason and argument and instil in them an active spirit of inquiry, without forcing on them the Western learning they initially despised, and that moreover he was able to produce an awakening from mental torpor, however short in duration it may have been, through a great extent of the peninsula, were by no means in themselves small achievements and spoke more eloquently than words could for the principles and methods followed by him.

There existed, however, a substantial objection to Wilkinson's method when the feasibility of its general application to the purposes of the education of the country came to be considered. Wilkinson, it may be observed, was so far most successful within the limits of the Mathematical sciences; but it was made a question whether his method was capable of successful application in the case of the speculative sciences, or at least sciences in which there existed no indigenous literature to afford a basis for the adoption of the course advocated by him. Wilkinson had on one

1 Letter to R. S. Reid, dated 5th October 1839.

2 Colvin's Note, para 24.

occasion admitted that in subjects like Mechanics, Political Economy, and History "Hindoo literature has nothing we can avail ourselves of." How was his method then to be put to use in the case of those sciences? It was natural therefore that it should have been remarked at the time that "Mr. Wilkinson's peculiar method seems applicable specially, and indeed almost exclusively, to the department of the higher Mathematics in which there exist the indigenous text-books to which he refers and of which use can be made, whereas in other branches of instruction such aid have to be supplied nearly entirely from European sources and that a knowledge of these higher processes of Mathematics or Astronomy is certainly not intimately connected with the purposes of a common education."[1] But, however that may have been, Wilkinson appears to have been confident that through his method one important object of a "common education" was possible of realisation, namely, the moral improvement which the people were supposed to stand in dire need of.[2] But, with regard to the extension of his method to other departments of Sanskrit learning besides Mathematics and Astronomy, he does not seem to have left any definite opinion on record. On the other hand, Mr. Mcleod affirmed that his efforts "were almost exclusively confined to the department of Mathematics and Astronomy, and he entertained considerable doubt whether any others of the branches of Sanskrit learning were capable of being employed by us for like purposes, or at all events, he certainly had not any definite idea in respect to the mode

1 Colvin's Note, para 26.

2 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, October 1834, p. 511.

in which they could be so employed."[1] At any rate, Wilkinson was prevented by death from enlarging the scope of his experiment, if he ever contemplated the possibility of doing so. It was left to another brilliant Oriental scholar to achieve success in a similar experiment, carried out on similar principles and with similar methods but within a considerably larger ambit of scientific and philosophic knowledge.

And so we come to the second of the two important and successful experiments in the union of Eastern and Western learning, or as the phrase then commonly used had it, in the "grafting" of European knowledge on the Oriental. Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, LL.D., the author of the later experiment, was sent out by the Court of Directors and assumed charge of the Benares College on the 3rd of January 1846, in supercession of one Rev. Mr. Wallis who had been nominated to the office of Principal by the Local Government in February 1845.

Prior to the advent of Dr. Ballantyne, a noteworthy attempt had been made by a predecessor of his to infuse new vigour into the Benares College. Mr. J. Muir, a Civil Servant and talented Sanskrit scholar, who took charge of the College "as its first Principal" on the 20th of April 1844, tried to turn the College to better account than had been sought to be done at any time previously, by making it a real centre of learning instead of allowing it to remain an unsuccessful nursery of judicial servants or a monument of the British Government's generosity

1 *Vide* Mcleod's Minute in General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces for 1848-49, pp. 32-36 passim.

and political fatuity. He re-framed the constitution of the college and the scheme of instruction pursued in it on lines better calculated to realise the object in view. It will suffice here to note one or two features of the constitution as reformed by Mr. Muir. An important step taken by him was to unite the English and Oriental seminaries which had hitherto existed apart. Nevertheless, the acquisition of English was not made obligatory; but every student had to study at least one learned language (that is, either English, Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit) and one of the vernaculars (that is, either Hindee or Urdu), the languages being "fixed upon the student's discretion." The existing Sanskrit students were, as a matter of concession, exempted from the necessity of learning the vernacular in the manner contemplated by the new rule. But in a way the most valuable contribution of Mr. Muir was a series of lectures on mental philosophy delivered by him to the Pundits and Sanskrit students of the college. These lectures subsequently proved of use to Dr. Ballantyne who paid a suitable tribute to their author. Yet Mr. Muir's efforts to improve the college in the direction desired by him earned him small success. As he himself admitted, "this experiment for the improvement of the Sanskrit College has, it must be confessed, been attended with but indifferent success as far as regards the number of students subjected to the influences of the new system. Notwithstanding the increase in the amount of scholarships granted from Rs. 6 to 14, the number of students has declined since my arrival from 78 to 42." Various reasons were assigned for this falling-off in number. As for those who were subjected to the

influence of the new system, this was the result reported by Mr. Muir: "In regard to those students who remain in the college my success, though small perhaps, has been as great as was to be expected. I have found no objection on the part of the Pundits to the new studies, and the lectures on Mental Philosophy seem even to have interested some of them as according with their natural turn for abstruse speculation; but few of the pupils have evinced much taste for the new departments which in fact have no tendency to bring them emolument or reputation among their countrymen. The place which has been assigned to these departments in the examination of scholarships will, however, if maintained in future, enforce some attention to those subjects." Mr. Muir resigned the office of Principal early in January 1845 and was succeeded by Mr. Wallis.[1]

Mr. Wallis, as mentioned before, was succeeded by Dr. Ballantyne; and with his advent opens the most interesting chapter in the early history of the Benares College. Before proceeding to describe the educational experiment itself as carried out during his incumbency, it is necessary to take a clear view of the principles on which Ballantyne's system of instruction was grounded. These he has himself stated with a perspicuity which leaves nothing to be desired. It is true that, as propounded by him, they do not essentially differ from those embodied in the general Orientalist theory of education stated before; but what invests them with a new significance when viewed in connection with Dr. Ballantyne is not only the

[1] Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshala.*

originality of the mode in which he applied them in practice, but the clear insight with which he took measure of the conditions to which they had to be adapted.

In the manner of all methodical men Dr. Ballantyne surveyed at the outset the field he had to work on and the quality and extent of the work already done in the past. He commenced by asking, "Let us inquire for what object was the Benares Sanscrit College founded? What are the most valuable objects to which it can be directed? And what are the arrangements most likely to secure the attainment of those objects? These three questions I considered it my duty to propose to myself when I was sent from England to take charge of the institution." And searching for an answer to them in the past history of the institution, he found what has been already stated in a previous chapter that the Benares College was primarily founded with no broader objects in view than those of conciliating "the Natives of India by paying a graceful compliment to their language and literature, and of perhaps providing better educated Pundits to act as Legal Counsellors than could otherwise have been always met with." He also found that "for many years all the efforts of the various gentlemen who took an interest in the College appeared to have been directed to the increasing of its efficiency in these respects." A bright exception in the monotonous story of those efforts was furnished during the period of Mr. Muir's incumbency: "the first decided effort," said Ballantyne, "which I find recorded for turning the institution to further account, is that of Mr. Muir, during the session of

1844." But at the same time he was not slow to recognize the inconsiderable effect produced on those on whom Mr. Muir's labours were bestowed: "I cannot remark, without regret, that the study of those valuable lectures (of Mr. Muir) is performed grudgingly. I cannot complain of having been disobeyed when I directed that such and such days should be devoted to this study, and that such and such of the students ought to attend the Professor who was charged with the expounding of them; but there was an unmistakable reluctance. I have often had to answer the question 'What is the use of such studies as these,' and the mournful tone of the question, and the unsatisfied look of the querist when he had received the reply, were sufficient to show that this query meant no more than a civil intimation that he considered them of no use." Evidently, Western learning had not yet found favour with the generality of the Pundits and students of the college.

The fact led Dr. Ballantyne to discuss and define the essential character of the aim that it was necessary to keep in view if the college was to be turned to best account. He appears to have felt that the attention previously paid to subsidiary aims had been partially responsible for a misdirection of the efforts intermittently made for the improvement of the college. It was necessary to state or restate the true object of the institution in clear terms, suggestive of its essential and not secondary needs and requirements; and this Dr. Ballantyne proceeded to do.

> "The object of such an institution," he said, "I conceive (and I understand Mr. Muir to have considered)

ought to be this, to produce Pundits, not merely with Sanskrit learning equal to that which can be acquired in the native schools, but with minds so far tinctured with European habits of thought as shall render each of them in some degree a moral light among his countrymen. Many people may look on such a proposed object as chimerical; it will assuredly be hard to effect; but we shall gain nothing by aiming at anything lower. I do not propose to substitute new studies for any portion of the course of Sanskrit study pursued in the College. *All improvement must be in the way of addition, not of substitution.* The most perfect European education bestowed upon a young Brahman, however great a blessing it might be to himself, would exert no beneficial influence, beyond his own breast, if unaccompanied by the amount of Sanskrit education which is indispensable for securing any degree of respectful attention to his words. How little moral influence do the very best pupils of the College exert on the mind of the learned natives, if indeed neglecting so much as they do their vernacular tongue, they be supposed capable of communicating much of what they have learned to any native at all. But if we succeed in establishing in the Sanskrit College the standard of training which I propose, we shall have in the case of each pupil so trained a Brahman whose acquirement in Sanskrit learning must command respect and consequent attention, whose thoughts (by the hypothesis) are to a certain extent influenced by an acquaintance with correct modes of thinking and who will find acute men of his own class sufficiently disposed to argue with him and nowise disposed to yield a single point that can be by any means contested. Is it too much to hope that the eleve of the College, averse to having the subject-matter of his acquirements undervalued, will exert his ingenuity in the support of his positions to the strengthening of his own better impressions and not altogether without some effect upon his intelligent opponent? The great influence which the Europeanized ideas of the learned Brahman, Rammohun Roy, exerted upon the native mind of Bengal, when contrasted with the comparatively slender influence exerted by well-educated and intelligent men of a different class, has always

struck me as pointing to the combination of conditions which we must strive to bring about if we would aim successfully at raising the native character."

But how was this to be brought about in the face of the set aversion of the Pundits to the communication of Western learning? What initial inducement could be held out to them to consent in the first place to their being subjected to the teaching and influence of European knowledge? The difficulty was a serious one, baffling as it did all educational plans or endeavours at their very start. But Dr. Ballantyne was not unprepared with a solution of it—a solution suggested before in a somewhat different form by Mr. Muir and which, when subsequently applied, proved successful. "Supposing this to be our object," he continued, "let us consider what are the motives by which we can operate on the minds of the pupils in their present state. The motives are not numerous; they are in fact resoluble into one. The applicants for admission into the Sanskrit College are attracted solely by the hope of obtaining a scholarship; this is notorious. The College Pundit makes no scruple of admitting it as a matter of course."

In accordance with this view Dr. Ballantyne proceeded to enforce the study of the English language, at the same time avoiding all appearance of compulsion in regard to it. To achieve his purpose he made effective use of a Government Circular (No. 419 of 1846) which provided that a student might be allowed to enjoy his scholarship for an extended period after completion of his studies, if he was engaged in the preparation of some original work or translation calculated to be

of public utility. At a time when Dr. Ballantyne was exploring the various ways of stimulating the intellectual activity of the college, the Government order came very handy. "A hope has been indulged," he related, "that the Sanskrit pupils may be induced to study English. My observations, when sounding the Pundits and pupils on this point, were by no means encouraging," until the Government order appeared, directing that "no student should retain his scholarship beyond the age of 23, unless under certain provisions. The anxiety manifested by the Senior pupils to bring themselves within the scope of those provisions suggested the feasibility of a fresh attempt to introduce the study of English into the Sanskrit College in the course of the examination. I circulated a paper to be signed by all who might be willing to undertake this study. The paper was signed by several of those who under the existing regulations are liable to be dismissed at the end of the year. They are the very men whom I think it must be worthwhile to retain. They have reached a point of mental culture at which they have become worth reasoning with, on the comparative merits of the civilisation of Ancient India and of modern Europe, a point which the junior boys will not generally have reached until they shall likewise have attained the age at which they must be turned adrift to gain their livelihood, not improbably as astrologers, or as hired mummers at Pagan ceremonies."

Thus, in the case of students so circumstanced, through whom Dr. Ballantyne hoped to achieve his ultimate aim, the study of English was to begin where and when their Sanskrit studies

ended. The introduction of English into the College was effected in as unobtrusive a fashion as possible. No overwhelming importance or value was placed on the study of English at the expense of the Sanskrit language and literature. The English language was simply held forth as a secondary, though not subsidiary, instrument of enlightenment, a means of access to a knowledge that lay beyond the bourn of Sanskrit studies. The fact is evident from the remarks of Dr. Ballantyne quoted before; but it is further evident with greater clearness from certain rules which he provisionally laid down by way of reframing the constitution of the college. These rules began by reciting that the primary object of the college was to furnish, "without expense to the student and as a mark of the esteem in which the Government holds the Ancient Literature of this Country, the means of studying all the most valuable branches of Sanskrit learning." They then went on to state that "a secondary, not subordinate, object of the institution" was "to furnish to the most promising and most advanced pupils, the means of applying their educated faculty to the consideration of those works which constitute the glory of the nation which founded this college." Every student was to have the opportunity of learning the English language, but those students alone, whose acquirements in Sanskrit literature were of a very high order, were to be the objects of special care in regard to their English studies. The awarding of prizes and scholarships was regulated in keeping with the spirit and intent of the above rules. Thus, prizes and scholarships were held out as the reward for proficiency in Sanskrit literature; but

the highest rewards were reserved "for those who having attained in their own Shastras all that is necessary to gain the respect and the attention of their fellow-countrymen," manifested, "by their application and consequent attainments, a real desire to pursue the search after truth to the fullest limits to which access is provided for them." And further it was explictly laid down that, "without being called upon to learn English," a student was to be allowed "to go through the whole curriculum of Sanskrit study" and to hold the annual scholarship to which he was entitled till the age of 23; a student of English, however, provided he had attained "the highest grade of Sanskrit scholarship" and continued "to prosecute his studies in at least one branch of Sanskrit learning," was held to be "highly eligible to be retained indefinitely," if he continued to give satisfaction in regard to his studies and conduct. Lastly, it may be mentioned that, though a "well-educated native of good caste" was to be appointed to teach the elements of English, the rules required the Principal to take upon himself the duty "of directing the English studies from the first and of exclusively conducting them" after the pupils had acquired some little acquaintance with the language.

It may be noted in passing that the Lieutenant Governor of the N. W. Provinces, within whose administrative jurisdiction the Benares College was placed in 1843, concurred in the measures adopted by Dr. Ballantyne to introduce the study of English among the Sanskrit students of the College.[1]

1 Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshalla*, pp. 96-105 passim.

Having referred to the views and principles that actuated Dr. Ballantyne, we may next turn to the experiment itself which was based on them. It was during the session of 1847-48 that "the most interesting experiment" (as its author called it) of introducing the study of English into the College was undertaken. As perhaps expected, there were troubles and difficulties at the incipient stage. They are best related in Dr. Ballantyne's words: "The aspect of the class at the opening of the session was not auspicious. The majority of the pupils were very averse to the study and seemed to think themselves in some measure degraded in the eyes of the other students. They attended reluctantly, when every device for evading attendance failed: books were lost or had not been supplied, pens and ink became suddenly unprocurable; and half the time allotted for the lesson was sometimes spent in settling the fastidiously protracted preliminaries. They seemed greatly to dread being desired to attend in the English College Bungalow, where their slender acquirements in English might expose them to a disadvantageous comparison with little boys who had been reading for a year or two. When they found that no such design upon them was really contemplated, their apprehensions gradually wore off, and ultimately they volunteered to come over to the English Department for three hours daily in order that they might be within reach of assistance when preparing their lessons. At the same time, Pundit Bapu Deo, finding that we were studying the Grammar according to a new plan, and instituting a searching enquiry into various forms of expression, the want of a satisfactory explanation of which had hitherto

disheartened him in the prosecution of the study, requested permission to become one of the class. This I gladly acceded to; and the lively interest which he has continued to take in the matter has exerted a beneficial influence on the class."

A serious handicap from which the progress of the experiment suffered was the lack of a grammar suited to the wants of the class, all the existing grammars being pronounced by Dr. Ballantyne defective and unfit for his purpose. A small English Grammar in Sanskrit, published in Calcutta, was tried without success; and "this soon furnished the discontented with a pretext for arguing that it was impossible they could be taught English satisfactorily at all." But Dr. Ballantyne was not to be beaten back easily by such difficulties: he set about composing a Grammar in a form and style intended to meet the wants of his class. In his own words, "I therefore commenced writing Sanskrit lectures on English Grammar, calculated for an audience of Pundits. They were read out to the class, in my presence, by Pundit Ishwardatta, and were written from his dictation by the pupils, after having undergone the criticism, not unfrequently the hypercriticism of the whole party. These lectures were afterwards carefully revised by Pundit Bapu Deo, who suggested various improvements in the way of making them more neat and condensed. Each new difficulty that was encountered in the course of our reading was afterwards investigated, and a suitable rule recorded in its proper place."[1] The grammar was afterwards printed along with an

1 General Report on Pubilc Instruction, in the North Western Proyinces of the Bengal Presidency, 1847-48, pp. 21-23 passim.

English version of it, in order that it might be useful in teaching Hindee students also, as Dr. Ballantyne declared that the differences of idiom between the English and Sanskrit of which the chapter on Syntax treated, were "virtually the same" that existed between English and Hindee.

These measures were, however, no more than, so to speak, the exordium to the great experiment that was about to be undertaken. It was in the following year that Dr. Ballantyne attempted to bring the English and Sanskrit departments of the college into intimate and stimulating contact with each other; and, it was observed before, the Orientalist theory essentially implied the necessity of such a contact or connection between the two. The manner in which the necessity made itself plain to him was lucidly set forth in the rationale he gave of the next stage of the experiment on which the English and Sanskrit departments were led to enter. The main fact which impressed itself very clearly on his mind was the apparently impassable gulf that existed between English and Sanskrit students, though engaged in the pursuit of knowledge in the same institution. As he put it, "it is a fact to be lamented that the advanced scholars of the English and of the Sanskrit colleges, though speaking the same vernacular, are mutually unintelligible when the conversation turns on the subject of their studies. The technical terms with which they are respectively familiar, being the product of opposite theories, are not convertible by one who is not conversant with both. The consequence is, that the Pundits, in full reliance upon a dogmatic and as they think inspired philosophy, which has stood the discus-

sion (such as it has yet encountered) of centuries, look with calm superiority on the pretensions of a more modest philosophy, which avows that it is only progressing towards perfection which it cannot hope to reach. Whilst on the other hand our English students, struck by the imposing methodical completeness of the Brahmanic systems, which they cannot comprehend in detail, and bewildered in every attempt to cope with the dialectical subtlety of the Pundits, who, they see perfectly, though unintelligible to the English student, are quite intelligible to each other, become possessed by an uneasy feeling, that there is more, if they could but come at it, in the Sanskrit philosophy than is dreamt of in ours. Hence comes the apparent anomaly that a man who can expound the Newtonian Astronomy, consults his astrologer with the same deference as the most ignorant villager; and confusedly believes in his heart, what the Jesuit Editors of the "Principia" only professed with their lips, that the earth stands still, though the hypothesis of its motion may suffice to account for the phenomena. Hence it is also, that although acquainted with the theory of eclipses, and able to calculate them by European formulæ, he would not on any account neglect to perform the ceremonies ordained for the purpose of helping the luminary out of the jaws of his mythological enemy, the trunkless demon of the ascending node. The only way to remedy this, is to put such a one in a position to judge for himself by making him sufficiently well acquainted with both sides of the case. It is scarcely necessary to observe that a decision in our favour carries tenfold moral force with it when it is known that the person so deciding knows not

merely what he embraces, but also, thoroughly, what he deliberately abandons."[1]

It was obviously necessary to contrive some measures for bridging the gulf, if the union of European and Sanskrit learning was to be a fact. Some means had to be found of enabling, in Dr. Ballantyne's words, the students of the English Department to meet half way the Sanskrit students who had begun the study of English. Those adopted by Dr. Ballantyne consisted, first, in the preparation of an "English commented version" of the Sanskrit School Grammar known as the "Laghu Kaumadi," and, secondly, in the delivery of a set of lectures on the system of Hindu philosophy called the Nyaya. The English edition of the grammar was intended to serve the purpose of introducing the senior English students to "the precise forms of thought and expression current among the Pundits."

In expounding the Nyaya philosophy, Dr. Ballantyne made use of a brief compendium of the system entitled the "Tarka Sangraha" as a text-book. "I took sentence by sentence," he relates, "first giving the original, (which my hearers were able partly to understand), then a translation; and then a commentary, pointing out the correspondence of each part of the several divisions of European Science, and noticing anything analogous in the speculations of antiquity that occurred to me as likely to do good, either by showing that the same truths had been hit upon, or the same errors for a time adhered to, *out* of India as well *in it*." "These lectures," he

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the North Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, 1848-49, p. 18 (Agra: 1850).

continues, " were listened to with marked interest, the subject being one which the students are ambitious of understanding—one which can easily be made clear to them with the aid of explanation in English—and one which the Pundits have not the most distant conception of the possibility of explaining in an exoteric fashion."

It may be here interesting to observe why Dr. Ballantyne's choice fell on the Nyaya in preference to other systems of Hindu philosophy. The views underlying his choice may appear somewhat curious in our day when later research, in combination with recent tendencies of thought, may lead one to judge differently of the respective value and worth of the different philosophical systems prevailing in India. It is necessary however to remind ourselves, not only that Dr. Ballantyne, with all his brilliant mental gifts and accomplishments, was after all the child of an age which, so far at least as Europe was concerned, was yet far from understanding fully the comparative merits of Hindu philosophical speculation as various exponents of the Vedanta and allied systems have made manifest at the present day, but that he had to choose a system that best fitted the immediate purpose in hand. As he himself put it, " we are not here enquiring into these curious philosophical systems as a mere matter of curiosity. The question of questions in regard to them is here—how, and how far, they are capable of being turned to account."

" Of the three leading schools," said Dr. Ballantyne, " the Vedanta, the Sankhya, and the Nyaya, the first, being an attempt to reconcile

Hindoo Scripture with Philosophy, obviously, does not promise much to aid us. The second is as nearly as possible a system of Nihilism, though its advocates protest against imputing that character to it. It contains much that is ingenious, and not a little (as Professor Wilson and others have shown) that has been only recently ex-cogitated in Europe. But as a system, it tends to nothing that we can have any interest in promoting. We cannot make its plan therefore the groundwork of any curriculum of our own. The Nyaya on the other hand is a very fair and, in some respects, admirable attempt on the part of certain speculative philosophers, who had made perhaps as many observations and experiments as they had opportunities of making, to present a complete and consistent physical as well as metaphysical theory of the universe. Of this system, therefore, I have chiefly made use, in laying the foundations of an attempt to present to the students of the Sanskrit College an equally comprehensive view of the universe, divested of those errors in their own Nyaya which modern observation and experiment have shown to be such, and giving somewhat of its due prominence to the physical departments of science, which were much less prominent in the original exposition of the Nyaya doctrine than in its metaphysics, to which the physics were entirely subordinated as they have ever since remained. While their system professes to embrace the universe, it really neglects all that forms the subject-matter of the physical sciences, and consequently its professors look down with self-complacent superiority upon the cultivators of physical science, and with indifference upon its results. The case

of Astronomy presents only an apparent exception to this rule, for it is for astrological purposes alone that the bulk of the Brahmins value Astronomy. Here as in other departments the knowledge that they have, furnishes too often the main obstacle to their acquiring more. But this is only an additional reason why we should take care to ascertain what it is they have; for whatever they possess of truth, will remain an obstacle, until we make it an ally."

Before proceeding further to narrate the progress of the experiment in the English class, it would be convenient to turn at this point to note what was done by Dr. Ballantyne for the Sanskrit class of the college, and how far the application of his views and methods met with success there. With regard to those Sanskrit students and Pundits who were, or kept themselves, outside the influence of European thought and learning, Dr. Ballantyne was not slow to find what Wilkinson had found before him that the essential thing to be done in order to win their ear to the exotic knowledge sought to be communicated to them was to arouse their intellectual curiosity and free them from their subservience to dogmatic authority. "The Hindoo mind for a long period," he said, "has been in what Whewell calls the 'commentatorial stage' a stage in which originality is forbidden and shunned. This would seem to present one of the occasions when a just appreciation of the history of an analogous period may be fairly expected to throw light upon the prospect of the future, on its undesirable probabilities, and its more desirable possibilities, possible only if they be properly anticipated." And he

further referred to "the centripedal force, or wooden yoke, of dogmatic authority" as having, in the case of India, "long since converted, what at the outset was onward progress, into the narrow yet interminable orbit of an ox in an oil-mill."

What was necessary to be done preliminarily was thus plain enough; but the question was, How? How were the Pundits to be allured from the time-hallowed beaten track of their intellectual training, from the cramping "orbit of an ox in an oil-mill?" That part of Dr. Ballantyne's experiment, which consisted of the steps he took to effect this difficult task, is of surpassing interest. No direct means were at the outset resorted to; rather, the method actually adopted was calculated to lure, not to compel. Dealing with the Law students, Dr. Ballantyne related that, "being curious to see what the students would make of a case for which they could find no precedent in their law-books, I proposed the case which Reid cites as an example of an insoluble dilemma—of the sophist Protagoras and his scholar. Just as I expected, they tried it by every one of their technical rules in succession, never doubting, but that one or other of them must fit. When they found, to their great surprise, that this was not the case, they betook themselves to the unusual task of unaided thought; and whilst one decided that the Judge must decree in favour of the pupil, another said that he must decree in favour of the Master, and a third that he had better dismiss the case without giving any opinion on the matter, which last is the resolution that the Greek judges are related to have come to. The law Pundit, to whom these opinions were submitted, took two

days to consider the case, which he also tried in vain by his body of rules which never had failed him before. At this he made no secret of his admiration, but at last he hit upon a solution not uncreditable in my opinion to his sagacity, viz., that the pupil was decidedly entitled to a verdict in his favour, and that then this would furnish good ground for a new action in which the teacher must needs gain his point." "I mention this," he continued, "as illustrating (what I wish I could illustrate by instances of a character less slight) the lively and salutary excitement which may be created among the Pundits when anything that they really take an interest in, is presented to them in such a way as to compel them to step out of the beaten track. Unfortunately in regard to those subjects respecting which their knowledge is most defective, the difficulty is to get them to take any real interest at all. The method which I have found to answer best, is to take as a starting point some established point in their own philosophy, and to show how the philosophers of Europe have followed up the enquiry."

Nor did that method fail when Dr. Ballantyne sought to introduce the study of a new and foreign subject, namely, European Logic. "I found," he remarks, "that the Pundits entertained a very low opinion of the European Logic, some account of which had been supplied to them from the popular work of Abercrombie. On this subject I perceived that all my explanations were thrown away, until it occurred to me to enquire carefully whether the knowledge of my hearers did not stop short at some point between which and the knowledge that I wished to communicate, there

remained some gap to be filled up, before they could discern that the one was but the continuation of the other. The result was extremely satisfactory. The Pundits, gratified by the admission that their own view of the process of inference is correct so far as it goes, laid aside their jealous hostility, which was succeeded by lively curiosity to know how the thing could be carried further—and thus was obtained, what was wanted, an unprejudiced hearing for what was to be brought forward. It is worth noticing that, the very apparatus of technical rules—the "barbara celarent," etc., which now repels so many in Europe, was hailed at once as an earnest of there being something valuable in the treatise shown to them. The contrivance of significant vowels and indicatory consonants was at once recognised as akin to that of Panini in his institutes of Sanskrit Grammar, and the fact that the system had been matured more than two thousand years ago, invested it with another charm in their eyes."

"These things," observed Dr. Ballantyne, by way of a general conclusion to which the success of his efforts seemed to point, "appear to be worth bearing in mind, for they would seem to indicate that the likeliest way to get the Pundits to lend an unhostile ear to what we have got to say, is to lead them from the very point to which their correct knowledge has attained, as much as possible, by the steps which the European mind itself took in reaching its present conclusions after starting from an analogous point." And, in illustration, he further pointed out, how, after having familiarized them with Aristotelian Logic he carried the Pundits to

modern scientific thought as it began in Bacon. "Having secured the attention of a set of Pundits to the Aristotleian Logic, and having thereby gained something of additional respect in their eyes, I explained to them the design and character of the *Novum Organon*, and pointed out which division of their own philosophy—a division avowedly the least satisfactory of all as hitherto treated by their own authors—is represented by this great work. I have found no work the general description of which has more excited the curiosity of the most intelligent of my Pundit auditors than this....Bacon himself, though as a classic he will always be read, yet is out of date in Europe as the actual guide in scientific investigation. The employment of his own instrument has enabled subsequent enquirers to detect his own deviations from the right track of discovery; but this very fact, if it be carefully kept in view and properly made use of, gives additional value to his writing as an instrument for promoting the intellectual advancement of India."

Of the intellectual excitement and activity consequent on Dr. Ballantyne's efforts to introduce the Sanskrit students to those branches of European knowledge, a vivid testimony was furnished in an incident amusingly narrated by the Principal himself. "It is rather a novelty in the Sanskrit College," Dr. Ballantyne related, "to find a competition among the Vidyarthis for the loan of the Library copy of 'Whately's Logic'. For some time previously, in consequence of Bapu Deva's Mathematical Instructions, 'Euclid,' 'Hall,' 'Peacock,' etc., have been in such request that I have had again and again to listen, with

apparent sympathy, and extreme inward satisfaction, to the complaints of my esteemed coadjutor, the Head Master, to the effect that the mathematical book stores of the English Department are plundered by the intruders of the Sanskrit College in a way that is most irregular and inconvenient; for he cannot ask for a mathematical book without being told that some Pundit or other has got it. Would that it were so in every branch of science in which we have hitherto outstripped our keen-witted Brahmanic brethren."[1]

It is time now to revert to those Sanskrit students who had begun the study of English. Their progress, during the short period they had been taken in hand by Dr. Ballantyne, was highly gratifying to those who had occasion to observe it. Thus, after an examination of the class, during the session 1848-49, in the "Novum Organon" and other subjects, interspersed with questions on Grammar, Mr. D. F. McLeod, the friend of Wilkinson, who had himself been a party to that examination, remarked in these terms: "The acuteness and profundity acquired by these scholars in the course of their Sanskrit studies, is carried by them into their English ones, and brought to bear, with great effect upon every branch of knowledge introduced to them through that medium. Several of them read with considerable fluency and precision, and though from the comparative briefness of the period which has elapsed since they first commenced it, and the great difficulty of English orthography and pronounciation, much cannot be expected from

1 *Vide* General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. P. of the Bengal Presidency for 1848-49, pp. 18-26.

them in this respect; yet, from the answers given, and the mode of treating the subjects adopted by them, the impression is irresistibly forced on the examiner that the knowledge they have acquired is in reality greater than it at first appears; the converse, probably, of what might with some justice be said of most ordinary classes." Needless to say, he found the class in question "the most interesting and important in the whole institution."[1]

Of the manner in which Dr. Ballantyne adapted his method of instruction to the needs of this particular class of the College there is an interesting glimpse afforded in the following account written in his usual, lively and personal vein. "In my course of lectures to this class," he says, "I adopted the division of the sciences laid down by Dr. Arnold in his address to the 'Rugby Mechanics Institute'; and for an introductory course of lectures, I should incline still to adhere to the same order. But when we arrived at the questions of Metaphysics, the consideration of which I had sought to postpone until we should have gone amicably over some less debatable ground, and thus perhaps have obtained some previously established matter to serve for reference to when illustrations were required, my auditors, accustomed to that strictness of methodical arrangement which is so attractive in their own systems, immediately began to object, like Demetrius in the play, to moonshine with his dog and his thorn-bush. "Why, all these should be put in the lantern," in other words, that what in Europe is treated as a branch of

1 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

science, under the name of Metaphysics, ought, with some fitter name, to furnish, like their own Nyaya, the framework of the whole of the sciences. Having foreseen this objection, I stated to my critics my reasons for having adopted a different order in addressing them, and mentioned my hope that there might be furnished, for the satisfaction of those who felt interested in the preliminary course, a fuller exposition of the sciences, with an arrangement modelled on their own. In such a work it would be desirable to make abundant use of diagrams, which in the preliminary course I thought it better to dispense with, having found that they are sometimes at the outset rather apt to alarm and repel."

And, it may be noted in passing, that Dr. Ballantyne's success with his pupils was due no less to the adaptation of the matter and mode of instruction than to the tact with which he took them over delicate ground where their susceptibilities were liable to be irritated. "In the course of the perusal of works," he remarked, "in which the dogmas of Brahminism are controverted openly or by implication, I have always taken pains to impress upon the pupils of this class that my office is restricted to making them acquainted with the precise meaning and import of the works perused; and that their reception of it as truth, though by no means a matter of unconcern to me, is yet one which rests with themselves; as the moral responsibility must also rest. But, receiving it or not receiving it as truth, they must make themselves acquainted with it, such being the terms of the bargain on which they hold their scholarships; scholarships given for the purpose

of ascertaining whether both parties might not be benefitted by the removal of the misconception under which the Pundits regard our literature. The putting of the case on this footing has silenced many tedious objections on the part of the less liberal portion of the class, and has furnished the more enquiring spirits with a convenient retort upon those of their class-fellows, who are not pleased with the interest taken by the others in their studies, but who could scarcely venture to advise that the salary should be pocketed and the work not be honestly done...."[1]

So well did his methods succeed, and so satisfactory was the progress of the Anglo-Sanskrit class, that about two years later, as referred to in his annual report for 1850-51, Dr. Ballantyne was led to form an ambitious project which he hoped to carry through with the aid of his best-accomplished pupils. In brief, this project was nothing less than to supply the matter of European learning with Sanskrit terminology. The importance of this part of Dr. Ballantyne's experiment was unquestionably great. If successful, it was calculated, on the one hand, to solve some of the great difficulties under which European translators into the Indian languages laboured, and, on the other, to help to present European knowledge in a form suited to the taste and mental habits of the people. Here, however, only a brief mention, in Dr. Ballantyne's own words, can be made of the nature of the plan and the manner in which it was proposed to carry it out, as a full account of the subject would not be strictly within the scope of this chapter. After reporting that the progress

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31 passim.

of the English class of Pundits was most gratifying to him, Dr. Ballantyne unfolded his project, in the annual report mentioned above, thus:—

> "With their aid, I now hope to effect much that I could not have hoped to effect without it. Aided by these men, I shall now listen with simple disregard to the discouraging reiterations of those, who insist that the truths of Science and of Philosophy cannot be communicated to the Hindoos, without the use of words which would go to barbarize their languages—as if a language richer in roots than any European one, and far more finely organized, could not supply as many available terms; as if the Sanscrit needed instruction at the hand of its grand-child, the Greek. To render intelligible our plan of operations for the next session, I may remark that my first attempt to open a communication with the frequenters of the Sanscrit College, was made in the shape of a set of lectures on the Circle of the Sciences. The Sanscrit version of these lectures was carefully revised by Pundit Bapu Deva, whose rendering of many of the scientific terms was most felicitous..... In those portions of the lectures which related to sciences which this Pundit had not studied, we were less successful than in the others. To ensure success it would have been indispensable to investigate the first sources of the nomenclature already appropriated to the same or kindred topics in the Hindoo philosophy; and how I propose that this shall now be done I proceed to state. The multitudinous treatises in the six great Schools of Hindoo Philosophy are all based upon, and are held to be authority, only in so far as they coincide with, the six collections of Aphorisms promulgated severally by the six founders of the Schools. The Aphorisms were intended, not to convey the doctrine, but to record it; hence their oracular brevity. They resemble in some measure such formulas as that of the Binomial theorem, which, *when once explained*, enables one to recollect words at length, no human memory could have retained a knowledge of. The Aphorisms, therefore, from the first, were attended by a comment, oral or written; and the written commentaries are now so voluminous that the generality of students do not venture to grapple

> with the Aphorisms at all, but confine themselves to compendious manuals and text-books, of which there is abundance. One obvious and undesirable consequence of this is, that if you are arguing with an educated Hindoo and the quiver of his text-book fails him, he ensconces himself in the conviction that the case is by no means desperate, while there remain untold stores of arms in those dark armouries, the aphorisms. This of itself would furnish a sufficient reason for wishing that these dark armouries should be lighted up. But this is not the only reason. Only by tracing the development of Hindoo thought, and of the terminology in which it clothed itself, can we hope to avoid completely all such misappropriation of terms, as that which has, to a certain extent, baffled all European attempts at translation into the Hindoo dialects whenever the subject of discussion transcended the palpable. But there is yet another reason why I wish, with the aid of our English pundits, to exhibit in broad clear light the sources of the Hindoo Philosophy, and it is this—that the Hindoo Philosophy is in Europe too often provokingly misrepresented."

He then went on to state that the books prepared in accordance with his plan with the aid of the class of Pundits were further intended to supply Sanskrit books for the senior students of the English Department, "in pursuance of the design of bringing the two Departments to a better mutual understanding." These books were also intended to be translated into Hindi so as to render their contents available to the general reader ignorant of Sanskrit. At the same time, said Dr. Ballantyne, "whilst employing the English class of Pundits to assist in bringing the Hindoo Philosophy into the light, I intend that they shall carry on, parallel with this enquiry, an enquiry into the Inductive Philosophy of modern Europe. For this purpose, we have commenced upon Mr. John S. Mill's "System of

Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive." I extracted the passages that are useful to us, omitting all that concerns the European reader alone, such as the mistakes of Reid and others respecting the nature of Logic, etc.; and the passages adapted to our purpose I interweave in a Commentary modelled on the plan of a Sanskrit Commentary, pointing out the thread of connection in the speculation, and, in particular, dwelling upon each fundamental term in our philosophical nomenclature, and discussing its relation to the terms of the Hindoo Philosophy. The interest that my best pupils take in this enquiry is everything that could be wished. We have barely entered upon it, we are at present stopped by the tedious torpidity of the Indian printing press....I think of completing my exposition of Mr. Mill's views before returning to the *Novum Organum* in regard to which my pupils and myself should by that time be better prepared to understand each other." [1]

So far, it may be observed, Dr. Ballantyne appears concerned mainly with the senior departments of the College and the Pundits. But the problems peculiar to the junior classes did not at the same time escape him. In explaining how he proposed to grapple with them, he let fall some truths, a disregard of which had been responsible for several educational failures in other quarters. In dealing too with the junior classes, he kept steadfastly before him the general views which prompted the whole trend of his educational experiments. "I regard the Sanskrit

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1850-51, pp. 52-56 passim.

College," he declared, "in no other light than as a nursery of Pundits, who can prove valuable auxiliaries of Government, in the general diffusion of correct knowledge throughout the country, only if they possess two requisites—the one being an acquaintance with the correct knowledge in question, and the other, such a knowledge of Sanskrit, as may enable them to command a respectful hearing from their fellow-countrymen, learned or unlearned."

But Dr. Ballantyne saw that the case of the junior pupils was rather difficult to deal with satisfactorily. "The question that next occurs," he said, "has reference to the order, simultaneous or successive, in which these two requisites are to be attained. Judging by the attainments in Sanskrit of those pupils in the College who have attempted to carry on the study of English and of Sanskrit together from the first, I am inclined to doubt whether any boy who adopts this plan will ever be able to pass muster among the Pundits as a first-rate Sanskrit scholar; and I would therefore recommend that no student who aims at becoming, and who gives promise of becoming a proficient in Sanskrit, should be urged or even encouraged, to grapple with the English also, until he shall have been thoroughly well grounded in the Sanskrit Grammar, for which he will be otherwise almost certain to acquire a distaste." Or, as he said elsewhere when later experience went to confirm the truth of the observation, "once accustomed to English tuition, our pupils feel a repugnance towards the dry and thorny details of the other disciplines; so that if we wish to have a man perfect in both, we must build the

English on the others, and not *vice versa*. This is precisely what is done in Europe, where the details of the classical language, if not grappled with in boyhood, are rarely mastered at all."[1]

But there was an obvious objection to such a course which had to be overcome and which Dr. Ballantyne proposed to overcome in the following manner. "Whilst then," he said, "I would not recommend a young Sanskrit student to commence English until after some years' study of the Sanskrit, when he will be able to study the English Grammar methodically in the pages of a Sanskrit treatise on the subject, yet I feel strongly that the bare dry study of words, and the formation of words—with no reference to things—during a long period of early youth, can furnish but a meagre nutriment for the mind, and a one-sided training for its faculties. The best way to obviate this, as it seems to me, would be to take effective measures for the encouragement of the study of such subjects as Geography, History, &c., through the medium of the Vernacular."

And so one more language was pressed into service, besides Sanskrit and English. This incidentally shows how broad-based was Dr. Ballantyne's experiment, involving the exclusion of no language that might be available for the purposes of education. Discussing the probability of the success of his plan of making use of the vernacular, he explained that "such a plan had never hitherto succeeded probably owing to the want of interesting and accurate works for

1 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

persual, and to the prevalent feeling (embodied in the remonstrance of the students—"this is a *Sanscrit*, not a Hindee College") that the cultivation of the Vernacular is beneath the dignity of a Sanskrit Student; and it is to meet the former of these objections that I now propose to prepare in the first instance a considerable modified version in Hindee of my course of Sanskrit lectures 'on the circle of the Sciences'; omitting some, and expanding and simplifying other portions." In addition, he recommended to Government that the pupils might be allured to the study of the vernacular by the grant of small monthly stipends'.[1]

At this point our brief survey of the two interesting educational experiments may be brought to a close. Their peculiar merit consisted for the most part in the fact that they demonstrated how the Orientalist idea could be successfully translated into practice. It was not that either Wilkinson or Dr. Ballantyne had any great advantage over the General Committee in respect of means and materials; but the secret of the fruitful results achieved by them lay in their compliance with the essential condition of the success of their experiments, namely, the devising of an appropriate and adequate educational method. A successful application of their methods involved two things—a right co-ordination of Oriental with European studies and a clear understanding of the peculiarities and requirements of the cast of intellect to which their methods had to be adapted.

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1849-50.

The success of the experiments of Wilkinson and Ballantyne, so far as it went, may be regarded as a triumph for Orientalist principles. The general bearing of those principles on the question of the introduction of the English language has been already noted; what now remains to note is the particular bearing of the two experiments on the same question. It was remarked that exclusionism in respect of any educational medium had no room in the schemes of Wilkinson and Ballantyne. Both made extensive use of the English as well as the classical languages of India, as each served their purpose best. Yet it is important to note that the language which ranked first in importance in their eyes was neither English nor any Indian classical language, but the vernacular of the common people. The reason was that, though their immediate object was to enlist the learned classes in the cause of propagation of knowledge in India, their ultimate aim was to place enlightenment within reach of the people at large; and they recognised that the only practicable and suitable channel through which knowledge could flow to the mass of the people was their own native speech. Hence one great end to which their endeavours directly and indirectly tended was the cultivation and development of the vernaculars; and in their educational schemes the English no less than the Sanskrit language had, after all, a subordinate place as a means for the achievement of that end. According to them the true importance of the use of those languages lay in the degree and extent to which their resources could be laid under contribution for the purpose of fertilising and enriching the vernacular speech of the Indian people. To

English they looked for the necessary supply of ideas and knowledge, and to Sanskrit for the requisite supply of words and terms to express the new ideas and knowledge in the vernacular. But that was so far as the general and ultimate object of the enlightenment of the country as a whole was concerned. As far as their schemes related to the particular object of creating the instruments for the spread of enlightenment, Wilkinson and Ballantyne showed that the English language could serve the cause of enlightenment in India best as an adjunct, albeit a very important and powerful adjunct, to the venerated classical languages of the country.

Chapter V.

THE OUTLOOK AND EMERGENCE OF ANGLICISM.

§ 1.

So far as can be ascertained, Wilkinson first gave authoritative expression to his views on Indian education in 1834 in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* But during that year the educational world of Bengal was filled with the quarrel between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, and the quarrel was fast approaching its climax. Not only did it excite general attention such as educational questions had rarely done before, but it helped to fix, if it did not generate, a general bias in favour of Anglicist views. Among other things, it prevented that degree of interest being taken in Wilkinson's views which they merited and which in all probability they would have aroused at an earlier period; though it must be acknowledged that Wilkinson's secluded position in Bhopal may also have been one of the reasons for the obscurity in which the results of his philanthropic exertions lay concealed from general view, so far at least as Bengal, or rather its metropolis Calcutta, was concerned. Of course, the intrinsic interest and originality of his experiment could not fail to command a certain amount of attention; but even then the experiment was generally regarded as something too unique and too dependent for its success on the personal quailties of its author to furnish much guidance in framing a general system of education for the country as a whole. Thus,

what seems to have been the common view was expressed by Lord Auckland when he observed that "in fact Mr. Wilkinson's system is almost wholly dependent on his eminent personal talents and exertions, his admirable zeal, his great knowledge, the weight of his excellent character, and perhaps also, it should not be concealed the influence attaching to his position as the British Political Agent. It would not be safe to draw conclusion as to what may best be done by ordinary agents within the British Provinces from what has been accomplished in vernacular instruction by Mr. Wilkinson in Sehore."[1] And so His Lordship was left unconvinced of the applicability of Wilkinson's system or suggestions to the objects of a common education.

Neither was the success of Dr. Ballantyne's experiment treated as a revelation of new ways and means worthy of serious consideration for adoption in a general system of education. The famous experiment, it was seen, was begun in 1846-47: by that date, however, the skies were clear of the Anglo-Orientalist controversy and Bengal was firmly yoked to a new educational policy, which had practically nothing in common with Dr. Ballantyne's system, and from which those in authority were not to be deflected by any new theories or schemes. Those in charge of the educational affairs of the country had washed their hands clean of Orientalism in education, save where they had to respect the original objects and purposes for which certain institutions were specifically endowed. Dr. Ballantyne's experiment was in consequence looked upon as

[1] Minute, 24th Novr. 1839, Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 162.

of peculiar interest to the Benares College and adapted to the circumstances of that institution rather than as of any interest for the general education of the people.

It is not surprising, then, that those brilliant experiments appear isolated in character from the main stream of the educational activities of the first half of the nineteenth century and that their significance should be generally overlooked by historians of Indian education. In point of fact, however, they were the logical outcome of the Orientalist theory. But the great change of educational policy which intervened between the periods of the two experiments accounts in a great degree for their seeming lack of continuity with the ideas and tendencies that predominantly prevailed prior to that change. With a new fixed policy to work upon, any wholesale departures from it, such as Wilkinson's and Ballantyne's schemes undoubtedly were, were not capable of creating any profound impression on the generality of the people.

This naturally brings us to the change of outlook which resulted in the change of educational policy in question.

§ 2.

To understand the change, or rather to understand the new angle of vision that was responsible for the change, it is necessary to concentrate amidst the general welter of the controversy on some of the ruling ideas and motives of the period. Briefly summed up, the change may be described as the ascendancy of Anglicist ideas.

It is indeed doubtful whether the Orientalist theory was ever congenial to the majority of those who took any interest in Indian education, barring of course the General Committee and a few members of Government, whilst to certain interested parties, like the missionaries, it was positively distasteful. It perhaps only wanted a favourable opportunity and a masterful voice for the Anglicist views to assert themselves in full vigour; and when the opportunity and the Macaulay bassoon did arrive, a chorus of minor voices, hitherto silent or inaudible or suppressed, went up in vociferous support of the Anglicist theory and ideas. The events that finally brought the Orientalists and the Anglicists to issue will be narrated later on; before proceeding to do that, it is important to take note of some of the leading ideas on which the Anglicist standpoint was founded. It is interesting to observe in this connection that the Anglicists, whether consciously or unconsciously, echoed their earliest precursor in their expression of those ideas. It may well be said that, with the ascendancy of the Anglicists, Charles Grant's views came into their own after long neglect.

The deep-rooted differences which divided the Anglicists and the Orientalists have often been hinted at before. The point of supreme importance, which caused the greatest amount of friction between the two parties, was that relating to the quality and value of Oriental learning. As might be expected, the divergence between their views on the subject was as complete as it could possibly be. The Anglicists roundly condemned all Oriental learning as a loose mass

of errors and myths, puerilities and absurdities, hopelessly incrusting whatever of scientific or moral truth was to be found in it. The search for truth in that bewildering mass bore, in the Anglicists' view, no small resemblance to the search for a needle in a stack of hay; and the needle, when found, was not considered worth the pains of freeing it of the rust it had gathered. Indeed, unless some acquaintance with the causes that engendered their hostility towards Oriental learning is obtained, the sweeping condemnation of it by the Anglicists is apt to be amazing and a little difficult to understand at the present day. In fact, hardly any branch of it was spared their abuse or animadversion. The laws of the Hindus and the Mahomedans were pronounced to be congeries of contradictory maxims, tyrannical and absurd in their detailed injunctions and little fit to raise the people higher in the scale of civilization; their literatures unbracing in moral tone, and, though in some parts beautiful, yet on the whole inferior to that of England; their systems of philosophy, a collection of fanciful and false notions; their abstract sciences packed with errors; their medicine a pseudo-science; their ethics unedifying. The Anglicists disregarded what was true and beautiful and scientific in Sanskrit and Arabic literatures and science, or at best damned it with faint praise, but fastened eagerly upon its blemishes and deficiencies for purposes of ridicule and depreciation. They refused to see, or were ignorant of, what Cunningham called the scientific phase of the Indian mind. And as often happens with men steeped in controversy, the greater the ignorance or lack of insight or of a spirit of appreciation on the part of an Anglicist, the

more immoderate was his tone of condemnation apt to be, and the more sweeping the exaggerations solemnly or angrily indulged in by him regarding the intellectual barrenness and moral ineffectiveness of the systems of Oriental learning. Nor was the condemnation or exaggeration confined to the contents of the Oriental systems. In the extreme of their antipathy towards those systems, the Anglicists were led to attribute to them preposterous effects and influences. They read in those systems the main cause of the prostrate intellectual and moral condition of the people. They saw in the encouragement afforded to them dangerous political consequences to the British Rule. They declared the patronage of them by the British Government a support of barbarism by a civilised state. The active encouragement continued to them by the General Committee, after the circumstances which justified or appeared to justify it in the past were conceived to have disappeared, was held to be a clog on the quickening spirit of improvement then manifesting among the people. Indians were held up as crying out for the manna of modern knowledge and as being supplied instead with the cud of antediluvian systems. Of course, as subject-matter of instruction, Oriental learning was regarded an abomination of which the educational institutions of Government were to be delivered, and which the Anglicists strained every nerve to deliver them of. The diatribe of Macaulay against Oriental learning is famous; and it may well be quoted, as it has constantly been, as a faithful reproduction of the Anglicist views and sentiments on the subject. Even if, however, we turn from Macaulay to less famous Anglicists, we shall not

find them either less immoderate in tone, or less warm in their disparagements, or less sweeping in their censure on a subject which they little knew and understood. Here is how Trevelyan, for example, in a book which neatly sets forth the Anglicist case, follows Macaulay in his pyrotechnics of condemnation of the quality and value of Oriental learning.

> "The Hindu system of learning," declares Trevelyan, "contains so much truth as to have raised the nation to its present point of civilization, and to have kept it there for ages without retrograding, and so much error as to have prevented it from making any sensible advance during the same long period. Under this system, history is made up of fables, in which the learned in vain endeavour to trace the thread of authentic narrative; its medicine is quackery; its geography and astronomy are monstrous absurdity; its law is composed of loose contradictory maxims, and barbarous and ridiculous penal provisions; its religion is idolatry; its immorality is such as might be expected from the example of the Gods and the precepts of the religion. Suttee, Thuggee, human sacrifices, Ghaut murder, religious suicides and other such excrescences of Hinduism, are either expressly enjoined by it, or are directly deduced from the principles inculcated by it. This whole system of sacred and profane learning is knitted and bound together by the sanction of religion; every part of it is an article of faith, and its science is as unchangeable as its divinity. Learning is confined by it to the Brahmins, the high priests of the system, by whom and for whom it was devised. All the other classes are condemned to perpetual ignorance and dependence; their appropriate occupations are assigned by the laws of caste, and limits are fixed, beyond which no personal merit or personal good fortune can raise them. The peculiar wonder of the Hindu system is, not that it contains so much or so little true knowledge, but that it has been so skilfully contrived for arresting the progress of the human mind, as to exhibit it at the end of two thousand years fixed at

> nearly the precise point at which it was first moulded. The Mohammedan system of learning is many degrees better, and 'resembles that which existed among the nations of Europe before the invention of printing'; so far does even this fall short of the knowledge with which Europe is now blessed. These are the systems under the influence of which the people of India have become what they are. They have been weighed in the balance, and have been found wanting. To perpetuate them, is to perpetuate the degradation and misery of the people. Our duty is not to teach, but to unteach them—not to rivet the shackles which have for ages bound down the minds of our subjects, but to allow them to drop off by the lapse of time and the progress of events."[1]

Even as characterisation of the worst side of Oriental learning, those words of Trevelyan, it is evident, stray far from the truth. Much more is now known and a better estimate generally formed of Oriental learning than was done by Macaulay or Trevelyan or the lesser Anglicist luminaries. But, whilst the want of truth or accuracy is often immediately felt in the Anglicist pronouncements on the subject, what is no less prominent and unmistakable is the spirit

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 83-85. *Vide* also Part II of Alexander Duff's Vindication of the English Education Act of Lord William Bentick. Duff there thus characterises the whole compass of Oriental learning: "Did our space admit of it, we might here present the reader with extracts from these, the choicest works of Hindu literature, which would demonstrate that in them are taught: (1st) Things frivolous and useless; (2nd) False chronology and history; (3rd) False geography and astronomy; (4th) False civil and criminal law; (5th) False logic and metaphysics; and (6th) False morals and religion;" and further on he proceeds to state as unquestionable facts "that the foulest blemishes pervade the entire mass; that they pervade it to the extent of composing the *main part* of its ingredients, and that instead of being isolated spots, which would elude the glance of any eye save that of prejudiced criticism, they are the real or supposed excellencies which may truly be characterized as isolated spots, thinly strewn over the vast surface, like rare islets of verdure scattered over the great African desert"—Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Session 1852-53, App. E, (16th June 1853).

of hostility they exhibit towards Oriental learning —an incisive spirit of hostility seeking to damn thoroughly the object of its repulsion. The question, therefore, that forces itself on us with regard to it is, what were the circumstances or events that engendered such a spirit of hostility.

The reasons are not far to find. At the period when the Anglicist views on Indian education were gaining ground, the vogue for Oriental learning among Europeans had begun to suffer a decline; and withal the glamour with which the first enthusiastic researches of European scholars had invested Oriental literature also began to fade. A reaction was not slow to set in when the first flush of enthusiasm at the discoveries of the literary treasures of India gave place to a sober examination of its contents. General opinion, at least in India, barring a few European scholars, veered round to the other extreme. The blemishes and errors of Oriental literatures and systems of learning were now more insistently dwelt on than its finer qualities; and those with whom the defects and deficiencies of the Oriental systems weighed preponderantly failed to see what Wilkinson and Cunningham clearly noted, that a strict line was drawn by the Indian Pundit between myth and science, between dogma and demonstrated or reasoned truth, between scientific and poetic or theological interpretation. The failure to perceive this was largely responsible for the current notion that education in Oriental learning meant education in errors and fables and the enslavement of the mind to dogmatic authority. Besides, as there was confessedly much in Oriental learning which, when

at least superficially viewed, was capable of evoking ridicule, and much also that, from the point of view of the physical and positive sciences, called for correction in the light of Western knowledge, it was not difficult to overlook or underrate the better side of Oriental learning in the general condemnation of it as a tissue of pernicious falsehoods and absurdities. The actual vigour of the condemnation, was, however, due in a greater degree to the partisan attitude which inevitably came to be created on the question of education and to the imperfect and partial knowledge of the Indian people and their institutions, which was possessed by the generality of Englishmen of the time, than to the mere errors and puerilities discovered in the Oriental systems of learning. And neither the General Committee nor the influence and prestige of individual European scholars could do much to set European opinion right on the point. On the contrary, the failure of the General Committee to exhibit any very palpable results from its endeavours to "revive" Oriental learning through the educational institutions under its control appears to have contributed not a little to the low esteem in which that learning came to be held. In fact, the encouragement afforded by the General Committee was often accused of extending the term of existence of effete and obsolete systems of learning which could not long hope to survive without it. On the other hand, the European scholars of those early days, though they rendered invaluable service in laying bare the contents of Oriental learning to the gaze of the world, yet regarded the intellectual produce of India, whether of Hindu or Mahomedan origin, with too much

of a Western eye. The pioneers in Oriental researches treated the literature and learning of India as interesting material for their particular lines of inquiry; they could not lay aside their Western notions when examining the literature and learning of the country and, to make matters worse, a lack of proper insight into the genius of the people from whom that literature and learning sprang placed them at a definite disadvantage as interpreters of the same. They were unable to educe or lay bare its inner meaning or spirit or to interpret adequately the general outlook on life behind it—an understanding of which was vital to a correct appreciation of the intellectual achievements of the Indian people. Before the onslaught of the Anglicists they, therefore, attempted to stand their ground, not generally so much with reference to the intrinsic merits of Oriental learning, as with reference to the extraneous circumstances that appeared largely to justify in their eyes the attention and encouragement bestowed on it by the state. They were at times reduced to apologetic tones with regard to the subject of Oriental learning. Their utterances in its favour were, in fact, construed as the promptings of bias in favour of personal acquirements in a learning mastered at great cost of time and labour.

Be it said, however, to the credit of the Anglicists that, though they decried all Oriental learning as subject-matter of instruction, they did not fail to recognize its value in the interests of general science. They did not desire Government to withdraw all patronage to it with a view to wiping it out from the land. They were willing

that such bodies as the Asiatic Society, whose object it was to carry on antiquarian researches, should, if possible, be liberally assisted. But they drew a sharp distinction between patronage of Oriental learning for antiquarian purposes and for purposes of general education. They did not want a regard for Oriental learning to encumber the educational operations of the Government or the Committee. Their aim was to strike at the root of a system of education that had Oriental learning for its basis by diverting the funds which supported it to other different objects. They saw no overwhelming reason for teaching a false system of learning when there were at hand the resources of European science and knowledge, of the intrinsic superiority of which they had an unshakeable conviction. But, provided the Education Committee had no direct connection with the patronage or preservation of it, the Anglicists were content to leave Oriental learning well alone. They were willing that some sort of encouragement should be extended to it by Government through the learned societies whose appropriate function it was believed to be to redeem it from obscurity or oblivion. It was against its incorporation into any general system of education which might be framed for the country that they fought with all their might and main. The same Trevelyan, who held forth against Oriental learning as unfit for educational purposes in the best Macaulayesque vein of disparagement, relaxed in his condemnation of it when he suggested, by way of Government patronage, the addition of a Sanskrit professor and subordinate staff to the establishment of the Asiatic Society. The plea he then put in on behalf of Oriental learning was

that "owing to the vastly superior means now at our disposal, they (the Arabic and Sanskrit records of learning) are worse than useless, considered as a basis of popular education; but as a medium for investigating the history of the country, and the progress of mind and manners during so many ages, they are highly deserving of being studied and preserved;" and again that "the Hindu system of learning has formed the character of the people up to the present point; and it must still be studied, to account for daily occurring phenomena of habits and manners. Whatever mental cultivation, whatever taste for scientific and literary pursuits has survived among the Hindus, is owing to it; they were a literary people when we were barbarians; and, after centuries of revolution, and anarchy, and subjection to foreign rule, they are still a literary people, now that we have arrived at the highest existing point of civilisation. That the system which has produced these effects should be carefully analysed and recorded in all its different parts, is no less required by the interests of science in general than by our particular interest as rulers of India."[1]

It is to be noted, in the next place, that it was not only the Anglicists belonging to the British community in India who assailed and derided the Oriental systems of learning. Mention was made, in a previous chapter, of the circumstances in which Rammohun Roy emerged as the foremost Indian Anglicist to raise a protest against the mode in which the systematic support to Oriental

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 182-85 passim.

learning was commenced by the Government of the day. That historic protest supplied an illuminating index to the change that was taking place during the period in the ideas and opinions of certain sections of Hindu society; for, it has already been noted that, in Calcutta and the neighbouring parts of Bengal, a movement decidedly in favour of the dissemination of the English language and European learning among the people was in progress at the same time that the General Committee was engaged in endeavours to lead the mental improvement of the nation in a different direction. This movement was stimulated to wider growth by several changes successively introduced in the system of administration of the country, particularly during the regime of Lord William Bentinck. The point, however, we are here concerned with is that the movement alluded to went to reinforce considerably and in a very practical manner the Anglicist case for the substitution of European learning through the English language for the Oriental. The movement in Bengal was read in the light of European history; and, by a natural association of ideas, it provoked plausible analogies with the various movements which had worked for the intellectual advancement of Europe at different periods of its history. It was sometimes compared to the movement in favour of Hellenic culture among the Romans or frequently to that in favour of classical learning during the period of the Renaissance. The obvious lesson which the history of Europe could not fail to suggest, when thus brought to bear on the Indian movement, was that only through a process of assimilation of knowledge and culture from a foreign source, a process such as the

different parts of Europe had at one period or another passed through, could the intellectual and moral regeneration of India be effected. Had not the different European countries advanced in point of civilisation by virtue of cultural assimilations from one another? Similarly, it was concluded, would the advancement of India in culture and civilisation depend on assimilation from some foreign source and not on the existing domestic resources: in truth, the Anglicists entertained too low an opinion of Oriental learning ever to think of utilising it for the great purpose in view. This was the second governing idea of the period. As Trevelyan expounded it, "the past history of the world authorizes us to believe that the movement which is taking place in India, if properly directed and supported by the Government, will end in bringing about a decided change for the better in the character of the people. The instances in which nations have worked their way to a high degree of civilization from domestic resources only are extremely rare, compared with those in which the impulse has been communicated from without, and has been supported by the extensive study and imitation of the literature of foreign countries. The cases in which the most lasting impressions have been made upon national character, in which the superior civilisation of the country has taken deepest root and fructified most abundantly in other countries, have a strong resemblance to the case before us."[1]

The necessity for cultural assimilation from some foreign source being thus assumed or es-

1 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

tablished in the case of India as an indisputable proposition, the corollary to it was obvious. How was India to acquire the vitalising contact with a civilisation superior to her own (and here it may be noted superior civilisation was taken as synonymous with European civilisation) save through the diffusion of European ideas and knowledge or through instruction of the people in European learning—instruction which the British rulers by virtue of their position and resources were particularly fitted to bestow on their Indian subjects? The same line of argument, when pursued a little further, also established the necessity for dissemination of a knowledge of the English language. For, obviously, the quicker and easier the assimilation of European learning, the better for the national improvement of India. And what could render the process of assimilation so easy and quick as the employment of the medium of the English language? The Orientalist method of conveying European knowledge was admittedly slow and circuitous in contrast to the direct one of employing the English language. Hence the dictum of Macaulay that "what the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India."[1]

Of course, the fallacies involved in such analogies and the reasonings based thereon are not difficult to detect, though they were not apparent to those who uttered them. For one, those superficial comparisons drawn from the facts of European history overlooked the deep differences between the things compared. It was

1 Minute, 2nd February 1835.

not perceived that the social institutions and the mental make-up of peoples with an old civilisation like that of India possess a resilience which enables them to absorb the impact of alien civilisations and withal to assert their indefeasible characteristics.[1] It was not perceived in consequence that the imposition of modern European civilisation on the people of India by the British rulers could not be relied on to produce the same or similar effects as the imposition of Graeco-Roman civilisation produced on the several peoples whom Roman arms conquered. In other words, it was not clearly understood that the impress of Indian culture on the character of the people was not capable of effacement at a stroke by the sheer communication of European learning and that it was possible to cram the supple Indian mind with European notions and knowledge and yet leave

1 An interesting passage in Sir E. Perry's *A Bird's-eye View of India*, pp. 43-45 (1855), shows how the insinuating influence of Hindu civilisation was felt and acknowledged by Britishers themselves. "The Hindus, however," says Sir E. Perry, "form such a very large majority of the population, and Hindu views and habits of thought so much predominate, even more than might be expected from their relative numbers, that all general considerations as to India ought to keep Hindus chiefly in view. Sir James Mackintosh was led to observe, some time after taking his seat on the Bombay Bench that a long residence in the East tended to Brahminize the minds even of Englishmen, and during the many years in which I unworthily occupied his place on the same tribunal, I was daily led to observe when the disputes of different castes came before me, that an unmistakable Hindu tint diffused itself over all. Parsis, Moguls (*i.e.*, Persians), Afghans, Israelites, and Christians who have been long settled in India, seem to surrender their ancient patrimony of ideas, and to receive implicitly the opinions, prejudices, and conclusions of Hindu civilisation. And it is observable that it is only the Hindu race which really flourishes in India; Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Afghans, Moguls or Turks, and Portuguese have successively founded dynasties, but in a few generations each has withered away to give place either to a fresh race of invaders, or to some dynasty of native origin....It is indeed a consideration well worthy of impressing itself on the minds of Indian statesmen, that the Hindu element has always exhibited sufficient vatality to develop itself with vigor whenever a favourable opportunity has occured."

its inmost recesses untouched.[1] In failing to perceive these facts and take them into account in setting up a system of education, the Anglicists were doomed to disappointment in their endeavour to make Indians thoroughly English in every respect save the colour of their skins. The mistake was of a piece with the one under which they laboured in the field of education proper, where the Anglicists started with the assumption that the Indian mind was more or less a blank sheet on which could be set without ado the imprint of the culture or education they thought best to impart. As was observed by Wilkinson's friend, who has been quoted before, at a time that permitted of a calm examination of the results of the Anglicist system of education, "those who have heretofore had the direction of educational measures in this country—whether on the part of Individuals, Associations, or the Government—appear to have acted for the most part on the principle of regarding the Hindu mind, for all practical purposes, as a "tabula rasa" in respect to any pre-conceived ideas, and pre-established systems of literature, philosophy, or science, either useful, valuable in themselves, or

1 A striking illustration of this was furnished in the early part of the nineteenth century in the person of Radhacant Deb. Radhacant Deb was conversant with English literature, wrote English with admirable purity and corresponded with the Royal Asiatic Society. Yet the following passage from an article in the Asiatic Journal for June 1828 throws interesting light on the orthodox side of his Hindu character :—" It must not be concealed that Radhacant Deb is reported by Bishop Heber to be a bigot to Hinduism ; and he certainly gave a striking proof of his bigotry when at the meeting of Natives convened at Calcutta, in December 1823, to address Lord Hastings on his resignation of the Government, he strenuously urged the propriety of specially thanking his Lordship for not interfering with the burning of widows : a proposition which it required the persevering efforts of two sensible Hindus to dissuade the meeting from adopting "—As. Jour., Vo. XXV, 1828, pp. 713-18 passim.

esteemed such by the people with whom we have to deal; and the effects of this appear to me to have been highly prejudicial in many ways...."[1]

Again, there was a fallacious assumption underlying the analogy drawn between the role played by Greek and Latin in the history of European letters and that which the English language was conceived as destined to play in India. The fallacy here was two-fold. In the first place, it was not clearly kept in mind that Latin was able to exert the vast influence it did over Europe mainly because of the universal pre-eminence accorded to it as the language of learning, of polite intercourse, of law and Government, and, above all, of religion. There was scarcely any higher walk of life where the use of Latin could not be met with in mediæval Europe. Hence it was possible for the Latin language and literature to blend intimately with the speech and thought of the European peoples. Far otherwise was it the case with the English language in India. English was, after all, little more than the language of a handful of foreign rulers. Even had it been introduced in India as the sole language of learning and of government, it would have still been inadequate to play the part that Latin did in Europe, because it could never be the language of religion, unless indeed the whole of India were evangelized. So far as the two main divisions of the Indian population were concerned, the access to what touched their deepest and most sensitive chords—to their venerated religious and philosophical literature and to their

1 *Vide* Extract of Mr. Mcleod's Minute in the *General Report on Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces, for* 1848-49, pp. 32-36.

cherished profane literature as well—was through the Sanskrit and Arabic. A knowledge of English might be sought after, because of a general regard for it as a language useful of acquisition for the daily business of life; but it could not usurp that place in the affections of the people that was undeniably conceded to their own classical languages. Apart from that, English could not well lay claim to unrivalled pre-eminence even as the language of learning, though the Anglicists seem to have thought differently. The bias of the Anglicists indeed led them to put forward exaggerated claims for the English tongue. It was assumed by them to be a "perfect and singly sufficient" instrument for the communication of European learning and the study of it the "open sesame" to all the treasures of European knowledge and speculation. But, on the other hand, it was contended at the time with much truth that "a large portion of the sound knowledge of Europe is *not* to be found in the English language but must be sought in those of France and Germany—to go no further. Does not every educated Englishman daily resort to the languages of France and Germany for those useful and important ideas which are strangers to his own tongue; and must not, therefore, the assumption that English is co-equal with sound knowledge be received with great reserve?"[1] In the second place, the Anglicists not only undervalued Oriental learning but underrated the strength of the hold possessed by the Sanskrit and Arabic languages and literatures on the people, particularly on the learned classes. Anglicist bias

1 Hodgson: *Essays relating to Indian subjects*, II, pp. 260-261. (Letter I on the Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars).

was far from seeing in those languages and literatures "the very echo of their heart's sweetest music" and "the sole efficient source" of the unbounded authority of their pastors.[1] And so it was equally far from realising that, strictly speaking, it was not English but Arabic and Sanskrit which could well claim the position occupied at one time by Greek and Latin in Europe.

Yet, however fallacious some of the arguments put forward in support of the Anglicist views, the underlying creed was clear. It was an article of faith with the Anglicists that the intellectual and social regeneration of India lay through a process of assimilation of European ideas and knowledge by her people. The process was to be primarily originated in, and subsequently guided and controlled mainly through, a system of education having for its aim the instruction of the youth of the country in European learning through the medium of the English language. But, peculiarly circumstanced as the British rule in India was, there was scarcely any principle, act or measure of importance, enunciated or designed with reference to the Indian people, which was not liable to scrutiny from the political point of view. It was, therefore, inevitable that the political bearings of the educational principle proposed and advocated by the Anglicists should have been keenly examined and debated by those interested in the subject. This fact now leads to a different order of ideas that influenced the educational trend of the period.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 293 (Letter II on the Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars).

It has been remarked before that at the early period when the question of the education of India first began to be agitated by certain philanthropists, the belief was undeniably strong among Englishmen that the preservation of British dominion in India and the enlightenment of the Indian people by their British rulers were two incompatible objects. Consequently, those who were opposed to the diffusion of European learning in the country were wont to predict direful consequences to the British rule from it. "It has been said, and may be said again," averred Trevelyan nearly half a century later, "that whatever our duty may be, it is not our policy to enlighten the Natives of India; that the sooner they grow to man's estate, the sooner they will be able to do without us; and that by giving them knowledge, we are giving them power, of which they will make the first use against ourselves."[1] The argument was an old one, dating as it did from the time of Grant, if not earlier; and Grant it was who first elaborately refuted it and denounced the habit of placing self-interest above Christian duty in regard to India. Though, of course, with a growing sense of "duty" towards the people of India, the opposition to their enlightenment gradually lost its keenness, if it did not completely die out, yet the fears that had originally prompted it never ceased in some form or the other to haunt the minds of the British rulers. In a minute, dated 28th August 1838, a member of the Bombay Government, Mr. J. Farish, penned these words, not with direct reference to the subject of education, but to a different one—the press in India: "We are here

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 187.

in India, in a very extraordinary position—a small band of aliens totally unconnected by color, religion, feelings, manners, or any one single tie—have established their despotic rule over a vast people, whose affections must be with their Native Princes, and all whose prejudices are arrayed against their conquerors. This supremacy can only be maintained by arms, or by opinion. The Natives of India must either be kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are more wise, more just, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could have. If well directed, the progress of Education would undoubtedly increase our moral hold over India, but, by leading the Natives to a consciousness of their own strength, it will as surely weaken our physical means of keeping them in subjection."[1]

So it appears the education of the people of India was not undertaken solely at the call of disinterested duty. The conflict between duty and self-interest was never absent when great public measures like the framing of an educational policy came to be thought out, though, as the nineteenth century wore on, the British rulers of India habituated themselves more to professions of duty than to those of self-interest. It was natural, therefore, that a line of conduct or policy, which promised to reconcile gracefully duty and interest, should prove generally attractive; and the Anglicists were not wanting in emphasis on the political aspect of the policy advocated by them, which placed the possibility

1 Poll. Dept., Vol. 20/795, 1837-39, pp. 187-91 (Bom. Recs.).

of effecting, at least in the matter of education, a reconciliation between the two completely opposed factors in an entirely new light. The Anglicists declared that the British administrators of India were not "called upon to make any effort of disinterested magnanimity" in spreading education among the people of India, provided it was English education they took care to spread.

In fact, the Anglicists set great store by the ultimate political effects of English education. It has frequently been remarked before that the formidable distance which was placed between the people of the country and their foreign rulers by differences of language, customs, manners, culture and religion was ever present to the minds of British administrators and statesmen as a source of danger and insecurity to British dominion. The distance, it is true, could be partly lessened by conforming as far as possible the system of administration to the habits and institutions of the people and by consulting their feelings and opinions in measures affecting them. But these and similar means constituted only a partial remedy. They went but a little way to solve a problem of first-class importance which exercised the best British Indian statesmen of the day—namely, the problem of creating a positive and durable bond of union between the rulers and the ruled. In the education of the latter they were not slow to perceive an effective instrument for forging such a bond. Grant had early perceived it, and presumably endeavoured to make others of his generation perceive it, but with little effect; and the idea that later fructified

under changed circumstances and with notable results so far as the educational policy of Government was concerned, is found well developed in his famous tract. The idea that gradually gained ground was that the differences of culture and civilisation, which in their practical effects seemed to spell insecurity to British political power in India, could, to the greatest practicable extent if not entirely, be abolished by cultural assimilation of the people to their rulers. In other words, what was gained by military conquest was sought to be consolidated and placed on a permanent foundation by cultural conquest. Here too the analogy of the two-fold conquest, military and cultural, by which the Roman Empire was established and stabilized, was pressed into service in support of the idea. In fact, some servants of the whilom merchant Company began to view themselves as placed in a similar relation to India to that in which the Romans stood towards Gaul and Africa and Britain and other provinces of the empire, as the dispensers of political order and civilisation. "The Indians will, I hope," said Trevelyan, "soon stand in the same position towards us in which we once stood towards the Romans."[1] But, at the same time, as the fact could not be overlooked that it was no easy task to act the Roman to the whole of India with its vast population, the aspiration of a cultural conquest had to be confined to the aim of raising a class of Indians who, culturally assimilated to their rulers, were calculated to be fit interpreters between them and the rest of their countrymen. It was to this prevailing sentiment of the time

1 Trevelyan: *On the education of the People of India*, p. 196.

that Macaulay gave utterance when he said: "I feel....that it is impossibe for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best 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 tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." [1]

The close connection between this idea and the purely educational opinions advocated by the Anglicists is obvious. The former went to reinforce the latter. The Anglicists did not fail to proclaim, and to proclaim sometimes obstreperously, that it was only through an educational policy, having for its object the diffusion of European learning through the English language, that the cultural conquest of the Indian people could be achieved. For, it was conceived that to anglicise the manners and ways of thinking and speech of the people was to draw them nearer to their rulers and thus minimise the extent of the gulf between the two. Moreover, it was an additional inducement for the adoption of such an educational policy that it was a double-edged one inasmuch as its ultimate effects were held to be favourable to British rule from the political point of view and its immediate effects to be beneficial to the people from the moral point of view. Thus interest and duty were sought to be united in one common object; and the union was believed to be inevitable in the nature of things on the ground that "interest and duty are never really separated in the affairs

1 Minute 2nd February 1835.

of nations, anymore than they are in those of individuals."[1]

So it was that political, no less than philanthropic, considerations went to favour the policy of educating the Indian people in European learning through the English language. The aim underlying the policy was to uplift the people intellectually and morally by lifting them wholly and completely out of the mental habits and outlook to which they were traditionally addicted; and, not only to uplift them, but to establish a community of ideas and feelings between them and their rulers. From that stand-point the prevailing systems of Oriental learning came to be regarded as a grave hindrance to the accomplishment of the end in view; for, one obvious tendency of those systems was to retain and confirm the mental habits and traits which were sought to be uprooted. Consequently, what were termed the "political tendencies" of Oriental learning were made the subject of no less severe reprobation from the political stand-point than were its contents and peculiar qualities from the educational. One instance of the censure levelled against the Oriental systems of learning when viewed in the light of their real or assumed political effects may suffice here. "The Arabian or Mahomedan system," said Trevelyan, "is based on the exercise of power and the indulgence of passion. Pride, ambition, and love of rule, and of sensual enjoyment, are called in to the aid of religion. The earth is the inheritance of the Faithful: all besides are infidel usurpers, with whom no measures are to be kept, except what

1 Trevelyan: *On the education of the People of India*, p. 188.

policy may require. Universal dominion belongs to the Mahomedans by Divine right. Their religion obliges them to establish their predominance by the sword; and those who refuse to conform are to be kept in a state of slavish subjection. The Hindu system, though less fierce and aggressive than the Mahomedan, is still more exclusive: all who are not Hindus are impure outcasts, fit only for the most degraded employments; and, of course, utterly disqualified for the duties of government, which are reserved for the military, under the guidance of the priestly caste. Such is the political tendency of the Arabic and Sanskrit systems of learning. Happily for us, these principles exist in their full force only in books written in difficult languages, and in the minds of a few learned men; and they are very faintly reflected in the feelings and opinions of the body of the people. But what will be thought of that plan of national education which would revive them and make them popular; would be perpetually reminding the Mahomedans that we are infidel usurpers of some of the fairest realms of the Faithful, and the Hindus, that we are unclean beasts, with whom it is a sin and a shame to have any friendly intercourse. Our bitterest enemies could not desire more than that we should propagate systems of learning which excite the strongest feelings of human nature against ourselves."[1]

As may be easily surmised, the effect of English literature and language on the Indian mind was juxtaposed in shining contrast to the state of feeling and thought which the Oriental systems of learning were supposed to induce.

1 Trevelyan: *On the education of the People of India*, pp. 188-89.

Above all, the political effects of the former in inducing a change of attitude on the part of the ruled towards the rulers did not escape due emphasis. How the inculcation of European ideas and knowledge was capable of counteracting the ingrained mental habits of the people; how it could remove the existing discordancy of ideas and sentiments between the people and their rulers and establish a harmony instead; how the community of ideas and sentiments so brought about between the two could prove a great mainstay of the British dominion in India—all this was delineated with such plausibility and such pleasant anticipations for the future as sufficed to convince an average person that a policy of educating Indians according to Anglicist views was the best an enlightened government could adopt both in its own interest and in that of the people. "The spirit of English literature, on the other hand," continued Trevelyan, after having anathematised Oriental learning, "cannot but be favourable to the English connection. Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindus, just as the Roman provincials became more Romans than Gauls or Italians. What is it that makes us what we are, except living and conversing with English people, and imbibing English thoughts and habits of mind? They do so too: they daily converse with the best and wisest Englishmen through the medium of their works; and form, perhaps, a higher idea

of our nation than if their intercourse with it were of a more personal kind. Admitted behind the scenes, they become acquainted with the principles which guide our proceedings; they see how sincerely we study the benefit of India in the measures of our administration; and from violent opponents, or sullen conformists, they are converted into zealous and intelligent co-operators with us."[1] And, further on, he proceeds to observe: "As long as the natives are left to brood over their former independence, their sole specific for improving their condition is, the immediate and total expulsion of the English. A native patriot of the old school has no notion of anything beyond this: his attention has never been called to any other mode of restoring the dignity and prosperity of his country. It is only by the infusion of European ideas, that a new direction can be given to the national views. The young men, brought up at our seminaries, turn with contempt from the barbarous despotisms under which their ancestors groaned, to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model. Instead of regarding us with dislike, they court our society, and look upon us as their natural protectors and benefactors: the summit of their ambition is, to resemble us; and, under our auspices, they hope to elevate the character of their countrymen, and to prepare them by gradual steps for the enjoyment of a well-regulated and therefore a secure and a happy independence. So far from having the idea of driving the English into the sea uppermost in their minds, they have no notion of any

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

improvement but such as rivets their connection with the English, and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction. In the re-establishment of the old native governments they see only the destruction of their most cherished hopes, and a state of great personal insecurity for themselves."[1]

It was in this wise, partly from actual observation and experience[2] and partly from speculation on the influence of European learning, that a connection was made out between the spread of English education and the permanence and stability of British dominion arising from the enlightenment and attachment of the people. The rationale of the theory that connected English education with the future of the British rule was that, in leaving the Indian mind undisturbed to the modes of thought and feeling which were characteristically its own and which consequently kept it aloof from sympathetic communion with the ruling race, or in accentuating or encouraging those modes of thought and feeling in the people by a purely Oriental education, there was real political danger and insecurity. British rule, it was felt, rested on a precarious foundation so long as the people were kept apart from their rulers by differences in their respective habits of thought and social and political outlook. One specific remedy, therefore, which the circumstances of the time suggested, was the anglicisation or europeanisation of the national habits of thinking so as to identify them with those of the governing race. No doubt, danger

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

2 *Vide* Trevelyan: *On the education of the People of India*, pp. 198-200.

was suspected in that remedy too: because, as was remarked, by giving the Indian people knowledge, the British rulers would place in their hands a power of which they might make the first use against those who so placed it. But then it was pointed out that the effects of English education would be slow to manifest themselves in all their mature vigour and that, by setting "the natives on a process of European improvement," the apprehended eventuality in the shape of the termination of British rule would be deferred to an indefinitely distant future. "The natives will not rise against us," it was said, "because we shall stoop to raise them: there will be no reaction, because there will be no pressure: the national activity will be fully and harmlessly employed in acquiring and diffusing European knowledge, and in naturalising European institutions."[1] Moreover, the greatest advantage declared to be inherent in the "process of European improvement" was that it was expected to obviate the danger of the severance of the British connection by any violent revolution on the part of the people.

From the idea of anglicising the Indian mind it was but a step to the idea of anglicising the Indian speech. The two in fact went together. Those who were emphatic regarding the political benefits of the diffusion of European ideas and knowledge were not the less emphatic regarding the political advantages of the imposition of the language of the rulers on the ruled. The English language was considered a connecting link between the two tending to create a favourable disposition on the part of the people towards those who governed

1 *Ibid.*, p. 193.

them.[1] It was to be a powerful instrument for the assimilation of the ruled to the rulers. Again, historical precedents were appealed to. "The vast influence of language," said the Rev. Dr. Duff, "in moulding national feelings and habits, more especially if fraught with superior stores of knowledge, is too little attended to, and too inadequately understood. In this respect we are in the rear of nations, some of which we are apt to despise as semi-barbarous. When the Romans conquered a province they forthwith set themselves to the task of 'Romanising' it; that is, they strove to create a taste for their own more refined language and literature and thereby aimed at turning the song and the romance and the history—the thought and the feeling and fancy of the subjugated people into Roman channels which fed and augmented Roman interests. And has Rome not succeeded?" It goes without saying the answer to the question was, with men of Dr. Duff's intellectual cast, an unqualified affirmative. The reverend Doctor proceeded further to appeal to precedents from Asiatic history. He waxed rhetorical on the political strength and perpetuity that "Arabic domination" appeared to have derived from the edict of Caliph Walid

1 It may be interesting to note here an opinion opposed to the prevalent common view on the point. James Mill was questioned by the Commons Select Committee of 1832: "Do not you consider that a community of language tends to identify a people with their governors?" and his answer was: "If you could spread the English language so as to make it the language of the people, as well as of their governors, it would be important in many respects; *though community of language has not much identified the Irish people with their governors.* In itself it would be a most desirable thing that the people of India should speak the language of England, because it would introduce them fully to the field of European intelligence. This, however, I conceive a thing impossible. And while we aim at impossibilities, we are in danger of overlooking other good things that might really be done."—Evidence of James Mill on 21st February 1832: Evidence on East India Affairs: Select Committee of the House of Commons, I Public or Miscellaneous, Q. 402.

which made Arabic the universal language of the Mahommedan world; and quoted the following opinion in order to hold up for admiration a similar decree of Akbar's in India: "The great Akbar established the Persian language as the language of business and polite literature throughout his extensive dominions, and the popular tongue naturally became deeply impregnated with it. The literature and the language of the country thus became identified with the genius of his dynasty; *and this has tended more than anything else to produce a kind of intuitive veneration for the family which has long survived even the destruction of their power; and this feeling will continue to exist until we substitute the English language for the Persian,* which will dissolve the spell, and direct the ideas and sympathies of the natives towards their present rulers."[1] Why could not the English similarly create a "veneration" for their rule in India by following in the footsteps of the Roman conquerors and the Mahomedan emperors? The idea, when thus invested with the authority of past precedents, assumed a flattering form—flattering especially to that nascent Imperialist sense which had begun to contemplate with pride an English political hegemony complemented by a hegemony of the English language and of which one can catch an unmistakable glimpse in the following pronouncement of Macaulay: "In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is

1 *Vide* Duff's Vindication of the "English Education Act of Lord W. Bentick," Part II.

the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia—communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects."[1]

Attractive, and sometimes not quite ill-founded, as were the anticipations thus formed of the advantageous results of the introduction of European learning and of the English language into India, it must not, however, be thought that political considerations furnished the sole motive for the decision that was finally arrived at in favour of that learning and that language. It cannot be denied that, at the back of the change of educational policy effected by Bentinck, there is perceptible, through the blur cast over it by the confession of a conflict of higher with lower motives and the admission of narrow views of expediency pitted against large-minded benevolence, a genuine enthusiasm for reform of the Indian people. If traced to its source, the reforming spirit which distinguished the period may perhaps be found to be a reflection or echo or product of the wave of enthusiasm for reform which swept over England at the time of the Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832. But whatever its origin or character, the fact is certain that the new spirit in favour of reform in India was particularly active during the regime of

[1] Minute, 2nd February 1835.

Lord Bentinck, and was probably emboldened by the success of the first great overt act of British interference with the social and religious customs of the Hindus—the legal abolition of suttee. A most striking practical manifestation of this reforming spirit was the projection of a compendious Anglo-Indian code which was intended to do away with some of the worst features of the Hindu and Mahomedan systems of law, and to modify those systems generally to suit the exigencies of an altered age.[1] And the reforming

1 The bearing of the codification of the laws on the enlightenment of the people was not missed. Trevelyan, when asked in the course of his evidence before the Lords Select Committee for 1852-53 whether he considered that the progress of English instruction and the improvement of legislation in India, by the establishment of simple and intelligible codes of law were mutually connected, replied: "They are connected in the closest possible manner. I consider that, quite irrespectively of its importance for the improvement of the administration of justice, the digesting of the laws into a single and intelligible code, even supposing no alteration in them to be made, and that the laws were not to be at all systematised or revised, would be the most important educational measure that could be adopted. The time and talent of India has been wasted to a suprising extent in learning words as distinguished from ideas. The learning of the country, and especially the law of the country, has been locked up in the Sanskrit, in the Arabic, and in the Persian, one of which is a dead language, and the other two are languages which are not now commonly spoken in India; and now English must be added to them; so that it is at present next to impossible for any one man to acquire a competent knowledge of the law of India. It would take a whole life-time even to learn the language in which it is contained; and until the laws of India are codified, it is impossible that we can enable our young civilians at Haileybury, or the young natives who are educated by thousands, to acquire a competent legal training." (Trevelyan's evidence on 21st June 1853: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, etc.,—Session 1852-53—Q. 6609). It was often argued against the continuance of encouragement to Oriental learning that instruction in Arabic and Sanskrit for the purpose of raising up men versed in the laws of the country to assist the law-courts would be rendered useless by the codification of those laws, since the codification would be primarily in English, and English would therefore supplant Arabic and Sanskrit as the key to a knowledge of those laws. (*Vide* Macaulay's Minute of 2nd February 1835). But the argument was based on too sanguine an expectation: for the original design of an Anglo-Indian Code was never carried to the intended conclusion (*Vide* Kaye's "History of the Administration of the E. I. Co.": Pt. I. Ch. III, pp. 104-06.)

zeal, thus manifested in various directions, was quick to perceive what it became the fashion in those days to assert as a strong reason in favour of popular education in India. It was a subject of common remark that good laws and good government were useless and would in fact defeat the ends for which they were devised, unless the people for whom they were intended were rendered capable by education of understanding and appreciating their spirit and operation. "What can such government and law avail," it was asked, "when the great masses of the people, from lack of intelligence, are unable to appreciate their excellence, and from a destitution of virtue, are equally disinclined to a willing and cheerful obedience?"[1] And similarly the historian Kaye, after relating the notable achievements of the British Government in India in respect of the internal administration and improvement of the country—achievements which Kaye termed 'great victories of European civilisation'—went on to observe: "But having achieved this amount of success, our officers by no means thought that the work was complete. They felt it might often happen that the people, withdrawn from the immediate sphere of these good influences, (to wit, of the authority of Government and personal influence of public officers), would subside into their old evil ways—that, indeed, we might be only casting out devils, to return again to find their old habitations swept and cleansed for their reception, and to wanton there more riotously than before: and they one and all said that the only certain remedy, to which they could look

[1] The Calcutta Review, Vol. III, 1845, p. 211.

for an abiding cure, was that great remedial agent —Education."[1]

Besides the projected changes in the legal systems of the country, there was another direction in which the reforming zeal of Bentinck's government was displayed. A change of far-reaching importance was introduced into the public services. By clause 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 it was enacted that "no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty's resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, under the said Company." In its practical result the enactment pointed to the necessity, which had however come to be recognised and to some extent acted upon before the passing of the Act of 1833, of making some departure from the practice maintained since Cornwallis's day of excluding Indians from all adminstrative offices under Government, save the lowest. From such a practice, which had actually spelt degradation to the Indian people,[2] Bentinck broke away to a marked extent. As Trevelyan said in 1839: "The system established by Lord Cornwallis was based upon the principle of doing everything by European agency. Europeans are, no doubt, superior to the natives in some of the most important qualities of administrators; but the public revenue did not admit of the employment of a sufficient number of them. The wheels of Government therefore soon became clogged: more than half of the business of the country

[1] Kaye: *History of the Administration of the East India Company:* Part V, Ch. I, p. 588 (1853).

[2] *Ibid.*, Part III, Ch. IV, pp. 419-20.

remained unperformed: and at last it became necessary to abandon a plan, which, after a fair trial, had completely broken down. The plan which Lord William Bentinck substituted for it was, to transact the public business by native agency, under European superintendence; and this change is now in progress in all the different branches of the administration."[1] Thus higher public situations, such as those of judges and collectors, were thrown open to Indians. But, again, it is to be noted that it was not alone a zeal for reform or pure benevolence which brought about the change. It was also rendered imperative by considerations of public economy. The Court of Directors had at an early date been led to draw the attention of the Indian Government to that overdue reform in the internal administration of the country. They had lamented in 1829 that the services of Indians had not been rendered available to a greater extent in the discharge of the functions of government; and so had written to the Governor-General: "That European Agency to a certain extent is indispensably requisite we are far from questioning, but we have nevertheless been long of opinion that were a more liberal confidence reposed in the Natives generally the public interests would not materially suffer in any respect, whilst in some they would be essentially benefitted. It is necessary to present them with fresh incentives to honorable exertion, as well as to supply them with the means of education, in order to elevate them in their own estimation, to call forth their energies and to attach them to our Government. To do this, is at once our duty and our interest, for it will

[1] Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 156.

enable us to narrow the limits to which European Agency is now carried, and thereby ultimately to effect a great saving of expense." And it is interesting to note in passing how, in feeling the call for economy, the Court were led to enter a gentle protest against the prejudices and the exaggerated notions of moral delinquency commonly entertained by members of the ruling race in respect of Indian character. "The natives are admitted," wrote the Court, "not to be deficient either in capacity or diligence and we cannot join in the conclusion which we think has sometimes been a great deal too hastily drawn, as to their want of trustworthiness; until a fair experiment has been made of their fidelity under circumstances of less powerful temptation than those in which they have been usually placed. In the Ranks of our Armies their loyalty and devotion have never been surpassed. In your Domestic Establishments you have daily proof that kind treatment as rarely meets with unworthy returns as among any other people. It is chiefly in Public Civil employments that inveterate propensities to falsehood and fraud are imputed to them, often without due regard to many palliating considerations, without sufficient advertence to the causes which have produced these defects in the national character, and, we are afraid we must add, without a systematic application of those means which are best adapted to improve the nature of man." And, further, they pertinently pointed out the disparity of treatment meted out to European and Indian servants of Government: the integrity of the former being protected by high salaries which enabled them to live in affluence and acquire wealth, and that of the latter

exposed to temptation on account of the bare subsistence allowed them by way of emoluments. "Whilst one class," said the Court, "is considered as open to temptation and placed above it, the other without corresponding inducements to integrity should not be exposed to equal temptation and be reproached for yielding to it."[1]

The recognition during Bentinck's regime of the principle of the larger employment of Indian agency in the administration of the country went to emphasize the necessity for a wide diffusion of education among the people. From the altered views prevalent at the period with regard to Oriental learning, it may be easily inferred that it could not be Oriental education that was expected to produce the desideratum of well-trained public servants, but instruction in "sound useful knowledge," or, in other words, in European knowledge.

Lastly, we have to note another potent influence which ruled the mind of the period—the influence of religious motive. No doubt, so far as the British rulers were concerned, they were loath to swerve, and outwardly never did swerve, from their strict adherence to the oft-professed policy of religious neutrality. But at the same time they could not look with the indifference of some of their precursors of the eighteenth century upon the interests of Christianity in India; mainly because, under the new religious impulse which marked the opening of the nineteenth century, Protestant Christianity had become a vital, instead of a nominal, religion with

1 General Letter from Court to Bengal: dated 18th February 1829: *Vide* paras. 44-50.

Englishmen. One significant sign of the changed attitude on the part of British rulers towards Christianity in India was that they ceased to look askance in the manner of their predecessors at the activities of the missionaries in the country. Now, though precluded from openly avowing any interest in the propagation of Christianity, yet the new-born feeling of Englishmen for their religion, which the rulers of India were also possessed of and actuated by, could not fail to assert itself in many silent ways. It is not difficult, for example, to see how religious feeling may have contributed to the antipathy towards Oriental systems of learning which were generally regarded as inextricably mixed up with "heathenish" religions. Nor is it difficult to see, on the other hand, that this same religious feeling may have gone far to strengthen a predilection towards the systematic dissemination of European ideas and knowledge in the country. The proposed policy of educating the people of India in European learning had an added attraction from the religious point of view. It was observed or believed that the way could be made a good deal smooth for the evangelisation of the country by undermining the authority of the prevailing religions of the people, particularly of the Hindu faith, through instruction in European science and knowledge without any admixture of Christian theology or creed.[1] "One grand effect,"

[1] Charles Lushington of the Bengal Government, being asked by the Commons Select Committee of 1832 whether he considered that "the giving to the Natives systematically an enlightened education, affords the best chance of the advancement of the Christian religion in India," replied: "It is the only rational foundation. While encouraging, to every prudential degree, the dissemination of useful knowledge among our Indian subjects, every government under which I have served, has enjoined the most scrupulous adherence to the long-

said Duff, "wherever *such* an education is imparted, will be the demolition of the superstitions and idolatries of India.....in India all the systems of knowledge are regarded as sacred, being contained in books which are accounted of divine authority. All of these are thickly interspersed with glaring errors; consequently, it is impossible for young men to complete a course of "high English education" without discovering that the truths of our history, chronology and science, generally come into constant and fatal collision with the opposing errors in their own systems. The sacred books, or Shastras, being thus shown to abound with demonstrable errors, become at once stripped of their divine authority; and this once accomplished, the superstitions and idolatories which are upheld, *solely on the credit of these books*, must sink into annihilation."[1] Of course, with the correctness or erroneousness of the view of Hinduism underlying this typical pronouncement of the Rev. Dr. Duff we are not concerned; it is sufficient for our purpose that it illustrates how such effects or consequences as Dr. Duff and those of his school of thought attributed to the inculcation of Western knowledge in Indians lent attraction to a policy of educating them in European learning to the exclusion of their own.

avowed and indispensable condition of not interfering directly with the religious opinions of the Natives, an injunction which has pointedly and wisely been reiterated by the Court of Directors. A disposition having of late been manifested in certain quarters to depart from that judicious and just course of policy, it seems expedient that our obligations, as declared by Act of Parliament, to respect the religious prejudices of the people, should be reviewed, and their observance authoritatively inculcated, for if we disregard our solemn engagements to our native subjects, we must calculate on their bitter disaffection." Evidence 8th March 1832: *Evidence on East India Affairs, Select Committee of the House of Commons*—I Public or Miscellaneous—Q. 942.

1 "Vindication of English Education Act of Lord W. Bentinck," Part III.

It is evident from the above sketch of the ruling ideas of the period that the question of a suitable educational policy for India was examined and discussed from four points of view, which may be broadly classified as educational, political, administrative and religious. But all those various view-points converged to one conclusion namely, that European learning taught through the medium of the English language was the best Indians could have and her rulers could give with a view to her intellectual regeneration. The reaction against Orientalism was complete, and the new trend of the period was preponderantly in favour of the substitution of a foreign learning and a foreign language. Events pointed to the imminence of the opening campaign in the cultural conquest of India. In view of this fact it would not be entirely correct to regard Bentinck and Macaulay as the primary originators of the change of educational policy they were merely instrumental in bringing about. The change may be said to have been 'in the air'; and but a practical embodiment was given to it in the final measure, for the adoption of which as an act of the Government of India Macaulay and the Governor-General were responsible. That measure was the ultimate outcome of the changed tendencies and circumstances of the time. Indeed, Macaulay and Bentinck were in a sense the spokesmen of the epoch with however this difference between them—that whilst the former had the talent to voice brilliantly the prevailing ideas and sentiments of the period, the latter had the vision and the power to translate these into an executive fiat. And when the opportune moment came, each played his part effectively.

Chapter VI.

THE ISSUE STATED.

Yet, however manifest or widespread the change in the ideas and views on Indian education, it was not to be expected that the conservative Orientalists would give up their favourite theory or policy without striking a blow in its behalf. If they could not keep up with the new tendencies and new opinions that began to prevail, neither were they willing to step back in favour of those who represented and expounded them. Indeed, something more than theories or principles seems to have mattered with the Orientalists; the impression that predominance of Anglicist views would spell a direct blow to their individual reputations, founded as these were on their Oriental acquirements, and would be tantamount to an acknowledgment of the alleged uselessness of the learning they admired and had laboured to acquire, appears to have lent a sharper edge to their opposition.[1] It was not only Orientalism that was on the defensive, but the Orientalists as well. So arose the Anglo-Orientalist conflict. The appropriate battle-ground where the two parties could definitely join issue was of course the General Committee.

With the accession of Charles Trevelyan, J. R. Colvin and Wilberforce Bird as members of the Committee, Anglicism became embarrasingly vocal in the deliberations of that body. Of the ten members of which the Committee was at the time composed, five were advocates of the Anglicist

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 51-53.

views and five of the Orientalist. Thus the Committee was so equally divided that a complete deadlock ensued. It ceased to act with any degree of harmony, not only with regard to the fundamental questions on which it was divided, but also with regard to questions of mere routine and detail. The fight carried on within the Committee by the two sections, rendered all progress impossible and brought the Committee's affairs to a standstill. The frequent disputes and disagreements obstructed the business of the Committee at every turn. "Almost everything which came before them was more or less involved in it. The two parties were so equally balanced as to be unable to make a forward movement in any direction. A particular point might occasionally be decided by an accidental majority of one or two, but as the decision was likely to be reversed the next time the subject came under consideration, this only added inconsistency to inefficiency. This state of things lasted for about three years, until both parties became convinced, that the usefulness and respectability of their body would be utterly compromised by its longer continuance. The Committee had come to a dead stop, and the Government alone could set it in motion again, by giving a preponderance to one or the other of the two opposite sections."[1]

In this state of affairs there occurred two events which finally roused the Committee to bring to the anvil the general question underlying all their disputes and bickerings. Before passing on to those events, it would be convenient to advert here to the alignment of opinion in the

1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, pp. 11-12.

Committee. The principal parties to the contest have hitherto been mentioned—the Anglicists and the Orientalists. The former group broadly asserted it to be the paramount duty and obligation of the General Committee as well as of Government to encourage and extend, in preference to any other system of learning, instruction in English literature and science through the medium of the English language in the seminaries of higher education under the control of the Committee. They wanted in fact, English instruction to supersede the Oriental. The latter group, whilst fully conceding the importance "of creating a taste for English Science and Literature among the Natives," held it to be their first duty to revive and extend the cultivation of the literature and languages which the people loved to call their own, and regarded the introduction of European learning and science as an improvement to be engrafted upon the extant Oriental systems of learning rather than as "an object to be pursued exclusively or with any marked and decided preference." But belonging to this same group, there were some who held more liberal views than those of either party. They did not consider it necessary or advisable, either on the part of the Committee or of the Government, to exhibit preponderant preference for any particular system of learning. They wanted equal and impartial encouragement to be held out to all systems, whether European or Oriental, so long and so far as the state of opinion and feeling among the people themselves demanded. It was desirable in their view to obviate the factitious opposition in which Oriental and European systems of learning were placed to

each other. It may be remarked at the same time that this attitude, whether we may be pleased to call it liberal or latitudinarian, was far from running counter to the general views of the Orientalist section; all that it came to was a slight modification of the main position of the Orientalists. It only entered a plea for fair field and no favour.

These various views found in the events which are now to be related a convenient opportunity for expression. A meeting of the Committee of the Calcutta Madressa (which was, strictly speaking, a sub-committee composed of several members of the General Committee) was held on Saturday the 26th April 1834, at which Mr. H. Shakespeare, the president, and Mr. Colvin, a member, were present. After transacting the usual routine business, the Committee, consisting of these two, proceeded to pass a series of resolutions on various matters relating to the internal affairs and management of the college. One resolution of this series, however, went to introduce an innovation into the college. It ran: "The Committee being of opinion that the time has arrived for encouraging more openly and decidedly the study of English in the Madressa, Resolved that from the present date no student be elected to a scholarship, unless on the express condition of studying English as well as Arabic."[1] It must be remembered that attendance in the English class of the Madressa was voluntary, so far as the students of Arabic were concerned; but this resolution sought to make the study of

[1] Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 11: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, Vol. 397 (G. I. R.).

English compulsory in a college primarily designed for Oriental studies.

After the lapse of more than two months from the date of the meeting, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, who was also a member of the Madressa Committee but was absent at the time the resolution was passed, on coming to learn of it, recorded a vigorous protest against it. He bluntly called the measure hasty and indiscreet as it seemed to him to have been adopted without due advertence to the purposes for which the institution had been specifically endowed. He viewed the expenditure of any part of the Madressa funds on a new object like the compulsory introduction of English as inconsistent with the oirginal aim of the endowment and as involving nothing less than a breach of trust. He denied to the Madressa Committee the right to make, without the sanction of Government, so far-reaching a change in the constitution of the College as seemed implied in the resolution; for, what alarmed Mr. Prinsep most was the ultimate effect and tendency of the measure, as he looked upon it as a first step towards the conversion of the College into a mere seminary for the teaching of English. An Orientalist with inflexible prepossessions, he could not brook the idea of such a consummation for an Oriental institution, and threatened to resign from the Madressa Committee if the resolution was not rescinded.[1]

The other members of the Committee, of course, answered back. They denied that the measure was hasty and indiscreet and stated that,

1 Minute, 9th July 1834: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

when adopting it, they had nothing more in mind than the introduction of an improvement in the course of study at the institution, which had long been contemplated by the members both of the College Committee and the General Committee. They denied that there had been any intention, as made out by Mr. Prinsep, to supersede the Arabic studies of the college. They denied finally the inviolability of the endowment. They asserted that Government had a perfect right to change the system of the College as it might think fit or even to resume the funds allotted to its support altogether. In justification of their proceedings they declared that they had only followed the established course in adopting the disputed measure without the delay of a special previous reference to Government; for, the practice was to submit the proceedings of the General Committee annually to Government, but no intermediate acts, barring those that related to expenditure, were submitted to it for its approval in the first instance. Moreover, they asseverated that to impart English instruction in the Madressa was the truest kindness that could be shown to the students themselves.[1] There they touched on the real question that underlay the whole dispute—namely, which system of learning was to have preferential encouragement, European or Oriental? It may be remarked, however, that Mr. Shakespear's confidence in the utility of the measure that had at first won his concurrence was greatly shaken by the unsuccessful results of the attempt to impart a knowledge of English to the

[1] Minutes of Messrs. Shakespear, Bird and Colvin, dated the 10th July, 30th July and 14th August 1834 respectively: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

students of the Madressa—results of which he happened to be an unfortunate witness at the very first examination of the students since the passing of the resolution for promotion of the study of English.[1]

Mr. Prinsep, though he stood alone in the Madressa Committee in his opposition to the measure, returned to the charge with his usual vigour. He replied to his opponents at some length on the various points raised in the course of the dispute. But he added nothing new to his former contentions, except by way of illustrating and amplifying them. It is therefore unnecessary to reproduce here the arguments and pleas advanced by this protagonist of Orientalism, save one passage which shows the tone and trend of the controversy: "I saw in that Resolution," said Mr. Prinsep, "the announcement that the time was come for an important change, and I dreaded and still dread the effect of the disposition I daily witness in the junior members of our Committee more especially to disparage and deprecate all knowledge save that in which they have themselves been brought up, to look upon instruction in the rudiments of a strange language, because it is English and European, as more valuable than the prosecution of studies in the higher branches of literature and science when those studies have to be followed in the language of the East. It is thought to be kindness to cram the a, b, c, of the West down the throats of Eastern adults, even though it ends in their never reaching beyond the reading and spelling point in the language taught, and it is looked upon as little less than

[1] Minute, 10th July 1834.

criminal to be aiding and abetting in the teaching of the Logic of Aristotle and the Science of Euclid and Ptolemy and Archimedes because Arabic is the medium through which the instruction is conveyed. I dread the influence of this disposition...." He openly professed alarm at the frequent assertion of Anglicist principles in the Committee.[1]

As the great issue which was believed to be involved in the disputed Resolution was one which the Madressa Committee could not take upon itself to decide, the dispute was referred to the General Committee. The questions which the General Committee was called upon immediately to decide were: first, whether the Resolution of the Madressa Committee should be confirmed or rescinded; and, secondly, whether a previous knowledge of English should be required of candidates for scholarships. It may be remarked here that the latter question originated in a suggestion of Mr. Colvin that, as the students of Arabic admitted to the Madressa were generally of an advanced age which made it difficult for them to obtain proficiency in a new language not taught to them anywhere before, candidates for scholarships should be required, in order to entitle them to admission, to obtain some previous knowledge of English as an indispensable qualification. The discussion on the main question in the General Committee was carried on in the same strain as it was in the Madressa Committee. The Orientalists expostulated through the mouth of Prinsep: "Encourage English and European Science, say I, as earnestly as the hottest of the enthusiasts of fewer years and less experience. But my word

[1] Minute, 15th August 1834.

is *encourage* and the means I recommended are (?)[1] 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 withholding of Collegiate rewards, even of state employ, from those who learn not out of their Primer. If there are any who think that the Government will declare for compulsion and disabilities, instead of encouragement and persuasion, if there be any who so distrusts the cause of true science as to doubt that the daily exhibition of its benefits and the proof of its advantages will suffice to work its progress, let them appeal to the oracle whose dictum will be our law."[2] The Anglicist retort came from Mr. Bird: "Did we come to India for the purpose of encouraging Mahomedan learning? Had the encouragement already given proved in the slightest degree of any practical use even to the Mahomedans themselves? Much less to the native community at large? 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? Unless these questions can be answered in the affirmative, the time has surely arrived for making those alterations in the constitution of the Establishment of which by the express terms of the endowment it is clearly susceptible...."[3] And there was that intermediate opinion which advised that "each in-

[1] Manuscript illegible.

[2] Minute, 3rd September 1834: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 13 (G. I. R.)

[3] Minute: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 13 (G. I. R.)

stitution should be kept entirely distinct, the Hindee, the Mahomedan and the English, with free ingress in the latter for all classes who have the desire of learning English;" which wanted "separate endowments, no clashing of salaries and jealousy among masters, no difficulty in defining our own duties;" in short, a fair trial for all systems of learning.[1] The legality and the propriety of the Resolution of the Madressa Committee were discussed. The nature of the Madressa endowment was examined in order to settle the point whether the constitution of the college was susceptible of alteration. The claims of European and Oriental learning to preferential encouragement were argued. But no decision of a nature to set the question at rest was reached. In the end five members of the General Committee voted in favour of the Resolution being confirmed and five against it.[2] But in the record of proceedings of the General Committee at a meeting of the 22nd October 1834 it is stated that the majority was of opinion that "the rule which compels the nominee to a scholarship to study English as well as Arabic should be withdrawn."[3]

At last, it was felt necessary to put an end to this indecisive state of things by referring the question relating to the Madressa, as well as the larger question on which it depended, to Government for final decision. But, while the discussion of the Madressa question had been in progress,

[1] Minute of J. Prinsep: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 13 (G. I. R.)

[2] For the Resolution were: G. A. Bushby, C. E. Trevelyan, Macnaghten, Colvin, and W. W. Bird. Against: Shakespear, C. Macsween, J. Prinsep, G. Saunders, and H. T. Prinsep.

[3] Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 12: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

a question of extensive scope had already been raised with respect to the Agra College, and an appeal to the supreme authority necessitated thereby.

It may be recalled here that the Agra College was at its inception an institution for Oriental learning and, in accordance with the method then in vogue of affording encouragement to instruction in European knowledge, had an "English class" attached to it. But the Oriental studies do not seem to have prospered in the College. At any rate, it was deemed necessary in 1833 with reference both to the state of the institution and to a growing popular disposition in favour of study of English, to render instruction in the English language at the College more efficient and extensive than it had ever been before. The General Committee, in their annual report dated 7th August 1833, expressed their intention to communicate with the Local Committee of Agra on this important subject.

Accordingly, the General Committee entered into correspondence with the Agra Committee, and the latter favoured a radical change in the character of the institution. It confronted the General Committee with the proposition that the College be made an "Anglo-Indian" institution, by which it meant that English literature and science should be made the principal objects of study to the exclusion of Arabic and Sanskrit, and that instruction in Hindi and Persian should be assigned a secondary or subordinate importance. Other minor changes were also proposed, but these have little bearing on the course of our

narrative. The effect produced by the main proposition of the Agra Committee on the General Committee, with its disagreements and dissensions of long standing, may be readily imagined. However, in their letter to Government on the subject, it is stated that "the majority of the General Committee approves of the proposed alteration of the character of the Institution, but all its members disapprove 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." Moreover, the majority of the Committee, not only desired the teaching of Arabic and Sanskrit to be kept up at the College, though on a much reduced scale, but wanted some provision to be made for enabling the College to afford improved instruction in Hindi and Urdu, "the vernacular languages of Upper India." As all those propositions involved an extensive alteration of the character of the institution and, not only increased expenditure, but diversion of the endowment funds to new objects, the Committee sought the previous sanction of Government before giving effect to them.[1]

Being duly impressed with the importance of the proposed change in the scope and objects of the Agra College, the Government, before granting its sanction, called on the Committee to furnish information on certain specific points. Among other things, it desired to be informed whether the Committee had reason to believe that the proposed change was wanted by the classes

[1] Letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt., dated 21st April 1834/No. 1095/Pub. Cons: 28th April 1834, No. 26: Home Pub. Progs., April to July 1834, 393. (G. I. R.)

of persons for whose benefit the institution had been founded and was likely to be agreeable or the contrary to the feelings and wishes of the educated class of the people at Agra. It also wished to ascertain what evidence the Committee could furnish of that increasing earnestness of desire for instruction in English science and literature in preference to Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, which constituted the main reason for the change proposed by the Agra and the General Committee.[1]

The Agra Committee, on being invited to do so, furnished information of an interesting character. The Committee believed that favourable circumstances existed to lead the people to welcome the proposed change as a badly needed improvement in the system prevalent in the college. "This opinion," it went on to say, "is founded not merely on what the Local Committee have had an opportunity of observing generally of the tone and feeling of the native society on this subject, but also on individual instances where a desire for the acquisition of English 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 Thakoors of rank, respectable Zamindars and wealthy merchants, applying to this Committee for English Instructors for their sons and relations, applications which, though the Committee could not then comply with them, they consider the new arrangements the best calculated to meet, even on the most extended

[1] Letter from Govt. to G. C. P. I., dated 28th April 1834: Pub. Cons.: 28th April 1834, No. 27.

scale. The late establishment also at Kotah by the native authorities of an English school strongly evinces the growing favour for English Instruction among the native community in these parts, and the local committee would refer to the notice, in the last report of the Calcutta School Book Society, of the proportionally increased sale of their English publications and translations into the vernacular tongues, as evidence of the increasing popularity which English is attaining generally throughout the country." Glancing at the most apparent cause of the popularity gained by the English language, the Committee was inclined to attribute it in a great degree to the strong impression which had gone abroad that attainments in English would procure public employ, and to its thus holding out prospects of fortune and honour to those who possessed a knowledge of it. But whatever the true cause or causes of the phenomenon and it was not easy to determine them, the Committee believed that it had, in the relative number of the students who attended the Oriental and the English classes of the College,[1] convincing evidence of the fact that instruction in English was preferred by the majority of the inhabitants to instruction in Sanskrit or Arabic.

1 At the date when the Committee wrote, the number was: Persian 230, English 110; Sanskrit 42; Arabic 28. A later examination report gave the number as: Persian 250; Hindee 161; English 98; Sanskrit 36; Arabic 27. It will be seen that the Persian Department tops the list in the number of its students; and the following observation of the Agra Committee appears interesting in connection with the fact: "There can be little doubt also but that the Persian only maintains its ground in native estimation as an object of study from its still enjoying though in a lesser degree, as it has hitherto enjoyed those advantages with which it is expected by them that the English will in a few years be invested, for the intrinsic claims of the Persian on the score of useful knowledge embraced in its literature would seem to be even less than those of the Sanskrit or the Arabic."

Had then Sanskrit and Arabic, it might have been asked, ceased to command the hommage and veneration of the people ? They do not appear to have done so ; but then English challenged unto itself the foremost place in popular favour because of its utility. "From the veneration and culture that have ever been bestowed by them on these studies," said the Committee, "it is not to be doubted that the natives generally would be favourable to the retention of Sanskrit and Arabic in the public Seminaries of Education along with, though not to the exclusion of, other branches of study which are acknowledgedly more useful and valuable if not more venerable." As for itself, the Committee by no means considered the classical languages and literatures of India deserving of encouragement ; it had no high opinion of their intrinsic merits or value ; and it was a somewhat curious test by which it judged of these. For it proceeded solemnly to pronounce that "the benefit to the Community, after the operation and experience of ages, derivable from these venerated sources of enlightenment is to be judged of by the present state of actual knowledge and moral feeling to be found among the educated native population. From this test the local committee conceive that no argument favourable to the encouragement of these studies is deducible, more especially when, as in the present instance, such furtherance and encouragement could be effected only by the sacrifice of time, talent and funds which they conceive may be so much more beneficially applied to a different course of education and to one to which our native subjects seem still more anxious to avail themselves of, being unattainable in their own

seminaries where Sanskrit and Arabic are within the reach of all."[1]

If we presume the Agra Committee to have abstained from letting its zeal for the cause of English education outrun its judgment and so from reading more into the state of public feeling than what actually existed, then the information supplied by it is important as corroborative of the existence and extent of the Anglicist movement among Indians the origin and growth of which were referred to in an earlier chapter. We may well compare the statements and observations of the Agra Committee with those made about the same time by the Committee of the Delhi College and Institution, already noticed in the preceding pages, regarding the decline of Arabic and Sanskrit and the increased popularity of English in the Delhi province as well as the causes to which the phenomenon was attributed. The comparison is instructive as clearly indicating that the vogue for English was by 1833 not confined to Bengal proper, but had found a not uncongenial soil in some parts of what were known as the Upper Provinces.

As might be expected, the proposal for such a sweeping change in the Agra College as the Local Committee thought necessary or desirable rendered a collision of views in the General Committee inevitable. The only point on which unanimity prevailed lay in the General Committee's opposition to the total exclusion, as advocated by the Local Committee, of Sanskrit and Arabic as objects of study in the college. With that exception, however, the General Committee

[1] Letter from Agra Committee to G. C. P. I., dated 24th July 1834: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 9: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

was in the same embarrasingly divided state, with regard to the proposed change, that had characterised its deliberations on previous occasions when similar questions had been brought before it. The Committee had been unable to act with harmony or effect when the question of an alteration of the established system of instruction in the Delhi College had been agitated nor when English had been sought to be compulsorily introduced in the Madressa. On many a minor question too the Committee had, since the accession of the Anglicist element, been in an incessant state of feud. In the case of the Agra College, no doubt, the majority agreed with the views of the Local Committee, save on the point above noted; but the minority was in a position to put up a stout opposition which could not be easily passed over.

The only remedy that remained in the Committee's power for putting an end to the intolerable state of affairs, which arose from the irreconcilable manner in which the two parties were at issue, was now sought. The recurring and obstructive quarrels between the Orientalists and the Anglicists reached a climax over the question of the proposed change in the Agra College. It was now realised that the first duty of the Committee was to settle, through the interposition of Government, the great general question which in its undecided state had been the cause of perpetual strife. It was finally determined to appeal to Government to decide between the principles and systems of education advocated respectively by the Anglicists and the Orientalists, and, in so deciding, to furnish the Committee with an authoritative principle for

future guidance. The question in respect of the Agra College supplied an apt opportunity for evoking the aid and intervention of Government. So, in its reply to the letter of 28th April 1834 in which the Government had asked for information respecting the state of public feeling at Agra towards English education, the Committee, instead of confining itself to the immediate points under reference, submitted a general statement of the conflicting points of view which divided it on the whole question of the best mode and kind of education for the people of India and urged on the Government the importance of its being furnished with "some definitive general instructions."[1]

Under such circumstances was the long-drawn-out controversy at last brought within the formal cognisance of Government and, it may be added, also apparently brought within sight of a final solution. Both the sections of the Committee prepared statements of their respective cases and these were submitted in two successive letters to Government. In treating of the subject, however, the parties avoided abstract theorising as far as possible and confined the discussion to a few practical questions which called for immediate determination.

To set out those questions here in detail would be simply a reiteration of what has gone before. But a little reiteration may be excused if it helps to a clear understanding of the issue stated for the decision of Government. The gist and scope of the controversy can be better grasped

1 Letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt., dated 21st January 1835/ No. 2093/: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 14. (G.I.R.).

if the fact be kept in mind that what was in issue, in the first place, was not so much the matter of instruction as the medium; and, in the second place, not so much the intrinsic merits of Oriental learning as the expediency of encouraging it. In other words, there was no disagreement between the parties on the question of their ultimate aim —the intellectual improvement of the people of India—and there was substantial agreement on the point that the knowledge and science of Europe were better conducive to the achievement of that aim than indigenous learning. But the disagreement was bitter on the question of the means by which European knowledge and science were to be made to serve the professed aims of educational policy. The questions briefly were: Which was, all things considered, the superior medium for the transmission of European knowledge—the English language or the Oriental languages? And, assuming the superiority of the former, whether it was wise and expedient to jettison Oriental learning from the official system of education as proposed by the Anglicists? The two questions may seem distinct in the abstract, but in practice they were so mixed up that Government's decision on the one perforce affected the other.

Let us now turn to what each party had to say on those questions and for the sake of convenience, we shall dwell on the second question first—namely, the question of the expediency of encouragement to Oriental learning. As noted before, there was no real dispute but ample exaggeration with regard to the comparative merits of European and Oriental learning and literature. In fact, there was a tacit assumption by both

the parties of the superiority of the former to the latter, so far at least as educational aims were concerned. But the point energetically made out by the Orientalists and as energetically contested by the Anglicists was that the encouragement of Oriental learning was imperative in view of the predilections of the people to be educated and the peculiar wants and circumstances of the country at large.

The grounds of the Orientalists in support of their proposition have been covered in the preceding pages and a bare restatement of them is all that is necessary here. To begin with, the Orientalists argued that the national feeling in India was as much apathetic, if not actively opposed, to the cultivation of European learning as it was favourably inclined towards that of the Oriental. And as they believed it to be a wise principle to respect and consult the feelings of those for whom their plans of education were intended, they deemed it expedient and prudent to give the people in the first instance the learning they valued and venerated instead of forcing on them the exotic learning the value of which they had not learnt to recognise and which earned its possessors comparatively little respect or influence amongst them. But, besides this consideration of expediency, there was, the Orientalists said, a consideration of justice which demanded adequate encouragement to Oriental learning. For, however much European learning might, in European opinion, be superior to the Oriental and productive of ameliorative effects, had not the people of India a right to claim that adequate facilities be provided for them of obtaining

instruction in their own systems, at least so long as they continued to desire it? In short, they denied that benevolent intentions had a right to dictate that the people should be taught, even though for their own ultimate good, what they did not expressly desire to learn. And, lastly, the Orientalists maintained that truth as embodied in the European system of learning ought to be allowed "to make its own way" instead of being forced on the people through the single channel of English instruction. They said that popular reception of the truths of European or English literature and science would be more honourably secured "by the effect of conviction alone" than by the device of withdrawing all support to the Oriental systems of learning in order to facilitate their supersession by the European.

The Anglicists, on the other hand, saw little substance in their opponents' contention that there was no widespread or pronounced desire on the part of the majority of the people for instruction in European learning. They pointed to instances which constituted in their view irrefragable evidence of the existence of a popular desire and need for it. But even if what the Orientalists affirmed was true, they did not think it justified an over-deference to popular feelings and wishes. Of course, they disowned any intention of offering to the people of India any scheme of education which they might see reason to believe would not be willingly and readily availed of by them. But if the people themselves were amenable, and the Anglicists had no doubts of their amenability, then they conceived it the duty of the British Government, "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 task of an enlightened government they argued to be to actively mould the national thought and feelings and not " to leave the promotion of their measures of improvement to be determined implicitly by the desires of a people " whom they took to be naturally prejudiced in favour of " the inferior systems of learning " with which only they were familiar. Hence, they conceived, arose the obligation of Government to offer to the people the best kind of education which it was in its power to give, and by which they meant of course " English education." And, further, they were inclined to regard it " as a distinct, however honest, dereliction of duty were a preference not unequivocally shown in favour of that course of study and those habits of mental discipline, from which the European character has derived its highest advantages, and which they should esteem it to be the first pleasure and object of an English Government to communicate, as far as the means at its command might allow, throughout all classes of its Indian subjects."

To the plea that the people had a right to claim the patronage of Government for the system of learning in which they desired instruction, the Anglicists returned the obvious answer that the public funds assigned for the purposes of education were a sacred trust, which its administrators were " bound to employ to the most useful and beneficial ends within their power," and which could not, without a violation of public duty, be expended on objects of acknowledgedly

less utility and benefit from vague considerations of justice or liberality influencing the Orientalists. The Anglicists were prepared to make some provision for instruction in Oriental learning in the Government institutions, provided it appeared to them proper or advantageous to do so with reference to the existing circumstances. But they denied that there was "any inherent right in a people to demand that they be enabled to acquire a contracted and erroneous education at the expense of the State," and looked upon it as "the quixotism of fair dealing to maintain a sedulous cultivation of Error, from an apprehension that the Truth might not have sufficient obstacles to overcome." "The truth can triumph" they declared, "by the force of conviction only because all opinions and all systems are openly and freely canvassed, but there can be no equitable obligation *to teach Error* merely that the opposition from it may be preserved and ensured."

These were the grounds which led the Anglicists to appeal to Government "to forward, with an avowed and active preference, the cultivation of European learning." They complained of the almost entire monopoly which in practice the Oriental systems of learning continued to possess in the most important institutions supported by the funds and influence of Government, although there were not wanting on the part of the Orientalists professions of a desire to favour the introduction of European learning. They called for the abolition by Government of the monopoly secured to Oriental learning, as they considered it worked inequitably against the progress of European learning in the land.

We turn now to the other question of considerably greater importance—the question of the *medium* of instruction. It has been repeatedly noted that the Anglicists pleaded, not only for the communication of European knowledge, but for its communication through the English language. In other words, they strongly favoured the direct mode of instruction as opposed to the indirect one largely advocated by the Orientalists.

In justification of their plea for the adoption of English as general medium of instruction, the Anglicists pointed out that, outside the Oriental institutions of Government, English was very generally employed as such by private teachers and in private seminaries with the most successful and cheering results. These they could not help contrasting with what appeared to them the dreary failure of the endeavours to impart European knowledge through the medium of the classical languages of India. The ease and eagerness with which a knowledge of English was acquired by the educated classes of Calcutta left no doubt in the minds of the Anglicists as to the feasibility of employing extensively the English language for the purposes of instruction.

The advantages and disadvantages of the direct and indirect modes of communicating European knowledge next came in for comparison. An important advantage pleaded in favour of the former was that the medium of English gave immediate access to the whole range of English literature and science and it was consequently held forth to be incomparably more effectual in advancing intellectual progress than translations into the classical languages of India could ever be. But

even if the translations had proved more effectual than they really did, still the Anglicists could perceive no sufficient reason for the adoption of a laborious and indirect process for conveying European knowledge when an easy and direct one was available. Why not enable a student of European learning (so the argument seemed to run) to drink as fully as he could of the original Pierian spring by teaching him the English language instead of restricting him to the fragmentary knowledge filtered through the medium of Sanskrit and Arabic ? For, it is to be noted that the preparation of a complete course of translations, embodying all or even a substantial portion of the knowledge of the West, was considered an almost hopeless task. It demanded a great and, in the opinion of the Anglicists, unnecessary consecration of time, talent and money which could be rendered available with more beneficial results for the purposes of English instruction. Besides, it was difficult to procure persons who combined such conversancy in the necessary languages with acquirements in European learning as to be qualified to prepare the requisite translations or to give instruction in them when prepared. And what the General Committee had already accomplished in the way of translated works was said to promise no success from a continued perseverance in that same course. Large amounts had been injudiciously expended on publication of translations which in the end were found to have served no other purpose than that of storing the Committee's shelves.

But, even as surpassing its practical advantages, the Anglicists claimed for the direct

mode of instruction through English an intrinsic value which was necessarily wanting in the other. They urged that the grand aim of their plan of education was not to convey mere knowledge, but to infuse a better spirit and higher tone of feeling into the Indian people; and this they conceived could only be done by bringing the Indian mind into direct contact with the best thought of Europe and rendering it directly susceptible to the elevating influence of European literature through the channel of the English language. It was through that channel alone, they argued, that the healing waters of Western knowledge could flow, with all their invigorating effects undiminished, to the parched and arid Indian intellect and make that which was crooked in character straight. "It must," they said, "be the object of all enlarged schemes of education for the Indian people, not merely to convey a more correct knowledge of facts or of systems of exact science, which might be faithfully represented by translations, but to create a new character and energy of thought in the native mind, to animate it by that nobler and freer spirit of moral and intellectual action, which has been the chief source and forms the first glory and security of European improvement. For purposes of this nature Translations must ever be an inefficient and insufficient instrument. They can be secured only by an early and familiar conversancy with the whole frame and body of the original European Literature and by an active community and intercourse of sentiment between the Native and European races. Between these the first link must be the use, to the utmost extent practicable, of a common language." In-

dependently therefore of reasons of policy which, as seen before, went to recommend a preferential encouragement to the cultivation by the people of India of the language of their British rulers, the Anglicists regarded that encouragement "as primarily essential in any just and comprehensive view of the system of Education desired for their benefit."

These were the principal grounds on which the Anglicists rested their advocacy of the English medium. But, however convincing their several arguments might have been to the Anglicists themselves, the keen eye of Orientalist opposition was not slow to detect flaws and objections. Two objections put forward seem worth particular notice. As usual, the Orientalists did not fail to appeal to the "actual circumstances of the country" against their opponents. One of these objections was stated thus: "That English acquirements, however valuable in themselves, may without other knowledge prove a source of embarrassment and loss to their possessors under the actual circumstances of the country, the practical business of which is not and may never be generally conducted in English—a circumstance which may debar the more proficient in English studies from the opportunities of public employment." To make this argument clearer, it may be necessary to recall here that the idea of maintaining a close connection between public education and the administrative need for qualified public servants, and of thereby providing a stimulus to popular mental improvement, was never lost sight of in any scheme of education, whether emanating from the Orientalists or from the Anglicists.

Hence the latter now replied that in asserting as they did "the paramount claims of English education," they never proposed to neglect to provide in the Government institutions for any studies which might prove to be indispensable for the immediate purposes of life. They saw no difficulty in providing for instruction in any language that the Government might be pleased to conduct its administrative business in, without detriment to English studies which were to claim primary attention as "the only real means of moral and mental improvement." Besides, they suggested that English acquirements might well be afforded scope for exercise by marked preference being enjoined by Government in all selections for public employ, for those who superadded a superior English education to the ordinary qualifications for the public service.

Another and more important objection was made by the Orientalists to the principle of instruction through English in view of the generally recognised maxim that the vernaculars constituted the proper media for the education of the great body of the people. But as both the parties were agreed, though not on quite tenable grounds as Hodgson showed subsequently,[1] that the vernaculars in their prevalent state were rude and imperfect instruments for the communication of European knowledge, the question that remained was, in which of the languages, English or Oriental, was it likely to be most advantageous, with reference to the ultimate development of the vernaculars, to impart European ideas and knowl-

1 Hodgson: *Essays relating to Indian subjects*, Vol. II. (Letter I on "Pre-eminence of the Vernacular.")

edge to those who were intended to be the enlighteners of the mass of their countrymen and the makers of a future vernacular literature? Now, the argument of the Orientalists was that, if the improvement of the vernaculars or the creation of a vernacular literature was the ultimate end in view, it was necessary and proper to embody European knowledge in Sanskrit and Arabic in the first instance, since they conceived that the vernaculars would be obliged in the process of their development to have constant recourse to the copious parent languages for linguistic material (in the shape of vocabulary, terminology and other apparatus of language) and would thus, easily and perhaps insensibly, be led to absorb into themselves also the new knowledge stored in the learned languages of India. To put it more simply, the Orientalists wanted and actually attempted to make Sanskrit and Arabic the medium for the transfusion of European knowledge into the vernaculars, presumably and mainly on the ground of linguistic affinity of the latter to the former; or, in other words, they wanted Sanskrit and Arabic to be constituted, by a transference of as much European knowledge as possible into them, the proximate sources on which the vernacular tongues could draw not only for words but also knowledge, not only for terms but also ideas, not only for linguistic improvements but also literary materials. The Orientalists no doubt regarded this as apt to prove in the end a more fertilising and fruitful process than that implied in the direct resort to different or foreign languages on which the development of the vernaculars would have had in the alternative to depend. But the Anglicists

thought otherwise. They thought that the Orientalist view, in the first place, reckoned more of future eventualities than contemporary needs; and, in the second place, that it exaggerated the indispensability of the Sanskrit and Arabic to the vernacular languages. They acknowledged that, as the media through which the mass of the people were to be ultimately enlightened, the improvement of the popular tongues and the creation of a larger literature in them were objects of the first importance to be kept prominently in view. But these were objects capable of realisation only in some distant future: and the question was, what was the best or immediately necessary thing to do in the interim? Or, to put it in the form in which the Anglicists themselves did it, "what, it may confidently be asked, is the pressing want of the present time, and what the obvious first step in the career of national civilization? Is it not to provide, by every most ready and effectual 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? In the impulse given to their minds lies the only and sure hope of general improvement. To condemn them to toil, through a course of generations, and with a scarcely perceptible progress, in partial endeavours to acquire knowledge through the imperfect and feeble medium of translations, because at some future and unknown period, as learning gradually becomes diffused, it may be necessary to make extensive use of Sanskrit or Arabic terms in the higher species of composition

in the vernacular languages, is a course of procedure, the mere statement of which would surely seem to render its defence impossible. The expediency and the duty have on all occasions been recognised of combining a careful and systematic cultivation of the vernacular tongues with direct instruction in the English language and literature, and we may well be assured that whatever knowledge of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages may be seen, in the course of time and circumstances, to be really requisite for the gradual improvement of the vernacular tongues, will always be found readily at command. There could be enjoined no attempt more vain and premature at present than to embody, for the general advantage of the people, European literature and science in the learned languages, which are utterly unacceptable to the great mass of the community. To persevere in the system of Translations, the futility of which, for any great object, is shewn alike by experience and reason, would be to retard the amelioration of the native character and intellect indefinitely. For that high purpose, an immediate familiarity with European literature and thought in those who profess the leisure and the desire for advanced study, is the only efficient means which can be employed. It is not also, it is essential to remark, by the transfusion of an entire foreign literature into their own tongues that the popular mind of Natives has even become instructed. The foreign literature must be studied in itself, and if it is stored with superior knowledge and capable of imparting a new vigour and capacity of thought, an indigenous and independent literature will arise from it, and become the medium of diffusing knowledge through the body of the people, in the

forms most suitable to the national circumstances, character and wants. It is by rousing and strengthening the minds of the educated classes for original efforts, that the general extension of National Education can alone be accomplished. When the power of forming enlightened and enlarged ideas, and the desire to give expression to them, shall first have been secured, a language fit for their expression will soon be framed. But apart from the certainty that the language will best be formed by those who have to mould and use it as the index of their own thoughts—it would be strangely to reverse the natural order of improvement, were elaborate pains first bestowed on the construction of a language, the communication of the ideas, for the expression of which it is intended, being pursued as a secondary object by a series of indirect and tedious and most ineffective measures."

Such was the reasoning by which the Anglicists upheld their doctrine that the diffusion of direct English instruction ought to be the first and declared aim of all educational operations conducted under the auspices of the State. This doctrine they now wanted Government to embody in a new educational policy. But, as stated before, one of the points in dispute was the propriety of altering the character of the Oriental seminaries, expressly endowed as they were for specific purposes, in conformity with the declared principle of the Anglicists. This point is the last we have here to deal with from the Anglicist view-point. The Anglicists saw no serious legal objection to the application of their principle to the educational institutions that already existed

and were primarily founded and maintained by Government. They attributed to Government a full and unfettered discretion to introduce any changes into them, particularly with regard to the course of instruction followed, that it might deem necessary or proper; and not only that, but they considered it the bounden duty of Government to see that the public funds appropriated to them were employed for the most useful and beneficial purposes practicable, which they did not seem to be in view of the stagnant and inefficient condition of the Oriental colleges. In allusion to the nature of the endowments in favour of those colleges the Anglicists expressed their opinion that they could "regard no appropriations of this description of the nature of permanent endowments, or pledges in favour of erroneous system of Education. There were no engagements, expressed or implied, with any party or section of the population at the periods they believe to be that of grants made under supposed views of what was most expedient, or most feasible, 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 with altered views."[1] Notwithstanding, however, that no obstacle was conceived to exist in the character of the endowments to the introduction of any desirable reform in the endowed institutions, the Anglicists repeatedly intimated to Government, nay, may be said to have pledged themselves, that in acting on their views they would carry out all changes in the established system with scruplous regard to the actual circum-

[1] There seems to be here a transcription error in the Ms. record but the meaning of the sentence is clear.

stances and the claims and interests connected with the various seminaries and not until they were convinced that it would be received willingly by the people or by those to be affected by it.

With this notice of the last (in the order of discussion) but important practical point in dispute between the two parties, the statement of the Anglicist views and arguments as they were placed before the Supreme Government comes to a close.[1] It is scarcely necessary to remark that the Anglicists stood for what then seemed a revolutionary change in the established system of education, which was naturally strenuously opposed by the Orientalists who desired the retention of the prevailing order of things. We may now proceed to state the grounds of the opposition of the latter and see what they had to say on the general questions controverted, though perhaps enough has been already said in the earlier chapters about Orientalism to enable us to dispense with a lengthy or detailed statement of Orientalist views and opinions on the specific points on which they joined issue with the Anglicists.

For a perspicuous understanding of the Orientalist case as laid before the Supreme Authority, it is necessary to advert, however briefly, to the circumstances in which a formal system of education for Bengal was inaugurated with the institution of the General Committee of Public Instruction. It was observed before that the General Committee came into being because of the fiat of the British Legislature, as embodied in

1 Letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt., dated 21st January 1835/ No. 2093/Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 7: Home Pub. Progs. February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

the Charter Act of 1813,[1] requiring the Indian Government to appropriate not less than one lakh of rupees annually to the purposes of "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...." This provision was stated to have been inserted in the Charter Act because the Court of Directors "had checked the Bengal Government in a grant it had proposed to make, on the proposition of Mr. Colebrooke, for the support of Sanskrit colleges at Nuddea and Benares." But Parliament in 1813 was stated further to have been sufficiently impressed by the expediency of the measure to set the seal of its approval, by a positive enactment and the allocation of a definite sum in the renewed Charter, on all such projects tending to the revival and improvement of the then declining literature of India.[2]

The General Committee, thus launched, was committed to a formidable undertaking. It was assigned the task of promoting and encouraging the literary and scientific improvement of a people numbering millions, and yet the means and resources placed at its disposal were, in comparison with the magnitude of that object, so small that the necessity of the case obliged the Committee to confine the benefit of its ameliorative measures to but a sprinkling of the vast population. Nor was this all. Probably the most serious disadvantage under which the Committee laboured in

[1] 53 Geo. III. C 155 Sec. 43.

[2] Letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt. ,dated 22nd January 1835/No. 2094/Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835. No. 14 (G. I. R.)

framing a scheme of education was the want of experience and intimate knowledge of the habits, peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the people to whose mental improvement its endeavours were to be directed. Again, another circumstance which placed it at a disadvantage was its being composed of men, not only of a different race, but professing a different religion from that of the people. A people ever acutely sensitive on point of religion, were easily accessible to some such apprehension as that education might be made a means of proselytism, that their ancestral faith might be assailed or "insidiously undermined in institutions supported and directed by Europeans of a different faith." Apprehensions of the kind constituted a potent source of distrust and suspicion on the part of the people. To avoid all appearance of a design on their religions, the Government invariably refused a place in the Committee to the ministers of any Christian Church, however qualified by their acquaintance with the habits of the people and the literature of the country and by their zeal in the cause of education to aid and guide the Committee. In these circumstances the Committee had to steer their course with the utmost care and deliberation possible and with constant advertence to the character of the people for whom their measures were designed.

But, contrary to what might have been expected from the comparative novelty or the peculiar difficulties of the task, the Committee had not to grope through tentative endeavours for certain definite principles for guidance. There were two circumstances which early helped to fix

the principles on which it was subsequently to act. One was that the Committee in the beginning was dominated by Orientalists, being composed partly of men whose claim to distinction rested on their acquirements in Oriental learning and partly of men who, if innocent of such acquirements, at least deferred to the behests of Oriental scholarship. The Committee was thus from the outset prepossessed in favour of Oriental learning. The other was that the Committee could not fail to find precedents for its policy in the projects and endeavours of able administrators like Hastings, Duncan and Minto for the revival and encouragement of Oriental learning. Again, there was another more impressive indication in the Charter Act itself which distinctly spoke of "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India." It would have been tantamount to hardihood on the part of the Committee to disregard those authoritative indications and experiment on a bold departure from the course pursued in the past by able and experienced men and adumbrated in the enactment of the British Legislature. So, in the result, the Committee early came to the determination that Oriental learning was to be the object of its particular care and attention and occupy a prominent place in its scheme of education. But it was not possible to revive, encourage, improve or diffuse Oriental learning and literature without the co-operation of those classes amongst the people who were known for their hereditary devotion to it and who therefore commanded the implicit reverence of their compatriots. To get at those classes, to encourage and improve them in their pursuit of

learning, and to make them the focal points of enlightenment among the mass of their countrymen—these were the settled aims of the Committee when it set about its task of establishing a system of education for the country. Hence the first, "fundamentally essential" principle which the Committee laid down for its guidance was that "the Committee should in all things endeavour so to shape its conduct and proceedings as to win the confidence of the educated and influential classes of the people and if possible to carry these classes with them in all the measures they might adopt for the *revival* and *improvement* of the literature of the country."

The Committee had no doubt that the results had amply justified its uniform adherence to that principle. The fact was dwelt upon with a feeling of gratification. "The Committee are proud to say that they have hitherto been entirely successful in winning the desired confidence of the enlightened classes of the Indian public. Of this they have many proofs and there is none more conclusive or more satisfactory than the manner in which the Hindoo College of Calcutta was placed by the spontaneous act of its managers under their fostering care and supervision. If the Committee have accomplished this great object there can be no doubt that their success is owing not only to their having refrained from measures of a religious tendency but likewise to the jealous watchfulness with which they have checked in others and themselves and avoided the offensive obstruction of schemes and notions of pure European growth opposed to, and uncalled for, by the state of feeling amongst the people they have had

to deal with." But, it may well be remarked, in thus felicitating themselves on their success, the Orientalists of the Committee failed to look beyond the immediate sphere of their operations. As they addressed themselves almost exclusively to one set of conditions before their eyes, they were led to overlook, or rather underestimate, the new conditions that were being created about them by the intellectual protestantism of certain important sections of the Hindu community in Calcutta to whom "schemes and notions of pure European growth" would have been hardly unacceptable. Did the Orientalists carry these sections with them? When they hastened to congratulate themselves, they probably had not in mind, or reckoned as of little significance, the classic remonstrance of Rammohun Roy against the founding of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

It has been already remarked that the means placed at the disposal of the Committee were totally inadequate for the general purposes of education. The sum of one lakh was a mere pittance which imposed strict limits on the Committee's ambitions and scope of operations. For example, the establishment of a system of elementary instruction for the many was considered out of the question, and was besides deemed unnecessary in view of the existence of indigenous village schools in which elementary instruction could be obtained. The Committee, therefore, in deliberating on the best mode of appropriating its funds, arrived at the conclusion that "if literature was to be improved and the means of extensive knowledge to be imparted, these objects could only be accomplished through the successful and

lengthened studies of ardent scholars. It is the boast and principal use of colleges of higher instruction that, through the prizes, scholarships and other rewards they offer to promising youths of narrow income, these are retained in literary pursuits instead of being compelled to seek livelihood at an early age in mechanical employments and laborious professions." The Committee, in consequence, determined to appropriate its funds mostly to the promotion of advanced instruction in Oriental learning, leaving rudimentary instruction to take care of itself. It was in accordance with this view that the courses of study in the Oriental colleges were arranged. And hence the second principle laid down by the Committee for its guidance was, as stated by it, that "whereas the funds at their disposal were quite inadequate to any purpose of general and universal instruction, the best application that could be made of them consistently with the ends in view was to assist the seminaries of more advanced education through which only the Committee could hope to *revive* and *improve* the literature of the country and to encourage *learned* men."

Now, when the sweeping innovation proposed to be introduced, however gradually and cautiously, by the Anglicists into the established system of education is considered in its bearing on those two principles, it is not difficult to understand why the Orientalists should have offered strenuous opposition to it. The innovation, calculated as it was to convert Oriental seminaries into seminaries for English instruction, was in actual result to strike at the very root of the principles which

the Committee had adopted as its own and adhered to as the basis of its proceedings throughout.

In the first place, the Orientalists apprehended that, by withdrawing the means of instruction in Oriental learning, the Committee would forfeit the co-operation of the learned classes and thus lose valuable instruments for the propagation of enlightenment among the people. The cause of education, it was implied, would in this manner receive a set-back. To effect such a change would be "running counter to all existing feelings and prejudices on this subject and would most infallibly and justly lose for the Committee the benefit of all their past efforts to secure the confidence and good will of those whom it has been their study to lead to increased knowledge and to improvement in all respects through their own roads (?) and courses."

In the second place, the Orientalists argued that the effect of converting Oriental colleges into seminaries for English instruction would be, not to advance the cause of English literature and science which the Anglicists had at heart, but to substitute for advanced studies in Oriental literature and learning elementary instruction in the English language. This argument of the Orientalists needs a little elucidation, as it is not quite easy to understand it without referring to the facts which suggested it and appears to have been misunderstood by no less a personage than the champion of the Anglicists—Macaulay. The facts were briefly these. To the Oriental Colleges it was not children or boys who came in pursuit of knowledge but young men of sufficiently advanced age (of about 19 or 20 years on the average) to

render it hard for them to take easily to the study of a strange language like the English. And even were they induced or compelled to acquire a knowledge of it, it was not to be expected that they would or could obtain that degree of conversancy with the English language, not to speak of English literature and science, which could result only from a commencement of the study at a much earlier age and which, for example, distinguished the pupils of the Vidyalaya where boys usually began their study of English after the age of eight. Again, none were admitted in the Oriental colleges who had not previously acquired some degree of proficiency in the Oriental languages. Thus, in those colleges, the a, b, c of Sanskrit and Arabic was not begun with, but a comparatively higher course of study was immediately offered to the students admitted therein. The enforcement of the rule of requiring previous proficiency as a qualification for admission was possible in the case of the Oriental languages and learning, because there were not wanting numerous private teachers of Sanskrit and Arabic to whom students aspiring to admission in the Government institutions could resort. But, were the Oriental colleges converted into seminaries for English instruction, a similar rule could not be enforced in the case of English, because of the paucity of means of instruction in English available outside the Government colleges. So, perforce, the course of study in such colleges would have to begin at the rudiments of the English language to the exclusion of advanced studies in Oriental learning. Such a sacrifice of Oriental learning at the altar of the English language was more than the Orientalists could stand. They roundly declared

that the cause advocated by the Anglicists was "not that of science and literature at all, but of rudimental English as means of eventually pursuing the course into literature and science, should life be long enough and the inclination last." They endeavoured to demonstrate the absurdity of the conclusion into which their opponents were supposed to be led by their zealous advocacy of the proposed change of the established system: "Because the Arabic and Sanskrit courses of study end in the Ptolemaic errors, therefore they maintain it is the duty of the Government to teach elementary English in preference to teaching what is correct in the course up to the point of error. By teaching English, they argue, you make accessible a course of study complete and perfect, therefore language is the first thing to teach and those who would learn it must begin with the Alphabet. It is not said, give to the youths of the Maddressa and Hindoo College the desired course of study, because it is well known that the language itself in which they would teach it is still strange to them and enough to occupy the whole time of those who would seek it as a means of improvement. If the same course were taken in respect to scholarships of English as in respect to those given to students of Sanskrit and Arabic, that is, if a preliminary acquaintance with the language were insisted upon, there would be no candidates for such scholarships, no previous means of instruction in English being available generally to any class of the population. They therefore necessarily advocate merely the teaching of English and that in its rudiments, and not the teaching of any science or literature at all."

Nor was this all. The rudiments of English, according to the Orientalists, would have had to be taught to young men aged 19 or 20 years, unless of course an alteration in the constitution of the colleges could permit of admission at an earlier age and so render possible some degree of instruction in science and literature in addition to that in the English language. The Anglicist view was that one might reasonably expect in a few years to make an intelligent youth a thorough English scholar, but this does not appear to have been feasible under the conditions prevalent in the Oriental colleges. When the Anglicists conjured up cheerful prospects for English education in the country, they seem to have had invariably in mind the success of the Calcutta Vidyalaya; whereas, it is important to bear in mind, when the Orientalists spoke of the impracticability of teaching anything more than the rudiments of English to the Indian youth, they spoke with reference to the Oriental seminaries *as they were actually and originally constituted.* It is hard otherwise to believe that the Orientalists could make such an assertion with reference to all youths, whether in or out of the Oriental colleges, when they had before them the most striking proof possible of the contrary in the brilliant results achieved in the Vidyalaya—an institution, be it remembered, under the superintendence of the Committee and in which no small interest was taken by it. But this was what Macaulay failed to see when he indicted the Orientalists of taking it for granted that "no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English" and of assuming it as undeniable that the question was "between a profound knowledge of Hindoo and

Arabian literature and science on the one side, and superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other." And then he proceeded to refute, not the real argument of the Orientalists, but the propositions he mistakenly attributed to them.[1]

To sum up what has been said so far: the chief ground of the Orientalist opposition to the change advocated by the Anglicists was that the character of the proposed change was in direct conflict with the Committee's established principles of action; because the Orientalists contended, first, that its introduction would lead to loss of confidence in the Committee on the part of the learned classes; and, secondly, that the effect of its introduction, so far as the Oriental colleges were concerned, would be to substitute rudimentary instruction in the English language for that in higher Oriental learning. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the Anglicists would have rejoiced to see English tuition of whatever sort substituted for tuition in Oriental learning, because they regarded the latter as replete with error and mischievous in its tendency. But, as was to be expected, the Orientalists were far from admitting that there was little intrinsic value in Oriental learning. They could not but acknowledge the existence of much that was erroneous in it; but then they asked, "if the admixture of error is a sufficient cause of consigning to oblivion all Literature however beautiful, what would have become of the splendid monuments of Greece and Rome which are to this day carefully preserved?"

Not only, however, did the Orientalists regard the measures by which the Anglicists pro-

[1] Minute, 2nd February 1835.

posed to encompass their object as opposed to the fundamental principles of the General Committee, but regarded them as opposed to the meaning and intent of the Parliamentary enactment by which the allocation of a certain portion of the revenue to the purposes of education was made. And it may be remarked here that the relevant clause of the Charter Act was so worded as to lend itself to different, if not conflicting, interpretations. It spoke of "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India" as well as of "the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." Probably, the British Legislature meant in a general way to include both the objects in the clause—the revival of Oriental letters and the introduction of European knowledge—as deserving of the pecuniary assistance provided for. The absence of any specific mention of European learning may have been due to ignorance or uncertainty regarding the proper course to be pursued for the education of the people of India (a point which would naturally be left to be decided by the Government on the spot), or may have been due, considering the opposition amidst which the clause was passed, to the necessity of a cautious and conciliatory procedure with those who were antagonistic to the enlightenment of India, and particularly to the diffusion of European knowledge in the country, and whose resistance to the enactment of the clause might possibly have increased by a distinct declaration in favour of European literature and science; or it may have been due to both. At any rate, it was impossible for the British Legislature in 1813 to anticipate

the course of events which led to the controversy twenty years later or to possess an inkling of the different ways in which its enactment was to be construed by the controverting parties. For, the Orientalists, on the one hand, interpreted the clause in support of their system of education by laying prominent emphasis on the former part of it which referred to the revival and improvement of Oriental learning and the encouragement of "learned natives" as the objects to be promoted, and moreover by reading the latter and vague part in the light of the wording of the first, so as to yield the construction that the promotion of European learning was a secondary object which could best be accomplished by "engrafting" that learning on the Oriental systems of knowledge. The Anglicists, on the other hand, invoked solely the latter part of the clause in justification of the change of policy advocated by them, and argued on general grounds the validity of the construction favoured by them. The question of the correctness or the degree of correctness of either interpretation will be dealt with later on. It is enough to note here that the Orientalists, relying on their particular interpretation, declared the education fund to have been assigned for different purposes from that of teaching English, those purposes according to them being specifically "the revival and improvement of the literature of the country and the promotion of the cultivation of science." They therefore proceeded to deny the propriety of diverting that fund to other objects than those referred to in the Charter Act, or, in other words, of employing it for the advancement of English education only as the Anglicists desired. More than this, they denied the propriety of withdraw-

ing, for the purpose of promoting English instruction, the means of instruction in Oriental learning available in the institutions endowed previously to the assignment of the education fund under the Charter Act. If the promotion of English education was deemed a desirable object by Government, they contended, it was necessary to allot separate and adequate funds for its accomplishment since such an object in their view was foreign to the true purposes of the assignment of the education fund under the Act as well as of the endowments antecedent to it. It was in somewhat warm terms that they delivered their sentiments on the point. "The general teaching of English," they said, "if that be thought a measure calling for direct efforts for its accomplishment, is a separate purpose for the prosecution of which there ought to be separate and sufficient funds assigned without robbing native literature of the study (?) boon obtained for it from the British Legislature and already assigned and appropriated to its advancement. Out of that fund, it is maintained, only so much can be given to English and English literature without robbery and injustice as the people themselves may testify the wish to have set apart therefrom in order to open to them this language as an additional source of knowledge and improvement. The primary object committed to the committee was the revival and encouragement of native literature and this must surely be their first study, so long as the Parliamentary grant and the endowments which existed antecedently and in which that literature only has been taught, constitute the means and materials with which the Committee has to deal. Let Government

furnish other means and materials—let it prescribe the extensive and general teaching of English and assign adequate separate funds for that purpose, and the cultivation of native literature may then become a secondary object, because this other purpose will require a much more extensive grant than has been made for native literature and the scale of importance must depend on the extent of available means—but, constituted as the Committee is at present, constituted as are the institutions under its supervision, constituted as is the Act of Parliament under which it was appointed and in conformity with which the funds now at its disposal were set apart and appropriated, there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced person that it is and must be....' the first duty of the Committee to revive and extend the cultivation of the literature of the country and to regard 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 marked and decided preference.' "

That plea for separate funds for promoting English education brings us incidentally to the question of the precise attitude of the Orientalists on the subject of the introduction of the English language and literature into India. What that attitude was has been taken ample note of in a previous chapter which treated of the halcyon days of Orientalism when no Anglicist had yet appeared on the scene to challenge with effect the ascendancy of Orientalist principles. It would be unnecessary repetition to dwell on the topic further here than to draw attention to the explana-

tion which the Orientalists themselves gave of their attitude in words which at the same time sum it up most concisely and lucidly. "None can be more impressed than ourselves," they avowed in declaring their sentiments on the subject, "with the superiority of British literature, arts and sciences and none can more ardently desire that they should be introduced into India as the surest means of promoting civilisation and its concomitant blessings. We differ about the means, we deprecate any crude, sudden sweeping innovation as having a tendency to defeat rather than to promote the object in view. We doubt if the mere teaching the English language would make the youth of India wiser or better. We would advocate the means of such instruction being placed within the reach of all, but we would not render recourse to it compulsory on any. They who would spontaneously take to it would in all probability in after-life cultivate the knowledge which it contains, while they who learnt it by compulsion would imbibe along with it feelings of disgust and hatred towards those who forced such unprofitable instruction upon their minds and thereby disqualified them in a great measure from earning their livelihood in a thousand respectable ways which are always open to learned natives among their own countrymen."

There remains finally to be noted another important point which the Orientalists urged against their opponents. This was the relatively high cost at which English education could be rendered available to the people at large in comparison to that at which the Oriental could be, the chief reason being the high salaries at which teachers of English had to be procured. For

instance, in the Agra College it was proposed, under the new arrangements intended for converting it into a seminary for English instruction, to allot the salaries of the teachers of different subjects as follows: English teacher—Rs. 800; Persian—Rs. 85; and Hindee—Rs. 65, not to mention that of the Superintendent of the institution which was put down at Rs. 300. "Will the enlightened class of the population of India," was the Orientalist comment, "look with the same good-will as heretofore on our labours and exertions for their improvement when they see the Professors of what they regard as polite learning starved upon decades of Rupees of monthly salary while the teachers of the mere rudiments of English are paid by hundreds?"

This brings us to the end of the statement of the Orientalist side of the question.[1] In the views and arguments laid before the Supreme Government there is evidence throughout, not only of a thoroughly partisan, but a factious attitude on the part of either party. The manner in which the whole question was thus presented to the consideration of Government had, as will be apparent later on, the effect of forcing on it an election between the opposite principles and opinions placed before it, when doubtless it would have been better for it and the cause of education if it had been called upon to steer a balanced course through the controversial storm. But this it did not do and instead threw the whole weight of its consent and authority in favour of the principles and views of one party.

1 *Vide* letter from G. C. P. I. to Govt. dated 22nd January 1835 No. 2094 Pub. Cons. 7th March 1835, No. 14; Home Pub. Progs., Feby. & March 1835, (397) (G. I. R.)

Chapter VII.

THE ISSUE ON THE ANVIL.

The arena of controversy was now shifted from the General Committee to the Governor-General's Council. It was the new arena that brought out Macaulay as an uncompromising champion of the Anglicists. When the controversy was at its height, he had been appointed President of the General Committee; but, according to the statement of Mr. H. T. Prinsep and his own in the opening paragraph of his Minute, he had taken part neither in the deliberations of that body nor in the reference submitted to Government by the contending parties. Now that the question was before him as a member of the Council, he indited a famous Minute in which the Orientalists were unsparingly bludgeoned by brilliant invective rather than refuted by rational arguments.

This leads us to what was in its day, and even now to a great extent is, an overrated document in the annals of Indian education. Overrated because, on its merits as a contribution to the literature on Indian education, the Minute has nothing distinctive about it barring the scintillating brilliance of a lawyer-wise presentation of the case. Overrated because, in its influence on contemporary opinion, it is questionable whether it played such a decisive part as is generally presumed in setting the controversy at rest. Analyse the contents of the Minute and you will find little more than a congerie of views and opinions and arguments taken straight from the

Anglicist brief and charged with the eloquence and the imagery of parallelisms which were Macaulay's own. In fact, the Minute is as unique in its Macaulayesque paraphrase of what the Anglicists urged on their side of the question as it is singularly replete with errors and sciolisms with regard to the Orientalist side. In its manner of exposition it displays all too blatantly the supreme self-assurance of ignorance and typical British parochialism. No doubt, critics and writers have pointed out the errors of the Minute and admitted its author's bias and ignorance; but the historian's reverence for the document has survived his criticism of it. The reason seems to be that the Minute has been too long looked at as a resplendent specimen of polemical art without the perspective of the controversy as a whole. The point we are concerned with here is: How far was it an answer to the Orientalist case? For an answer to that question we shall have to examine the Minute a little closely with reference to the opinions and arguments it purported to refute.

The sum and substance of the Minute is quickly stated. Macaulay argued therein that the Charter Act in no way fettered the Government's discretion to appropriate the funds set apart thereunder to what might be deemed more useful and deserving educational purposes; that not even the antecedent endowments bound the Government to maintain the established system of instruction in the Oriental Colleges, as there was no pledge, express or implied, on its part to do so; that the whole question in dispute turned on the rival claims of the Sanskrit and Arabic and the English languages to recognition as the

language of education and as the best worth knowing; that the latter was the best worth knowing because of the immeasurable superiority of the knowledge and literature contained in it to that in the Sanskrit and Arabic; that the prevalent feeling amongst Indians was against, nay 'nauseated,' the teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic, as evidenced by the fact that the Arabic students in the Madressa had to be paid stipends to be taught, whilst the English students paid for being taught, and by a petition of several ex-students of the Sanskrit College in which they seemed to complain of the uselessness of their Oriental acquirements; that, on the other hand, the popular feeling was all in favour of instruction in English and disposed to welcome measures directed to the object of teaching them that language; that it was quite possible to make Indians thoroughly good English scholars; that the immediate aim of education in India should be to form a class of thoroughly Anglicised Indians; that Sanskrit and Arabic had no peculiar claim to encouragement from Government; that the printing of Sanskrit and Arabic books by the Committee should be immediately stopped, the Oriental Colleges abolished save those at Benares and Delhi, and English schools established in their stead with the funds accruing from the abolition of the former.

These, in simple terms, were the propositions that formed the gist of the whole Minute. Let us now turn to the particular facts and arguments adduced in their support.

First, in respect to the legal question, Macaulay professed himself unable to see by what

art of construction the pertinent clause of the Charter Act could be made to bear the meaning assigned to it by the Orientalists. His argument was that the clause contained no reference to any particular language or science to be taught, and that the Orientalists had merely taken it for granted that, by "the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India" the British Legislature could have meant only Sanskrit and Arabic literature and intended the appellation of a 'learned native' only for one who "might have studied in the sacred books of the Hindoos all the uses of Cusa-grass, and all the mysteries of absorption into the Deity." But it may be remarked at once that it was only Macaulay's ignorance of the facts and events which preceded the Charter Act that led him to attribute such an assumption to the Orientalists. The Orientalist interpretation may have appeared doubtful, but it certainly was not unjustified. If we consider the circumstances that prevailed prior to the Charter Act, if we consider that, when the question of doing something for the people of India in the way of their intellectual improvement began to stir the minds of British-Indian administrators, they (from Warren Hastings down to Lord Minto) uniformly turned to Oriental literature as the most ready means at hand for accomplishing the purpose in view; if we consider the bearing of Lord Minto's Minute of 1811 on the Charter Act passed only two years later, and recall that the relevant clause was understood to have been inserted in it because the Court of Directors had "checked" the Bengal Government in a grant proposed for the establishment of Sanskrit colleges at two famous seats of

learning in the province; if, further, we consider the very use of the word "revival" in contradistinction to the word "introduction" occurring in the next part of the disputed clause, it then becomes reasonably certain that the British Legislature intended the sum set apart by it to be appropriated to the patronage of Oriental literature and learning, though it is not to be denied that it may at the same time have had in mind the dissemination of European knowledge as an object worthy of consideration in conjunction with the one primarily provided for. We may also turn once more at this point to the letter of instructions from the Court of Directors to the Bengal Government dated 3rd June 1814 for confirmation of the Orientalist interpretation. Therein the Court suggested various ways of giving effect to the clause of the Charter Act; and, whilst there occurs in it only a vague reference to the manner in which the inhabitants of the country might be led to adopt in some distant future the improvements of Europe in science and knowledge, the whole trend of the letter and of the opinions and suggestions offered in it, distinctly bespoke encouragement to the indigenous literature and learning of the land. Nor is the actuating motive of Parliament's solicitude for Oriental literature difficult to understand. "Thank God, I am no lawyer," said Hodgson, "but to my plain understanding the British Legislature, when it decreed a small pittance for the 'revival of native learning,' had in view the making of some small atonement for that fiscal rapacity which had merged in the ocean of revenue so many streamlets of national education."[1]

[1] Hodgson: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol II. p. 259.

However all that may have been, one thing of which we can be sure is that the main reason of the whole wordy dispute between the Anglicists and the Orientalists over the Charter Act was that the question of the construction of the ill-fated clause was approached by the two parties from widely different angles and with opposite motives. The Orientalists, on the one hand, in scanning the wording of the clause, concerned themselves first and foremost with ascertaining the intention of the Legislature in order to justify the course pursued by them as directly conforming to the express wishes of an authority which none could disregard or question. The Anglicists, on the other hand, were not concerned so much with the intentions of Parliament as with the question whether the words of the enactment precluded the authorisation of such changes in the established system of education as they advocated in order to obtain if possible the hall-mark of Government's sanction to the views and measures they maintained and proposed. So it was that, whilst the one party stressed and twisted the former part of the clause regarding Oriental literature, the other manipulated the meaning of the latter part regarding the introduction of "a knowledge of the sciences." Of course, Macaulay sided with the Anglicists on the point. He considered the words of the latter part of the clause quite decisive on the Anglicist side and "alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend." But it is worthy of note that, while he challenged, he never directly assailed the Orientalist interpretation with fact or argument. With an orator's instinct he resorted to the device of *reductio ad absurdum* by means of one his facile analogies. He tried to make it

appear ridiculous by hypothesising a parallel case of the Pasha of Egypt appropriating a sum for the purpose "of reviving and promoting literature, and encouraging learned natives of Egypt" and then by proceeding to ask triumphantly: "Would anybody infer that he meant the youth of his Pachalik to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all the doctrines disguised under the fable of Osiris, and to ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly charged with inconsistency if, instead of employing his young subjects in decyphering obelisks, he were to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys?" However, the less imaginative but better informed Mr. Prinsep quickly set him right on the point. "With respect to the analogy to the position of the Pasha of Egypt," wrote Mr. Prinsep in reply, "there can be no doubt that if he were to talk of *reviving* and promoting literature in that country, his meaning would be the literature and language *last* existing in Egypt, viz., that borrowed from Arabia and accordingly we do see him cultivating and reviving that and teaching medicine and other sciences in that.[1] The example is

[1] In the "General Report of Public Instruction in the N. W. Provinces" for 1843-44 there occurs the following passage under the head "Delhi College":—"In conclusion the Committee (*i.e.*, the Local Committee) were informed that it was understood that His Highness, the present Pasha of Egypt, had been making great exertions to procure the translation into Arabic of standard European works, on scientific and other subjects, and that application had been made to the British Consul General at Cairo, to purchase and send out two complete sets of the publications, one of which it was intended to lodge in the Delhi College." The Local Committee were informed to that effect by the Government of the N. W. Provinces. Shortly after, the books arrived and were forwarded to the Delhi and Agra Colleges: (p. 65).

worthy of imitation. There is no talk there of reviving the mummy literature of Osiris nor in India of going beyond what we found prevailing throughout but languishing for want of encouragement." [1]

In the same strain and with the usual exuberance of analogies Macaulay proceeded to argue against the inviolability, as asserted by the Orientalists, of endowments antecedent to the Charter Act, such as that of the Calcutta Madressa. The gist of his argument was that "the grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility." Hence he contended that if the Oriental Colleges had after trial been found to be useless or to have failed to fulfil the expectations originally entertained of them, the Government had a perfect right to withdraw its assistance to them and appropriate their funds to more useful objects, just as it had a perfect right to abandon a sanatorium or pier founded or commenced under a mistaken supposition of its public utility and subsequently discovered to be a futile enterprise. He maintained that there was no pledge on the part of Government with regard to the former case any more than there could be one with regard to the latter—a pledge to continue support from the public revenues in spite of the demonstrated uselessness of the object supported. There too Macaulay was corrected by Mr. Prinsep who brought to bear indisputable facts and cogent arguments on the point, so far at least as it related

[1] Note, dated the 15th February 1835, by H. T. Prinsep: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 118.

to the Madressa.[1] But here we may well leave the point to Macaulay and Prinsep; it has little present interest for us, and it would be lengthening our narrative to tedious prolixity to dwell on it further than to point out generally that what Macaulay seems to have been anxious to prove, by assailing the Orientalist interpretation of the Charter Act as well as the doctrine of the inviolability of certain specific endowments, was that the education fund was "quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of promoting learning in India in any way which may be thought most advisable." Having settled that point satisfactorily to himself, he went on to grapple with the real question that lay at the root of the Anglo-Orientalist conflict.

He began by stating the question in these terms: "It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them. What then shall that language be? One half of the Committee maintain that it should be English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be—which language is the best worth knowing?"

The very form in which the question was thus premised by Macaulay betrays certain misapprehensions on his part. Assuredly, enough has been said before to make it clear that with the Orientalists the question was not one of Arabic and Sanskrit or English, as Macaulay made out, but one of

[1] *Ibid.*, Sels. E. R., Pt., I pp. 119-21.

the relative position of Arabic and Sanskrit on the one hand *and* English on the other in a national scheme of education. The Orientalists had no more doubts than Macaulay as to which language was "the best worth knowing": their answer would have been and was unhesitatingly in favour of English. But they pleaded the actual circumstances of the country, the popular reverence for the ancient languages and the impossibility of making English the universal language of India in justification of their assigning greater importance to Sanskrit and Arabic than to English. Moreover, their aim was to make use of, not only Sanskrit and Arabic languages, but Sanskrit and Arabic knowledge in order to lead ultimately to the adoption by the people of the improved knowledge and science of the West; and the experiments of Wilkinson and Ballantyne proved the feasibility of the aim no less than the necessity of its being kept clearly in view, if it was desired to introduce European knowledge amongst the learned classes of the country. But nowhere did the Orientalists fail to recognise the value and importance of English to the people of India or seek to exclude it in favour of the Oriental languages. Hence the question as to which language was the best worth knowing was no question at all from the Orientalist point of view. Yet, after having posited that question, Macaulay proceeded to argue, or rather to assume, the superiority of the English language and literature to the Oriental and to accuse the Orientalists of supporting an inferior and useless system of learning at the sacrifice of a superior and useful one. Again, the terms in which Macaulay couched the question at issue indicates a confusion in

his mind in regard to what we have seen before to be distinct questions, the question of the medium and that of the matter of instruction; or rather, we may say he failed to perceive the distinction at all. Consequently, he took it for granted that the superiority of European learning for the purpose of instruction being established, the necessity of English as the medium par excellence established itself.

Starting from the question premised by him, Macaulay went on to make prodigal use of his vigorous phraseology in answering it. In fulsome language he set forth the claim of the English tongue to be the storehouse of all the wealth of human wisdom and knowledge and the key to all intellectual enjoyment. Of disparaging epithets he had an abundance to bestow on Oriental literature and learning. He referred to the great impulse communicated to the European mind by the study of Greek and Latin at the period of the Renaissance in order to show that the study of English would do for India what Greek and Latin did for Europe. He appealed to the contemporary instance of Russia having been civilised by the study of foreign languages and assimilation of foreign knowledge, and not by relying on her resources, in order to bring home the point that English could do for the Hindu what it had done for the Tartar. And he rounded off his dithyramb on the English language and literature with the question "whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European

science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse, and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Of course, it is totally unnecesary for one in the twentieth century to waste any comment on Macaulay's comparison of European with Oriental learning or to deal with the errors in his onslaught against the latter. It is sufficient to note that Macaulay, not only amply partook of the Anglicist ignorance and prejudice with regard to Oriental learning, but his brilliant pen led him to display these in an extravagant fashion. Surely, it needs neither evidence to prove the profundity of ignorance, nor argument to demonstrate the height of prejudice, of a man who could express the doubt "whether the Sanskrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors." The object of Macaulay's *obiter dicta* on Oriental learning would seem to be to consign it to as complete ridicule as possible; and, with the copious vocabulary of the English language at his command, he certainly accomplished his object passing well, though at the expense of truth.

Nor need we pause to consider the validity of Macaulay's analogies on the point. Their superficiality may be condoned on the ground of

Macaulay's want of experience of the conditions of India. We have before touched upon the fallacies involved in them, and Mr. Prinsep did not omit to point them out in his reply to Macaulay's Minute.[1] But, as showing the extent of the fallaciousness which underlies the arguments of the Minute, we may allude to an instance of the way in which Macaulay's rhetoric sometimes begged a question in dispute. Referring to his question whether, when it was in the power of the British rulers to teach English, they ought to teach languages in which there were no useful books, Mr. Prinsep remarked: "There is nobody acquainted with both literatures that will not subscribe to all that is said in the Minute of the superiority of that of England but the question is not rightly stated when it is asserted to be this "whether, when *it is in our power to teach this language*"—that is English—we shall teach those which contain no books of value. The whole question is—have we in our power to teach everywhere this English and this European science? It is in doubting, nay in denying, this that those who take the opposite view maintain the expediency of letting the natives pursue their present course of instruction and of endeavouring to *engraft* European science thereon."[2]

Besides attempting to refute the Orientalists on the general question with arguments of a general character, Macaulay endeavoured further to repel his opponents on their own ground by meeting the several particular contentions advanced by them against the course recom-

1 H. T. Prinsep's Note, dated 15th February 1835: Sels. E. R., Part I, pp. 121-22.

2 *Ibid.*, Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 121.

mended by the Anglicists. In doing this, he tried to prove two facts which, if conclusively proved, were certainly decisive against the Orientalists. He tried to prove, first, that Oriental learning did not command the popular favour, which the Orientalists asserted and that therefore their apprehension regarding the loss of co-operation of the people resulting from a change of the established system of education was unfounded, because Macaulay denied that they were at the time securing the desired co-operation. Not that, be it noted, Macaulay set any great value on the co-operation of the people: his maxim on the contrary was, "it would be bad enough to consult their intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health." But he condescended to argue the point presumably for the sake of confounding the Orientalists by proving that they consulted neither in following the course they did. And he tried to prove, secondly, that it was not the teaching of Oriental learning, but instruction in the English language and literature which met with the approbation of the people. Or, in short, he tried to prove what he expressed in two emphatic assertions: "We are withholding from them the learning which is palatable to them. We are forcing on them the mock learning which they nauseate...."

In proof of the latter assertion, Macaulay stressed the fact that students of Arabic and Sanskrit were paid stipends in the Oriental Colleges, whereas students of English themselves paid for being taught that language; and the inference he drew was "that we cannot find in

all our vast empire a single student who will let us teach him those dialects, unless we will pay him." He referred particularly to the accounts of the Madressa of a certain period which showed that whilst above Rs. 500 were paid in stipends to the Arabic students, a sum of Rs. 103 was realised from the out-students of English as payment for their tuition; and he asked why it was necessary "to pay people to learn Sanskrit and Arabic." The answer he himself gave was: "Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanskrit and Arabic are languages the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them." And in such a case he regarded the state of the market as the decisive test. Again, however, the evidence adduced by Macaulay, far from being conclusive on the point, involved questions of fact which were perfectly open to dispute; and a rejoinder, explaining the inconclusive character of that particular piece of evidence, was apparently not a difficult task for Mr. Prinsep with his intimate knowledge of the subject. What the character of those stipends was, what the purpose for which they were paid, and what the tendency and actual effects of the stipendiary system were—these were important and much debated questions with which Macaulay did not concern himself:[1] he simply dragged forward the mere fact of payment in support of his assertions. So it was Mr. Prinsep had to put himself to the trouble of showing that that fact did not *per se* bear out the contention of

1 For the views of the opponents of the stipendiary system, see Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, Chap. IV, pp. 102-07.

Macaulay, but that, on the contrary, if inquired into a little minutely, it was apt to turn the tables against him. Mr. Prinsep explained that the stipends paid in the Oriental Colleges were of the character of scholarships such as those given in the universities or public schools of England, and the chief purpose they served was to keep promising students longer at their studies than was ordinarily possible without providing them with subsistence in the shape of stipends. And, replying to the argument of Macaulay, he said: "Whether it is expedient or not to give these stipendiary provisions as rewards of ardent study and to keep students longer at their education by means of them is a question that has heretofore been argued in the Committee of Public Instruction. Something is to be said on both sides and although the Committee heretofore decided in favour of the practice it does not follow that they may not have decided wrong. But however this may be the fact that there are paid scholars on the establishment or foundation of any seminary affords no ground for assuming that none would learn if they were not paid, yet this is the argument of the Minute. As well might it be assumed from the fact that there are foundation scholars at Eton and scholarships in all the Colleges of both Universities in England that nobody would learn Latin and Greek if it were not for these stipendiary advantages. Be it Latin and Greek or Mathematics or Law or Arabic and Sanscrit Literature or be it English the principle is the same. Scholarships are given and it is thought right to give them to reward and encourage the poor scholar and to lend as well through the excitement of com-

petition as by lengthening the course of study to the attainment of higher proficiency. In the Madressa itself separate scholarships have been established for proficients in English in order to encourage the study of that language. If this be a conclusive argument that the study of English is nauseated because it requires to be paid for, they may be applied to Arabic and Sanscrit and to Mathematics and to all other studies. All must participate in the reproach or it will evidently apply to none."[1] So too he explained the fact of the Madressa accounts showing no collection from Arabic students whereas they did in case of English students, by the common custom among Maulavies and Pandits of imparting instruction gratis and of regarding it as unmeritorious to receive any remuneration for it except by way of voluntary gift. The English master in the Madressa, on the other hand, being a Christian, levied fees on those able to pay. "The wonder is rather," commented Prinsep, "considering that the teacher in this instance is a first rate instructor and that he gives instruction to *Hindoos* as well as *Mooslims*, that more was not realised. The fact that a sum of about Rs. 30 a month was realized when upwards of three hundred per mensem is paid from the Committee's funds to the Schoolmaster is surely no proof of the violent desire for instruction in English which is inferred from it."[2]

In a similar manner Macaulay blundered when he sought further proof of his assertion in a petition of certain ex-students of the Sanskrit

[1] H. T. Prinsep's Note, 15th February 1835 : Sels. E. R., Pt. I, pp. 123-24.

[2] *Ibid.*, Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 124.

College who seemed to have complained that their Oriental acquirements had not improved their prospects in life or gained them even the means of subsistence. Prinsep rightly retorted that "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." And he evinced a profounder eye for realities than Macaulay, who generally skimmed the surface of things, when he proceeded to remark: "Much research and patient investigation would be indispensible before any determination could be come to on the important question to native youth at this moment how best to secure respect in after-life and by what course of education to provide themselves the best chance of a comfortable livelihood. In all times and amongst all people this is an important question for youth but more especially to the youth of India at present when society with all its institutions is so evidently in the transition state."[1]

In proof of his other assertion, that of the the popularity of English instruction, Macaulay pointed out the fact that, while the Arabic and Sanskrit books and translations printed by the the General Committee found no sale amongst the people and represented a serious waste of public money, the English books were in such demand that the School Book Society found their publication a profitable enterprise. In this case too Macaulay seems to have proceeded to argue on the principle that the state of the market was the decisive test. But the force of his argument

[1] *Ibid.*, Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 125.

was considerably weakened by the fact that he had no sufficiently intimate knowledge or experience of the market to apply the test correctly or decisively. As it was, the fact adduced by him was susceptible of a different explanation. Various causes concurred to prevent the Committee's publications from finding a ready sale, such as their high price, their poor quality or get-up, and commercial competition.[1] Moreover, the failure of this part of the Committee's operations was acknowledged by the more candid of its Orientalist members. But even when the failure was admitted to the full, it simply went to constitute a reason for discontinuance of the publishing activities of the Committee and hardly an incontestable proof, as Macaulay thought, of the absence of any popular taste for Oriental literature. No doubt, on the other hand, the flourishing sale of English books did go to indicate an increased desire on the part of the people for knowledge of the English language and literature. But then it was easy to exaggerate the fact and difficult to ascertain correctly the extent of the prevalence of that desire among the vast population of Bengal. There appears to have been much truth in the words of Prinsep on the subject, even after allowing for the tendency of his Orientalist bias to minimise the importance of the fact. "Undoubtedly," he said, "there is a very widely spread anxiety at this time for the attainment of a certain proficiency in English. The sentiment is to be encouraged by all means as the source and forerunner of a great moral improvement to those who feel

1 H. T. Prinsep's Note, 15th February 1835: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 126-27.

its influence but there is no single member of the Education Committee who will venture to assert that this disposition has as yet shown itself extensively amongst the Moosulmans.[1] It is the Hindoos of Calcutta, the Sirkars and their connexions and the descendants and relations of the Sirkars of former days, those who have risen through their connexion with the English and with public offices, men who hold or who seek employments in which a knowledge of English is a necessary qualification. These are the classes of persons to whom the study of English is as yet confined and certainly we have no reason that the Moosulmans in any part of India can be reconciled to the cultivation of it much less give it a preference to the polite literature of their race or to what they look upon as such."[2] Moreover, the arguments of Macaulay regarding the popular desire for knowledge of English considerably lose their power to convince when we take into consideration the limited opportunities he had of ascertaining for himself the real extent or cause of the prevalence of that desire.[3]

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1 Commenting on this, Macaulay remarked that there was "no good English school for the Moosulmans," evidently implying that the absence of a school accounted for the fact pointed out by Prinsep: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 125.

2 H. T. Prinsep's Note, 15th February 1835: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 124-25.

3 H. H. Wilson, stating the reasons for which in his view a knowledge of English was generally sought, once said: "A Babu is desirous of becoming familiar with English as an introduction to the acquaintance and notice of the leading members of European society. Those in an inferior station of life cultivate English in the hope of its leading to public employment. It is not from any love of English literature that they cultivate the study; it is from worldly considerations, which are very natural, and very unobjectionable." (Evidence, 5th July 1853: Second Report from the Sel. Com. of the House of Lords on Indian Territories—Session 1852-53, Q. 7324). *Cf.* the following statement of Mr. G. C. Marshman on the same point: "The study of English is exceedingly popular among the natives of Bengal,

Macaulay, as Wilson said, "was new in India, and he knew nothing of the people; he spoke only from what he saw immediately around him, which has been the great source of the mistakes committed by the advocates for English exclusively: they have known nothing of the country; they have not known what the people want; they only know the people of the large towns, where English is of use and is effectively cultivated."[1] We may well be sceptical about the value of an inference drawn from imperfect knowledge, as was done by Macaulay.

We see then on what a dubious foundation of facts and arguments and imperfect and incorrect knowledge and information and gross misunderstanding of the Orientalist point of view Macaulay reared the edifice of his case for the Anglicists. You have only to pierce the imposing facade to see the hollowness within. And that is true of the famous Minute throughout. Enough however has been said to render further analysis of the historical document unnecessary. We need no longer pause to notice particularly his confident anticipation of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages falling into desuetude and ceasing to be cultivated for any practical purpose through the promulgation of an Anglo-Indian Code—an anticipation which the future belied. We need not pause either to dwell on the cultural

more so in Bengal, perhaps, than in the North-Western Provinces.... It is the language of their rulers, and a knowledge of it appears to confer dignity and consequence. The natives exceedingly prize the honour of being able to converse with those who govern them in their own language; it is also found to lead to situations of profit and honour; and is therefore studied also from feelings of self-interest." (Evidence, 15th June 1853: *Ibid.*, Q. 6391).

1 Evidence, 5th July 1853: Second Report from Lords' Sel-Com. Session. 1852-53—Q. 7240.

value of the aim he conceived as essential of accomplishment by means of English education—namely, that of forming a class of interpreters between the rulers and the ruled, "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." Nor need we pause to admire the brilliancy of the pen from which flashed forth a withering fusillade of epithets against the General Committee, thus: "I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a Board for wasting the public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank—for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology—for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an incumbrance and blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives." After all, there is nothing very striking about all that. What is striking in the present instance is that Macaulay, with all his rhetoric, with all his imaginative ardour, with all his ingenious rather than sound reasoning, did not succeed in refuting the Orientalists and Prinsep's note in reply to his Minute, among other able documents by several Orientalists, is evidence of the fact.[1] It is no less absurd to say, as has been sometimes done, that Macaulay "routed" the Orientalists than to declare, in complacent ignorance of facts, that,

[1] H. T. Prinsep's Note, dated 15th February 1835.

inspite of errors, his Minute "remains a model of just and comprehensive reasoning."[1]

What then precisely did Macaulay succeed in doing? What part did he play in the settlement of the famous controversy? Nothing more nor less than this: that he captured the ear of Lord William Bentinck, whose prepossessions in the matter did not render the capture difficult, for the Anglicist side of the question at issue, and secured the Governor-General's concurrence and support to the views and claims of the Anglicists. Bentinck's recorded contribution to the controversy consists of exactly a dozen words which he subscribed at the end of Macaulay's Minute, to wit: "I give my entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in this Minute." In fact, little of the kind of discussion that might have been expected to ensue on a question of such importance took place in the Governor-General's Council. Bentinck and Macaulay may be said to have mainly settled the question between themselves; out of the remaining members of the Council one deferred to the views of Macaulay;[2] and the opposition of the other as well as the protests of Prinsep (who was not a member but Secretary in the Political Department) went unheeded or were easily borne down. Thus Macaulay carried the day, and the Orientalist side of the question was manœuvred out of the deliberations of the Council. It is in view of this fact that it has been necessary to enter at some length upon a critical examination of Macaulay's Minute. If it be true what was at the

[1] F. W. Thomas: *History and Prospects of British Education in India*, Chap. III, p. 35 (1890).

[2] Minute, dated 10th February 1835, by Mr. A. Ross: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 16 (G. I. R.)

time presumed, and has been ever since, that Bentinck's famous Resolution on the Anglo-Orientalist controversy was prompted by that Minute, then it is essential to observe and bear in mind clearly the nature of the material on which the Governor-General was pleased to found his decision.

But is the presumption correct? In other words, how was it possible for Bentinck, with his knowledge and experience of India, to yield so easily to the arguments of Macaulay? Or was it to Macaulay's personal and literary charm that he succumbed? The answer is not difficult to find. It is not at all certain that Bentinck was carried away by any strong conviction of the correctness of the arguments and conclusions of his new Law Member. What seems certain is that the Minute supplied what Bentinck needed—a reinforcement to the predisposition he had acquired in favour of Anglicist opinions. Various factors had helped to create that predisposition in him. There was first his ardour for reform. He who was contemplating about the same time the abolition of Persian and substitution of English in the law courts, could not need great persuasion to declare in favour of substitution of English for Arabic and Sanskrit in educational institutions. Again, Bentinck was favourably impressed by the results he had witnessed of the communication of English instruction to Hindu youth. In this connection Wilson mentions an interesting fact. "Lord William Bentinck," he says, "was very much delighted with the Hindu College (the Vidyalaya). Both Lord William Bentinck and Lady William Bentinck used to come there frequently, without any

ceremony or form, to witness the working of the classes, and even to ask questions of the boys; and from seeing the great success with which the English studies of the college were pursued, he thought that similar success might attend every attempt to diffuse a knowledge of English throughout the country."[1] Secondly, Bentinck was not by temperament inclined to respect the claims of Oriental learning. What weighed with him more were the evils of Hindu society, one of the most glaring of which, Sati, he had a short while ago legally abolished; genuinely believing it to be an effective agent for eradicating those evils, he championed the cause of "useful knowledge" and of European civilisation. Further, in connection with the same point there has to be borne in mind a noted weakness of Bentinck's character, which may have helped Macaulay to win him over to the Anglicist side—namely, a tendency to adopt hastily-formed opinions. It was stated by a contemporary of his that "of Lord William's tendency to form hasty conclusions, and obstinacy in adhering to them, one hardly meets with a person who has not a variety of instances to quote; and though it is probable that some may be exaggerated, and others altogether groundless, it seems impossible that a character so universally given should be entirely without foundation;"[2] and again that "in many cases, instead of listening to the opinions of men who from experience and observation are well qualified to judge and give information on Indian affairs, the measures

[1] H. H. Wilson's Evidence, 5th July 1853, *Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Session* 1852-53—Q. 7241.

[2] Shore: *Notes on Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 98.

introduced are the result of some private conversation with persons who have the tact to persuade him of the soundness of their views; but whose pretensions to decide on the subject have little foundation."[1]

Moreover, Bentinck was not a man to be deterred from taking even an unprecedented step on which he had made up his mind from a mere apprehension of consequences. That is why he seems to have been unmoved by the arguments of Lieut.-Col. William Morrison, the only member of the Council in opposition—arguments which would have been seriously attended to by some of his predecessors in the office of Governor-General. For, Morrison, though he hardly spoke on the merits of the controversy on which he does not appear to have been competent to speak, yet represented the fearful consequences of the contemplated measure to the safety of the British political power in India. He referred to the feelings of popular disgust and alarm with which the proposed substitution of the English for the classical languages of India would be viewed; and he considered it a want of toleration on the part of the Government to banish the languages which were venerated by the learned of the land. "If the Empire we have raised," he said, "has acquired any stability, the chief cement, the principal prop of the Fabric is our toleration but it seems a mockery to say that we are still tolerant and at the same time take away the small pittance now devoted (tho' perhaps not with the utmost advantage) for the purpose of keeping alive the ancient National Literature. Whatever we may think, the natives will natur-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

ally put a construction upon the proceeding the most unfavourable to us that can well be imagined nor will they do so without reason—we may effect the great change by the overawing influence of our power, and we may console ourselves with the reflection that the curses of many tho' deep will not loudly follow; but we shall not escape the imputation of having denied to Oriental learning that degree of support even which it obtains in almost every petty German state at the present hour. Is this consistent with our position as Rulers of a hundred millions of people by whom the prescribed languages are idolized, or is such conduct either just or wise?" Or, again: "What the eventual consequences of this innovation may be, it is fearful to contemplate. It will have an operation more extensive than may at first sight be supposed, for the countries beyond the Indus will participate in the hatred which our impolicy will have generated against us in our possessions."[1]

Prinsep, in one of his lengthy minutes of protest, lifts the veil over the proceedings of the Governor-General's Council with regard to the question submitted to it for decision. If the facts he states be materially correct, they throw an interesting light on the summary manner in which Bentinck disposed of that question. Macaulay gave his Minute to Bentinck at Barrackpur, the Governor-General's country house.[2] "This minute," says Prinsep, "was evidently a partisan paper

[1] Minute, dated 18th February 1835, by Lt. Col. W. Morrison: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 17. *Vide* also his Minute of 3rd March 1835: Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 18: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

[2] *Vide* Extract from the Diary of H. T. Prinsep: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 133.

advocating in a controversial and not very moderate tone the cause of one section of the Committee. It proceeded further than the warmest advocates of that side had yet ventured. Its assertions and arguments therefore demanded some investigation before they should be adopted as the basis of any grave proceeding of the Government. Without instituting however any such enquiry and as far as is known to me, without consulting any one of those in whom he was in the habit of placing confidence, the late Governor-General immediately upon the perusal of the minute in question, before any of the papers had been laid before the Council or discussed, added to it the declaration of his entire concurrence and so forwarded it to the Secretary of the Department (*i.e.* Prinsep himself) for circulation. I circulated it and in a few days the Box was returned to me with a brief minute by Mr. Ross stating his own opinions to be opposed to the grant of scholarships and his wish that all should be left free to follow the course of instruction they preferred but without notice of the statements of doubtful accuracy contained in the minute of Mr. Macaulay. I was not then aware of Col. Morrison's intention to record his opinion on the subject. His minute reached me some days afterwards. In the interval however of the circulation of Mr. Macaulay's minute it got wind, I know not from what quarter,[1] that it was the intention of the Government to abolish the Madressa and Sanscrit Colleges. I was waited upon twice by the Head Preceptor of the

[1] Later on, however, Prinsep mentioned John Colvin, a member of the General Committee, as concerned in the leakage of the information. For details of the incident, *vide* Extract from his Diary, Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 133-34.

former and utterly denied that there was any such intention. But the report was too widely circulated and too well vouched to be so checked and the whole town of Calcutta was soon in a ferment. In the course of two days a petition, respectful in language but strong in the points to which it adverted, was signed by upwards of eight thousand educated Mahomedans and a similar petition in behalf of the Sanskrit College was under preparation by the Hindus. Seeing this ferment and sensible of the mischief that must follow the adoption to the full of the recommendations contained in the minute of Mr. Macaulay which seemed to me to be assented to by the Governor-General, I took upon myself in my capacity of Secretary to submit to the Head of the Government a note explaining many of the circumstances on which Mr. Macaulay had in my opinion built erroneous conclusions or had written from imperfect imformation. I forwarded my note to the Governor-General and was at first asked through Mr. Parkenham, the Private Secretary, to withdraw it under a verbal assurance that the Minute of Mr. Macaulay would be sent down to the Committee of Education of which he was President and myself a member in order that the matter might there be fully argued and discussed. I was of course satisfied that the mischief should be so stopped and circulated the note no further. In the meantime Col. Morrison also appeared alive to the importance of the question and recorded the minute in behalf of the Native Literature in which he deprecated any hasty innovations hostile to it and concluded with recommending a reference of the question to England. The matter was brought forward at

the very next meeting of Council when this recommendation as well as the promise held out to me were both disregarded and the resolution of the 7th March was passed, stopping short indeed of the threatened abolition of the Sanscrit and Arabic Colleges but directed towards the insiduously undermining of both and for the first time avowing the principle that Oriental Literature and instruction were thenceforward to receive no further aid from Government, not being considered objects deserving of its encouragement. The resolution is evidently founded on the minute of Mr. Macaulay alone adverted to and not upon the reference from the Committee at large to the points submitted in which it nowhere adverts. It is thus based upon a minute advocating with all the warmth of controversy one particular side of a debated question without the opportunity having been given to those opposed to this view to offer any explanation or reply, nay the late Governor-General would not allow the answer prepared to it to appear on record, for upon finding that Mr. Macaulay's paper was not to be referred to the Committee of Public Instruction for further discussion, as I had been led to expect, would be done, I submitted to His Lordship whether my note also should not be recorded for the correction of some of the statements of the minute which were erroneous or founded on imperfect information. I was met by a rebuke for having taken upon myself so much, accompanied by the declaration that secretaries are the organs and not advisers of the Government and that their submitting Notes at all was under sufferance and an irregularity. The Petition of the Mahomedans in favour of

the Madressa had been delivered in but the resolution was hurried through without giving it previous consideration. It was passed entirely without reference to former proceedings which might have shown how far the Government was pledged to continue its support to Oriental Literature or to any of the Institutions aimed to be overthrown and without any inquiry of the Committee of Public Instruction as to the encouragement they had given and were then giving to literature by the publication of Eastern classics or as to their reasons for devoting the funds to such purposes. Col. Morrison's earnest deprecation of the consequences of a hasty change and his solicitation of a reference to England were over-ruled and held at naught and an order was at once put forth adopting the principles of Mr. Macaulay to the full, viz., that English was the only thing worth teaching and that the Funds of Government should whenever the occasion offered be withdrawn from all other purposes to be transferred to that. In the manner that the thing was done no less than in the character of the measure there appeared to me who watched it in all its stages an undue hastiness and impatience and an utter disregard for consistency with past proceedings as for the consequences and effects of the measure in its bearing on those directly interested. I think therefore I am fully warranted by what fell under my view in the course of the whole transaction in calling the resolution of the 7th March a rash act." [1]

So came to be passed the famous Resolution of 7th March 1835, which decreed the sys-

[1] Minute, dated 20th May 1835: Pub. Cons: 3rd June 1835, No. 8, Home Pub. Progs., April to June 1835, 398 (G. I. R.)

tematic introduction of the English language into India under the auspices of an official system of Education.[1] Notwithstanding the circumstances in which it was passed and which led Prinsep to call it, justifiably or otherwise, a rash act, the Resolution began with the solemn preamble: "The Governor-General of India in Council had *attentively* considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them." It then proceeded to announce that His Lordship in Council was of opinion "that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of Education would be best employed on English education alone." It disclaimed, however, any intention on the part of His Lordship to abolish any of the Oriental institutions, so long as the people continued to take advantage of them, and it confirmed the *status quo* in regard to them; but at the same time it prohibited the payment of stipends to future students of those colleges, as His Lordship held such a system gave "artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superceded by more useful studies;" and it also forbade the filling up of vacancy in any professorial situation without a previous report being submitted to Government on the number and state of the class so as to enable the Government to decide upon "the expediency of ap-

[1] Pub. Cons: 7th March 1835, No. 19: Home Pub. Progs., February & March 1835, 397 (G. I. R.)

pointing a professor." Having thus provided for the gradual undermining of Oriental colleges, the Resolution went on to direct that no Oriental works were any more to be printed out of the funds of the Education Committee. And it finally concluded by laying down that all the funds that might accrue from withdrawal of pecuniary means and encouragement to Oriental Colleges and Oriental publications ("reforms" was the word used in the Resolution) were to be employed "in imparting science, through the medium of the English language."

Those were the terms of the proconsular fiat that governed the future course of education in Bengal.

Chapter VIII.

THE ANGLICIST POLICY IN ACTION.

It is obvious from the terms of the Resolution as well as from the circumstances in which the decision embodied in it was arrived at, that Bentinck's aim was not only to extend English education to the furthest limits possible with the resources at command for the purpose, but to leave Oriental learning and literature to thrive as best as it might with the minimum of prefunctory assistance from Government to the Colleges in which it was studied. The Resolution indeed stopped short at dealing an immediate death-blow to the Oriental Seminaries from regard to existing interests and to the opposition apprehended to their total abolition, but none the less the intention was clearly to discountenance them out of existence by the withdrawal of what Bentinck called "artificial encouragement" to Oriental studies. The idea was, by depriving those seminaries of stipends and by discontinuing the appointment of new professors to vacancies save in a case of absolute necessity, to encompass their abolition by slow degrees without the obloquy that might have attended an act of sudden extermination.[1]

So far we have concerned ourselves with the Resolution as a formal declaration in favour

1 It is therefore somewhat strange to find it said that "there is no evidence that Bentinck intended like Macaulay to exclude for ever Oriental studies from the spheres of education—As a practical man, he was considering the expenditure of a very small sum of money" (*i.e.*, the Parliamentary grant of a lakh)—Arthur Mayhew, "The Education of India," Pt. I, Ch. I, p. 19 (1926). So far as official records on the subject go, they certainly furnish no evidence to support Mr. Mayhew's conjecture.

of the introduction of the English language and education on a general and systematic scale. But the question that next demands consideration and which would be convenient to deal with here is, how far was Bentinck's Resolution successful in *actually* promoting the spread of English education in the province of Bengal? And closely connected with this is another question, what were the actual effects of the Resolution on the cultivation of Oriental learning under official auspices? In treating, however, of the latter question, the fact has to be borne in mind that Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, modified in 1839-40 the Resolution in favour of the Oriental colleges so as at least to prevent their being ultimately reduced to the state of languishment to which they had been condemned.

An attempt at a complete answer to those questions, particularly to the former, involves nothing less than a review, however brief or cursory, of the educational operations that were based on the Resolution in question: for, it is necessary to note the means and measures adopted for the spread of English through educational institutions in order to ascertain or measure the extent of that spread.

The first effect of the Resolution, so far as the constitution of the General Committee was concerned, was to cause a change in its membership. Two prominent members who were attached to Orientalist opinions seceded from that body. But the original number was enlarged by the addition of new members and the Committee consisted in 1835 of seventeen in all.

For the first time Indians also were admitted to the membership. This was done "by conferring on the managers of the Hindu College the privilege of electing two of their number in rotation as members of the Committee."[1] Subsequently a Mahomedan gentleman was also appointed. The first Hindu members were Radhakant Dev and Russomoy Dutt who, curiously enough, were reported to have been "remarkable for their conservative opinions;" and the Mahomedan member was Nawab Tahawwur Jung. Their appointment to the Committee appears to have been made in view of their acquiescence in the new ideas which were to be carried out by the Committee.[2]

The second effect of the Resolution was, as a matter of course, to cause a change in the aims and principles of the Committee. What were the aims and objects which the new Committee set before itself? Its immediate cultural aim was of course to diffuse European knowledge through the medium of the English language; but this was professed to be part of a larger,

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1 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, p. 16.

2 In the course of his evidence before the Lords' Select Committee in 1853 Trevelyan answered the following questions on the points that were put to him:—

"6596. Was the resolution, which led to the express preference of English over the learned languages of the East, acquiesced in and approved of by those native gentlemen who became your colleagues?

"Entirely: their accession to the Committee was founded on the understanding that they approved of it."

"6597. Lord Mont Eagle: In fact, did you not select native gentlemen whose opinions you knew to be in agreement with yours upon that subject?

"It may be presumed so; they were gentlemen of the first standing at Calcutta." Evidence, 21st June 1853, Second Report from the Sel. Commee. of the House of Lords on Indian Territories etc., Session 1852-53.

ultimate aim which was to materialise in the creation of a vernacular literature and the development of the vernacular tongues. The exclusive terms in which the Resolution of 7th March expressed preference for English education had led some to question whether, together with the learned Oriental languages, the vernaculars had also been intended to be superseded by English. But the Committee at the outset repudiated so narrow an interpretation. It affirmed its faith in the ultimate importance and destiny of the vernacular tongues. It expressed itself in no uncertain terms in favour of encouraging their cultivation. "We do not conceive," it was declared, "that the order of the 7th of March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions which preceded that order, the claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties, and the question submitted for the decision of Government only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side, and the learned Eastern languages on the other. We, therefore, conceive that the phrases "European literature and science", "English education alone," and "imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language," are intended merely to secure the preference to European learning, taught through the medium of the English language, over Oriental learning, taught through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, as regards the instruction of those Natives who

receive a learned education at our seminaries. These expressions have, as we understand them, no reference to the question through what ulterior medium such instruction as the mass of the people is capable of receiving is to be conveyed. If English had been rejected, and the learned eastern tongues adopted, the people must equally have received their knowledge through the vernacular dialects. It was, therefore, quite unnecessary for the Government, in deciding the question between the rival languages, to take any notice of the vernacular tongues; and, consequently, we have thought that nothing could reasonably be inferred from its omission to take such notice."

Having thus cleared the point of the doubt that had been created on it, the Committee proceeded to enunciate its fundamental aim with regard to the vernaculars and the *indirect* mode in which it sought to realise that aim. "We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature," said the Committee, "to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language which is always very improving to the mind, is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of a vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English, to which many circumstances induce the Natives to give the preference, and with it the knowledge of the learning of the West, is therefore daily spreading. This, as it appears to us, is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The

Natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge before they can transfer it into their own language."

As the most important means of translating those cultural aims into concrete achievement, the chief task to which the Committee addressed itself was to endeavour to spread a network of educational institutions over the province. "In extending our operations," it stated, "we endeavour to keep two objects simultaneously in view. We try to widen the foundations of the system, at the same time that we consolidate and improve it. It would be our aim, did the funds at our command admit of it, to carry the former process on, until an elementary school for instruction in the vernacular language should be established in every village in the country, and the latter, until a college for Western learning should be endowed at the principal town of every commissionership, or circle of two or three zillahs, and ultimately in every zillah." So, when a school at any principal station had been established for a sufficient time to ensure its success, it was intended to "engraft" a college upon it.

And what was the kind of instruction the Committee proposed to impart in the colleges and schools under its control? The first subject which claimed its attention, and for which it desired to establish a "lectureship" as soon as the progress of the students of its institutions permitted of it, was, as it was termed, "English Composition and Literature." It was intended through instruction in that subject

"not merely to enable the young men in the senior classes to acquire a good style of English composition," but also to give them a general acquaintance, before they left college, "with the extent and nature of the existing English literature." In order to have a suitable class-book for lectures on the subject, the School Book Society was induced to undertake the publication of a "a book of Selections from the English Poets, from Chaucer downwards, in the order of their dates," and it was decided also to commence shortly the preparation of "a corresponding volume in prose." The next subject which claimed the Committee's preference comprised "Mathematics and Natural Philosophy." Law came third: "but at present," it was remarked, "this branch of instruction is attended with many difficulties, arising from the number of conflicting systems of law which prevail in this country and the various languages in which they are embodied." But it was hoped that the labours of the Law Commission would "soon supply a condensed body of Anglo-Indian law in the English and vernacular languages." And, when that was done, the Committee considered the proper time would arrive "to adopt measures to procure qualified legal instructors" for each of its more important seminaries. Moreover, the Committee professed an anxiety to give a "a liberal degree of encouragement" to the study of surveying, as practical surveyors were wanted in the Revenue and Judicial Departments of the Government.

As for vernacular instruction, the only way in which the Committee considered it proper and

feasible to provide for it was by following the plan of attaching teachers of the vernacular languages of the province to its institutions. "We have also endeavoured," stated the Committee, "to secure the means of judging for ourselves of the degree of attention which is paid to this important branch of instruction, by requiring that the best translations from English into the vernacular language, and vice versa, should be sent to us after each annual examination, and if they seem to deserve it, a pecuniary prize is awarded by us to the authors of them." However, vernacular instruction in its institutions was always intended by the Committee to be subsidiary to English.

In two important respects, it may be observed here, the scheme of education outlined by the new Committee showed no substantial departure from that pursued by its predecessor. In the first place, popular education or education of the mass of the people was, with much plausible prefatory explanation, shirked in either scheme. For the same reason that influenced the Orientalist Committee, the new Committee was reluctant to undertake the immediate organisation of mass education or to make an appreciable beginning towards it. "The time for it was not yet" was a patent and oft-reiterated objection advanced to all proposals and plans which tended to take into account the masses rather than certain classes; and, like the old, the new Committee waited for a favourable future to launch it on the uncharted sea of mass education. "The improvement of the vernacular literature," said

the Committee in 1835, "however, is most intimately connected with the measure of establishing a system of really national education, which shall in time embrace every village in the country.....We have already received propositions from Delhi, Agra, and Saugor, for establishing village schools; but we consider the agitation of the subject at present premature. Before we can successfully adopt any plan for this purpose, much larger means must be placed at our disposal, and a much larger number of qualified schoolmasters and translators must be raised up. The first of these desiderata does not depend upon us; but the last is every day approaching nearer to attainment. Our existing institutions form the nucleus of a much more general system of education, and they will ere long become capable of being extended to any degree that may be desired, by the formation of district schools in connexion with them." The anticipation was falsified for the simple reason that the "nucleus" failed, or rather refused, to develop in the intended direction. But of this later on.

In the second place, the new Committee appears to have committed the same mistake with regard to vernacular as the old had with regard to English instruction. The former, with the idea of encouraging or enforcing the study of the vernaculars, began to append a vernacular teacher or class to each of the English-teaching institutions under its control just as the latter had appended English classes to the Oriental Institutions. The inevitable result of that method was that the study of one language was made

subordinate to the study of another which happened to be a primary object of instruction with a particular institution. Thus, the study of English was subordinated to, and neglected on account of, Oriental studies in the Oriental institutions, the primary object of which was to impart instruction in Oriental learning; and the study of the vernaculars was to fare no better in institutions whose first and foremost object was instruction in English. In fact, such subordination provided no favourable soil for a proper cultivation of the language subordinated. By that plan, we have seen, the Orientalists reaped disappointment, so far as the object of diffusing a knowledge of English was concerned; and by a similar plan, we shall see, the Anglicists reaped no better harvest with respect to the object of developing the vernaculars.

As yet, however, there was no disappointment to cloud the optimism of outlook with which the General Committee started on its new career of activity. The Orders of 7th March furnished it with the outline of a clear-cut policy; and it proceeded with enthusiasm to the business of filling up the practical details. On 11th April 1835 it adopted a series of propositions indicative of its future course of action. The most important among these related to the cessation of the printing and publishing of all Oriental works, an exception being made in the case of the Fatawa Alamgiri of which only one-sixth had remained to be finished, and to the establishment in the principal towns of the presidencies of Fort William and Agra of schools

for the teaching of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.[1] It was proposed to commence the establishment of such schools with the populous cities of Patna and Dacca.[2]

When the Committee commenced its operations, there were fourteen seminaries, established prior to the year 1835, under its control. But under its encouragement schools multiplied with surprising rapidity. In the very year 1835 six new seminaries were added, being schools established at Pooree, Gawahate, Dacca, Patna, Gazeepore and Meerut. Nor were these all. Six more schools were in the course of being established in that year at Rajshahi, Jubbulpore, Hoshungabad, Furrackabad, Bareilly and Ajmere. So that, in the early part of the following year, there were in all twenty-seven seminaries under the care of the Committee.[3] Three more were added to that number in 1836. One of these was a school established at Chittagong on the representation of the Commissioner, Mr. Dampier, that there existed a "considerable desire amongst all the respectable classes at that place to avail themselves of an English education for their children;"[4] whilst two schools, which already existed at Midnapore and Goruckpoor, were taken under the care of the Committee and put on an efficient footing.[5]

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1 Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 142.

2 Letter from G. C. P. I. to the Govt. of India, 20th April 1835/ No. 2174 : Sels. E.R., Pt. I, p. 141.

3 Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, for the year 1835.

4 Rep. G. C. P. I., 1836, pp. 97-98.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

But the most striking event of the year was the change introduced into the Hoogly College. This College or Madressa had been established previously to 1835 and owed its origin to considerable funds left by an individual named Hajee Mahamed Mohsen about the year 1807 "for the endowment of an Imambara, Madressa, and other Charitable Establishments in the Town of Hoogly." The intentions of the testator were however imperfectly fulfilled by his executors, and part of the funds, being subject to litigation, were deposited with the Government agents and accumulated by 1831 to the extent of 747,000 rupees. The decision of the Privy Council placed that large sum at the disposal of the Government and it was resolved to apply it, "with reference alike to the perpetuation of the Founder's name, and to the promotion of useful knowledge not entirely of a secular character, to the establishment of a Madressa at Hoogly for instruction, in the first instance, in Mahomedan learning and ultimately in General Literature and science."[1] In accordance with this resolution a madressa or college (as it was styled) was established during the regime of the former Orientalist Committe. Shortly after the new Committee assumed charge of educational affairs, the scope of the institution was enlarged. On the 26th of April 1836, the College Committee recommended to the General Committee, among other things, the introduction of an English Department in addition to the Oriental and the abolition of stipends and substitution in their stead of honorary and pecuniary prizes to be given to the

[1] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1831, pp. 14-15.

most proficient students. The General Committee adopted the recommendations of the College Committee and arrangements were made for re-modelling the college on the new plan. One Dr. Wise was appointed Principal of the college and professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; one Mr. J. Sutherland, professor of English literature; one Mr. Cooper, headmaster; and Maulavis Sulaiman and Mahomed Akbar, head teachers in the Oriental Department. This was the strength of the establishment when the College was formally opened on the 1st of August 1836. But apparently those responsible for the arrangements had proceeded on too modest calculations and were hardly prepared for the phenomenon which now confronted them. Within three days twelve hundred names were entered upon the books in the English department only. "In consequence of this unexpected concourse of pupils, Dr. Wise was obliged temporarily to employ five new masters, and to limit the reception of applicants to the last Saturday of every month." The astonishing number of applicants for admission was attributed to "the populousness of the neighbourhood and to the Natives perceiving the advantages of a good education in improving the prospects of their children." And not only that, but, as observed by Dr. Wise, a growing taste for the cultivation of English literature was proved by "the fact of many of the students attending the college from a distance of six and eight miles, and more particularly from upwards of two hundred boys having joined a school which was originally supposed only to impart a knowledge of the language and science

of a foreign nation, without having first learned to read or write their own language." On the other hand, 300 students were admitted into the Oriental Department on the opening of the college. The unwieldy number of students necessitated alterations in the arrangements in the college, which were made, on the recommendation of two members of the General Committee who had proceeded on deputation to Hoogly, by dividing the English department into two schools, an upper and lower, and by increasing the number of teachers in the various departments.[1] Nor was a provision for the study of the vernacular overlooked: the number of teachers of Bengali was increased to eight and it was determined to assign a fixed time in each class of the English Department for the study of that vernacular. In compliment to its benevolent founder the new college was styled the "College of Mahommed Mohsin."[2]

Thus, the number of institutions under the General Committee's control in 1836 was brought to thirty. It was natural that the increase in the number of seminaries should be marked by a concomitant increase in the number of youth studying English, which in fact now greatly outstripped the number of those engaged in the study of the Oriental languages at the Committee's

[1] Subsequently, in 1837, the congestion of students in the English Department of the College appears to have been relieved by the establishment of a Branch and Auxiliary School at Hoogly. This school was reported to have been very popular and in 1837 had on its roll 227 pupils, being the utmost for whom accommodation could be offered. At the same time the number of students in the English Department of the parent college stood in April 1837 at 750. (*Vide*, Rep. G. C. P. I., 1837, pp. 19-20)

[2] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1836, pp. 121-128.

Oriental institutions. The actual figures tell an interesting tale:—[1]

——	1835	1836
English	1816	3,511
Sanskrit	473	381
Arabic	218	256
Persian	376	385

The following year too showed no diminution in the Committe's activity in establishing new schools. It extended its operations to Azimghur, Arrah, Bhagulpore, Commillah, Jessore and Dinajpore, and located a school at each of those places. The last school that was established, namely at Dinajpore, completely exhausted the income of the Committee;[2] but, undaunted by the prospect of having to exceed its income, the Committee contemplated the organisation of two more schools at Chapra and Mirzapore. It looked forward to the lapse of stipends paid in the Oriental Colleges and to the levy of monthly sums from the richer pupils of its schools for means to prevent any permanent diminution of its capital.[3]

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3 passim.

2 Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, Chap. I, pp. 17-18. (Trevelyan refers to the "funds" having been exhausted, but he could not have meant the permanent fund at disposal of the Committee).

3 Rep. G. C. P. I., 1837, 61-62 passim.

There was, however, another and more noteworthy feature of the Committee's proceedings during the year than the founding of schools. Hitherto the Committee, inspite of its pronounced Anglicist opinions, had not permitted its activities to trench on the Oriental institutions; but the decline in the number of students attending them that followed the Order of 7th March now made the Committee actively covet their transformation into what were called "Anglo-Indian seminaries" (seminaries in which English in conjunction with a modicum of the vernacular was taught) so as to bring them into line with the rest of the institutions under its control. The attention of the several Oriental College Committees was on convenient occasions drawn to that object and to the advisability of measures for the attainment of it. The Committee now thought the time had come to remodel the Calcutta Mudrissa in order to make it "an efficient Anglo-Indian Seminary."[1] Similarly, with respect to the Allahabad School, the Committee, after noticing the gradual decline of the Oriental Department, expressed its view in these terms: "Adverting to the abolition of the forensic use of Persian, and to the fact that there appears to be now only eleven pupils, not enrolled in the English department, the General Committee is of the opinion that the time has now arrived to assimilate the Allahabad School more closely to institutions established since that (?) school."[2] A like intention was expressed with regard to the Agra College: "The loss of official value which the

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

Persian language has sustained, induced us to suggest to the Local Committee the expediency of gradually assimilating this to the other Anglo-Indian institutions established by us. We found that there were about twenty-two students of Sanskrit, and twenty students of Arabic. These classes we proposed should be continued so long as students seeking such knowledge might offer. With this exception, we proposed that the Hindi and Persian Departments should, for the future, be closed to recruits."[1] It seems certain that, had not the saving hand of Bentinck's successor been opportunely stretched forth to preserve the Oriental colleges, the General Committee would have sought convenient opportunities for doing away with them wherever possible, or rather, for modifying them out of their distinctive character.

Still another noteworthy feature was the manner in which the General Committee discountenanced any departure from the general system of education laid down by it. The Committee was not prepared to tolerate any endeavour or experiment that tended to supersede the study of the English language by that of any other. It insisted upon conferring pre-eminence on the English language in the system established by it. Even a proposed larger use of the vernaculars (regarding the cultivation of which the Committee never tired of repeatedly expressing solicitude) than of English for the purpose of instruction in some seminary brought censure on the head of the offending party. Thus the General Committee wrote to

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

the Committee of the Furrackabad School, in noticing the annual report submitted by the latter: "The Head-master and your Committee seem to regard the vernacular language as the means most appropriate at present for imparting knowledge in European Science in your institution. The General Committee dissents from these views which are indeed opposed to the principles adopted by the Government in 1835, after mature deliberation and much discussion. It would be glad to find your valuable exertions, and those of the Head-master, directed principally to raising the standard of proficiency in English Literature and Science, taught by the means of that language. This is the plan elsewhere pursued with increasing success."[1] Similarly it directed the local committees of the Ajmere[2] and Hushingabad[3] Schools to reorganise those schools on the plan generally followed elsewhere—namely, that of making "the English language and the Science of Europe" predominant objects of study throughout the school, some provision for the "efficient cultivation" of the vernaculars being also at the same time enjoined. And the following practical suggestion offered to the Ajmere School Committee gives us a fair idea of the general method by which the "efficient cultivation" of the vernaculars was in the opinion of the General Committee to be achieved. "It would only remain," said the latter body, "to exercise the pupils daily in reading and writing the vernacular dialects, and twelve

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

weekly hours devoted to such exercise would be found ample to ensure facility in composition and accuracy in orthography. The former object might be promoted by requiring translations from English from the most advanced pupils, and the latter by writing from dictation."[1]

The reasons which influenced the General Committee to discourage any tendency to depart from the general system laid down by it are easy to state. They were simply, first, that the Committee had discovered nothing to shake its faith in the system during the period of three years that it had been in operation. On the contrary, the Committee had felt itself confirmed in the expediency of persevering in it in the future,[2] and was consequently prone to look askance at and object to any departure therefrom that might have involved a diversion of the funds from the object of promoting knowledge of the English language. And, secondly, uniformity of system was a great desideratum with the Committee.[3]

The period from the years 1839 to 1854 witnessed further expansion of English education. In a comprehensive Minute dated 24th November 1839,[4] after surveying the various and sometimes conflicting ideas and opinions that prevailed on the subject of the mode

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54 passim.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62 (para 100).

[3] One means by which the Committee tried to impose uniformity of system was a Code of Regulations framed by it for the Schools and Colleges under its control. The Code prescribed, among other things, the course of study for the English schools and colleges. (*Vide* Rep. G. C. P. I. 1839-40, Appendix No. IX, pp. cxxxii-ccxxix.)

[4] Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 147-170.

and the medium of education for the people of India (for Bentinck's Resolution had been far from settling the controversy), Lord Auckland put forward certain concrete propositions for better organisation of the system of education throughout the province of Bengal. The general conclusion which Lord Auckland arrived at was that the system of education which could be pursued with most advantage under the circumstances as they existed at the time was one having for its principal aim the communication, through the English language, of a complete education in European Literature, Philosophy and Science to the greatest number of students who might be found ready to acquire it in the Government institutions and for whose education the Government could provide. "All our experience proves," he added, "that, by such a method, a real and powerful stimulus is given to the native mind."[1] To render such a system effective, the most important practical suggestion which Lord Auckland had to make was, as he put it, "so to connect our zillah schools with the central colleges as to give from the latter to the ablest students of the zillah schools a stimulus that will carry them beyond the ordinary range of instruction which is reached by the mass of the zillah pupils."[2] Turning to the means of providing the stimulus he contemplated, the one he thought best and accordingly suggested was to attach scholarships to the Central Colleges to which the best of the zillah pupils were to be eligible.[3] In

1 *Ibid.*, p. 157.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 165-167.

regard to the Central Colleges his principal recommendation to the General Committee was that preference ought to be given to "rendering the highest instruction efficient in a certain number of Central Colleges, rather than employing their funds in the extension of the plan of founding ordinary zillah schools." "I would have the places fixed," he added, "with reference to the extent of population or convenience of locality, at which it should be the aim gradually to build up these efficient Central Colleges. I would, on a first conjecture, name for them Dacca, Patna, Benares, or Allahabad, Agra, Delhi and ultimately, though probably at a distant date, Bareilly. At these places, as well at the colleges of the Metropolis, the course of instruction should be carefully widened and perfected as opportunities offer."[1] Lastly, adverting to vernacular instruction, he noticed it as a "serious defect" in the plans of education followed that no proper series of vernacular class books had till that time been compiled and suggested measures for remedying the defect.[2] The Minute containing these suggestions and recommendations was forwarded to the General Committee for consideration with a letter from Government dated the 8th of January 1840.

The Committee set to work to frame a scheme of education on the principles indicated by Lord Auckland. The main propositions, so far as English education was concerned, which emanated from the Committee were briefly these:

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

that from the central position of the city and the size and progress of the school, the Dacca school deserved to be erected into a regular college with a principal and the necessary masters and pundits; that the Chapra and Arrah schools might be abolished, as they were considered to be "doing little good," and the efficiency of the Patna School be increased by appointing other masters on a liberal allowance; that similarly the Hushingabad school might be discontinued and the efficiency of those at Jubbulpore and Saugor be increased; that the Pooree School should be removed to Cuttack, the capital of the district, where an earnest desire for English education was reported to exist, and an additional annual sum of Rs. 2,000 be allowed for the transferred school; that courses of lectures in Ethics, Political Economy and Jurisprudence might with advantage be instituted in the Hindu College or Calcutta Vidyalaya, but not in other institutions which were scarcely prepared for instruction in those subjects; that six "junior scholarships," of the value of eight rupees a month each and to be held ordinarily for four years, might be attached to each of the Central Colleges, besides one of the same kind to be assigned for competition by the pupils of each District School, and that "senior scholarships," of the value of Rs. 30 per month for the first two years to be increased to Rs. 40 for the last four years of the student's collegiate career might also be attached to the Central Colleges; and that it was essential to increase considerably the Education Fund, as the lakh assigned by the Charter Act was totally insufficient to meet the expenditure all those proposed changes would

involve.[1] The aims underlying the changes and innovations proposed by the General Committee were chiefly, first, to centralise the system of education by having in important areas of the Province central colleges connected with subordinate lower schools; and, secondly, to circulate a higher and more complete type of education than was obtainable in the existing institutions by holding out inducement in the shape of scholarships to the promising ones of the younger generation to avail themselves of the advantages afforded by the central colleges, which they were usually prevented from doing by poverty. And both those aims were indicated in the suggestions of Lord Auckland who approved of the means by which the General Committee proposed to carry them into effect.[2] Still another measure adopted in pursuance of Lord Auckland's suggestion was the appointment by the General Committee, at a meeting held on the 29th July 1841, of a Sub-Committee from among its members for the purpose of "collecting and arranging the information necessary for the preparation of a scheme of Vernacular School Books."[3] Doubtless, in some of the suggestions of Lord Auckland and in the measures by which they were sought to be carried into effect, we can perceive the beginnings of the system of education that obtains at the present day in British India.

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[1] Letter, dated 30th October 1840/No. 1035/from G. C. P. I. to the Governor-General: Rep. G. C. P. I., 1839-40, Appendix II. pp. cv-cxxxii.

[2] Letter, dated 16th December 1840/No. 986/from the Secy. to the Govt. of India to G. C. P. I.: Rep. G. C. P. I. 1839-40, Appendix II, pp. cxxxvi-cs.

[3] For Report of that Sub-Committee, *Vide* Rep. G. C. P. I., 1840-41 & 1841-42, Appendix VI, pp. xxxv-si.

The arrangements made in 1840 in accordance with Lord Auckland's suggestions remained in force, with slight modifications, till 1845. In 1845-46 the principles laid down by the Governor-General were made the basis for a more extensive development of the system of education. But before we come to that, we have to note two events of interest in the annals of the General Committee. At the end of the year 1841 the General Committee was abolished and in its stead a Council of Education was constituted under a Resolution of Government dated the 10th of January 1842.[1] Again, in the year 1843, in pursuance of a Resolution of the Government of India dated 29th April 1843, the institutions in the Agra Division of the Bengal Presidency (viz., the colleges and schools situated at Benares, Ghazipore, Allahabad, Saugor, Jubbulpore, Azigghur, Gorruckpore, Agra, Delhi, Bareilly, Meerut, Furrackabad) were placed under the newly constituted Government of the North Western Provinces, and the Local Committee of Public Instruction were directed, by a letter of 3rd May 1843, to submit all their communications connected with the educational affairs of the Provinces to that Government for orders.[2] Thus, those institutions drop out of our present narrative, because there was carried out in the North Western Provinces an educational experiment different in principles and methods from those on which was founded the system of education for the lower provinces of Bengal. The parting of ways between Bengal and the N. W. Provinces in matters educational was in a

[1] Sels. E. R. Pt. II, pp. 86-87.

[2] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1843-44, Appendix I, pp. xci-xcii.

way inevitable. In the latter provinces the General Committee's system of English education, being ill-adapted to local conditions, had on the whole not met with the success which attended its establishment in Bengal proper. The Committee wrote in 1837: "We do not disguise to ourselves that some places, particularly in Western India, our system of education has not yet attained the popularity which it enjoys in the Bengal Provinces, in which we are unable to meet the demand for new schools."[1]

During the years 1845 to 1848 the execution of Lord Auckland's plan for the extension of Anglo-Vernacular education throughout Bengal was undertaken on a much larger scale than in 1840. It was determined to establish a zillah school in each district, subordinate to a central college, of which there was to be at least one to every five districts, and at the same time to increase the number of scholarships in the colleges already established.[2] To facilitate the carrying out of such an extensive plan, the province was divided into nine circles, the centre of each circle being the most important town of the part of the province embraced in it and its circumference being bounded by the districts constituting the particular part. Thus the nine circles formed were: the Calcutta Circle, Hoogly Circle, Moorshedabad Circle, Kishnaghur Circle, Dacca Circle, Chittagong Circle, Cuttack Circle, Bhagulpore Circle, and Behar Circle. But it was found impracticable to put the plan into operation in all circles immediately by establish-

[1] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1837, pp. 61-62, para 102.

[2] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1845-46, pp. 1-4 passim.

ing the full complement of seminaries intended for each, because of "the impossibility of obtaining a sufficient number of properly qualified masters." So it was determined "to proceed gradually by completing the system in one or two circles before attempting to introduce it in the rest."

The plan materialised immediately in the Kishnaghur Circle. A college[1] was opened on the 1st of January 1846 in Kishnaghur[2] and two schools were established in the districts of Burdwan[3] and Bancoorah.[4] The third important district comprised in the circle, Jessore, had

[1] To avoid miscomprehension of the term, it should be noted that a "college" did not signify in those days the kind of institution which we are accustomed to designate as such in our own. An English College of the period was usually a combination of the salient features of what would in our time be called a 'high school' and an "elementary school." For instance, the standard of acquirements demanded by the following rules of a pupil to entitle him to admission to the Kishnaghur College, after a certain age, well illustrates the connotation generally attached to the term "college." The following were the rules:—(1) "No boy whose age exceeds eight years shall be admitted, unless he can read correctly and with a good pronounciation the 2nd number of the English Reader of the School Book Society;" (2) "No boy whose age exceeds twelve years shall be admitted, unless he can read, parse, and explain any passage in the 5th number of the Engish Reader of the School Book Society). He must also know the simple rules of Arithmetic: the form of the Earth, its great divisions, and their subdivisions into countries; the names of the Capitals and principal cities of each country, and of the principal Mountains and Rivers. He must be able to translate correctly from Bengalee or Hindustani into English, and from English into Bengalee or Hindustani any passage from the 5th Number of the English Reader;" (3) "No boy shall be admitted whose age exceeds sixteen." (*Vide* Notification of 1st October 1845 relating to the establishment of the Kishnaghur College: General Report on Public Instruction, &c., for 1845-46, pp. 1-4 passim).

[2] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1845-48, pp. 171-72

[3] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1845-46, p. 173. But the town of Burdwan had, at the time the Government School was established, two missionary schools under the charge of the Church of England Mission and a third founded and supported by the Raja of Burdwan solely.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 174. In Bancoorah there was a private school too.

already a school in existence. In the Hoogly circle there had been already established the Hoogly or Mahomed Mohsin's College, the Hoogly Branch School, Infant School, and the Sitapore and Midnapore Schools. The only districts in it which had no Government School were Baraset and Howrah; accordingly, two schools were established there, that at Baraset being opened on the 1st of January 1846[1] and that at Howrah shortly after.[2] The Behar circle was already provided with a central college, for on the 26th September 1844 Government had determined to form the Patna School into a central college for the Behar Province; this had been accordingly done and eight Senior and twelve Junior scholarships had been attached to the college, "four of the former being denominated 'Hutwa Scholarships' in honor of the Maharaja Chatterdharee Sahy, who presented the sum of Rs. 50,000 for the establishment of a school in the district of Sarun."[3] In the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 175. At pp. 175-76 occurs the following interesting passage: "On the 5th December, (1846), the Magistrate of Howrah forwarded to Government a letter from Baboos Joykishen Mookerjee and Rajkishen Mookerjee, proposing the establishment of a school at Ooterparah on the north bank of the Bali Khal, and offering to make over to Government in trust for the maintenance of the school, landed property to the clear yearly value of rupees 1,200, as well as to raise by subscription the sum of rupees 5,000 for building a school house. It was calculated that a monthly income of rupees 100 a month would be derived from the schooling fees of the students, and the Government agreed to grant an equal sum from the education fund, to assist in carrying the benevolent design of the Ooterparah gentlemen into execution: The Sudder Board of Revenue were instructed to take measures for the formal transfer of the trust property to Government; owing, however, to unavoidable delays the school was not opened until after the close of the year." Not a few instances of similar private munificence were recorded. They show that Government was not alone in its efforts to educate the people.

3 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1844-45, p. 148.

district of Mozufferpore in the same circle an English school had been opened on the 1st February 1845, on the initiative of two English gentlemen, Messrs. Irwin and Young, who had raised a subscription of Rs. 12,000 from among the inhabitants and subsequently applied to Government for assistance in founding the school which had been granted.[1] In 1845 the inhabitants of Gaya district in the same circle determined to establish an English and vernacular school and subscribed funds for its support, the school being placed under the direct supervision and control of Government as a public institution.[2] Thus by 1846 the Behar circle was half completed, for in respect of three remaining districts (Chupra, Arrah and Mootehary) it was left without a Government school. The Calcutta circle had already been completed long before 1845-46, and it consisted of the Hindu College, the Sanskrit College, the Calcutta Madressa, the School Society's School which was supported out of the early Government grant of Rs. 500 to the School Book Society, and the Russapugla School[3] which had been founded on the 1st October 1838 for the education of the children of the relatives and dependents of the Mysore Princes and to the support of which a monthly sum of Rs. 600 was, with the approval of the Court of Directors, appropriated by Government. The remaining circles varied in the number of schools extant in 1846. The Dacca Circle, like the Behar, had a central college in Dacca and two schools in the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71.

3 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1843-44, pp. 161-62.

districts of Sylhet and Furreedpore, while the two remaining districts comprised in it (Bogorah and Mymensing) were destitute of a Government school. The Moorshedabad circle, composed of five districts, had but a school at Banleah, and the "Nizamut College" at Moorshedabad, which was however a special institution designed for the education of the younger members of the family of the Nawab Nazim and of the families of persons of the Mahomedan faith connected with them, and which was intended in 1845 to be placed on a reduced footing on account of its unsatisfactory progress[1]. The Chittagong circle, comprising four districts, had only two schools at Chittagong and Comillah. The Cuttack circle had a single school in Cuttack among the three districts of which it was formed. So also the Bhagulpore circle, an important one comprising as it did five large districts, had only one school at Bhagulpore.

The subsequent years witnessed no rapid or steady extension of English education in the 'circles' so formed. Nor was the progress of the established institutions uniform in the different circles. A school or college arose in one circle and dwindled or became extinct in another. Thus very soon it was found that the system of education in the Behar circle was not acceptable to the inhabitants and that consequently the Patna College had been brought to a sad state of affairs. One Mr. Lodge, the inspector, in a report of his visit to it, dwelt in forceful language on the popular apathy towards the College, though he was not able to discover the cause

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1844-45, pp. 171-72.

of it, and described graphically its decayed condition: "At the time of my annual visit during November and the early part of December," he said, "the college had a particularly desolate and deserted appearance: the building itself was in a dilapidated state, and seemed fast going to ruin; the interior which is capable of containing between two and three hundred students, then held between twenty and thirty; the classes were mere skeletons; the masters looked subdued and in keeping with the air of desolation; and the little still voices of the pupils could scarcely drive silence from the walls." One means suggested by Mr. Lodge for drawing the attention of the inhabitants to the college and for increasing the number of its students was the strict observance by the Behar civil functionaries of the Government order of 1844 about the employment of educated Indians, so as to impress on the inhabitants that no uneducated person could hope for public employ, unless an educated one was unprocurable. But Government did not think it proper to act on that suggestion, and instead reduced the college to its former status of a district or zillah school. It may be noted that the failure of the college was attributed partly to the lack of interest on the part of the Local Committee in the cause of education in the province.[1]

About January 1850 an English school was inaugurated at Furreedpore which was included in the Dacca circle. In March there were 75 boys on the rolls, and the languages taught were

[1] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1846-47, pp. 155-59.

English, Bengali and Persian.[1] In December 1849 the Branch School at Seetapore in the Hoogly circle was abolished as it had met with ill-success.[2] By an order of Government dated 1st November 1853 a college was opened at Berhampore on the 21st of the same month. But, though styled a "college," it was reported that at the time of its establishment "the standard of the highest classes was extremely low, being in fact below that of many zillah schools;" and the reason assigned was the absence of any zillah school in the district and the consequent lack of previous acquirements in the pupils admitted into the college; "but", at the same time it was added, "of the ultimate success of the college there can be no doubt from the great interest which all classes of the native community manifest by their liberal subscriptions and their daily attendance at the College."[3] Finally, it may be noted that on the 3rd of March 1854 the Government of Bengal sanctioned the establishment of a Branch School in the city of Patna at the instance of the inhabitants who at a public meeting had resolved to raise a fund, and did eventually raise a substantial sum, for the purpose of "affording greater facilities to those who were anxious to enter the Government School."[4] Nor, it may be added, was that the only instance of

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1849-50, p. 21.

2 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1849-50, p. 91.

3 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 30th Sept. 1852 to 27th January 1855, p. 130.

4 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 27th January to 30th April 1855, pp. 196-197.

the desire manifested by the people for English education. Indeed, after 1852, Behar, which had before been complained of as a very backward province in respect of education, had made a marked stride forward. In the period between 1845-52 the different zillah schools in the province were stated to have educated an average of 267 boys. After 1852, Branch schools were opened at Chupra, Arrah, Monghyr, Purneah and the one noted above at Patna, and the inhabitants in each instance contributed handsomely to the funds required for the purpose. Hence the total number educated in the Government schools was in 1855 well over a thousand (according to the Report of the Inspector of Schools in Behar for the quarter ended July 1855, it was 1,094 boys). This number, however, did not represent the entire extent of English education given in the province. There was "a valuable English school" at Bhagulpore, conducted by a missionary, "with 150 boys upon its registers," and a private elementary school, maintained by a Vakeel of the Judge's court, in which English was taught to some 50 boys who attended it; whilst the merchants and zemindars of Durbunga, in Tirhut, supported an English school, established at the instance of the Collector, where about 60 or 70 boys might have been taught. So, on the whole, it was calculated that in 1855 about 1,350 boys studied the English language in the province of Behar—a substantial improvement on the number in former years. And what was the cause that brought about that improvement? We may quote here the answer attempted to the question by one Mr. Chapman, Inspector of Schools in Behar, in a report for 1855. He said: "Al-

though the number now studying our language and literature is, as yet, a very small proportion of the boys who, we may reasonably hope, will eventually do so, still, the rapid advancement of the last few years deserves a few words of explanation, though I am not sure that I can satisfactorily account for the whole of the results obtained. The greater part of the impetus given is, no doubt, due to the impression that has got abroad that all preferment under Government will be distributed in future only to those knowing English, and this impetus has been greatly strengthened by the large demand which has arisen for lads acquainted with English on the Railroad, the Gyaroads, &c. Something may perhaps be attributed to an increased desire for knowledge arising from the appreciation of what has been already attained: while I also think we may recognize some faint glimmerings of the acknowledgment of a principle, which, I trust, will, ere long, be fully established, that the Education of a Native Gentleman is not complete without the knowledge of the English language. Still, as yet, the desire for English can scarcely be said to be spontaneous; and much of the success attained would not have been reached but for the exertions of the local officers and of the Masters themselves."[1] But, again, the improvement so brought about appears to have been a temporary phenomenon. During the period of three months from July to October of the same year, the attendance of pupils at the Patna Schools decreased largely, and the numbers at the other district schools suffered a slight

1 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1855-56, Appendix A, pp. 5-7.

diminution. In his report for that quarter Mr. Chapman observed that a "general state of stagnation" had overcome the schools of the province. And Mr. Chapman was obliged, from what he observed, to admit incidentally the slight hold which the schools had on the people and to add: "The determination of Government, no longer to require from candidates for Government employ and pleaderships a knowledge of the English language,[1] has already deprived of much of its force one of the most potent of the motives which induce people to pay attention to our tongue. If practically carried out and *believed*, it will rapidly empty our English schools in this part of the country." The only encouraging feature Mr. Chapman found during the quarter was the establishment of an English school at Dinapore by Mr. Stumm, "a native of Germany, who came to India as a missionary but subsequently preferred to devote himself to secular pursuits."[2]

Such ups and downs in the progress of English education may not have been so prominent in other parts of Bengal, and hardly at all in a city like Calcutta, as in Behar where the prevailing conditions were reported to have been peculiarly unfavourable to the spread of the Government system of education. Yet the lead-

[1] Government Notification dated 9th July 1855 laid down that "From and after the 1st January 1857, no person shall be appointed by the head of any office or Department to any situation in the Public Service, in any Mofussil regulation district, the monthly salary of which is more than six rupees, unless he can read and write his own vernacular language." It further directed Mofussil officers to give preference to those who could read and write over those who could not for all offices however small the salaries attached thereto, unless where obvious reasons existed for overlooking such qualifications.

[2] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1855-56, pp. 24-25.

ing fact which arrests one's attention on a general survey is that the course of English education in the province, during the period from 1840 to 1854, failed to run in a steady, broadening stream, as the early Anglicists optimistically persuaded themselves it would, in spite of an undoubtedly widespread desire for a knowledge of the English language. Rather, its course was as that of a meandering rivulet, flowing to and fertilising those spots which conveniently permitted it to do so, leaving the rest of the country arid as before. The fact may well make us pause and inquire: How far was the object pre-eminently aimed at by Bentinck's Resolution achieved after the lapse of nearly twenty years since it was passed? Or, to put the same question in a somewhat more comprehensive form: What were the actual results of the system of education established under the terms of that Resolution after two decades of trial? To what extent did it succeed in diffusing knowledge of the English language and European learning among the people of Bengal? And the closing year of that period affords a convenient point at which to take a retrospect of the results of the operation of the system initiated in so eagerly by Bentinck and Macaulay and tended by such enthusiastic Anglicists as Trevelyan, Colvin and Wilberforce Bird. In 1854 we come upon a new epoch when the broad lines of our present-day system of education were first attempted to be laid down. By that year the star of Anglicism had passed its meridian and was visibly, though gradually, on the decline. And Anglicism itself, after twenty years of experimentation, ceased to be so obstreperous as it was at an early date. The mistake was

perceived of an almost exclusive emphasis on the English language in the established system of instruction, and more attention began to be paid to the vernaculars. Things had not turned out as they had seemed to promise to do, and dissatisfaction with them began to be expressed. A new direction in educational policy began to be demanded, and demanded not in vain. So, at this stage at which a new horizon begins to open out, we may conveniently glance back at the old epoch which had been ushered in amidst the storm of controversy and the thunder of Macaulay's rhetoric.

The impetus given by the Resolution of 7th March 1835 to English education resulted in the existence in 1854 of 5 colleges exclusive of the Medical College, and 47 schools, inclusive of college or branch schools, in which 192 and 7,412 students respectively were taught English as well as a little of the vernaculars. So, in all, the total number of English-instructed pupils was 7,604. This figure represented a good advance over the figures in 1850 and 1852 which were estimated at 4,021 and 4,822 respectively, and of course far outstripped the insignificant one of 1818, which was given as the number of English-instructed students in 1835. At the same time there were in 1854 three Oriental Colleges and but 729 students studying the classical languages of India in them. The number of those who studied the various vernaculars was the same or slightly more than that of those who studied English; but, in the former case, the high number was maintained more because the study of the vernaculars was compulsory in the English colleges and

schools than because a knowledge of them was desired as in the case of the latter language. So these figures may be taken as not only fairly representing the extent to which a knowledge of the English language was diffused as a result of Bentinck's resolution, but as also indicating a popular preference for that language. It must needs be added here that the numbers above quoted do not represent the full extent to which knowledge of the English language was cultivated in Bengal during the period in question; after 1835, and perhaps owing to the impetus imparted by Bentinck's Resolution, a number of petty private schools sprang into existence, and were often conducted by ex-students of the Government English colleges; there was no dearth too of missionary schools in which English was taught to hundreds of boys. But, as we are studying the spread of English with particular reference to Bentinck's Resolution, it would be better to confine ourselves to the output of the system established under that Resolution.

Now, the question which occurs to one is, what was the explanation for the popular preference for English over the vernaculars and the classical languages of India? From official sources there comes a very simple, if not complete, answer. In 1838, when Anglicist enthusiasm was pitched to a very high key, Trevelyan had indulged in the sweeping and superficial generalisation that "the curiosity of the people is thoroughly roused, and the passion for English knowledge has penetrated the most obscure, and extended to the most remote parts of India."[1] The picture he drew or overdrew was

[1] "*On the Education of the People of India*," Chap. V., p. 166.

that of a people thirsting for the boon of Western knowledge. But closer observation and greater experience led the officials of a later day to give a very different version. They arrived almost unanimously at the conclusion that the prevalent popular desire for a knowledge of English was attributable to a desire for securing the advantage of preferment in public or private employ which attended the possession of such knowledge. The fact was constantly harped upon that it was not the cultural but the utilitarian value of the English language which attracted a majority of the people to the study of it. In other words, the "useful" knowledge which was sought to be imparted was useful in popular regard only in so far as it led to lucrative employment; and lucrative employment did not demand a knowledge of "English science and literature", but a sufficient knowledge of English words to enable one to carry on ordinary business or administrative transactions. Doubtless, at a seat of Government like Calcutta, the contact with European civilisation did result in the permeation of Indian society, or rather of the wealthy and influential classes of that society, by a deeper influence. There a knowledge of the English language may well have been sought for the sake of the cultural benefits as well as the practical advantages it brought to its possessor. But conditions in the mofussil were quite different, and above all contact with European civilisation almost entirely absent. Consequently, the study of a foreign language and foreign learning could scarcely be prized as anything more than a means of advancement in life. That this was actually so was strikingly proved by the fact, among others, that,

while the people in the interior of the country and even in the city of Calcutta as well were not only eager to acquire the English language but prepared to make sacrifices in time and money for the sake of acquiring it, they grudged to be taught a modicum of their own vernaculars in the Government institutions and learnt it chiefly because it was necessary to do so as the study of them was coupled with that of English. The reason usually assigned for this indifference to their native speech was that the same motive did not impel them in the former case as it did in the latter. Thus the Council of Education in one of their reports wrote: "The efforts which the Council have made for the spread of English education by the Anglo-Vernacular Zilla Schools has been invariably successful in Bengal, and not without some gratifying results even in Behar. A demand for English education has arisen in every district, and its strength may be tested by the fact that schooling-fees are willingly paid, and increasing numbers of Teachers are supported in Private Schools. It must, however, be confessed that the hope of lucrative employment, rather than any real desire for education in itself, mainly induces parents to pay for their children's instruction. In Vernacular Schools no such powerful motive exists, for the superiority of Government Schools over those conducted by Goorumohashoys is not generally acknowledged in the Mofussil."[1] So also an inspector of schools, South Bengal, reported as one among the many difficulties he encountered to the establishment

1 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 30th Sept. 1852 to 27th January 1855 pp. xlix/lii.

of vernacular education in the villages, the following: "Another difficulty is that, however poor the village, English Education is what the people ask for, and when we talk of an improved Vernacular School, there is general disappointment and consequent unwillingness to do anything. The people see that an English Education has enabled numbers of their countrymen to obtain high and remunerative employment, and they think that if their children too learn a little English, they must as a matter of course be equally fortunate. They do not understand that, with the increased number of young men instructed in the English language, the standard of qualification demanded by every employer is constantly rising; moreover, there are a vast number of young men taught at inferior English schools, or in consequence of poverty, for a year or two only at some good school and this circumstance, taken in conjunction with the other just mentioned, must lead to the existence of a considerable class of persons, who, while unwilling to follow the humbler calling of their parents, are not qualified for occupation of the kind they aim at. The multiplication of elementary English schools for poor boys is, I think, therefore an evil to be avoided, while on the other hand the expenditure requisite for the establishment of such schools would be sufficient for twice the number of good Vernacular schools, where the village youth can get not only a knowledge of reading, writing, and accounts, but much other useful knowledge besides."[1] In what may be called

[1] *Vide* Mr. Pratt's Report for the quarter ending October 1855 in General Report on Public Instruction, for 1855-56, Appendix A, pp. 21-22.

that economic demand for a knowledge of the English language may be found too the chief explanation of the existence of abundant petty private English schools. "They are the result," it was declared by a Committee appointed to examine into the working of the Grant-in-aid system, "of the increasing desire which manifests itself among the middle classes to obtain an English Education for their children and are set on foot by persons who, living at a distance from the Sudder Station, and who, being of comparatively humble means, are unwilling to send their children to a distance from home for their education, and unable to pay the high rate of Schooling Fees levied in Zillah Schools. The persons whose children resort to these Intermediate Schools are mainly Tradesmen, petty Talookdars, Omlah, &c., who are able to pay a schooling-fee of about 8 annas a month. They have generally one of the two following objects in view, either to enable their children to prepare themselves for entering the higher English Schools, after obtaining a knowledge of the elements of the subject there taught, and so to avoid the necessity of sending them to the Sudder Station or to another district during their earlier years; or, in the second place, to enable them to obtain as much knowledge of English, and no more, as is sufficient for becoming inferior Clerks, Copyists, Salesmen, Hawkers, &c., without resorting to the Zillah Schools at all."[1]

What then, it may well be asked, was the attitude of those who desired more the acquisition of the language than of the knowledge con-

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1856-57, pp. 13-16 passim.

veyed through it, towards that knowledge itself? Did they take to it so easily and eagerly as to the language? It must be confessed at the outset that the question is not easy of a general answer. Much must have depended on the state of popular feeling on the subject in different parts of Bengal, and our answer would vary accordingly. At any rate, the official reports commit themselves on the point more by inference than by explicit statement. We are left to infer that, whilst the practical utility of the English language was acknowledged, the cultural value of the knowledge communicated through it was hardly or not at all appreciated, that no real taste or love for English literature and science perceptibly existed, and that the knowledge was acquired for the sake of the language and not the language for the sake of the knowledge. The few stray pronouncements met with in official reports go to confirm rather than to contradict that inference. For example, Mr. H. Woodrow, Inspector of Schools, East Bengal, in his report for the year 1856-57, remarks that the students in the Government schools valued education "solely as a means of getting money", and goes on to say: "English leads to higher situations than Bengali, and is therefore preferred. History, Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c., lead to nothing pecuniary, and are therefore disliked. They hold in our Schools just the position that Christianity does in Missionary Schools. Instruction in them must be tolerated by the pupils in order to get a knowledge of the English language—the one thing desired."[1] And, again, of Behar it was said in 1855: "People have gradually forced

[1] *Ibid.*, Appendix A, p. 91.

themselves to acknowledge the English School as a necessity; not that they have, at present, any value for our learning, but they consider the acquisition of our language as necessary for the advancement of their children in this life, and therefore overcome their suspicions as to what may be the effect of this mode of Education upon their prospects in the next. For the study of this hated knowledge in the Vernacular, there is no such inducement; on the contrary, they consider the study of the Vernacular as dishonourable, and in no case to be pursued further than is necessary for their daily business."[1]

There remains, however, little room for surprise at such a state of things when we consider the mode and form in which knowledge was communicated under the established system of English instruction. For, it may be noted in this place that the education imparted was emphatically of a literary character and little related to the real intellectual or practical wants of the people at large. Literary and abstract subjects formed a prominent part of the course of instruction in the schools and colleges; while little importance was attached to that positive knowledge which derives its interest from its applicability to the common purposes of daily life. Consequently, the education imparted was something far removed from the ordinary life and interests of the people and foreign to their habits of thought and feeling. The charm of such an education, imparting as it did a foreign knowledge through a foreign medium, was adventitious, and

1 *Vide* Mr. Chapman's Report for the quarter ending July 1855 in General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1855-56, Appendix A, pp. 8-10 passim.

not intrinsic, arising more from the force of surrounding circumstances than from its power of appeal to the mind and heart. Is it surprising then that the knowledge which lacked in inherent interest to the people at large should have interested them as a means of advancement in life, because circumstances outside the sphere of education had tended to connect the one with the other ? Nor was that all. Even such knowledge could have been made in no small degree interesting by greater and more careful attention to the mode and form of conveying it. But the actual mode of communicating it that obtained in the schools and colleges left much to be desired, because the primary task of raising up teachers versed in the art of teaching had never been undertaken seriously and on an adequate scale by those who controlled educational affairs. And the form in which the knowledge was conveyed was unappealing, because it was sought to be imparted by means of books ill-adapted to the taste of the learners and ill-calculated to excite their interest or curiosity. Thus neither the quality nor the technique of instruction in the Government schools and colleges was of a kind to win over the feelings and sympathies of the vast majority of the people to the knowledge in which instruction was given; and it was only an artificial stimulus that helped to overcome their apathy to it or create in them a positive attraction for it.

Hence, under such a system of education, knowledge was *acquired*, but by the majority of the educated seldom *assimilated* so as to become interwoven with their intellectual and emotional

fibre; and wherever it was partially assimilated, it was observed to produce a mental disorder or dyspepsia which exhibited itself in various forms, such as a tendency to imitate the vices of the European character without its virtues or to indulge in reckless avowals of beliefs and ideas accompanied by an impotence to translate them into action. It was the mental suppleness with which European knowledge was acquired by the alumni of the schools and colleges that in the beginning created an illusion regarding the effectiveness of the Anglicist policy and system to produce a radical change in the intellect and feelings of the people. But later and fuller experience of the working of the system brought doubts and disappointments as to its efficacy. So it is we find towards the close of our period frequent expressions of dissatisfaction with the established system of education by those who had in hand the conduct of that system.

Various exceptions were taken to the system, but the chief defect pointed out was its unsuitability to the actual circumstances of the people for whom it was intended. Thus the Local Committee of the Cuttack School emphasised the unpractical character of the education imparted in relation to the wants of the people. They said: "The studies at these provincial Government schools are, in our judgment, at the same time too high and too confined. They aim at a standard beyond that adopted at the poorer schools at home, while collateral European knowledge is unacquired. We cannot see why it should tend to European civilization, that an Ooreah boy, the son of a poor Government em-

ployee, should know when Richard I went to the Crusades; what was the message sent by William the Conqueror to Philip of France; what is the capital of Saxony; what sea the 'Yenisse' runs into, and so on; and that he should not know who 'Shivajee' was; who fought the battle of Assaye; and what is the difference between a 'Suni' and a 'Sheeah'. The result of all this is, that he learns by rote what he does not understand, and is not interested in, and what can never be brought to bear upon the general history of his own country, its various races and its customs. The great point seems to us to be to encourage general knowledge of whatever stamp; and not to train boys merely to know obscure English history, the higher branches of arithmetic, and to write a good hand. We will venture to assert that there are not three boys in this school here, with all their attainments, who can turn a sentence of Ooreah into tolerable English, such as an English boy would do in England, at the age of twelve years.....We cannot sum up our observations on this head better than by stating, that, we scarcely know a single Native or Eurasian in this province, brought up to speak and write English, who can express himself even tolerably well; or who, in writing, is anything more than a mere copyist."[1] Again, Mr. Woodrow, Inspector of Schools, East Bengal, criticised the lack of a practical type of education in the Government seminaries. "The idea of instruction in common things," he remarked in one of his quarterly reports in 1856, "has not yet

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 1st October 1851 to 30th Sept. 1852. p. 118.

penetrated to India, and our schools and colleges repudiate the knowledge. In the late Senior Scholarship Examination for all the Colleges of Bengal, there was not one student who knew accurately how the punkah produced the sensation of cold. Only a few could tell completely how a bubbling sound was caused in the hookah, or why moisture appeared on the outside of a glass filled with iced water. These questions, perhaps, are rather hard when discussed fully, but the answers evinced utter and complete ignorance of the causes of common occurrences. As a member of the committee of Examiners for the Senior Scholarships, I feel bound to notice the defect. I attribute it to the entire absence of instruction in these subjects in our zillah schools." And he added the following pregnant observation: "Bengali boys have excessively keen sight and when once led to use it are capital observers. European savans sometimes wonder why so little has been done by educated Hindoos in Indian researches, either historical or geographical. One solution of the question may be found in the fact that their Education repressed the love of inquiry and dulled the observant faculties. Bengal in mental acuteness may challenge the rest of India, but the physical stamina here is weak, and school life has done nothing to strengthen it. About twenty Native gentlemen take interest in the proceedings of the Asiatic and Agricultural Societies. There ought to be hundreds or rather purely Native Societies for these purposes should flourish and abound."[1]

1 *Vide* Mr. Woodrow's report for the quarter ending April 1856 in General Report on Public Instruction, etc., for 1855-56, pp. 70-71 (App. A.)

In a similar strain Mr. Pratt, inspector of schools, South Bengal, animadverted at a later date on the lop-sided sort of education that prevailed during the period we are treating of. He was inclined to think, as he said, that "we have so long given exclusive importance to classics and Mathematics, that the young Baboos regard the Physical Sciences with contempt. There could not be stronger evidence of the defects of our past system. If there is one thing more than another which (religion apart) educationists ought to strive for in this country, it is to awaken these "books in chudders", as they have been wisely and wittily called, to the "pleasures and advantages of Science." To encourage them to pursue Classics and Mathematics to the exclusion of everything else, is to perpetuate the very faults which especially distinguish the mental character of the so-called educated classes."[1]

But it was not the character of the education that was solely at fault. There was another reason for the disappointing results of the Anglicist system of education. Too much of uniformity of system was attempted while education was but in its infancy. The established system took little account of the different conditions and requirements of the different parts of the country or of the different classes of the people. What was thought good for Calcutta was also thought good enough for the poorest village in Bengal. "It is a mistake to attempt," said H. H. Wilson on one occasion, "to apply one system of education to all the people of India. You must con-

1 *Vide* Mr. Pratt's report for the quarter ending July 1856 in General Report on Public Instruction, etc., for 1856-57. Appendix A., pp. 1-2.

sider what their circumstances are, and what their wants are, and adapt your means, as much as possible, to the different demands which are made."[1] But that was precisely the mistake committed with the Anglicist system of education. It sought uniformly to teach English everywhere and to enlighten the people through that language; but, "although the cultivation of English," said Wilson on another occasion, "is, no doubt, very important, and ought to receive every possible assistance and countenance from the Government, yet it is not the means by which anything like a universal effect can be produced; it is not the means by which the people at large can be educated; in fact, no people can ever become instructed or enlightened, except through their own language. It must be through the medium of their own language that you must address them, and disseminate useful knowledge amongst them."[2] And there were peculiar difficulties in the circumstances of India which made it impracticable to spread universal enlightenment by means of English. First, there could not be procured proficient teachers of English in sufficient numbers, which made it difficult to teach English everywhere. The next difficulty, Wilson pointed out, was "the amount of time that it requires to make any proficiency. It is not in all parts of the country that people can give a sufficient attendance upon the English school to enable them to acquire the language. It is all very well in Calcutta, where the sons of

[1] Evidence, 18th July 1853: Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 8452.

[2] Evidence, 5th July 1853: Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 7235.

the most respectable persons of the Presidency, wealthy men and men of consideration, are to be found. Such persons can afford to keep their sons a sufficient number of years at the college to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, and they sometimes do so; but the great mass even of those who send their children to the English college of Calcutta take them away long before they have acquired anything like proficiency."[1]

This brief review of the defects of the system of education founded on the Resolution of 7th March 1835 better enables us to furnish an answer to the question with which we started, viz., How far did Bentinck's Resolution conduce to the dissemination of knowledge of the English language, and together with it, "of English literature and science", among the people of Bengal? Certain it is that the Resolution did give an impetus to the spread of the English language, as it was bound to do since it synchronised with a current of popular feeling in favour of that language. And if the spread of English be measured by the number of those who acquired a knowledge of it in the schools and colleges, little doubt can be entertained about the successful effect of the Resolution in enlarging the circle of the English-knowing public. It was observed before that in the Government educational institutions alone the number of those engaged in the study of English in 1854 far exceeded that in 1835. It is, however, when a different test is applied, when, so to speak, the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspect of the matter

1 Evidence, 18th July 1853: Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 8453.

is looked at, that the fruits of the Resolution or of the system based on it appear dubious. If indeed a knowledge of English was generally valued more as a means of livelihood than as a means of enlightenment, then the proficiency attained by the generality of those who professed an acquaintance with the language could not have been, and actually was not, of a superior order, for the standard of attainments requisite for employment (and that too in inferior public or private situations) was far from being the same as that requisite for obtaining a good education; or, as Hodgson neatly put it, "such a mastery of our language as should empower a native of India to use it *safely* as an instrument of thought, is a far different thing from such a knowledge of it as suffices to enable him to make his bread as a copyist."[1] H. H. Wilson,[2] despite his Orientalist bias, was far from giving an unfair or incorrect view of the state of things when, on being asked before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1853 whether he considered that the study and the knowledge of the English language had much increased since 1833, he replied: "In particular directions it has; it has increased at the Presidencies, and in one or two of the principal towns; but I do not think it has increased to the extent that is sometimes supposed. There has been a great deal of exaggeration as to the spread of English education. In Bengal there have been additional colleges estab-

1 Hodgson: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 279.

2 Although Wilson left India at the end of 1832, yet his evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committees in 1853 shows that he closely followed the subsequent progress of Indian education, a fact which gives particular value to his testimony.

lished, as at Hoogly, at Dacca, and at Kishnaghur; and many of the senior scholars at those colleges, as well as at the Hindu College of Calcutta, acquire great proficiency in the English language, and particularly in the mathematical sciences; but as regards the schools in the country, where English is taught, of course upon an inferior scale, I do not think much real progress has been made by the students at those seminaries. And there is also another remark to be made: we must not suppose that the great proficiency which is attained by the senior students of those colleges is shared in by all the scholars; such high proficiency is attained by comparatively few. The greater number of the scholars attend the schools and colleges merely with a view to the acquirement of as much English as shall enable them to gain a livelihood in the situation of copying-clerks, and they do not remain long enough either in the schools or colleges to acquire such an amount of proficiency as shall make them really good English scholars. The great mass of the young men attending the colleges are not good English scholars. There are a considerable portion of them who are so; but it is a great mistake to suppose that they are all good English scholars, or that they carry with them such a knowledge of English into ordinary life as to make it their own language. Even those who attain some proficiency rarely cultivate English after they leave college, unless it is in connexion with situations that they may happen to hold. It has been said that you would not find, notwithstanding the many years that the Hindu College has been in existence, 300 individuals in and about Calcutta capable of

following the proceedings of a suit at law in English."[1]

And when the acquisition of the English language was considered by the generality of the people in the light of a necessity for the improvement of their material circumstances, it may easily be inferred that the cultivation of European knowledge was regarded in no different light. In fact, a vein of disappointment at the realisation of the fact that the system of education pursued had succeeded in creating no extensive taste or love for English literature or science runs through most of the later official reports and writings on the subject of Indian education. So the effect of Bentinck's Resolution in spreading a knowledge of the English language may be said, especially in comparison with what had been achieved in that respect during a preceding period, to have been gratifying from the numerical or the census point of view, but the same could not be said of it from the cultural point of view.

Moreover, the Anglicist system of education as evolved on the basis of that Resolution met with another striking failure. It failed to promote in any appreciable degree one of the ultimate objects which the authors of the system professed constantly to have had in view—the successful cultivation of the vernaculars leading to the creation of a vernacular literature. There were two main causes of the failure. One was that the practical advantages associated with the acquisition of English and the predominance given to that language in the established

1 Evidence, 18th July 1853: *Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories, Minutes of Evidence*, Q. 8450.

system of education conspired to produce a powerful bias in the people in its favour which led almost inevitably to the neglect of the vernaculars on their part. There was a kind of popular rage for the English language which worked to the deteriment of vernacular education. The popular preference for English proved in itself an obstacle to measures for the encouragement of the vernaculars and promotion of vernacular education; for, whether in the case of the students of the Government schools and colleges or of villagers sought to be given vernacular instruction, in the case of the educated and uneducated alike, it was with difficulty and with frequently disappointing results that people in general could be induced or compelled to bestow time, money or attention on their own languages. A curious phenomenon it was, and yet a logical outcome of the system of education pursued. It was a system which in its practical operation could not but tend to make those trained under it versed in a foreign language and leave them ignorant or at best with a smattering of their own; and, with its predominant emphasis on English, it could not but tend to be a means of gratifying, instead of curbing, the undesirable popular craving for that language. The system was ill-calculated to promote the cause of the vernaculars. After having been nearly twenty years in operation, it left the Council of Education to complain in 1852 of the difficulty of procuring good teachers for the lower classes of the schools, "well acquainted with their own vernacular languages." And the Council was led further to observe: "It is scarcely possible to imagine the great amount of ignorance of their own

tongue, which prevails even among educated Natives."[1] On an earlier occasion the Council had stated: "The more advanced pupils are with great difficulty induced to study their own tongue. So great is the preference shown for English, that it is the common medium of communication, oral and written, among educated Natives, many of whom write and speak it with a degree of purity and elegance that exhibit a thorough mastery of its genius and structure. The Council have observed with regret, that some of their best scholars are imperfectly acquainted with their mother-tongue, and are unable to write it with correctness and facility. All available means have been taken to impress upon them the importance of an accurate knowledge of Bengali, and the absolute necessity of paying strict attention to its acquisition as an essential and valuable part of their course of study."[2]

The other cause was that, though the educational authorities were wont to be profuse in professions about the importance of the vernaculars, yet the actual measures taken by them to encourage their cultivation tended in practice to lay but slight stress on their real importance. The method adopted of making the study of the vernaculars an adjunct to that of English in the Anglo-Vernacular schools and colleges ensured the neglect of the former, because it could in no wise prove counteractive of the popular bias in favour of the latter or of the meretricious charms with which the English

1 General Report on Public Instruction, &c., from 1st October 1851 to 30th September 1852, p. xlii.

2 General Report on Public Instruction, &c., from 1st Octr. 1849 to 30th Sept. 1850.

language was invested in the eyes of the people. All that was done at first by way of providing for the cultivation of the vernaculars was to attach a vernacular teacher or pundit to the English seminaries; and the manner in which the "efficient cultivation of the vernacular dialects" was to be enforced on the students was indicated by the General Committee in 1837 thus: "The importance of the adequate promotion of this latter object, we have never failed to urge on the Local Committees—suggesting, in the case of the junior pupils generally that about one-third of their time should be devoted to it. Considering the poverty of vernacular learning, (particularly out of Bengal), —and that the Anglo-Vernacular student receives instruction in Science, according to the more accurate systems of Europe,—we think that the efficient cultivation of the vernacular dialects, so as to ensure correctness in orthography, and expertness in composition, may be promoted by the devotion of a very moderate proportion of the student's time." So sparse a measure of encouragement evoked protest from H. T. Prinsep who, in a curt note of dissent to the Committee's annual report, said: ".....I deny that there is any efficient cultivation of vernacular study. The majority of the Committee having consentively ordered the separate vernacular classes to be abolished, and that a *little* vernacular only shall be taught as an adjacent to instruction in the rudiments of English reading....."[1] However, during 1840-42, the Committee appear to have realised

[1] Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, for the year 1837, pp. 61-62 passim.

the insufficiency of the measure for the attainment of the object in view, and in their last General Report they wrote: "The Supreme Government and our Committee have also constantly requested the best attention of the Local Committee to the great importance of encouraging translations from the English into the Vernacular, and vice versa, and we have *directed specially that this branch of study should be made the vehicle of imparting sound knowledge in Morals, History, Science and General Literature, and not only for the acquirement of vocabularies or phrases of rote, and of little or no practical application.*"[1] But this direction to the Local Committee could not bear fruitful results, for there were wanting the teachers tc impart higher instruction through the vernaculars. The system of appointing Pundits for vernacular instruction in the English seminaries did not prove a success, and so the Council of Education determined on its abolition in 1852. Instead, the Council decided "to insist upon all native masters possessing such a knowledge of their mother-tongue, as to enable them to teach the very moderate acquaintance with it" that was required in zillah schools.[2] But most of those masters being the products of English Schools, the remedy sought to be applied proved unsuccessful. So late as 1856, Mr. Pratt, Inspector of Schools, South Bengal, wrote: "I have long been of opinion.....that the Council of Education made a great mistake in abolishing the appointment of Pundits in the Zillah Schools. I have already stated that of

1 General Report of the Late General Committee of Public Instruction for 1840-41 & 1841-42, pp. 48-49 passim.

2 General Report on Public Instruction, &c., from 1st October 1851 to 30th September 1852. p. xlii.

the numerous candidates for the post of Head Teacher in the new Vernacular Schools who have come to me from our English Schools, hardly any possess a competent knowledge of Bengali. This is greatly to be regretted, because these persons are far better informed on all other subjects of study than men of the old Pundit class are ever likely to be, and are more trustworthy; while on the other hand, those who are candidates for these appointments are generally persons who are too poor to remain sufficiently long at school to qualify themselves for appointments where a really good knowledge of the English language is requisite."[1] Those words were incidentally a fine comment on the results of the so-called encouragement to the "efficient cultivation of the vernaculars" afforded under the Anglicist system of education.

Finally, we may mention a 'Patshalla' or school which was instituted in order to "provide a system of National Education, and to instruct Hindoo youths in Literature, and in the Sciences of India and of Europe, through the medium of the Bengalee language," and was placed under the control and direction of the Committee of Management of the Hindu College. The establishment of the Patshalla constituted the first systematic attempt to provide for instruction in higher branches of knowledge through the vernacular medium.

Among individual efforts to transfuse European knowledge into the Bengali language, which

[1] *Vide* Mr. Pratt's Report for the quarter ending July 1856 in General Report on Public Instruction, &c., 1856-57, App. A, pp. 7-9 passim.

were patronised by the Council of Education, may be noted the compilation of the "Encyclopædia Bengalensis" undertaken by the eminent Bengali scholar, the Rev. Krishna Mohan Bannerjee. Pandit Eshwar Chunder Shurma made a translation of Chamber's Biographical Course, which was stated to have been highly spoken of and was much used in the Government schools and colleges. Moreover, in its report for 1849-50 the Council announced that "a map of Europe in the Bengali character has been prepared by Babu Ram Chander Mittre, the Bengali master of the senior school department of the Hindu College," and proceeded to add: "It is well executed on the scale of the Irish School Society's maps, and has been lithographed at the Government Press."[1]

Having now seen to what extent the dissemination of the English language and the cultivation of the vernaculars were carried out under the orders of 7th March 1835, there remains one last question with regard to Bentinck's Resolution. What were the effects of the Resolution on the study of the Oriental languages and learning pursued in the Oriental colleges of Government? It has been already noted that the Resolution contemplated three important changes (or measures of discouragement) with regard to the Oriental Colleges: first, cessation of payment of stipends to future students; secondly, discontinuance of appointment of new professors or teachers, unless the flourishing state of a particular class warranted otherwise; and, thirdly, appropriation of the funds thus released to the

[1] General Report on Public Instruction, &c., from 1st October 1849 to 30th September 1850, pp. 25-26 passim.

promotion of the study of the English language and literature, and not to the encouragement of Oriental literature or learning. The Resolution was thus in the nature of a triple-barrelled gun levelled against the Oriental educational institutions.

The effect of the abolition of the stipendiary system in causing a decline in the number of students in the Oriental Colleges began, though gradually, to make itself felt in the very first year. It must be remembered that, whatever the deleterious consequences of the stipendiary system, the stipends afforded a means of sustenance and a motive for longer continuance of study to the students who were mostly drawn from the "learned classes," which in India as in other parts of the world, were not possessed of affluence; and that the stipends attracted students from distant parts of the country who had no means of livelihood far away from home. That accounts for the abolition of stipends being attended by a decrease in the number of those who attended the Oriental colleges for purposes of study. In the Delhi College the average monthly attendance of students in the various departments, from September 1834 to April 1835, was: Arabic 45; Persian 132; Sanskrit 66—for the period from May to December 1835, when the stipends ceased to be paid, the attendance was: Arabic 47; Persian 111;[1] Sanskrit 60. The number in the English Department of the College remained almost stationary, being 198 during the former period and 197 during

[1] As regards Persian, it should be noted that the prospect of the discontinuance of its forensic use, contemplated during Bentinck's regime, may have been a factor in the decline in the number of those who devoted themselves to study of it.

the latter. The Agra College had, at the date of the annual examination on 31st December 1834, 26 students in the Arabic Department, 205 in the Persian, and 113 in the Sanskrit—at the date of the annual examination on 31st December 1835, the College had 25 students in the Arabic, 192 in Persian, and 113 in Sanskrit. At the same time the number in the English Department rose during the year from 36 to 75. At the Calcutta Sanskrit College there was a decline in number from 181 to 135. At the Calcutta Madressa there was a falling off of stipendiary students from 75 to 62, while the number of non-stipendiary ones was stated to have remained much the same as before. The Benares Sanskrit College appears to have been the only Oriental institution to escape from the effect of the abolition of stipends during the year: for, while at the end of 1834 it had 281 students, it had one more at the end of 1835. In the Benares English School, where English was the principal branch of study, the number increased from 89 to 136.[1]

In 1836-37 the decline was more marked. In the Agra College in 1836 the number of those admitted for study in the Persian Department decreased from 146 to 142; in the Hindi Department from 107 to 86; while in the English Department it increased from 56 to 118. But as pupils from the Persian and Hindi Departments were also drafted into the English, the numbers studying the different languages, out of a total of 346, stood thus: English 223; Persian 178; Hindi 106. Commenting on this, the Principal of the College wrote: "In either

[1] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1835.

point of view, however, the actual members belonging to the different departments, or the numbers engaged in the studies of each department, it is evident, in a much greater degree than last year, that the Oriental Departments have fallen off, and that the entire attendance at the College is kept up, or rather extended by the increase in the English Department, English instruction now evidently standing the highest in public favour. The original or special English Department, which two years ago had no existence in this College, now far exceeding the numbers in the Hindi Department, and approaching those of the Persian Department while the entire number studying English much exceeds that which has ever been studying either Persian or Hindi at any one time." These facts he considered, however, in a great measure attributable to "the prevailing impression that Persian will soon cease to be the language of public business, while the interest and desire which the governed must ever have to acquire the language of their Governors, perhaps also a strong though vague idea of the treasures of knowledge and novelty which the English language contains, and more than all, I believe, the lately increased facilities of acquiring it here from the greater efficiency recently given to the English Preceptive Establishment in the college, sufficiently account for the relative increase of students in this Department."[1] It was stated in 1837 that there were only about 22 students of Sanskrit and 20 of Arabic in the College—a fact which, together with the decreasing numbers in the Persian and Hindi departments, led the

[1] Rep. G. C. P. I., 1836, pp. 6-9 passim.

General Committee to propose its conversion into an "Anglo-Indian Seminary."[1] Similarly, the report of the annual examination of the Delhi Oriental College in 1836 stated: "A considerable diminution of the pupils has occurred in the past twelve months. The Arabic students have decreased from 61 to 45, the Persian from 80 to 64, and the Sanskrit Department is reduced from 56 to 35, giving a total decrease of 56 students. The reduction is clearly attributable to the order of 7th March, 1835, the operation of which, during the ensuing year will reduce the Oriental pupils to about 100."[2] Again, in the Benares Sanskrit College, a steady decline in the number of stipendiary students set in. This was a matter of bitter regret to some. "During the interregnum which took place in the superintendence of the College," says Nicholls, "appeared the celebrated Orders of the Council, 7th March 1835, by which virtually, though not ostensibly, all the Oriental educational institutions in the country were to be allowed to languish out their existence and the Anglo-Maniacs, as they were not improperly styled, were to carry everything their own way just as if there was any patent mode of imparting to the whole people of India "a knowledge of English literature and science." The greatest blow struck at the Benares Sanskrit College was the abolition of stipends. That this system might have been, and in many cases was, abused is not to be denied; yet when we come to recollect that many Sanscrit students resort to Benares from remote parts of our Indian Empire; that these students during

1 Rep. G. C. P. I., 1837, pp. 42-43 passim.

2 Rep. G. C. P. I., 1836, p. 105.

their sojourn in the holy City are necessarily dependent upon alms; that the reception of gifts by a Brahman entails no disgrace upon the recipient; that the original foundation of the institution implied and in fact afforded support as well as instruction to its *alumni;* that very great numbers of non-stipendiary pupils resorted to it, in the hope of so distinguishing themselves as to be admitted on the foundation list; and when all these circumstances are remembered and taken into account, and when we also consider how great a hold upon the native literature is to be obtained through the medium of Sanscrit; also that, by bringing Sanscrit students in connection with English ones, no inconsiderable results may be hoped for, I think it must be granted that the Order bore hard upon the Sanskrit College at Benares, and the results were very soon apparent, as will be shown hereafter."[1] The results alluded to were that, at the end of 1838, there was a decrease of 20 in the number of stipendiary students, and the sum which reverted to the General Education Fund by the lapse of stipends was Rs. 53; the number of stipendiary and non-stipendiary students in that year standing at 85 and 60 respectively; that this decrease continued further till on 30th June 1842 there were 111 non-stipendiary and only 24 stipendiary scholars, and on 30th June 1843, 112 non-stipendiary and 22 stipendiary ones.

Such was the effect of the order relating to the abolition of stipends. But there was that other order too relating to the discontinuance of professorships for the General Committee of the

1 Nicholls: *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Benares Pathshalla or Sanskrit College*, p. 75.

day to act upon, and it did not fail to do so. Its first signal act in the way of giving effect to the order was the abolition of the English class of the Sanskrit College. The reason assigned for the abolition was the incompatibility of the English and Sanskrit systems of instruction and the failure of the original purpose of the English class, namely, that of "sending forth a stock of Pundits familiar with both literatures." The saving that accrued from the abolition was proposed to be transferred to the General Education Fund. And, in lieu of the English class, it was proposed to transfer from time to time a few Pundits of the Sanskrit College to the Hindu College in order to obtain English Instruction."[1] Government, on the matter being laid before them, declared themselves prepared to sanction the measure on being informed by the Committee of the amount of saving likely to have accrued from it;[2] and so before the end of 1835 the English class was abolished. Again, in October 1835, instructions were received at Benares from the General Committee to abolish the Mimansa and Puranic classes of the Sanskrit College there;[3] and in 1838 the abolition of the Persian and Arabic class in the same college was decided on.

But more noteworthy than these concrete manifestations of a stinting, discouraging attitude are the feelings of hostility towards Oriental learning which animated some of the Local Committees no less than a portion of the General Committee. For instance, the presentation of

[1] Letter from G. C. P. I., to Govt., dated 1st December 1835/No. 2487/: Pub. Cons: 9th December 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

[2] Letter from Govt. to G. C. P. I., dated 9th December 1835/No. 313/: Pub. Cons: 9th March 1835, No. 11 (G. I. R.)

[3] Nicholls: *Rise and Progress of the Benares Patshalla*, p. 76.

the Principal's annual examination report for 1838 of the Sanskrit College was the occasion for some lively proceedings and minute-writing by several European members of the Benares Local Committee. "To me," wrote one member, "the great utility of the Sanskrit never was apparent, and its extensive cultivation under a British Government somewhat savours of absurdity. Better surely to promote the resuscitation of Persian and Arabic than to waste our time and money in preserving the mummy of this very dead language. The student would not find it altogether labour lost to learn Persian and Arabic, for the Vernacular itself (the language of all parties, the most esteemed of all mediums of communication and of record nowadays) would appear a mere skeleton of hideous deformity but for its Persian and Arabic words. But to discountenance Sanscrit openly and unequivocally would go far to render us the most unpopular of all Committees of Public Instruction and our main object indeed may thereby be defeated. Let no fondly cherished prejudices be violated by the rough and incautious hand of innovation, let no disgust be raised by the sudden display of contempt or apathy, let Sanscrit still linger at Benares, its ancient haunt, let a few Pundits still be seen about its academic bowers, like the shipwrecked companions of Aenæs—*rari nates in gargite vasto*—but let them be few."[1] Another gentleman thus disburdened himself: "I know nothing of Sanscrit, but from occasional visits the duties of the Patshalla appear to be properly conducted. If the re-establishment of a

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80: Minute, dated 1st March 1839, by H. H. Thomas.

Persian and Arabic class would attract the youth of Benares to the College, I should be happy to see an able teacher in the place of the late respectable scholar, Kashi Nath, *if at the expense of the Sanscrit instead of the state so much the better.*"[1] Such ebullitions accurately indicate the violently prejudiced state of mind of those who directed the educational operations of the day with regard to Oriental, and especially Sanskrit, literature and learning. The General Committee was by no means immune from it. The design of the Committee was to undermine insidiously the institutions of Oriental learning. It appeared, said Nicholls, to have been "the policy of a portion of the General Committee so to discourage the Sanscrit College as to cause such a falling off in the number of the students as would make it appear that the institution was unpopular from its want of utility and thus pave the way for its abolition...." Such a policy was adopted not only with regard to the Benares, but other Oriental institutions as well.

The process of gradual emasculation of the Oriental educational institutions, aided by the decline in attendance owing to the withdrawal of stipends, would have no doubt been continued right to its final conclusion, had it not been checked in 1840 by Lord Auckland, who restored the original appropriations to the strict purposes of those institutions and bestowed on them a certain number of scholarships in lieu of stipends. The educational arrangements carried out on the principles laid down by Lord Auckland obliged the General Committee to pay some

[1] *Ibid.*, Minute by A. K. Lindsey & A. A. Roberts.

attention to the Oriental Colleges.[1] Among other things, English classes were again established in the Calcutta Sanskrit College in October 1842, under the orders of the Court of Directors and of the Government of India, and in accordance with the wishes of "a very great majority of the students."[2] But no encouragement to the Oriental seminaries, such as was given to English education, was forthcoming from the Committee's successor, the Council of Education. The general attitude of neglect towards them prevailed down to a very late period. It was only in 1859 that the educational authorities awoke to the necessity of reorganising the Sanskrit College in order to bring it, as was stated, "more into harmony with the University system."[3]

Oriental learning was regarded as a necessary evil to be tolerated, and the educational authorities of the time refused to extend it greater countenance than circumstances rendered essential. This was strikingly illustrated by an event connected with Lord Hardinge's Resolution of 10th October 1844.[4] In order to afford encouragement to education in general as well as to render the services of educated men available to the State, that Resolution promulgated that in every possible case, a preference was to be given in the selection of candidates for public

1 *Vide* General Report of the Late General Committee of Public Instruction, for 1840-41 & 1841-42, pp. 48-49.

2 General Report on Public Instruction, in the Bengal Presidency, for 1842-43, p. 52.

3 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1858-59, pp. 10-13.

4 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1844-45, pp. 2-3.

employment to those who had been educated in institutions, whether established by Government or by private individuals and societies, and especially to those who had distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment. From the principle thus comprehensively laid down no preference for any particular system of education, whether English or Oriental, could be inferred. The Resolution sought to give effect to the principle by requiring the Council of Education and the Local Committees and other authorities charged with the duty of superintending public instruction to submit on the 1st of January in each year returns, according to a prescribed form, of students who were 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 might have been deemed qualified to fill. The returns of meritorious students of the Government institutions were to be incorporated with those of the students of private institutions. The returns, when received by Government, were to be printed and circulated to the heads of all Government offices both in and out of Calcutta, "with instructions to omit no opportunity of providing for and advancing the candidates thus presented to their notice, and in filling up every situation of whatever grade, in their gift, to shew them an invariable preference over others not possessed of superior qualifications."

For the purpose of giving effect to the Resolution and enabling it to prepare the requisite list of candidates for public employ, the Council of Education decided on requiring the candi-

dates, who wished to be on the list, to submit to an examination, held annually, and fixed a test for it which reflected more the standard and course of instruction prevalent in the Government institutions than those prevalent elsewhere, thus virtually giving, as the Court of Directors pointed out, a monopoly of public patronage to students in the Government colleges. This, perhaps unintentionally, exclusive test evoked protests and complaints from the authorities of missionary schools, and Alexander Duff took a leading part in agitating the matter. Even the Court of Directors thought the test too high, considered in relation to the immediate practical object in view, the employment of educated men in the public service. Further the Court suggested the propriety of admitting proficients in the Oriental languages to the same privileges as were enjoyed by the scholars of the English institutions under the Resolution of the 10th October 1844. But the Council of Education refused to concede such privileges to the alumni of the Oriental institutions. In its report on the subject, submitted to Government on the 29th June 1848, the Council said: "It has been deemed right to keep open, under the patronage of Government, Institutions in which those who desire instruction in those languages[1] may receive it. Perhaps even an undue preference has been shewn to them in some respects, by giving instruction in those Institutions on easier terms than in the English colleges; but even this has not been without its use, in shewing, beyond question, how much more eagerly the awakening intellect of Hin-

1 Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

dustan desires the more valuable treasures which are opened to its enjoyment through European literature and science. The Council of Education fully agree in the policy of all that has been hitherto conceded in this respect; but they are of opinion that it would be in direct contradiction to all that has been done for education in India during the last thirteen years, since it was finally determined that English should be offered to the youth of India, as their classical language, and that proficiency in it should be deemed the indispensable characteristic of a liberal education, if a step were now taken, which would amount to a virtual admission that, in the estimation of the examiners, the study of Sanscrit or Arabic is as valuable and as well worth the time and trouble bestowed on it as that of English."[1]

Unfortunately, the indiscriminate animus against all Oriental learning, which Bentinck's Resolution contributed to harden in them, led the educational authorities of the period to underrate considerably the valuable aid which those trained and nourished in the Oriental system of education could render to the cause of education. The despised Oriental institutions were to put forth splendid fruit in their own good time. The great experiment of the fusion of European and Sanskrit learning carried out at the Benares College has already been described. Later on, during the middle of the nineteenth century, the Pundits of the Calcutta Sanskrit College contributed to the solution of one of the most difficult practical problems with which

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal Presidency, from 1st May 1848 to 1st October 1849, pp. xi-xxv passim.

the educationists of the period were faced—the supply of good, suitable vernacular school-books. Not the products of the Anglicist system of education, but the followers of a despised learning and culture consummated with unquestionable success a task which had baffled previous attempts to tackle it, or at least had absorbed a good deal of money and labour without yielding the desired results. The achievement of the Pundits evoked enthusiasm in those whose attention was attracted to it. An inspector of schools, East Bengal, wrote animatedly of it in 1859 thus: "These books are no ephemeral productions spawned into the world by penny-a-liners. The majority of them are compilations or translations by the best masters of the Bengali language. By one of those tides which happen in the affairs of men, the learned Pundits of the Sanskrit College have, as a body, been seized with a love of publishing books. They have at last consented to cast away their *sesquipedalia verba*, compounded words a line and a half long, and to write a language that ordinary people may read. Simplicity of diction is now their great object. Only fifteen years ago the Vernacularists might have been tempted to say, can any good thing come out of the Sanskrit College? The Pundits of that College then despised European science and literature as utterly as the Madressa Moulavies do now. Yet during these last fifteen years they have awakened from the slumber of hundreds, or rather of thousands of years, and now again are appearing as the instructors of their countrymen. I beg those interested in education to look down the subjoined list of

books* and to remember that most of them are well written, indeed so well written that all the power and patronage of Government could not secure class books in a purer style of language. Improvement is still possible in the compilation, but the defects here observable are found chiefly in the English authors on which the compositions have been based." And in the same strain he proceeded to remark: "So far as regards secular school books, the Government and the new Vernacular School Society may spare themselves further trouble. Private enterprise has solved the difficulty; we still want Atlases and Globes and school apparatus generally, but we do not want school books.....The time is at hand, if it has not already come, when the School Book Society and the Vernacular Literature Society may cease their publishing labours. Their mission is already fulfilled. They have done their work. They originated the supply of comparatively cheap books, and they for many years were the sole means of enlightenment to the people. But the fire that they kindled and nursed with such care, has at last taken fast hold and burst into a blaze."[1]

And that achievement of the Pundits might have been rendered the forerunner of yet greater ones by proper and well-directed encouragement—encouragement which was however denied by the educational authorities of the period to the professors and expounders of the ancient learning of the land.

* *i. e.* a list of school books printed since 1850, which was subjoined to his report.

1 General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, for 1858-59, Appendix A, pp. 30-32.

Chapter IX.

THE AFTERMATH OF BENTINCK'S RESOLUTION.

§ 1.

In describing the working of the Anglicist policy in the last chapter we had to depart, for the sake of continuity of narrative, from the chronological order of certain events that followed the promulgation of Bentinck's Resolution. We shall now have to retrace our steps a little and hark back to the time of the great controversy in order to note the immediate repercussions of the Resolution and their final outcome of which no mention has been made so far. Forceful repercussions there were; for, Bentinck's Resolution, purport though it did to set the famous controversy at rest, was very far from having the effect of the proverbial oil on troubled waters. Rather, it served to keep alive the agitation and fan it in different directions. For, in point of fairness, the Resolution left much to be desired. The purpose behind it seemed to be, not so much to fairly settle the issues that were agitated, as to overwhelm one party to the controversy by the weight of an imposing authority thrown unreservedly on the side of the other. But, however imposing the authority, it could not silence the remonstrances of those who felt themselves injured by what seemed its arbitrary use. On the contrary, its revolutionary import and its sweeping expressions laid the Resolution open to attack at various points and from various quarters.

Too partial to the views and principles of one party, the Resolution provoked spirited protests from the party discomfited; too exclusive in its declarations, it created doubts and suspicions as to the real scope of its meaning and intent; too revolutionary in its practical consequences, it was inveighed against by the conservative minds of the day; and too hard on the national culture and learning, it brought forth complaints and solicitations from the sections of the populace whose interests and feelings it seemed, despite its disclaimers, to set at nought. As such, the Resolution formed the target of a series of onslaughts. We shall now try to describe some of these, and their final effect on the subsequent course of events in the history of English education in India.

§ 2.

The first attack naturally proceeded from the side of the European Orientalists led by Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, a member of the General Committee, who carried with him two other members, Messrs. Henry Shakespeare and James Prinsep, the latter one of the most eminent of Oriental scholars. It took mostly the form of a restatement of the Orientalist position vis-à-vis the Resolution. Mr. Macnaghten took the Resolution clause by clause and attempted to show its ambiguities and its inconsistency with certain recent professions of Government made in connection with its bearing on the future of the Calcutta Madressa.[1] He questioned whether,

1 Minute, 24th March 1835: Pub. Cons: 22nd April 1835, No. 10 A (G. I. R.)

in directing the appropriation of all funds assigned for the purposes of education to the promotion of English education alone, the Resolution intended to divert to the latter object even those appropriations which had taken place, under the authority of the Act of 1813, for the distinct purpose of reviving and improving the literature of the country and encouraging "learned natives." He doubted the validity of the test laid down in the Resolution for the future discontinuance of Oriental professorships, the test being the number and state of the class at the time of the occurrence of a professorial vacancy. "Temporary causes," Mr. Macnaghten pointed out, "may have occasioned the falling off of classes at a time immediately preceding the occurrence of a vacancy. Unless the diminution had been progressive, the fact might not furnish a true criterion or a fair one: it would obviously apply as well to the European as to the Oriental professorship." This led him to think that the specific reference in the Resolution to "Oriental" professors, as those who were to fall under the test, was due to inadvertence. Apart from its ambiguity, he found the Resolution positively inconsistent on the point with the assurances given by Government in reply to a petition on behalf of the Calcutta Madressa, addressed by over eight thousand Mahomedans at the time the Resolution was about to be passed. He further asked whether, in ordering as the Resolution did, the continuance of stipends to present professors and students, it was intended to extend the concession to various other officers attached to Oriental institutions, particularly to the Madressa, or otherwise. And he questioned,

whether by directing the cessation of the printing of all Oriental works by the General Committee, the Resolution meant that, not only was the General Committee to cease printing and publication on its own account, but that it was not also to encourage and patronise the printing of Oriental works by others. "If the affirmative to this question be given," he observed, "I have no hesitation in saying that the prohibition will have the appearance of an attempt to exterminate Oriental Literature altogether, as it is notorious that these books are not to be bought ready made."

On all those points Mr. Macnaghten asked for clear and definite instructions from Government. Doubts had been created in his mind regarding the true scope of the various directions in the Resolution because of the literal and exclusive construction placed on it by the majority of the General Committee, which was now preponderantly manned by Anglicists who maintained, in opposition to Mr. Macnaghten, that the Resolution was "perfectly clear and explicit."[1] But Mr. Macnaghten was unprepared to believe that Government really intended to proceed to such lengths as seemed indicated in the Resolution. He was inclined to suppose that the intention of Government was "to make no alteration in the system hitherto pursued for the encouragement of learned Natives and the cultivation of Oriental literature, excepting the reduction of the stipends of students, as they become vacant, and the printing of Oriental works under our own superintendence."

1 Letter, 29th March 1835/No. 2157/ from G. C. P. I. to Govt: Pub. Cons: 22nd April 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

The concluding part of the Resolution, which required the General Committee to frame a scheme of education in accordance with the principles laid down by the Resolution for its guidance, provided Mr. Macnaghten with an opportunity for expounding his Orientalist views and his fundamental differences with the new policy of the General Committee. Not that Mr. Macnaghten was enamoured of Oriental literature or learning or actuated by any particular regard for it. But the Anglicists appeared to him to be proceeding with an unwise precipitancy, and in total disregard of all dictates of prudence, in carrying out a change in the established system of the nature contemplated by the Resolution. And against an aggressive spirit of innovation, which summarily dismissed Oriental culture and institutions as fit merely to be swept out of existence, he remonstrated in no mild terms. "I should be," he declared, "one of the foremost to rejoice at seeing truth take the place of error, but I am nevertheless very unwilling to join the ranks of those who are conducting a crusade against every Oriental feeling and institution. With them there is to be no halt in this march of intellect, no breathing time, no trace, no compromise, no cautious approaches but an open manful attack upon every stronghold and redoubt that the religious feelings, the habits, and the prejudices of centuries have raised: all must be utterly destroyed by a *coup de main* and nothing less will suffice. Against such warfare as this I for one must earnestly protest. Our operations in the interior should for many years to come be conducted with some degree of prudence. We

should assume the virtue of liberality if we have it not, and for every English schoolmaster that we locate we should establish a Moulvee and a Pundit, leaving the Natives of the country free to choose to which they will resort for instruction."

But, next, Mr. Macnaghten, in common with the rest of the Orientalists, felt convinced of the ultimate failure of the new policy of attempting wide-spread enlightenment through the medium of English. The notion, cherished by some Anglicists, that English could well be substituted as the general language of India, to the exclusion, not only of the classical, but of the vernacular languages, he dismissed as purely visionary. "The climate must undergo a revolution," he said, "before this can be effected." And he seemed to consider that the reasons, which in his view made the exclusive employment of the English medium impracticable and disadvantageous under the particular circumstances of the Indian people for any wide dissemination of knowledge amongst them, would also operate to frustrate the chimerical hope of creating a lingually anglicised India. He considered the exclusive use of English for such a purpose impracticable and disadvantageous and undesirable, because he believed that for many years in the beginning the knowledge conveyed through English to the youth in the interior of the country could only be elementary, as there was the primary difficulty of their acquiring a foreign language in order to gain the knowledge contained in it; because he believed that the ministers of the popular religions, who were also the expounders of the ancient learning

and exerted a commanding influence over the people, and whom it was desirable to win over if light and knowledge were to make progress among the mass of the people, would be estranged by a policy which showed a scant regard for their cherished languages and learning and an undue partiality for English; and because he believed that the acquisition of the higher knowledge, or the arts and sciences, of Europe through the medium of English could of necessity be undertaken only by a few, and that to confine the communication of knowledge to the channel of English could only result in shutting out the vast majority of the people from the benefits of that knowledge. He considered, from a general point of view, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake sufficiently difficult even through a national medium to attract but a few with ability and inclination to devote themselves to it; and the introduction and employment of a foreign medium he regarded as enhancing, especially in the circumstances of the Indian people, the difficulty to untold proportions. "How is it with our countrymen?" he asked, "How many in a hundred after receiving a most liberal education enter into public life with no more knowledge than suffices to enable them to use their mother-tongue with facility and precision, and yet more is to be expected under far less favourable circumstances from the Natives of India, who are not only to master a foreign language, the most difficult perhaps in the world, but the arena of its arts and sciences also." And again, speaking of the impolicy of forcing the flow of knowledge to the general population through the sole channel of English,

he said: "The people are almost universally poor as regards both their mental and their physical necessaries. In such a state of things, though it would be humane to add to their stock of moral and useful knowledge, it would be cruel to consume their valuable time in the acquisition of that which is not in itself knowledge, but only the means of gaining knowledge and which could prove to but few of them the means of gaining a subsistence."

Mr. Macnaghten was in no wise impressed by the fact, uniformly referred to by the Anglicists in support of their views regarding the feasibility and advisability of making English the medium of general enlightenment, that the people themselves desired to be taught that language even in preference to their own. He saw what the mainspring of the popular craving after English was; and he feared the worst consequences from a policy or system of education which stooped to gratify it. No person, he averred, who had "the slightest experience of the native character could suppose that they who are proverbially tenacious of the usages of their forefathers should evince all of a sudden a disposition to change without some adequate motive. If the fact be as asserted, there can be only one cause. The love of lucre has often tempted even the Hindu to forget every other principle of action. Hopes must have been held out that a knowledge of English would secure them a provision in after life, and not a little indeed will be the disappointment when the hopes are proved to be baseless." And the general reaction ensuing from such disappointment against the study of English might,

Mr. Macnaghten believed and feared, positively set back the clock of educational progress.

Holding such views against the new policy laid down by Bentinck's Resolution, Mr. Macnaghten insisted upon the languages of the country as the proper media for the general diffusion of knowledge. According to him, as according to Orientalists in general, a suitable scheme of education for the country—suitable to the needs and circumstances of all classes—should have to be comprehensive enough to include the vernaculars for the purpose of conferring the benefits of knowledge on the mass of the people; the Oriental languages for enriching and developing the vernaculars; and the English, with its cultivation confined to a few, for the purpose mainly of transferring European knowledge to the vernaculars intermediately through the Oriental languages. He pleaded for fair trial and equal encouragement to all, to Oriental languages and learning side by side with English. "I would encourage the opulent," he said, "those who can afford to live in literary leisure by all means to study our language, and would hold out to all every possible facility for making its acquisition. I would cultivate the Sanskrit and Arabic languages as being the sources whence the vernacular languages will acquire the means of communicating the literary treasures of the English world and I would hold out high prizes for the best translation into those or into the vernacular languages of the most popular scientific treatises on all subjects of our own. Why such a course of proceeding should not be ultimately successful I cannot foresee, though I doubt

not that it may be thought by some to be too circuitous. The grand object in my opinion 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 society."

The minute embodying the views and arguments of Mr. Macnaghten was forwarded to Government by the General Committee. The reply of Government was a brief one. It merely stated that the questions discussed in the Minute had already been decided by the Resolution of 7th March and that it was not considered by Government "necessary or proper to revive them."[1] But this reply did not represent the unanimous opinion of Government. There was in the Governor-General's Council the protagonist of Orientalism, H. T. Prinsep, who was far from being of the view of the majority of the Council that it was not necessary or proper to reopen the question purported to be settled by Bentinck's Resolution. He made the reference of Mr. Macnaghten's minute to Government the occasion for treating the Resolution, in a lengthy minute,[2] to a vigorous broadside of strongly stated arguments and angry expostulations. He added little that was new to the familiar Orientalist arguments against the innovation in educational policy authorised by Bentinck's Resolution, but

1 Letter, 22nd April 1835, from Govt. to G. C. P. I.: Pub. Cons: 22nd April 1835, No. 11, (G. I. R.)

2 Minute, 20th May 1835: Pub. Cons: 3rd June 1835, No. 8, (G. I. R.)

he brought much warmth and energy to his expression of them.

Prinsep began by referring to the particular interpretation of the relevant clause of the Charter Act of 1813, on which the educational principles of the Orientalists had been founded, and on the basis of which Mr. Macnaghten had argued in his minute against the Resolution, and briefly described how the educational operations of the General Committee had been till 1835 carried on in conformity with the terms of that clause. He did not omit to mention how the cultivation of English had been favoured by the Orientalists. "If a comparison were to be made," he said, "of the sums spent in printing native works and in providing new machinery for teaching the language of the East or new stipends for successful scholars of its literature with the amounts lavished on English masters and teachers of the rudiments of European science and on Professors of Law and Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy etc., etc.,[1] it will be found that the former bear but a small proportion to the lakh of rupees even on the principles of the Orientalists, that the desire to teach our own language and literature and science has always prevailed over the revival of the old literature and that we have given to what is least stated in the enactment as a purpose of assignment perhaps even an undue preference." He then proceeded to call Bentinck's Resolution a "rash" act, and, in justification of his so terming it, to describe the manner in which it was hurried through the council by the Governor-

1 Prinsep was probably alluding to the professorships of the Calcutta Vidyalaya.

General without giving the Orientalist side of the question a fair hearing. Not only did he consider the Resolution a rash act, but an ill-advised one as proclaiming unwise and illiberal principles and prohibitions; and he entered at length upon the grounds on which he held that opinion. He inveighed against each distinct clause of the Resolution and tried to show the illiberal and indiscreet character of the aims and motives underlying it. To begin with, he declared the fundamental principle on which the change of policy was effected by the Resolution—viz., that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European science and literature through instruction in the English language and that all funds ought to be appropriated to that object exclusively—to be unjustified by the Charter Act and inconsistent with the past proceedings of the Indian Government with regard to Indian education: and, though prepared to admit the right of Government to lay down the principle in respect to future grants and appropriations out of the Education fund, he denied it had any right to apply the principle to long-established institutions, some of them extant prior to the Charter Act, so as to disturb the assignments made to them for distinct and specific purposes, and not for the general purposes of education. But, next, even in respect to future grants and appropriations he deemed the avowal of that broad principle in favour of the English language and literature unwise and illiberal: "to our subjects and especially to those most capable of feeling it," he said, "the declaration is insulting and calculated to irritate where we ought to conciliate:" and he put it down to

sheer ignorance that Oriental literature and learning were decried in certain quarters as of no value or utility. What, however, principally excited Prinsep's ire was the direction relating to the future discontinuance of Oriental professorships. Construing the direction as meaning that, while the teachers and professors of the English classes were to be left undisturbed in the enjoyment of their comparatively high salaries though their classes might have been wholly unattended or their pupils never proceeded "beyond the Spelling Book", the General Committee was to watch "every temporary failure of an Arabic or Persian or Sanscrit or vernacular class in order that the occasion may be taken to rob it of its pittance of support and transfer the amount to some pampered teacher of English spelling"—construing it thus, Prinsep pronounced the direction illiberal and mean and revolting to the principles and course of policy that had been previously followed. To the abolition of stipends, directed by the Resolution, he objected on two grounds: first, on the particular ground that in the case of institutions like the Madressa and the Benares College the abolition would make a change in the peculiar character of those institutions—a change which he by no means denied the right and power of Government to make, but which he contended at the same time ought not to have been decided on without a full prior investigation into the working of the stipendiary system; and, secondly, on the general ground that the stipends were a necessity whatever the system of education followed, for, as he maintained, it was only through scholarships or stipends affording a provision and maintenance to those who devoted

themselves to the prosecution of studies that anything like erudition and high proficiency could be hoped for. "Whether it be English or Sanscrit or Arabic that it is desired to teach," he said, "the result will be found the same: there will be no high attainment in any of these courses without a class of stipendiary scholars nor will the Institutions thrive without them nor attain the desired credit and reputation; for as I have said before it is mainly through them that the discipline of such institutions is maintained, their character raised in general estimation and the benefits of instruction widely disseminated and made popular." He disputed the notion that stipends acted as bribes "to induce particular studies which would not otherwise be prosecuted," and pointed out the injustice of the grant of high stipends, allowed by Government, to students of the newly-founded Medical College at the same time that they were denied to those of the Oriental Colleges. Against the prohibition by the Resolution of the printing of Oriental works, Prinsep, though he admitted that large amounts had been expended on such works to no marked beneficial purpose and further thought it better on the whole to leave the publication and translation of literary works to private enterprise than to the General Committee, yet contended that "the devotion of part of the assigned Fund to those objects is distinctly within the purposes indicated in the Parliamentary grant. Hence the discontinuance of such aids to Oriental literature and of the support to the learned men employed in preparing works for the Press is withdrawing from one of the objects directly contemplated and prescribed by the Legislature

of England as deserving to be promoted, nay made obligatory by the terms of the enactment." And he particularly animadverted on the action of the General Committee in interdicting forthwith, in pursuance of the Resolution, the progress of works the printing of which had been already undertaken or commenced or approaching completion. Strongly stated, however, as all those contentions were, Prinsep's fervency reached its tempo in his protest against the concluding part of the Resolution which ordered all funds, accuring from the lapse of stipends, from the discontinuance of the Oriental professorships, and from withdrawal from the printing of Oriental classics, to be devoted to the sole object of teaching English literature and science through the medium of the English language. He protested, not only because of the lack of sense of fair play it evinced, but because of its liability to create invidious feelings and to spread abroad an undesirable impression regarding the intentions of Government. "I object to this," he declared, "because it presents this literature and science to those whom we wish to induce to cultivate it in the odious light of a favoured child to be fattened and fed with the best things at disposal and to pamper which the spare morsels hitherto set before other children of different mothers are to be withdrawn that they may starve. With what eyes will all those who look with affection on the literature so robbed of their pittance regard the new courses of instruction which it is intended to open to them? Is it by such measures that it is sought to make English Literature and English Science popular and to extend the love of them and make people desirous of

cultivating them for their own sakes? This resolution not only places these in an attitude of direct hostility towards the much prized Literatures of the Country but exhibits the Government in the odious light of a hard step-mother to the latter. Men will say, indeed they have said: 'All that has hitherto been done to foster these literatures and to encourage the learning and learned men of the East was artful practice to ingratiate while we feared, and to seek favour and popularity while we were dependent on the good-will of those whom we aimed to bring under subjection: but no sooner do we feel our strength to be sufficient, than we let out the cloven foot and evince a selfish disregard to the feelings and wishes of the people and a persecuting hostility to all that is not of our own caste.'" Nor was that all. Prinsep ended on a note of warning against the danger, which he apprehended from the indiscreet and tactless manner in which the Resolution was being carried out and of which he saw signs in the Mahomedan petition on behalf of the Madressa, of an ulterior proselytising motive being imputed to Government on account of the revolutionary character of the Resolution and, still more, on account of the proceedings of the General Committee based thereon.

The decision of Government not to reopen the question settled by the Resolution of 7th March caused the resignation of Macnaghten and James Prinsep from the General Committee.[1] But the latter did not secede from the Committee without lodging a protest against the Resolution,

1 Home Pub. Cons: 1st July 1835: Nos. 10, 11, 13 (G. I. R.)

or rather an able vindication of the Orientalist policy till recently followed.[1] J. Prinsep's vindication follows in great part the familiar lines of the Orientalist apologia, particularly in its insistence upon the fact that the Orientalists in laying down their system of education had but followed the trend of general opinion which had at the outset identified the education of the Indian people with the encouragement and improvement of Oriental literature—a fact which he elucidated by tracing, from the time of Lord Minto's Minute onwards, the events and circumstances that led to the institution of the General Committee. He was at particular pains to prove that fact as he read in the utterances of some of his colleagues in the Committee and in the attitude of Government a silent reproach against the Orientalists—a reproach which seemed to imply that they, the Orientalists, had departed from the original objects with which the Committee had been established, that, by pursuing different objects, they had been responsible for misappropriation of large funds, and that they as a body had been unduly influenced in their policy by individuals with predilections of their own and had been " swayed alternately to Sanscriticism or to Arabicism as Mr. Wilson or Mr. Taylor directed the helm." He challenged these imputations by further pointing out, in addition to the circumstances in which the General Committee had originated, that the Sanskrit College of Calcutta was " the express child of the Government " and no creation of the Orientalist party in the Committee. Incidentally he showed

[1] Minute, 30th April 1835: Home Pub. Cons: 1st July 1835, No. 12 (G. I. R.)

the success and utility of the Sanskrit College in supplying, even though the institution was then in its infancy, well-trained men for various important situations, public as well as private,—which seemed to belie those who harped upon the supposed failure of the Orientalist system of education. He also justified the General Committee's past expenditure of large sums on the publication of Oriental works and translations, which he considered more effective channels for the diffusion of knowledge than schools and colleges. But all that, and much more which Prinsep had to say on the subject of education, was in the nature of a twice-told tale, reproducing as it did the views and opinions of the Orientalists in general—though no doubt he put these in a better and clearer form than some Orientalists succeeded in doing. In his justification of Oriental publications, in his defence of the stipendiary system, in his general argument against the exclusive use of the English medium, in his concluding statement of the principles on which he desired a comprehensive system of education to be based, he added hardly anything new to the substance of what had been said before on those various subjects. However, Prinsep delivered his sentiments on one point in an arresting manner. He expressed in memorable words his dissent from the policy which had now found favour and had been partially launched into operation by Bentinck—the policy of anglicising the language of education in conjunction with the language of administration of the country. It may be also noted that Prinsep saw clearly one of the underlying reasons which influenced a large number of Englishmen in India to agitate

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for the substitution of their language as the language of administration. And this was what he said: "To hold that any elevation of the mind takes place from learning the English alphabet, or that the same moral instruction cannot be imparted in the languages of India appears to me to be the bias of enthusiasm. Where encouragement is given in every way, an activity and apparent preference will be manifested: and where the contrary, langour and despondency. To English is now held out the prize of rising fortune, public employ, distinction and *social equality with the rulers of the country*. The secret of this last and most influential advantage lies only in the dislike of the majority of our countrymen to converse in a foreign tongue; it is irksome; few are able to do it well. But it is an injustice to the governed that this distinction should prevail: the object of our earnest exertions should be to promote the knowledge of the people and their tongue by ourselves: the more we encourage the middle class of Anglo-Hindus, to the greater distance do we banish the rest of their countrymen: we excite an ill-will between the *reformed* and native Indians, and make 100 enemies for 1 friend. The character of the English Government of India has *hitherto* been contrasted with that of its Mahomedan predecessor by its leaving their institutions untouched, by its learning and using the language of the governed. But now in our turn it would seem as though we would assume the haughty tone and force the majority—the overwhelming majority—to talk, conduct the business and keep the records of their courts and offices in the language of the governing

minority. Our new policy is already partly avowed, our political correspondence is ordered to be conducted in English, instead of its being our boast that all languages were equally accessible in our durbar, English envoys are deputed to foreign courts, while those without this knowledge, however superior in abilities, are gradually put aside. There must naturally be a strong bias in the minds of us Englishmen in favour of those who can converse freely with us and as it were enter into our feelings and system. I feel it myself, but I feel it as a prejudice that ought to be combated as an injustice to the millions whom it should be my business (paid for it as I am and enjoying every facility for learning) to study, to comprehend and to protect with an equal hand....." Moreover, he had little doubt like the rest of the Orientalists about the failure of any attempt to diffuse through English a knowledge of science and literature by encouraging, as some proposed to do, expectations of advantages from acquisition of that language. He therefore opposed the proposal entertained by some of the members of the General Committee to elicit from Government a declaration in favour of a policy of giving preference to the students of English in filling up appointments in the public service. He concluded with a pointed retort to the Anglicists: "Such an avowal by the Government would I think excite murmurs and disaffection: it would be a species of intolerance, a bribe to the cultivation of our language, not of our literature: we should rather, I think, maintain that English is to be studied for its own sake, and not bribe people to learn it. It has been urged that we

bribe people to study Arabic and Sanscrit because we give them subsistence money while in college; but which is the greater bribe, an allowance of 5 or 7 rupees a month during hard study for 4 or 5 years with no prospect beyond, or the promise of appointments of 50, 100, nay 500 and 1000, rupees a month for a moderate acquaintance with English."

Another protest came, and that from an illustrious body—the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[1] The Society remonstrated in a restrained yet strong tone against the discontinuance of the support of Government to the cultivation of the Oriental languages. "If the Sanskrit and the Arabic languages," said the letter of the Society, "consecrated as they are by ages of the remotest antiquity, enshrined as they are in the affections of venerating millions, the theme as they are of the wonder and of the admiration of all the learned nations of Europe, if these languages are not to receive support from a Government which has been ever famed for its liberality and its justice, from a Government which draws an annual revenue of twenty millions from the people by whom these languages are held sacred, it is the decided opinion of the Asiatic Society—an opinion which they want words to express with adequate force, that the cause of civilization and the character of the British nation will alike sustain irreparable injury." And on two grounds of practical importance the Society thought the Oriental languages worthy of Government's encouragement: first, the necessity and

1 Letter, 3rd June 1835, from President, A. S. to Govr. Genl: Pub. Cons: 10th June 1835, No. 14 (G. I. R.)

value of those languages to the development of the vernaculars; and, secondly, the apprehended loss of an influence for good among the people by the withdrawal of Europeans from the field of Oriental learning on account of lack of countenance from Government. To put it in the language of the Society's letter: "If the British Government set the example of neglecting Oriental studies, it can hardly be expected that many of their European subjects will cultivate them: the field will then be left in the undisturbed possession of those whose unprofitable husbandry is already but too visible, and who will pursue it with a view to the perpetuation of superstition and defective morality among the people. An influence will thus be lost, the benefit of which to the more intellectual classes of Natives can scarcely be estimated too highly, arising from the direction given to their studies and pursuits by those who can freely acknowledge what is intellectually and morally valuable in their previous systems and distinguish it from what is of an opposite character and who take the first and most necessary step for removing the wrong prejudices of others, by proving that they are without unjust prejudice themselves." Consequently, all that the Society entreated of Government by way of support to Oriental literature and learning was that, if no appropriation could be made for the purpose out of the Parliamentary grant, the Court of Directors might be solicited to give some specific pecuniary grant to be expended annually on the revival and improvement of literature of the country and encouragement of learned men, as provided in the Charter Act; and the Society volunteered to

undertake the superintendence of the expenditure of that sum under such checks as the Government might impose. It also offered to continue, with the necessary pecuniary aid from Government, the printing of the Oriental works which had been interrupted by the Resolution of 7th March. In reply the Government forwarded, for the enlightenment of the members of the Society, a copy of the Resolution and politely refused to accede to the specific requests made by it.[1]

From the Indian side too there came petitions containing respectful expostulations. There was first a Persian petition by over eight thousand (to be accurate, 8,312) of the "Mussalman inhabitants of Calcutta and its environs," which referred to the rumour, circulated at the time the Anglo-Orientalist question was receiving the consideration of the Governor-General's Council, of an intention on the part of Government to abolish the Madressa and to the apprehensions created among the Mahomedan population on that account, and prayed that the institution might be continued as before, stating *inter alia*: "From the time when the report of the abolition of the Mudressa first gained ground, all classes small and great of the people have taken up the idea that the object and end of this measure is to eradicate the literature and religious system of Islamian order, that the measure may lead to the dissemination of the religion of the proposers and originators of the measure itself and so the subjects of the state may be caused to become

1 Letter, 10th June 1835, from Govt. to President, A. S.: Pub. Cons: 10th June 1835, No. 15 (G. I. R.)

Christians."[1] This was followed by a petition from one Sibkissen Sarma and other students of the Calcutta Sanskrit College in which, after alluding to the support that had been vouchsafed to Sanskrit learning by former Hindu and Mahomedan princes as well as by the British Government in the past and expressing their view that the abolition of stipends was calculated to strike a death-blow to the Sanskrit College, they concluded by entreating that the allowances and stipends, which were to be discontinued in future under the Resolution of 7th March, be continued as before.[2] These petitions clearly exhibited the state of ferment caused in certain circles by the change of educational policy and as clearly pointed to, though the Government of the day refused to see, the necessity of a modification of the sweeping Resolution. But, though the necessity was for the time being staved off by assurances in the former case[3] and by refusal to comply with the entreaties in the latter,[4] yet it was not for long that the Government could withstand it. Over a year afterwards another petition, almost similar in substance to the previous one, was made by seventy students of the Sanskrit College.[5] The students of the Madressa too petitioned for the restoration of their stipends. The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, perceived the necessity of some measure, though not in the form of a revival of

[1] Home Pub. Cons: 13th March 1835, No. 9 (G. I. R.)

[2] Home. Pub Cons: 8th April 1835, No. 44 (G. I. R.)

[3] Reply to Mahomedan petition, 9 March 1835: Home Pub. Cons: 13th Mrch 1835, No. 10 (G. I. R.)

[4] Reply to Petition of Sibkissen Sarma & others, 8th April 1835: Home Pub. Cons: 8th April 1835, No. 45 (G. I. R.)

[5] Petition, dated 9th August 1836: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, pp. 145-46.

the stipendiary system, to satisfy the petitioners and stop their complaints. He preferred, however, on the suggestion of two members of his council, to await instructions from the Court of Directors before proceeding on those petitions; but at the same time he hastened to record his opinion that scholarships in lieu of stipends might with benefit be attached to the Oriental colleges, and in his view a wide distinction existed between stipends and scholarships.[1] In fact, a spirit of compromise since the advent of Auckland as Governor-General had begun to take possession of Government.

But the Government was pressed forward by events to an actual attempt at compromise, or rather, modification of Bentinck's Resolution. A petition in Sanskrit and in English was addressed to the Court of Directors in the name of the Hindu community of Bengal. It was subscribed by nearly nine thousand persons. The petitioners demanded, first, due encouragement to be given to the Sanskrit Language and Literature; secondly, the adoption of measures for the cultivation of "elemental instruction in pure Bengallee;" thirdly, the maintenance of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta on the same footing as in the time of Lord Amherst's administration, i.e., the resumption of the practice of allowing monthly stipends to the pupils for their sustenance; fourthly, the appropriation of a certain sum of money to the publication of Sanskrit and Bengali books and "that the same sum, 25,000 rupees which was heretofore fixed for that purpose, may be continued to be expended and that works on

1 Minute, 24th August 1836: Sels. E. R., Pt. I, p. 147.

European Arts and Sciences may be translated and published in the vernacular languages."

The petition had the effect of bringing the Resolution of 7th March under review. The petition was referred, on 21st February 1838, to the General Committee for its opinion and report. On the 31st of August the Committee submitted its views on the demands of the petitioners. The Committee was unfavourable to a reopening of the discussion settled by the Resolution of 1835. With regard to encouragement to Sanskrit learning, it did not consider it right or consistent with the orders received in 1835 to do anything beyond keeping up the Sanskrit institutions under its care in a state of efficiency as long as pupils resorted to them for gratuitous instruction. With regard to vernacular instruction, it pointed out that it had attached teachers of vernacular to all institutions under its control and had required English teachers to learn the vernacular dialects. Finally, it decidedly objected to the revival of the stipendiary system.

When the question again came up before the Governor-General in Council with the reply of the General Committee, it was debated upon almost wholly from the point of view of expediency. This point of view is clearly reflected in the minute of 19th October 1838 by Mr. Robertson, who, referring to an earlier minute by him dated 12th April 1836, concluded by asking whether "the Government was prepared for the sake of preserving theoretic consistency with regard to the outlay of the monthly sum of eleven hundred Rupees to persist in a course

that was protested against certainly not without much show of reason by nearly fifty thousand of the most influential individuals of the Mahomedan and Hindoo persuasions." The result of the discussion that took place was that, though the Government decided to refrain from controverting the general principles laid down by the Resolution of 7th March till it received the opinion and instructions of the Court of Directors to whom the matter as agitated from time to time had been referred, yet it determined on a modification of the Resolution to an extent calculated to make it less rigidly exclusive of certain objects which it was thought desirable to encourage in concession to popular protest. Accordingly, Government suggested in the first place to the General Committee that the Oriental institutions be so administered as to remove the popular impression that they were to be ultimately abolished. Next, it approved of the modification of the Resolution as implied in a recommendation of the Committee that scholarships for distinguished merit might be given to students of the Oriental institutions. Lastly, it approved also of a modification of it so as to permit the Asiatic Society to print Oriental works and defray the expense out of a monthly sum assigned by the Court of Directors for the purpose of encouraging publications; and it further agreed that "the Committee had rightly urged that they were not precluded from taking all necessary steps to provide Class Books for students of the Vernacular or of the learned Eastern Languages."[1]

1 India Public Despatch to Court, dated 19th November 1838/ No. 36/.

On these modifications being ordered to be given effect to by the General Committee, that body, however, pointed out, in a letter of 26th January 1839, that the orders of Government in respect of those modifications were not consistent with the Resolution of 1835, or at least with the interpretation of it on which it had till then acted. A divergence of views between the Government and the General Committee appears to have taken place on the matter.[1] The divergence reached a climax when the Committee subsequently sought to put a construction on Bentinck's Resolution which would have gone to justify it in appropriating "the lapsed stipends of ancient institutions and endowments without regard to any pledges for their maintenance except such as made their continuance conditional upon the taste for the particular literature now taught in them." In such a state of things there was one recourse left open to Government. Accordingly, it pressed the Court of Directors for an early declaration of their sentiments on the subject.[2]

But, before the Court issued their instructions, Lord Auckland was obliged to take up the question himself.

§ 3.

At the period at which Lord Auckland attempted a fresh settlement of the controversy, the issue was no longer between the Orientalists and the Anglicists only. A third party had entered the lists since 1835. The claims of those

[1] India Public Letter to Court, 6th March 1839/No. 5/.

[2] Public Despatch to Court, 12th October 1839/No. 33/.

multifarious languages, the importance of which had been recognised in theory but neglected in practice by both the former parties, now found their advocates vocal. In Brian Houghton Hodgson of the Bengal Civil Service, British Resident at the Court of Nepal, the vernaculars had an able champion. In a series of letters contributed to the "Friend of India," and subsequently published under the challenging title, "The Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars: or the Anglicists Answered," Hodgson pleaded with much force and ability for the recognition of the true place of vernaculars in a national scheme of education for India. His disquisition in favour of the vernaculars was indirectly an attack against Bentinck's Resolution; for, though the Resolution as such may not have primarily furnished the *casus belli* for his attack, yet it was an avowed object of Hodgson's to refute the views, opinions and assumptions of the Anglicists and to assail the educational system reared by them on the basis of Bentinck's Resolution. To understand therefore the full scope of the various issues that Auckland was called upon to settle, it is necessary to note this emergence of vernacularicism, chiefly as expounded by Hodgson, in the field of controversy.

What was Hodgson's position in relation to the other two parties? What were his points of agreement and difference with them? These are the preliminary questions that naturally claim attention at the outset. And the answer is that Hodgson essentially agreed with the Orientalists and the Anglicists in one of their fundamental propositions that the knowledge

which was to be the means of intellectual elevation of the people of India had to be drawn from European, and not domestic, sources. To put it in his own words, "it may be granted at once, as a general proposition, that that sound knowledge, to diffuse which throughout India is our purpose, is to be found in the European languages, and not in those of the East."[1] But, again, he was far from discarding with the Anglicists all Oriental learning as unworthy the educationist's attention. Though he saw little intrinsic worth in it, yet he regarded, with the Orientalists, the Oriental languages and literatures as valuable auxiliaries for the purpose of diffusing "the sound knowledge" of Europe. This point will be enlarged on subsequently. At present it may be noted that, whilst he agreed with both the parties on the question as to the knowledge that was to constitute the matter of general instruction, he differed from them in regard to the medium to which predominance was to be assigned in a national system of education. In other words, whilst he admitted the necessity of importing knowledge from Europe, he denied the necessity, on the one hand, of importing the alien language over which the Anglicists went into dithyrambics or, on the other hand, of resuscitating the dead languages which were the theme of admiration of the Orientalists. He refused to consider either of those measures necessary for the enlightenment and improvement of the people or for the development of the vernaculars. On the contrary, he wanted measures calculated or tending to act *directly*

1 Letter I: Essays relating to Indian Subjects, Vol. II, p. 260 (1880).

on and through the vernaculars. He insisted, and not without a goodly array of facts and arguments, that if exotic knowledge was to be naturalised and carried to the mass of the Indian people, then the vernaculars must be given supremacy as educational media by those entrusted with educational affairs.

But, whilst those from whom Hodgson differed, acknowledged the value and importance of the vernaculars in the abstract, they did little to reduce their professions to practice; and the reason alleged was that they saw in their multiplicity and their uncultivated state the main objection to the general employment of vernacular media for purposes of education. It was commonly assumed rather than conclusively demonstrated that the colloquial languages of the Indian people were too many and too inefficient either for the purposes of education or for directly incorporating into them the refinements and technicalities of European knowledge and science. The assumption furnished the Orientalists and the Anglicists alike with the *raison d'etre* of their plan of substituting other languages for the vernaculars, though both considered the improvement of the latter as a desideratum to be striven for. Again, the Anglicists were wont to contrast the singleness and perfection of English as an educational medium against the plurality and intrinsic poverty of the vernaculars. Hodgson disputed the validity of both the assumptions in question. He endeavoured to shew, and not without success so far as the premises from which he argued went, that the plurality and the poverty were as exaggerated

in the one case as were the sufficiency and perfection in the other. If plurality was an objection to the general use of the vernacular medium, then, Hodgson pointed out, neither was English the "singly sufficient organ" for the communication of European knowledge that the Anglicists imagined it to be: for, the fact was patent that Englishmen themselves had to resort to other languages, like the French and German, for an acquaintance with "a large portion of the sound knowledge of Europe" which was not to be found in their own. On the other hand, it was easy to prove the exaggeration involved in the assertion of the plurality of the vernaculars by simply pointing to the extent of the territorial prevalence of the principal vernaculars of the different provinces and to the necessity of keeping in mind the distinction between the merely dialectial and the essential differences of language when reckoning the plurality. Restricting himself to the province of Bengal, Hodgson remarked that "Bengali is the speech of at least thirty-seven millions of people, and Hindee is everywhere current from the Northern frontiers of Bengal to the Indus and the Himalaya, not to mention the ubiquitarian Hindustanee!" and added: "This surely is a range of language enough to satisfy the most ardent of reasonable reformers—is a range rather above than below the average of Europe."[1] If, again, the vernaculars were to be condemned on account of their alleged poverty or inefficiency, then Hodgson pointed out that, barring the terminology of the exact sciences, neither was English possessed of that extraordinary flexibility and precision which

1. *Ibid*, p. 261.

could enable one to dispense with circumlocution and periphrasis in expressing the subtle and refined concepts and reasonings of the mind. Especially was the poverty of the English language in that respect experienced as an almost insuperable difficulty to the direct and precise expression of ideas in philosophy and those other sciences which did not fall under the denomination of the "exact" sciences. And Hodgson invoked the authority of Mackintosh and Malthus on the point. On the other hand, were the vernaculars so rude and barren as often assumed? Hodgson denied it. Taking, again, the instance of the languages of Bengal, he asserted generally "that Bengalee, the language of thirty-seven millions, has good dictionaries and grammars, as well as works which, quoad language, exhibit a respectable share of precision and compass; whilst its connection with Sanskrit, and the peculiar genius of the latter, afford extraordinary means of enrichment by new terms competent to express any imaginable modification of thought..... that throughout the Bengal Presidency wherever Bengalee is not spoken, Hindee is the basis of that almost single vernacular language which is common to all Hindoos and all rural Moslems; that Hindi possesses books which in point of language exhibit very considerable actual and latent power; that the latter may be educed and extended to any requisite degree through the connection of Hindi with Sanskrit; and that, lastly, scarcely any part of the population of our vast Presidency, which uses *not* Bengalee or Hindee, has other language than Hindoostanee—a language rich in grammars, dictionaries, and written works; and from its flexible genius

capable of amalgamating with its existing wealth any and every variety of new terms and vocables which Sanskrit and Arabic can furnish from their inexhaustible fountains."[1]

Cogent as those arguments were, Hodgson proceeded further to question the common assumption regarding the poverty and inefficiency of the vernaculars on a broader ground. He brought to bear on the point fundamental considerations relating to the nature and function of language. Taking the recognised function of language to be simply to put and hold together two minds in the same train of thought, Hodgson went on to argue "the *necessary* capacity of the Indian spoken languages to bear any weight of knowledge coming home to the *business and bosoms of mankind* that we can lay on them." That the Indian vernaculars were capable media of communication for purposes of the ordinary intercourse and business of life was not to be denied: why then could they not be capable media for the communication of all knowledge bearing on the ordinary business of life, of all knowledge intimately connected with the ordinary thoughts and feelings and passions and needs of mankind? No doubt, for the communication of a knowledge of the exact sciences, Hodgson was disposed to favour the English medium:[2] though there too he made a partial exception in the case of Astronomy on the ground of popular conversancy with that science as contained in Sanskrit works. But, as for the communication of all other knowledge which had to do with the things of life, which was so associated with the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 264.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 261.

interests and affairs and common experience of mankind that it had to rely for its expression on ordinary speech and was helpless to create a language of its own in the manner of the exact sciences, Hodgson advocated the vernacular medium as the most appropriate for bringing such knowledge home to the Indian people. For, what was the function of language with regard to that species of knowledge? Did language in the case of that knowledge represent stereotyped concepts and fixed and constant meanings as did the terminology and definitions of the exact sciences? By no means. All that language did with regard to it was to put two minds in the same train of thought. Hodgson held that the Indian vernaculars too, even in the state in which they were, could do the same well, and much better if improved. So far as the ordinary function of languages was concerned, he argued, the Indian vernaculars could not be charged with inefficiency in performing it; but it was when an extraordinary demand was made upon them for giving expression to the refined ideas and reasonings of European philosophy, or of what were generally termed the "moral sciences," that their lack of flexibility and precision might have become apparent, and that too particularly in European hands. And it was to their want of flexibility and precision almost in that respect alone that the general assertions regarding their poverty and inefficiency really related rather than to any intrinsic rudeness or sterility of theirs. But then, Hodgson contended, the same want of flexibility and precision was experienced in the case of a highly developed language like the English when the same extraordinary demand

was made upon it. English too was not such a finely pliant and precise instrument of thought as to obviate the necessity of ample definition and great deal of circumlocution when ideas and knowledge in the departments of philosophy or moral sciences were sought to be conveyed. And yet somehow those ideas and that knowledge did get themselves expressed in English; and there was no reason why they should not do so in the vernaculars. "And," remarked Hodgson, "whoever will advert to the nature and extent of this circuitous communication of ideas in our tongue.....can have no further room to doubt that the same ideas may be conveyed to Indian minds, in their own language, *without much further* circumlocution."[1] It was ignorance or exaggeration that made light of the capacity and potentialities of the vernaculars. "We must exaggerate," concluded Hodgson, "the perfection of our own language as much as we do the imperfection of those of India—we must further shut our eyes to the essential nature and function of speech, to the connection of philosophy with life, and to the high date of Indian civilization, before we can admit the assertion that the Indian languages neither are, nor can readily be made, competent to express our knowledge. Their present competency is great, in most ordinary views; and if a very moderate degree of public patronage continue to be bestowed on the learned languages whence they are derived, the efficient lexicographical and grammatical labours of the past upon the vulgar tongues may be completed so as, without extraordinary pains, delay, or expense, to render the latter as much more

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.

effective as can be required, or can be expected by those who either understand the real state of the language at present, or the nature of language in general."[1]

Still further, Hodgson appealed to the experience of history. Adverting to the fact that the English language in Sir Thomas More's day was probably even less developed than Bengali in 1835, and that the former had subsequently attained to its remarkable growth mainly because of the impetus to improvement which it then received by its having been recognised and resorted to as the medium of popular enlightenment, he pleaded: "Let us awake the popular mind in India, and assuredly *the natives*, with our aid and example, will soon demonstrate that their languages possess capabilities equal to any demand. The history, not only of our own language, but of every vulgar tongue in Europe, justifies the presumption that, so soon as effort is directed towards their improvement, the Indian vernaculars will almost immediately and spontaneously put forth the ordinary strength of language; and as for what may be called its extraordinary strength, I think I have shown that our own tongue has *not yet* put it forth. Our inability to express without extreme periphrasis the recently-elaborated truths of all departments of the philosophy of life is confessed, as we have seen, by the greatest men of the age. In respect to the *remedy* of this particular defect of all known languages, so far as it is remediable, the Hindoos will enjoy, in the genius of the Sanskrit, and in their freedom from our conventional

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

embarrassments, a liberty denied to us; and they will in the meanwhile probably be able to express, as we shall for them, all this class of ideas without more circumlocution than we are now compelled by our poverty of direct terms to use in English."[1]

The commonly prevalent assumption which Hodgson was so much at pains to disprove constituted indeed a vital point. It would have been useless to demonstrate the merits and advantages of the vernacular medium of education or the feasibility of its adoption to those who held exaggerated views regarding the poverty and incapacity of the Indian vernaculars and proceeded to act on those views by rejecting the vernaculars in favour of a foreign language. Not that Hodgson denied *in toto* the truth of his opponents' contention, but he denied that it was valid to such a degree and extent as to justify the actual course pursued. That was his first point of contention. From it the transition to his second point of contention was a natural one—to that relating to the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the English and the vernacular media.

Why was it that Hodgson strenuously upheld the vernaculars as the most proper media for the education of the Indian people in general? Why was it that he as strenuously opposed the adoption of the English medium? What peculiar merit or merits did he observe in the vernacular medium that led him to do so? The answer ultimately lies for the chief part in two leading tenets of what may be called Hodgson's educa-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

tional credo. Hodgson, it may be stated here, viewed the educational question with a keener insight than did the generality of those who engaged in the controversy then raging on it. His keen insight, combined with a wide experience of the people of the country, saved him from the smug beliefs and superficial optimism of Macaulay and Trevelyan. Moreover, a certain democratic outlook, or, at any rate, a strong current of sympathy for the people in the mass, appears to have shaped his attitude on the question of the education of the Indian people. Hence his views of enlightenment extended far beyond Macaulay's aim of creating a class of anglicised interpreters between the rulers and the ruled.

To that democratic outlook may be attributed in great part the first cardinal tenet of Hodgson—that educational endeavours must be primarily and directly addressed to the enlightenment and uplift of the mass of the people (though incipiently through a small, regularly trained body of teachers and translators) and not to that of certain classes who chose to avail themselves of the means of education offered them and to whom, in accordance with the filtration theory in vogue, it was left to work out the mental emancipation of the majority of their countrymen. That was in substance what Hodgson's insistence on the vernacularisation of European knowledge finally appears to have come to. He went a step further and asserted that partial diffusion of knowledge, which was only to be expected from the adoption of a foreign medium, was worse than valueless so far as the good of the country as a whole was concerned. Knowledge as power, when restricted

to a few, was in his decided opinion liable to be a curse; or, in other words, knowledge was dependent for the exercise of its beneficent effect on its free and large circulation among the many. "Have not the waters of knowledge," he asked, alluding by way of simile to the theory that it was only the constant motion and "unrestrained range" of the oceanic waters that rendered them immune from corruption and innocuous to life on earth, "have not the waters of knowledge, wherever restrained in their circulation, become corrupt themselves, and corruptive of all else?" And again, he said "Learning is not, in itself, a blessing; it is so only according to its use and application. *Generally diffused*, and identified with the *ordinary pursuits*, and *thoughts*, and *wants of society at large*, it is beneficent power—power at once incapable of misapplication to the purposes of tyranny, and capable of aiding in the highest degree, the accomplishment of every useful and generous aim and end. But *not* so identified, it becomes stale and unprofitable: *not* so diffused, it becomes noxious, and noxious in the highest degree—the certain engine of deception and oppression."[1]

To a mind dominated by such views the advocacy of the merits and claims of the vernaculars was natural and spontaneous. Hodgson was conscious of the deficiencies of the Indian vernaculars as they then were; he was conscious of the difficulties and disadvantages attendant on their use as media of education; but his whole point was that, however great those temporary difficulties and disadvantages the adoption of

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 282-83.

what he termed an ante-vernacular medium would encounter greater difficulties and be ultimately productive of positive evils. In fact, certain evils he definitely regarded as inseparable from an "ante-vernacular medium;" and he apprehended they were liable to appear in an exacerbated form in India through the adoption of the English medium. One of those evils was the monopoly of knowledge which an anti-vernacular medium tended to create in the hands of a few, because of the difficulty of its acquisition by the many, especially in the circumstances of a country like India. And knowledge, concentrated in the hands of a few, Hodgson visualised as a power for evil rather than for good, as an engine of oppression rather than an instrument of enlightenment of the many by the few. This view, it may be noted, struck at the root of the rather facile assumption of the Anglicists that knowledge would under their system of education pass down from the educated few to the ignorant many. That Hodgson appears at times to over-emphasise that particular view of his, that he seems, again, to take no account of the existence of any factors counteractive of the tendency of knowledge to become monopolised when conveyed through a foreign medium need not surprise us or detract from the importance of his argument, when it is remembered that he was endeavouring to refute those who themselves held extreme views and fell back on convenient assumptions in support of them. The fact cannot be doubted that he hit the nail on the head, though he hit it hard. In his view there was but one counteractive of monopolisation of knowledge, and that was its vernacularisation. For the same reason

that he was opposed to the adoption of English as medium of education, he was opposed also to its introduction as the language of administration. If, as he believed, the English medium was apt in the one case to create a monopoly of knowledge, he regarded it as equally apt in the other to make of the affairs and conduct of the administration a mystery liable to be turned into a weapon of oppression of the many by the few. "The mystification of knowledge and of administration," said Hodgson, "separately evil, are dreadful when combined, and were we to anglicise our courts and our schools, we could scarcely fail, under all the circumstances of the case, to fix on India the curse of this double inequity." So that was the first count of Hodgson's indictment against the imposition of the English language on the people of India—namely, that, whether as the language of education or of administration, the introduction of English, such as was contemplated by the Anglicists, was fraught with dangerous consequences in the actual circumstances of the country. On the other hand, he regarded the vernacular medium a safe one as capable of bringing knowledge within the reach of the many.

Such was in brief one of Hodgson's reasons or arguments against the general imposition of the English language on India. However, to understand it as elaborated by him, we must have recourse to his own words. Any general imposition of the English language, argued Hodgson, implied a conquest of one of the most tenacious habits of mankind, the habit of language; or, at least it implied an easy abnegation

by the Indian people of their own forms of speech for foreign ones. An attempt at such a conquest Hodgson regarded as doomed to failure, and a voluntary effort at such abnegation as not to be looked for. And what were the consequences of the failure likely to be? They may be left to be described by Hodgson himself. "The proposal is," he said, "to make English the sole organ of sound knowledge—the sole instrument of its communication: and it needs no words to prove that, if the organ be but very partially adopted, the knowledge must be restricted in the same degree. Either, then, we must succeed in anglicising the speech of the Indians, or we must, by such an attempt, create a small exclusive body of proficients in our lore. But knowledge is power: English knowledge is in India power of the most formidable character: and if that power *do but get associated with office*, is it possible to doubt its becoming, in the hands of those natives who possess it, an instrument for the oppression of their fellows more formidable even than the present priestly monopoly of learning? Now it so happens that all the advocates for making our language the medium of education, have likewise contended for making it the instrument of administration. Such was Mr. Grant's doctrine in 1792: and such is the doctrine of the present day. It is needless, therefore, to argue tendencies: the association of anglicised education to anglicised administration, is avowed, and declared to be a grand desideratum. This is, indeed, taking the bull by the horns: for the worst exacerbations of the anti-vernacular organ must doubtless flow from such association, how mischievous soever its effects might be, unaided

by such direct connection with power.....sound knowledge generally diffused is the greatest of all blessings: but the soundness of knowledge has ever depended, and ever will, on its free, and equal, and large communication. Partially diffused it is not only no good, but a bitter and lasting curse—the special curse which hath blighted the fairest portion of Asia from time immemorial, and which for hundreds of years made even Christianity a poison to the people of Europe! Would your inchoate plans of education liable to produce such a result? Do you mean to deny the liability? or to contend that it is not a damning one? No one asserts 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. So circumstanced, should you not consider that the many are unapt to seek knowledge for itself, though the few can always be won to pursue, *through it*, the path of profit and of power? and should you not reflect that to wrap up knowledge in a mysterious garb and to connect it directly with authority, is the sure way to cause it to be turned into an engine of oppression of the many by the few? True, Persian is such an instrument at present, and perhaps working more mischief than English could do: true, were English the language of administration, it would tend greatly to the strengthening of our power, in every sense but that large and ultimate one, which identifies the security of dominion with the happiness of

the mass of its subjects. But the cardinal and overruling truth is, that dominion as well as knowledge should have *no secrets*. Now, foreign organs of communication universally tend to create and maintain such secrets; whilst all the circumstances of our situation in India are pregnant with aptitude to educe that tendency; and as the evils flowing from the existence of those secrets are proved by the experience of all ages and countries to be the direst to which a nation can be exposed, this damning liability suffices for the rejection of such organs. It sufficed in England—in all Europe—in the hour of its regeneration: far more should it suffice in India, where the *one thing to be eschewed* by those who have the happiness of its countless millions at stake, is the hazard of making knowledge an official monopoly in the hands of a small number of the people. Any plan for regenerating India which involves such a hazard should be rejected at once on that single ground; and the preference of the vernacular over the English instrument of knowledge is sufficiently established by the exemption of the former, and the non-exemption of the latter, from this hazard...."[1]

As evident from the above words, Hodgson's argument about the hazard of monopolisation of knowledge flowing from the adoption of the English medium of education and of administration presupposed the impracticability of a universal diffusion of the English language among the people of India. The impracticability of it was, however, no mere baseless assumption with Hodgson: it was a conviction. Like many others

1 *Ibid*, pp. 274-76.

of his time, Hodgson was convinced of what was called the chimerical nature of attempts to make English the general language of India: and the grounds on which his conviction rested were not very different from those on which theirs did. "It would seem," he said, "that a certain degree of ease in the circumstances of a people, and a certain degree of popularity in their public institutions, must *conspire* with the facility and aptitude to common use of vernacular media of education, before knowledge can become a blessing, by becoming the heritage of the many, identified with their household wants and familiar experience, and deriving from such identity the power of influencing and being influenced by them, in an easy and effectual manner. This, I say, would *seem* to be the case: but there can be no question that, under any conceivable circumstances of the people of India in relation to us, for the next fifty years, any attempt to make our difficult and strange language the organ of the communication of our effective knowledge is infinitely more likely to entail on the country the curse of a monopolised and perverted, than the blessing of a diffused and justly applied, learning. Where shall we find among the people the leisure and the ease for anything like a general and disinterested conquest of the vast and odious obstacle we thus place at the threshold of the temple of knowledge, obscuring all the beauty within?"[1] This difficulty or impracticability, if not impossibility, of diffusing generally among the mass of the Indian people a knowledge of the English language, because of the difficulty of its acquisition by a people whose mother-tongue

1 *Ibid.*, p. 277.

it was not, was the second count on which Hodgson rejected the English and favoured the vernacular medium.

But there were other equally powerful reasons that led Hodgson to reject the English medium, or for the matter of that, all foreign media of education. "I object," he said, "to the anti-vernacular organ of education, and of administration, not merely as aiding and confirming the tendency of knowledge itself to become monopolised and perverted to the uses of oppression, but also because, firstly, it is apt to generate or confirm servile intellectual habits, especially when combined with the absence of political liberty; and because, secondly, it is not less apt to divorce speculation from experience, theory from practice, abstraction from life."[1]

In illustration of his first objection, Hodgson turned that same historical analogy which the Anglicists familiarly employed in support of their views into an argument against them. The Anglicists sought to give historical authenticity to their views of anglicisation by pointing out the civilising effect of the imposition of the Roman language and culture on the peoples subjugated by Roman arms; Hodgson invoked the same imposing authority of history in order to point out the other side of the shield, the degrading effect of that cultural conquest by Rome on the national character of the conquered. "Those whom Rome subdued, became twice subject by their slavish acceptance of her language; and those who subdued Rome were only saved from vassalage to her learning by the free

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

genius of their political institutions."[1]

In illustration of his second objection Hodgson referred to "the character of learning in modern Europe, until it became vernacularised." "It consisted entirely," he said, "of thorny dialectics, or of flowery mysticism: and this, notwithstanding that its stock and root was the eminently useful and practical lore of Greece and of Rome. Can proof more strong be offered or required as to the debasing and disutilising tendency of a foreign medium, however valuable *itself*, that is, as an organ of thought. I think not; and *therefore* would I not employ such a medium in India."[2] And the explanation of the manner in which learning came to be divorced from utility was that "the difficulty of acquiring the use of the instrument coinciding with the intrinsic difficulty of knowledge, compelled the many to abandon the pursuit of knowledge altogether, and thus enabled the few to turn it into an engine of deception; it was that the unfamiliar nature of the instrument coinciding with the intrinsic tendency of knowledge to abstraction, speedily shut out utility from the view of scholars, and left them, a segregated and separate caste, with the sole alternative of becoming syllogists or mystics."[3] With this and similar testimony of history before him, the conclusion which Hodgson drew was that a vernacular medium was "the only expedient for preserving either the generous, or the simply useful, properties of knowledge." Bringing the conclusion

1 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 284-85.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 285-86...

to bear on Indian education, he pleaded: "Would you, then, make English knowledge a wholesome food—would you prevent its speedily becoming innutritive or poisonous—to the people of India, give it a vernacular organ; for by such an organ only can it acquire and preserve those vital principles of accessibility, and of proneness to identification with household experiences, upon which it must wholly depend, whether that knowledge shall *ever* be a *blessing*, and shall not *presently* be a *curse*, to this land."[1]

Thus Hodgson argued against the essential doctrine of the Anglicists as it ran counter to his first cardinal educational maxim. But that doctrine ran counter no less to his second cardinal maxim or tenet.

Hodgson insisted that it was not enough to communicate European knowledge, but that it was necessary to "indigenate" or naturalise it on Indian soil, so as to become interwoven with the thoughts and feelings of the people and identified with their common experiences and wants. Thus only, he argued, could the Indian intellect be revivified by the "moral energy" of European knowledge,—a result which was in his view not to be looked for from its mere passive reception through a foreign medium. "It is *not* the quality of knowledge, how good soever," he observed, "which makes it work beneficially: it is its identification with familiar general thoughts and feelings in the land where it is planted: and if Greek and Roman knowledge attained no such identification in modern Europe a thousand years, and consequently stirred not

1 *Ibid.*, p. 286.

the slumber of the strong man (according to Milton's noble allegory); whence is derived the presumption that European knowledge is so capable of allying itself to the familiar thoughts and feelings of India, that we may dispense with all facilities in the mode of propagating it? A proposition more directly opposed to reason and to history was never, I conceive, hazarded." And again: "for knowledge to produce any moral effect, it must be wedded to general sympathy: for knowledge to produce any intellectual effect, it must be wedded to general practical experience."[1]

How was that to be done? Of course, by vernacularisation of European knowledge, but not vernacularisation in the superficial sense of a sheer transfusion of it into the vernacular tongues. Something more than mere transfusion, as ordinarily understood, was required for knowledge to exert its moral influence on the people, and that was a thorough adaptation of it to their means and mental texture, to their rooted ideas and pre-conceived notions. And as such adaptation could not obviously be attained through direct communication of European knowledge in English, it constituted one more reason for Hodgson's rejection of the English medium. "To those means and habits and sentiments," he explained, alluding to the means and habits and sentiments of the masses, "sheer English knowledge in an English garb has some such relation to fitness, as have the English ball-room habiliments to the persons of the 80 millions in

1. Letter II: Essays relating to Indian Subjects, Vol. II., pp. 307-308.

the pursuit of their ordinary avocations! Ah! would we, instead of circling round and round the pale of the Presidency, but elevate our contemplation to the physical and moral condition of those 80 millions, and to the possible means of influencing it beneficially, through our knowledge, with due advertence to our scanty numbers and miserable insulation, *then* should we perceive the indispensable necessity of a deliberate, systematic, and uniform plan of education, combining the utmost facilities with the utmost inducements to change."[1]

But where were those facilities to the indispensability of which Hodgson alluded to be found, and wherein lay those inducements? His answer was: in the Oriental languages and literature. He was equally against the adoption of Sanskrit and Arabic languages and learning as media and matter of general instruction, as he was against the adoption of the English language and bald, unadapted European knowledge. Yet he regarded the former as valuable auxiliaries in the work of regeneration of the national mind, the neglect of which he looked upon as an educational folly. But that was precisely what had all along been insisted on by those whom we may call the official Orientalists, to whom Government had for a time entrusted the work of Indian education. Yet there was this difference between Hodgson and them: that Hodgson considered their method of availing themselves of the auxiliaries in question as belonging to the class of obsolete follies. The method which he considered appropriate for making use of the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Oriental languages and literatures was that which Wilkinson had tried with success. In fact, the influence of Wilkinson's ideas and experiment is visible throughout Hodgson's disquisition on the subject. He considered the Oriental languages worthy of encouragement for the sake of their importance to the enrichment of the vernaculars; and Oriental literature for the sake of its importance as a means of rendering European knowledge attractive and acceptable to the people and conciliating any prejudices against it. That was all. For the rest, neither the one nor the other had any intrinsic appeal for Hodgson, especially from the educational point of view. To put the point in his own words, the aims with which he upheld Oriental languages and literatures as worthy of public patronage were "1st. The improvement and literary application of the living languages, considered as the principal *organs* and *instruments* of general instruction in European lore. 2nd. Means of facilitation and inducement, suited to the prejudices and ineptitude of the unlearned many, and of conciliation and check, adapted to the adverse interests and unbounded influence of the learned few, with reference to the introduction and establishment of our knowledge, considered as the sole *subject matter* of general instruction."[1]

The necessity of compromise with existing popular prejudices and of conciliation of the learned classes, with the two-fold view of creating a favourable disposition towards European knowledge preparatory to popular reception of it and of neutralising the hostility or, if possible,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

securing the aid of the learned classes in overcoming the difficulty of not merely communicating but working that knowledge 'into the warp and woof of the popular mind'—this necessity formed the pivot of all Hodgson's arguments and pleadings on behalf of Oriental literature and learning. The necessity was conceived to arise from two principal circumstances—first, the popular attachment and homage to a recondite literature looked upon as sacred; and secondly, the powerful sway exercised over the popular mind by the custodians and expounders of that literature. Hence the importance of skilful use of that literature for recommending European learning to popular acceptance—such use as Wilkinson made of it—and hence the importance of connecting that literature with all general plans of education. For the question was, how could an exotic knowledge, the form rather than the substance of which was not in tune with the prevalent modes of thought and feeling, be rendered harmonious with them? Or, in other words, how could the Indian mind be prepared for the reception of the exotic knowledge which it was decided to convey to it? By Hodgson and others of his way of thinking it was believed that the truths of European science and knowledge could best be rendered acceptable to the learned as well as the unlearned classes by conveying them under sanction borrowed from their own venerated literature. Truths so conveyed they might well hesitate to repudiate, because they would fain not repudiate the authority under cover of which they were sought to be conveyed. That was the idea underlying the educational method advocated by Hodgson. How

that method could be successfully carried out in practice was, within certain limits, demonstrated by the experiment of Wilkinson, and later on, within much broader limits, by that of Dr. Ballantyne.

It is therefore not surprising that Hodgson should have been severe on the Anglicists whose plan of education repudiated all connection with Oriental literature and who often seemed to proceed on the assumption that nothing like a popular attachment to it existed or that no adaptation of European knowledge was necessary to facilitate its popular reception. On the other hand, the existence of popular attachment to the indigenous literature had impressed Hodgson most profoundly, and it was a matter of puzzle to him that it could be disregarded in any national system of education or overlooked as a powerful means of attracting the unlearned many and conciliating the learned few to European knowledge. In some notable, eloquent passages, which stand out in strong relief against the controversial monotony of the rest of their author's disquisition, he vehemently attacked all such blundering assumptions on which he considered the Anglicist system of education to have been founded. "Time," he said, "has set its solemn impress on that literature; the last rays of the national integrity and glory of this land are reflected from its pages: consummate art has interwoven with its meaner materials all those golden threads which nature liberally furnishes from the whole stock of the domestic and social affections and duties. To the people it is the very echo of their heart's sweetest music: to their pastors—their dangerous and powerful

pastors—it is the sole efficient source of that unbounded authority which they possess. To deny the existence of that authority is mere moon-struck idiocy. To admit it is, I conceive, to admit the necessity of compromise and conciliation, so far as may be."[1] Moreover, the popular attachment to that literature and the influence to be gained over the people by a foreign educator through availing himself of that attachment were not matters of mere inference and observation with Hodgson, but of a deeply-impressed personal experience. "I have spent many years in India," he broke out in a personal vein, "remote from the Presidencies and large towns and almost entirely amongst the natives, whom consequently it was ever an object with me to conciliate for my own comfort, and whom I trust I always felt anxious to win, in order the better to accomplish my public duties, as well as to influence the people to their own advantage and improvement. Yes! I say I have *so* spent many years, during which I solemnly declare that the only unequivocal voluntary testimonies I have received of influence over either the hearts or heads of the people have been owing entirely to some little knowledge on my part of their literature. With this instrument I have warmed hearts and controlled heads which were utterly impassive to kindness, to reason, and to bribery; and deeply am I persuaded, by experience and reflection, that the use of this instrument is indispensable in paving the way for any general, effective, and safe measures of educational regeneration."[2] And again: "It is a splendid

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 293.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

compliment we pay to the people to master their difficult literature. The memory of better days connected with it elevates their lowliness to something like a communicable distance from our loftiness. Their shy and shrinking affections, to which we have no direct access of any description, may be poured out to us through this indirect and modest channel which carries the whole waters of their hearts, reflecting from its tranquil bosom, every rite and custom, and thought and feeling, of the land. Hence its influence, with the many, in *our* hands: and, as for the few, with them to know it is to have been initiated into those mysteries, the participation of which is the *ne plus ultra* of authority! they may tremble, but must obey, and, ample as is the ground occupied by this all-pervading literature, we may use its sanctions for general truths to a vast extent as righteously as efficaciously."[1]

So it was he deplored the ignorance or the ignoring, on the part of the Anglicists, of those helpful factors in the work of the regeneration of the people. "To seek to spread our knowledge," he said, "directly through an English organ is to fling away every species of facilitation, conciliation, and compromise." On the other hand, his counsel to his countrymen was: "Let us give to our eminently generous and useful truths the facility and homely aptitude of vernacular media. So, and so only, may we hope gradually to draw over the multitude to our side. And let us, in the meanwhile neutralise the hostility of the learned, and smooth the passage

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 296-97.

of Truth into minds so biassed against it, by borrowing, as often, and as far as possible, the maxims and examples of that sacred literature which in our hands is the only charm to conciliate confidence, lull suspicion, and paralyse opposition. The many cannot, and the few dare not, resist its spell. To the former it recalls the long-past ages of their national greatness: to the latter, it is all things, the source of their power, the mystery of their *willing and unwilling homage!*"[1]

But, whilst Hodgson vehemently advocated a preponderant use of the vernaculars as educational media and a specific use of Oriental languages and literature, had the English language, it might well be questioned at this point, no place in his scheme of education? His ideas and views as set forth above did imply and point to a scheme, though the precise nature thereof is not indicated in them. So it behoves us to ask in the first instance, had Hodgson any definite scheme of education of his own to propound? He had—not, however, a general scheme of education, but a special definite scheme for raising select instruments intended to furnish the substratum of a broad educational system. These instruments were to devote themselves to the vernacularisation of European knowledge: and to them were to be taught the English and the Oriental languages, but each with a distinct purpose, subsidiarily related to the larger general purpose of the development of the vernaculars on their linguistic as well as literary side. In short, Hodgson's project was, by systematic measures directed to a single object, to raise a body of

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96.

pioneers of vernacular literature whose appointed mission it was to be to adapt and transfuse European knowledge in the vernaculars. To those pioneers obviously a knowledge of the English tongue could not but be indispensable as the channel through which the knowledge to be vernacularised was to come: while conversancy with the Oriental languages was considered essential as affording powerful aids in the process of vernacularisation itself. And this project of producing and rearing a body of pioneers was to be executed by means of and through a Normal College expressly dedicated to the purpose of creating a well-trained battalion of translators and teachers. And what was that Normal College to be like? What did Hodgson himself say about it?

> "Now, I consider," said he, "that if we would benefit India by book learning, it must be as we benefit her by our government and laws—that is, by reaching the many, by discasting book lore or enfranchising it, in fact; and that.....we should make knowledge the handmaid of everyday utility, and give its acquisition the utmost possible facilities. Such are my wishes, and therefore I give an unlimited preference to a vernacular medium both for its facility and for its apititude, to make the knowledge conveyed through it practically effective in a beneficial way, and also for its diffusive quality, book-knowledge being so apt to pass away from utility, or to be abused as a mere engine of selfish aggrandisement. But though I give the mother tongues of the people the first and second place, I give English the third; and in my Normal College, which is not so much an educational establishment as an indirect means of making all such establishments efficient, I would have the alumni *equally* versed in both tongues—their own and ours. Again, I think that to indigenate a sound literature in India, to kindle a wholesome spirit of knowledge and

to fit the spoken tongues of the land for being its organs, are mighty projects that call for express systematic measures, subsidiary to education ordinarily so called, but which alone can make such education valuable and effective; and in my college I want to establish and realise such measures: I want to locate therein a set of able men of the West, who shall be competent to give India the *essence* of our indisputable knowledge; and to associate with them other men of this land, English and native, who, together with them, shall transfer this essence into the vulgar tongues of India, in the most attractive and efficient manner, whilst both classes, as professors and originators of the great change, shall have under them a set of pupils, chosen from the best alumni of all our seminaries, for the express and perpetual purpose of diffusing the labours of the professors, in the capacities of teachers and of translators, and of replacing those professors *gradually* as heads of the college; these alumni to have scholarships and to be devoted for their lives as the pioneers of a new literature bound to translating within the College, and to teaching abroad; giving their undivided time and talents to indigenate European lore; and being to the usual educational establishments a *perpetual fount for the supply of good books and good teachers.* Well begun is half done, emphatically: let us once set the people of India in the right path, and they will follow it successfully. But to accomplish this we must produce the essence of our indisputable knowledge in the most attractive form, and spread it with systematic skill; the books and the teachers should be excellent; and yet we have in India now not only not either of the desiderata, but no adequate means of reaching them, except through a wasteful series of failures. No man among us is competent to select the very best books and parts of books: no man among us nor institution is competent to furnish the best translation that might be had soon on system; no man among us can set afoot in India, without system, the splendid methods of teaching now in use in Europe. As for the alumni we now raise, it is passing absurd to suppose that they either can or will put their shoulders to the wheel of a radical change in knowledge and education. *We*

must *devote* a set of select instruments to that work, making them the pioneers of the new literature, *providing for them for life*, and *binding them to teaching and translating for life*. We must also give them exemplars of what is wanted and how to remedy the defect, in the professors of the central or Normal College, and we must choose those professors from among the really able men of England and of India, so that their books and their teaching shall be first-rate, and fitted to set going the vast and noble project of the Europeonisation of the Indian mind. It is idle for any of us in India to fancy we are *masters* of any one branch of science, or that, *not* being so, we can transfuse its essence into Indian tongues in the *most effective mode*; and it is still idler to suppose that our random pupils of ordinary schools will ever, voluntarily and unpaid, devote themselves to the *profitless and painful* walks of instruction and literature, either as bookmakers or book expounders. Yet we must have the best books best translated; we must have a steady supply of able teachers; we *must* have a corps of native pioneers of the new knowledge; and the professors and alumni of my Normal College are to furnish and to be these; the alumni being provided well for life and bound for life to letters as their vocation and glory; and the professors, picked men of England and of India, European and native, masters of the most essential branches of knowledge, and capable of attractively transfusing its vital spirit into the spoken tongues of India, through their books and through their alumni, fully trained by them in the art and science of teaching, one of the most noble and most difficult of the arts and sciences and the handmaid of them all, yet supposed "to come naturally" like the Frenchman's discovery of prose! Ecce totum! behold my college in its professors and its alumni—the latter the normal teachers of any and every school that wants them, and the heirs of the original professors in their own institution whenever fit to direct it. Abroad, these alumni are to teach in English or in the vernaculars,.....as the institution which sends for them, and for the time pays them, shall please. At home they are to study the genius of both tongues, Western and Eastern, and to labour subordinate-

> ly as translators or transfusers (in original works as they are able), whilst they resume their scholarship allowance, suspended so long as they were abroad; their constant suggestive, and useful labours as translators or as teachers preventing idleness or dreamy habits and their perpetual scholarship being liable to forfeiture for proven indolence, incapacity, or bad conduct."[1]

It may be remarked, however, that definite and symmetrical and loftily conceived as Hodgson's project of a Normal College was, yet it was open to certain practical objections. These objections were once expressed in clear and succinct terms by Mr. F. Boutros, Principal of the Delhi College. "Mr. Hodgson's plan of establishing Normal Schools for teachers," he said, "is apparently too much in advance of the state of the country. It is not because the School Masters are deficient that the progress of Education does not advance at a quick pace, but because the inducements to receive instruction are not adequate, or the advantages to be obtained thereby not sufficiently obvious. Besides, what are Normal Schools, but Schools where a higher course of instruction is given by select professors, whose methods are to be adopted as rules? Our present colleges are Normal Schools, with respect to institutions of lower pretentions; the professor in the former establishments, particularly in Calcutta, are generally the best men procurable in India, at the present day, upon the allowances which Government are willing to pay. Under the system of Scholarships now adopted, the scholars will be a select body of men under the best Normal course of instruction procurable in India. Where will Mr. Hodgson find a class

[1] Letter IV: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II, pp. 321-323.

of more talented pupils than the above, and professors better qualified for normal instructors, than the best professors now in the employ of the General Committee of Public Instruction? Besides, it is as well to inquire into the nature of the evil, before we venture to prescribe the remedy; where is the advantage of having special establishments to instruct School Masters in the higher branches of Science, where the general complaint is that no pupils can be obtained to go beyond the first Elements of Scientific Instruction?"

And again: "Mr. Hodgson's liberal and enlightened views, with respect to the necessity of preparing Vernacular School books are worthy of every support, but why should he want to educate a special class of translators for that purpose? Is not this unnecessarily delaying and rendering unduly expensive a general system of Vernacular translation? Why not avail ourselves of the present body of Native teachers, Moulvis and Pandits, in connexion with the English Professors of our Schools and Colleges? We must not expect that the first Vernacular translations shall be perfect; to aim at a presently unattainable standard of perfection would be uselessly to delay the execution of a task which cannot be too early performed. Let us set to work with the means at our disposal, translate the best standard works we can get, and with *correct*, if we cannot get elegant *translation*."

It may be noted, in passing, that this plan of a Normal College was put forward in 1843 at a time when a proposal for the establishment of such an institution was under consideration

by Government. Eventually, Government did establish a Normal school, but it was something far removed from the live fountain of intellectual activity which Hodgson contemplated. In 1848 Hodgson himself strongly remarked against it in these terms: "The English department of education has obtained a Normal school, that is the means of procuring abundance of good teachers, whilst abundance of good books were, from the circumstances of the case, priorly forthcoming in this department. On the other hand, the vernacular department is kept devoid of organised means of procuring either of these appliances of education. And yet it is clear to demonstration that in the former department there was *not* any indispensable necessity for creative machinery, since books and teachers were forthcoming without it, whilst in the latter department it is as clear that there *was* and *is* that indispensable necessity, since neither books nor teachers were, are, or can be, forthcoming without it. That is, where little or no need existed, much has been done; and where the utmost need, nothing! And, to cap the contrast, the former state of things respects the case of the comparatively able and greedy few, the latter, that of the wholly helpless many, among the objects of these partial proceedings."[1]

It remains lastly to mention that Hodgson by no means desired the restriction of the study of English to the inmates or alumni of the Normal College conceived by him. He hesitated not to advocate the diffusion of a knowledge of English

[1] Letter V, 16th March 1848: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 330.

among the wealthy and influential classes with leisure for the study, if the inclinations and domestic customs of those classes permitted of it, which however he saw much reason to doubt. What was more, within the sphere of his personal influence, he did all he could to induce the members of the aristocratic classes with whom his public duties threw into contact to study English.[1] But it was the employment of that language for the purposes of the general education of the country and as the medium to which almost alone the communication of European knowledge was restricted that he inveighed against. "All I say of instruction in English is," he once summed up his position, "that its extreme costliness and no less extreme inappropriateness to ordinary uses, prescribe its employment at the public cost in a special, instead of a general or promiscuous manner, as at present; and this, as well to ensure efficient or profitable study as to prevent such excessive waste of funds as has heretofore totally crippled, and must still do so, that sort of education which alone is suitable to ordinary wants and therefore primarily entitled to public support."[2]

§ 4.

Such were the conflicting opinions on the best mode of educating the people of India, when Lord Auckland stepped forward as mediator to put an end to the prevalent controversy. There were the Anglicists, who, ensconsed behind Bentinck's Resolution and insensible to the necessity or propriety of encouraging voluntarily

[1] Letter VI, 28th March 1848: *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 332.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 336-337.

any other scheme of education than their own, stinetd Oriental and Vernacular education alike in order to push forward English education to the furthest extent possible. There were the Orientalists, now of course set aside as educators of the people, but loud and frequent in their protests against the iniquity of the exclusive course of proceedings of the Anglicists. And there were the Vernacularists, who, fortified with the formal justification of the claims of the vulgar tongues by Hodgson and others, urged upon the public attention more strenuously than ever the mode of education favoured by them. It was no easy task to reconcile the view-points of the various parties, and to strike a mean capable of affording some measure of satisfaction to all.

But Lord Auckland's judicious manner and practical turn of mind, and, above all, a sincere desire on his part for compromise, enabled him to do much. He applied himself in the first instance to the removal of one main cause of the violent dissensions on the subject. This was the lack of sufficient pecuniary means for a "full and fair experiment" on the various ideas and plans put forward. Accordingly, he restored the original appropriations to the Oriental Colleges, though he rejected the strict principle of "absolute and irreclaimable appropriation" for the application of which some of the Orientalists contended. He stopped the diversion of any part of those appropriations to the general purposes of education. He was satisfied, he said, "that it will be best to abstract nothing from other useful objects," while he saw at the same time "nothing but good to be derived from

the employment of the funds which have been assigned to each Oriental Seminary, exclusively on instruction in, or in connexion with, that seminary." And he added, "I would also 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." But the difficulty was that the General Committee had been accustomed to apply the savings arising from the funds assigned to the Oriental institutions, after the needs of those institutions had been satisfied, to the promotion of other objects unconnected with them. If these alienations were stopped and the savings recalled to the purposes of the Oriental institutions alone, the general income at the disposal of the Committee was in peril of suffering a diminution and its operations in other directions liable to be contracted. Lord Auckland proposed to solve the difficulty by securing the General Committee from loss on that account. It was calculated that an additional annual disbursement of about Rs. 25,000 was all that such protection to the Committee was likely to entail on the public revenue; and Lord Auckland thought that a moderate price at which to settle the quarrel between the Anglicists and the Orientalists. "I am persuaded," he remarked, "that the Hon'ble Court will approve of our having closed these controversies at this limited amount of increased expense."[1]

But the next and most important question,

[1] Minute, 24th November 1839: Sels. E.R., Pt. I. pp. 149-52.

that relating to the various theories of the best mode of education, was in its nature not easy to dispose of to the satisfaction of all parties. Lord Auckland's approach to it was, if we may say so, humble and his manner of dealing with it suasory. He was not sanguine of the Government's decision or measures meeting the approbation of the advocates of different systems nor of any immediate brilliant success accruing from any scheme that might be adopted. "I strongly feel," he said, "that, in all that we can do, we must be prepared for much disappointment in our early efforts to satisfy the demands made upon us on this subject. By some it will be lamented that we do not at once perfect enlarged schemes for general education, by others it will be regretted that what we do for the best pupils of our few seminaries seems to produce so partial an effect. Feelings of this nature will attend us in whatever attempts we may engage for the improvement of any branch of our Indian Government." To him there was no finely fashioned path of reform leading straight to desired results. On the contrary, considering the various difficulties and obstacles that were apt to defeat good intentions and good measures, he was content "to lay even the first rude foundations of good systems, and trust for the rest to time, to the increasing demand of the public and of individuals for the services of educated men, to the extension which must every year take place of the Agency for instruction at the command of Government, and to the certain effects of the spread, however slow, of knowledge, and of the gradual growth of wealth and intelligence in the community."[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

In dealing with the question Lord Auckland appears to have confined himself to the practical merits or value of the various opinions and schemes offered on the subject of education. With their abstract or speculative side he concerned himself but little. And he considerably simplified the issue for decision by accepting the authentic maxim of the day that, in the words of the Court of Directors, a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the people could be produced by affording a higher education to the influential and wealthy classes who had leisure for advanced study than by "acting directly on the more numerous class." The issue was thus narrowed to the practical question of the mode in which a higher education could be communicated with the greatest prospect of success. It was from the point of view of this question that the Governor-General proceeded to consider the three principal educational plans that held the field—that of the Orientalists, of the Anglicists and of the Vernacularists.

Of the three plans, the Orientalist plan failed to attract Lord Auckland, because of the "very partial and imperfect results" he anticipated from the engrafting of European knowledge on the learning to which the Maulavis and Pundits were attached. He was prepared to deal generously by Oriental learning and Oriental seminaries of education. He acknowledged the merits of the Oriental system of education as plainly as he did its defects. But it was not among those trained under the Oriental system that he looked for the "chief instruments in the propagation of a new knowledge and more enlarged ideas." His

reason for thinking thus may be gathered from his remark that "it was not through the professors of our ancient schools, but by the efforts of original thought and independent minds, that the course of philosophical and scientific investigation and of scholastic discipline was for the most part reformed in Europe." Besides, he added, "the process of translation.....into the learned languages must unavoidably be so slow that, on that account alone, the arguments in favour of a more direct method of proceeding appear to me conclusively convincing."[1] And in a previous chapter we noted the ground on which he felt doubtful of the feasibility of a general application of Wilkinson's method throughout the country.

Probably the same bias in favour of a "direct method of proceeding" was at bottom responsible for his rejection of the vernacularist plan. He, however, stated his chief objection to it to be "the extreme practical difficulty of preparing any very extensive course of translated or adapted works." "We are speaking now," he was careful to explain, "*of the means of an advanced and thorough education*, and not of a limited series of works for the purposes of common instruction, to the compilation of which.....I am entirely favourable." Further he went on to observe: "The clear truth seems to be that works of science may, at least to some considerable extent (their range being necessarily contracted), be rendered into other languages within a comparatively modern period, but the translation, within any time the extent of which we

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

could reasonably calculate, of anything like a sufficient library of works, of general literature, history and philosophy is an impossible task."[1] Not so impossible, however, as to prevent Hodgson from thinking that the anti-vernacularists greatly exaggerated the difficulty and the extent of the requisite translation of European knowledge. Writing in 1837, more than two years before Lord Auckland committed to paper his opinion of the impossibility of extensive translation into the vernaculars, Hodgson had said: "Nor need the seemingly Herculean labour of translating our knowledge into the vulgar tongues of India, alarm a rational and unprejudiced person; for, it is just as certain that not one English work in 50,000 would require or even justify translation, as that Hindustani, Hindi, and Bengali (and it were folly to perpetuate more media)[2] are competent, each and all, to sustain the weight proposed to be laid on them." "There is another consideration," he proceeded to point out, "which, whilst it is well worthy of attention in itself, is calculated to show that the extent of necessary translation is by no means such as the enemies of vernacular media have tried to make it. In educating the people of India it should be our object, not so much to imprint in detail all our express thoughts or facts on their minds, as to instil, generally, our *methods of reasoning*, our mathematical and inductive processes, together with that yet small essence of indisputable truths in science, philosophy, and history which has been eliminated by those processes, and which

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[2] Hodgson spoke with special reference to Bengal where those were the most widely prevalent languages.

forms with us, and should do with them, but the starting-point of fresh and vigorous research. "[1]

So, rejecting the principles of the Orientalist and the Vernacularist plans as impracticable of adoption as the basis of a general system of education in the circumstances then extant, Lord Auckland agreed with the view once taken by the Court of Directors that "the higher tone and better spirit of European Literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original language." The practical conclusion to which that view led Lord Auckland was that the communication of a high and complete English education to the greatest number of students prepared to avail themselves of it must be the principal aim of a general system of education. Of course, Lord Auckland recognised the force of the objection commonly made by the Orientalists and the Vernacularists alike to the practical adoption of such a principle, that the wants and circumstances of the vast majority of the Indian people effectually debarred but a few of them from obtaining the complete English education which was contemplated to be communicated to them. But then he confidently relied on an increasing popular recognition of the practical advantages of English education and on the existence of certain strong incentives to the acquisition of it to ensure a wider diffusion of it with the lapse of time. He plainly admitted that "those who come to us for instruction are in search of the means of livelihood either in places under the Government, or in situations under individuals, which in the

[1] Essays relating to Indian Subjects, Vol. II, pp. 317-318.

peculiar constitution of the Indian Government and Society, bring them, in a greater or less degree, in connection with the public administration."[1] Moreover, he believed that inducements of that character would not disappear even were it determined upon not to make English the general language of public administration. "It is true," he said, "and no one has more heartily concurred and rejoiced in the determination than myself, that the vernacular tongues, and not English, will be the future languages of the courts and the offices in the interior of the country. But this circumstance will in no degree detract from the force of those inducements to English study, of which, as regards the vast and most important correspondence which must ever be conducted in English, I have just spoken. Nor need I dwell on the degree to which such inducements will be increased to the mere fact of English being the language of the ruling and governing class in India."[2] This factor Lord Auckland desired to be taken advantage of in order to extend English education to as great a number as possible. He urged therefore a closer adaptation of the education imparted under the established system to the character of the demand for it; or in other words, the bringing of the system of education into closer relation with the needs of public administration. Another means by which English education was sought to be made attractive to the humbler classes was the scheme of scholarships which was referred to in a previous chapter.

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[1] Minute, 24th November 1839: Sels. E. R. Pt. I, p. 160.

[2] *Ibid.*

The type of English education which Lord Auckland had in mind was to be imparted in the higher educational seminaries—the so-called colleges. Even, however, in the common zillah schools the Governor-General decided not to dethrone the English in favour of the vernacular medium of instruction. He thought the introduction of the vernacular medium would be premature at the time, "with no class books prepared or teachers versed in those books yet trained for their duties." Moreover, he argued, "as the contrary system has been actually established, it is right that, unless urgent reasons for abandoning that system demanded attention, it should be fully tried, with the improvements of which it may fairly be susceptible." Again, so far as Bengal was concerned, there was the adverse current of popular feeling to be reckoned with in adopting measures for the promotion of vernacular education. At any rate, the conviction had fairly lodged itself in the official mind of the day that the people were as unfavourably disposed towards vernacular education as they were favourably inclined towards English. This conviction Lord Auckland reiterated when he proceeded to state: "Native youths will not come to our schools to be instructed in vernacular composition. This qualification is more quickly and easily to be attained from other sources. We can in those schools draw little, if any, aid from existing native literature. The desire for the new ideas and information which will be imparted to them must therefore be among the great inducements to attendance, and those who are candidates for such instruction will not, I think, in any important degree be deterred by

having to undergo also the labour of learning the English character and language. The fact indeed is.....that a knowledge of the English language itself with a view to the business, however humble, of life is one main object of most of the scholars. It is fortunate that in the pursuit of such an object, they can be led on to higher studies and ends. For mere instruction of a general nature (such as our masters now give) *through the vernacular* medium it may, it seems to me, well be doubted whether even the number of pupils would seek our schools, who now resort to them."[1]

The recommendations made by Lord Auckland for improvement in certain respects of the established system of education and the measures undertaken in pursuance thereof have been already mentioned. The question now remaining with regard to Auckland's settlement of the controversy is : How far did that settlement affect Bentinck's Resolution or the system of education pursued under its authority ?

One evident feature of Auckland's measures of compromise is that they tended to no radical or even marked departure from the principles of Bentinck's Resolution. On the contrary, Auckland confirmed the policy of his predecessor by laying it down that the promotion of European knowledge through the medium of English must be the chief aim of the endeavours of Government in the field of education. Nor did his measures touch materially the system of education founded on that policy, save in certain respects the externals of it : for, as was seen before, he

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 161-64 passim.

did make important recommendations for the improvement and enlargement of that system, which were acted upon. Lord Auckland appears for the most part to have been content to broaden and to build higher on the existing foundation rather than seek to lay an entirely new one. What in effect he did was to relax Bentinck's Resolution in favour of Oriental learning, and thus to allay much of the prevalent discontent and heartburning on the subject. It cannot indeed be said that he did away entirely with the exclusiveness of policy which defined Bentinck's attempt to settle the educational controversy: for, it must be remembered, the principal object still remained the promotion of European knowledge through the medium of English. Oriental learning was to be provided for and preserved, but no longer to be propagated. But if Auckland did not abolish exclusiveness of policy, he did do away with exclusiveness of preference. He laid down a principle of fair treatment to the rival system, which the Anglicists, under the aegis of Bentinck's Resolution, were apt to lose sight of.

On the other hand, vernacular education derived the least advantage from Auckland's settlement of the controversy. The only substantial thing Lord Auckland did for vernacular education was to set afoot measures for the compilation of vernacular class-books. In fact, the predominant preference given to English as medium of education prevented the vernaculars from coming into their own. But it is worthy of note, in judging Auckland's intentions on the subject, that, whilst he rejected the vernaculars

as media of general instruction, he introduced them to a large extent as the media of public administration, especially of the judicial branch of it.

No doubt, in relation to the educational wants and needs of the country, Lord Auckland's compromise may not appear in the light of any very striking achievement on his part. But, in judging of it, it is requisite to keep two considerations in mind. In the first place, Auckland's primary object was, not to remodel or jettison the educational policy laid down by his predecessor or to establish a new system of education on different principles, but to put an end to the controversy which Bentinck's Resolution had failed to set at rest. His role was that of a mediator; and as such, his tactful presentation of the points in issue was intended to appease conflicting views by conceding as much as was feasible in the circumstances or consistent with the due maintenance of the previously established system of education. In that task he attained a great measure of success, for the echoes of the Anglo-Orientalist conflict became gradually fainter and fainter; though individuals with extreme views were roused into strenuous lucubrations, as, for example, the Rev. Alexander Duff, who inveighed against the Oriental languages and learning in open letters addressed to Lord Auckland in 1841 through the columns of the "Calcutta Observer." Again, it is to be noted that the question of preference between the English and the vernacular medium of education was far from being settled by Auckland's compromise. Auckland's own inclinations appear to have been in favour of the latter; but he thought he saw in the

prevalent state of things sufficient reason for rejecting the vernacular medium till adequate means and facilities were forthcoming to render its adoption feasible or advantageous. And this brings us to the second consideration. It is this—that it is doubtful whether Lord Auckland could have done more in the prevalent circumstances than he actually did; whether, for instance, he could have commenced an experiment in vernacular education distinct from the established system of education. The Anglicist system, it must be remembered, had been in operation but for a short period when Lord Auckland took upon himself the task of settling the controversy, and its fruits, good or evil, remained yet to be seen. It seemed to him better to await the results of that system than to disturb it by any radical changes. And, as that system did not exclude the vernaculars, it might have again appeared to him better to work out their development through that system than to embark on a new educational venture.

In the measures adopted by Lord Auckland in pursuance of the decision taken by him on the various questions involved in the controversy, he carried with him the Court of Directors. It may be recalled here that the Governor-General had taken up those questions for consideration before the arrival of the expected instructions from the Court. It was, however, only in 1841 that the Court appear to have intimated their long-awaited opinions and orders on the subject. In a brief despatch, dated the 20th January of that year, to the Government of India, they laid down certain propositions for guidance, but

studiedly abstained from entering into the controversy brought to their notice. They generally concurred in the views of the Governor-General. They agreed with him and moreover expressed it as their firm conviction that " the funds assigned to each Native College or Oriental Seminary, should be employed exclusively on instruction in, or in connexion with, that College or Seminary, giving a decided preference within those Institutions to the promotion, in the first instance, of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction." They authorised liberal encouragement to be given to the printing and translation of Oriental works or to works in the vernacular languages, or generally to any works " designed for educational purposes." They concurred in the Governor-General's plan of attaching scholarships to the Oriental institutions, in proportion to their endowments. They also considered it essential to place those institutions under European superintendence. They willingly acquiesced in the increase of expense which the various measures of encouragement to Oriental learning involved. But, whilst there was no demur on their part to the patronage of Oriental learning, they at the same time did not hesitate to declare: " we cordially subscribe to one of the principal declarations of the Resolution of 7th March 1835, that 'it should be the great object of the British Government to promote European Science and Literature amongst the Natives of India,' and have no hesitation in sanctioning it, as a general principle for the conduct of our Indian Governments." They accordingly approved of Lord Auckland's suggestions and recommendations for the improvement, expansion and closer organiza-

tion of the prevalent system of English education. They desired, however, fair and equal encouragement to be held out to the various modes of education prevailing, according to the demands and needs of each. "We forbear at present," they said, "from expressing an opinion regarding the most efficient mode of communicating and disseminating European knowledge. Experience indeed does not yet warrant the adoption of any exclusive system. We wish a fair trial to be given to the experiment of engrafting European knowledge on the studies of the existing learned classes, encouraged as it will be by giving to the Seminaries in which these studies are prosecuted, the aid of able and efficient European superintendence. At the same time we authorise you to give all suitable encouragement to translation of European works into the Vernacular languages, and also to provide for the compilation of a proper series of Vernacular class-books according to the plan which Lord Auckland has proposed."[1]

[1] Despatch from Court, 20th January 1841/No. 1/; Rep. G. C. P. I. 1839-40, App. IV, pp. C. cli-cliv.

PART II.

THE ANGLO-VERNACULARIST CONTROVERSY.

Chapter I

THE VERNACULARIST DOMINANCE.

§ 1.

In 1839, when Lord Auckland undertook an equitable settlement of the Anglo-Orientalist controversy, he happened to remark to the effect that there were at the time two great educational experiments in progress, one in Bengal and the other in Bombay.[1] The Bengal experiment was concerned with the communication of European knowledge to the Indian people through the medium of English; whilst the Bombay experiment was concerned with the diffusion of education through the vernacular languages, though by no means exclusively through them. The experiment in Bombay was in fact a unique one during the period. As was shown in the preceding pages, Bengal neglected the vernacular in favour of the foreign medium. Madras was too much in the morass of frequent changes of plans and policies to make any contribution to a solution of the educational language-problem. The North-Western Provinces no doubt experimented successfully with vernacular popular education, but the experiment was begun at a comparatively late period. Bombay, however, very early set out with a determination to give a trial to the possibilities of the vernacular medium. The fact differentiates in an outstanding degree the educational history of Bombay from that of the other presidencies during the period.

[1] Minute, 24th November 1839.

The experiment in question originated with the educational policy chalked out by Mountstuart Elphinstone soon after he became Governor of Bombay in 1819.

§ 2.

The background to Elphinstone's policy is furnished by the endeavours which were made by official and private agencies for the promotion of education before he applied himself to the formation of a plan of education for the Presidency as a whole. To this background we may here advert before passing on to the examination of Elphinstone's policy. The educational plan based on this policy owes its rich texture to the great talents of Elphinstone; but several of the main threads composing it may be traced to the educational beginnings which were made before and independently of it. For one, it may be interesting to note that in its emphasis on the vernacular medium Elphinstone's policy seems to follow the trend of those educational beginnings in respect of the language-question.

The first institution that prominently meets the eye in a survey of educational beginnings in Bombay is the "Hindu College" at Poona, which was established shortly after Elphinstone's accession to the governorship. The College was projected by Mr. William Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Deccan, who submitted to the Bombay Government a plan of it on 24th November 1820. The immediate motive with which the College was founded was more a political than an educational one—namely, to conciliate the learned Brahmin class who had suffered severely by the change of government on the

overthrow of the Peshwa by the British in 1818. The ostensible object of the college was to encourage and improve "the useful parts of Hindoo learning," and "to introduce as far as possible the means of communicating to our new subjects such branches of European knowledge as they may be able and willing to receive." To ensure its popularity with the Hindu community, stated Mr. Chaplin, he had provided for instruction in the college in "almost all their branches of learning," though he considered many of them worse than useless. The college in its inception was intended to be a purely Sanskrit one, and no measures were taken to introduce any sort of European learning. "I have however endeavoured," said Mr. Chaplin, "to direct the attention of the college principally to such parts of their own Shasters, as are not only most useful in themselves, but will best prepare their minds for the gradual reception of more valuable instruction at a future time. When we have once secured their confidence, but not till then, will be the time to attempt the cautious and judicious introduction of those improvements in the education of our Hindoo subjects, by which alone, joined with good Government, we can hope to ameliorate their moral condition."[1]

Accordingly, Mr. Chaplin proposed the appointment of teachers for each of the following branches of Sanskrit learning: (1) Vyakurn (Grammar); (2) Alunkar (Belles Lettres); (3) Nyaya (Logic, law); (4) Dhurmashaster (Religion, Justice); (5) Jyotish (Mathematics and Astro-

[1] Letter from Chaplin to Govt., 24th November 1820: Genl. Dept., Vol. 9/10, 1821, pp. 1-3 (Bom. Recs.)

nomy); (6) Vedant (Philosophy, Divinity); (7) Vydyn (Medicine).[1] There were also appointed "three Nyediks to teach the Veds, *viz.*, two for the Yejoorved and one for the Roogved." Two features of the plan of the college as formulated by Mr. Chaplin deserve to be noted. First, as the Shasters were believed by Mr. Chaplin to be more useful than the Veds, the former were given importance by making a study of them compulsory in the college. Secondly, the Shastrees or professors were to be considered a committee to whom questions of Hindu law were to be referred.[2]

Mr. Chaplin was authorised by the Governor in Council on 10th August 1821 to establish the college on the plan recommended by him.[3] The institution was accordingly formally opened by him in Vishram Bagh on 6th October 1821.[4]

The Hindu College represented the sole experiment of the Bombay Government in Oriental education, and ultimately it was to meet with no better fate than the similar one carried out under the auspices of the Bengal Government. Exclusive in its scope and character, at least at its inception, the college was not capable of being immediately utilised for the purposes of Elphinstone's general educational policy.

On the 21st of August 1822 was formed the Native School Book and School Society, which

[1] The terms are given as translated by Mr. Chaplin.

[2] Genl. Dept., Vol. 9/10, 1821, pp. 5-8 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Letter to Commissioner in the Deccan, 10th Aug. 1821: Genl. Dept., Vol. 9/10, 1821, pp. 241-43 (Bom. Recs.)

[4] Letter from Chaplin to Govt., 7th October 1821: Gen. Dept., Vol. 9/10, 1821, pp. 249-51 (Bom. Recs.)

with the co-operation of Government, was to play a leading part in the educational affairs of the Presidency. The new Society owed its formation to the discontinuance of a body, known as the Native School and School Book Committee, as a branch of the Bombay Education Society which had been established in 1815 primarily for the education of European children. To the new association was entrusted the task of "general diffusion of useful knowledge among the Native Inhabitants of India subject to the Presidency of Bombay." It was to provide suitable vernacular and English books for use in schools, to assist and improve schools that already existed and to establish and support new ones that might be requisite. Vernacular instruction was to be the primary concern of the society; but one of the rules of that body stated "that although schools conveying knowledge in the languages of the country are to be primarily encouraged and instituted, the Society shall nevertheless, when it may seem useful, promote the formation of schools for teaching English and may render pecuniary or other assistance to Natives desirous of attending such schools."[1] On the 5th April 1823 the Society solicited pecuniary aid from Government,[2] who agreed to support the expense of printing such books as might be thought necessary by it, "leaving the funds of the Society disposable for the Instruction of Native Teachers."[3] In 1827 the Society changed its name for that of the Bombay

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 48, 1821-23, pp. 69-70 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Society to Govt., 5th April 1823: *Ibid.*, pp. 63-66.

[3] Letter from Govt. to Society, 6th May 1823/No. 7561/: *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Native Education Society.[1]

Similarly, on the 15th June 1823 Lieutenant J. B. Jervis succeeded in forming a society, styled the Native School Society of the Southern Conkan, with the object of establishing "native schools" in the Southern Conkan. "It commenced its operations with a fund amounting, in annual subscriptions and donations, to 1,600 rupees, including some liberal contributions made by natives of distinction. With this sum three schools were established at Rutnaghery, Nandewra and Chiploon, for instruction in the Mahratta language. Elementary books have been supplied from the Presidency, and small rewards given to the most forward and attentive children. In addition to the native schools, one school has been established at Rutnagherry for instruction in the English language."[2] In June 1824 the Society received from the Bombay Government a donation of Rs. 1,000 and an annual subscription of Rs. 500, which were subsequently sanctioned by the Court of Directors.[3]

In the Northern Conkan an interesting educational experiment was undertaken on the initiative of a Government Officer. Mr. Saville Marriott, Collector and Magistrate in the Northern Conkan, proposed to Government, early in May 1820, the appropriation of funds accumulated out of the fines levied on the servants of his

[1] Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—p. 302.

[2] Fisher's Memoir in Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, on the Affairs of the E. I. Company, 16th August 1832—I Public—p. 246.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 246 & p. 309.

office to the establishment of a school for the instruction of their children in the Marathi language and accounts, and if any of them desired, in English. The school was intended by Mr. Marriott for the benefit of the children of Government servants only.[1] Government did not, however, accede to his suggestion, as they could not calculate on sufficient funds being annually raised for the purpose.[2] But Mr. Marriott persevered in his proposal and replied that the funds would be sufficient to carry on the school intended to be established, as instruction upon the indigenous plan was very cheap, and moreover recommended that the principal of the fund in question might be received in the Company's treasury and interest at 9% be paid thereon to defray the current expenses of the school, so that even if the experiment turned out a failure, the principal would remain intact with Government.[3] But Mr. Marriott was informed that Government saw no reason to deviate from its former decision, and there the matter ended for a time.[4]

Some months after, the inhabitants of Panwell petitioned Government for a schoolmaster to teach them the English language. In their petition, dated 29th September 1820, it was stated: "The establishment of the English Government here has given us the utmost satisfaction. We and our children can read and

[1] Letter from Collector to Govt., 2nd May 1820: Pub. Dept. Diary, 436, 1820, pp. 734-37 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Minutes, 18th May: *Ibid.*

[3] Letter from Collector to Govt., 24th May 1820: *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

[4] Letter from Govt. to Collector— 1st June 1820: *Ibid.*

write the Mahratta Language, but we are all desirous to learn that we may be employed in your service and maintain ourselves. We are however so poor that we cannot afford to pay a School-master for teaching English. As your Government is establishing 4 School-masters in various places for the purpose of teaching the English language, we have taken the liberty to present this petition, humbly setting forth that there is a Schoolmaster at this place who can teach English well, being thoroughly conversant both with that language and Mahratta and we are fully satisfied that we could acquire English by means of his instructions." So the Petitioners entreated Government to assign a fixed salary to the schoolmaster.[1] The petition was referred to Mr. Marriott, who was directed to ascertain the real wish of the petitioners in the matter, and if it proved genuine, to report on the practicability of establishing a school subject to his own superintendence at the place and on the amount of stipend which might be allowed to the master.[2] Mr. Marriott in reply declared the petition to be perfectly genuine and strongly supported the entreaty of the inhabitants of Panwell in respect of the master by whom they desired to be taught English. At the same time he took occasion to reiterate his previous proposal for the establishment of a school for the children of Government servants.[3]

Mr. Marriott's reply caused a division of

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 48, 1821-23, pp. 1-3 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Govt. to Collector, 20th October 1820/No. 1243/ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

[3] Letter from Collector to Govt., 23rd May 1821/No. 331/: *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.

opinion among the members of the Governor's Council. The Governor and two members of Council, the Commander-in-chief and Mr. Bell, favoured the establishment of the two schools asked for by Mr. Marriott;[1] but Mr. Prendergast objected to it as unnecessary and expensive. He thought it unnecessary because he believed that in Bombay, which was very close to Panwell, there existed "abundant facility for young natives acquiring the English language;" and on the point of expense he remarked: "I have no doubt if this application is complied with, further aid from Government will ere long be applied for; and if the system is, as contemplated, extended to our other towns and territories, it will grow into an intolerable burthen on the H'ble. Company's finances."[2] Elphinstone's rejoinder to Mr. Prendergast was: "These schools are to teach English as well as the Native languages. I am afraid there is little chance of their spreading rapidly and I own I rather propose them as being happy to have an opportunity of trying the experiment under a zealous superintendent than from any expectation that many will study our language."[3] The upshot of the discussion was that Mr. Marriott was finally authorised to make an allowance to the schoolmaster as prayed for in the petition from Panwell and to establish a school for the children of Government servants.[4]

The establishment of the two schools

[1] Minute, *Ibid.*, p. 12A.

[2] Minute, 14th June 1821: *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

[3] Minute, undated.

[4] Letter from Govt. to Collector, 21st June 1821: Genl. Dept., Vol. 48, 1821-23, p. 21 (Bom. Recs.)

appears to have created a desire among the inhabitants for the education of their children. On 9th May 1822 Mr. Marriott reported that his school had 55 pupils learning English or Marathi, and that he had received several petitions "from persons for the admission of their children" into his school, but that he could not comply with these as the petitioners did not belong to his public establishment. He therefore suggested to Government an enlargement of the plan of his school on an increased scale of expense so as to enable the children of all persons desirous of educating them to participate in the benefit conferred by it. He also recommended a wider course of instruction embracing "the Science of Surveying Land and drawing Plans thereof."[1] Elphinstone viewed Mr. Marriott's school as a desirable experiment,[2] and so the modification of its original scope and plan as proposed by the former was authorised on 24th May 1822.[3]

More than a year afterwards, Mr. Marriott had again occasion to address Government, as he had at different times received applications from the inhabitants for the establishment of schools in their midst. He had, however, not deemed it fit "to be very forward in encouraging the expectation that Government could sanction the measure." He wished to ascertain in the first instance whether it would suit the policy of Government "to place a ready means of instruction in the hands of their poorer and even

[1] Letter from Collector to Govt., 9th May 1822/No. 7/: *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27.

[2] Minute, undated: *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[3] Letter from Govt. to Collector, 24th May 1822/No. 752/: *Ibid.*, p. 29.

middling class of subjects." "I have laid particular emphasis upon the term policy," Mr. Marriott observed, "because in the only other point of view, that of expense, in which the measure is likely to be canvassed, the subject appears to me to be of comparatively very little moment; since, as Government are aware, the native system of education is of such an extremely economical nature, as to enable a single master to instruct a very considerable number of scholars in the common branches of Education, that is simply reading, writing and arithmetic; after the acquirement of which the advancement of the Scholars must mainly depend upon their means of obtaining usefully instructive books on moral and scientific subjects." He asked for sanction of a sum of Rs. 350 to maintain fifteen "native schools," and two for instruction in the English language, in his collectorate.[1] Elphinstone was favourable to an immediate trial being given to Mr. Marriott's plan, after the latter had complied with a request to submit the details thereof,[2] but "the other members of the council not acquiescing, it was deferred till the result of the general inquiry into education should be known."[3]

§ 3.

Early in 1824 a special Committee of the Bombay Native School-book and School Society was appointed "to examine the system of educa-

[1] Letter from Collector to Govt. 8th November 1823/No. 9: *Ibid.*, pp. 31-38.

[2] Letter from Govt. to Collector, 22nd November 1823/No. 1655: *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

[3] Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee, 16th August 1832, I Public—p. 248.

tion prevailing among the natives and to suggest the improvements necessary to be applied to it." The report of the special Committee pointed out certain defects or "evils" (as they were called) of the Indian system of education and suggested remedies by which in the opinion of the Committee they could be overcome. Those evils the Committee found to exist in, first, a deficiency of "books of instructions"; secondly, the want of an easy and efficacious method of teaching; thirdly, the want of properly qualified teachers; and fourthly, the want of funds. For a remedy to the first evil the Committee looked to the exertions of European gentlemen acquainted with the vernacular languages and "capable of pointing out to such intelligent natives as may lend their assistance, the proper mode of reducing these languages to fixed rules and principles, and of employing them in the translation of such works from English as may be approved of by the Directors." The Committee recommended a series of elementary publications on such subjects as languages, arithmetic, geography, philosophy, history, astronomy and ethics. In order to remedy the second defect of the prevalent system of education, the Committee suggested the adoption of Lancaster's and Bell's systems of tuition. In connection with this part of the subject, the Committee observed that "it would be desirable that schools for the teaching of English should be also established." "This measure," the Committee proceeded to state, "would be particularly agreeable to the Natives; but it might be attended with the disadvantage of withdrawing them from the learning of their own vernacular dialects. Any consequence of this kind however might be

obviated, by requiring, that every boy shall attend a Maratha or Gujrathee school for a certain period before he is admitted into an English School; and in this manner, the instruction of the natives might be adapted to their wishes, and be at the same time accompanied with all the benefit which can reasonably be expected from the exertions of the Society."[1] The Committee suggested the removal of the third defect by the training of a certain number of young men as teachers at Bombay. And finally the Committee appealed to Government to provide against the last deficiency by rendering pecuniary assistance to the Society.

There are two salient features of the report of the special Committee which call for particular mention. First, the measures suggested by the Committee were primarily for the promotion of education through the medium of the vernaculars and only secondarily for its promotion through English. Thus the Committee's suggestions and recommendations throughout went to emphasise the importance of the vernacular medium of instruction. Secondly, not only did the Committee seek to give the vernaculars their due place in a national system of education, but was anxious to ensure against their neglect on account of a popular preference for English. Thus from the outset the educational bodies in Bombay exhibited a marked predilection for the employment of the vernaculars for the education of the people of the Presidency. This predilection was reflected too in the educational scheme of Elphinstone.

1 Genl. Dept., Vol. 63, 1824, p. 104 (Bom. Recs.)

The report of the special Committee was forwarded to Government and led Elphinstone to place before his colleagues in council a plan of education as outlined by him in a lengthy minute dated 13th December 1823.[1] In that minute Elphinstone, after premising that no progress could be made in the education of the people without "great assistance from Government," proceeded to point out two modes in which the necessary assistance could be given. One mode consisted in the entire assumption by Government of the control of public education, and the other in the stimulation of private exertions without direct intervention on the part of Government. Elphinstone preferred a combination of the two modes, or in other words, the establishment of a dual control over educational affairs by the Government and the Native School Book and School Society. He said: "Many of the measures necessary for the diffusion of education must depend on the spontaneous zeal of individuals, and could not be effected by any resolutions of the Government. The promotion of those measures, therefore, should be committed to the society; but there are others which require an organized system, and a greater degree of regularity and permanence than can be expected from any plan, the success of which is to depend upon personal character. This last branch, therefore, must be undertaken by the Government." So it was that no distinct official body was constituted for carrying out the educational policy of Government, as was done at the two sister presidencies.

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1 Forrest: *Selections from the Minutes and other Official Writings of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone*, pp. 79-116.

Next, Elphinstone's plan embraced seven objects which he considered requisite to the diffusion of knowledge among the people of the Presidency. The first three of those related to the promotion of elementary education through the vernaculars; the remaining four to the promotion of education in the higher branches of knowledge through English as well as the vernaculars. Under the former head the objects proposed by Elphinstone were: (1) the improvement and increase of "native schools;" (2) supply of school books; and (3) encouragement to the lower classes "to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them." Under the latter head Elphinstone suggested (1) establishment of schools "for teaching the European science and improvements in the higher branches of education;" (2) preparation and publication of "books of moral and physical science in native languages"; (3) establishment of schools "for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries;" and (4) "encouragement of the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge."

Elphinstone suggested definite measures for the attainment of those various objects. For the improvement of the existing schools he suggested (1) supply of trained schoolmasters to them; (2) provision for their maintenance from the income of the village (gaum Khurch); and (3) proper supervision and control. With regard to the supply of school books, he proposed that the expense connected with it should be borne by

Government, while the superintendence of the printing and distribution of them should be left to the School-Book Society. The means suggested by him for encouraging schools was the institution of examinations and a scale of prizes and rewards for proficiency attained by the pupils. As for "schools for European science," Elphinstone did not recommend their direct establishment by Government, but only payment of liberal stipends to those who, after passing a prescribed examination, undertook the instruction of a certain number of scholars. In this connection he looked forward to the aid to be derived from the conversion in future of the Hindu College at Poona into a seminary for instruction in European knowledge. So also with regard to preparation and publication of books he deemed it best to leave the same to private enterprise and confine the endeavours of Government to advertising for the best translations of particular books and holding out liberal rewards to stimulate their production. The establishment of an English school at Bombay was also recommended as a first step towards creating a desire for knowledge of English on the part of the people. Lastly, by way of encouragement to the acquisition of "higher branches of science," Elphinstone suggested inducements in the shape of large prizes and rewards and requiring a certain degree of education on the part of holders of religious grants or pensions.

This was in outline Elphinstone's educational scheme. Its comprehensiveness is its leading feature, embodying as it did, provisions for elementary education for the masses and for higher

education for the wealthy and leisured classes. It also throughout keeps in view the vernacular medium as the most suitable channel under the circumstances for the diffusion of knowledge. Elphinstone entertained no expectations of an immediate, rapid spread of the English language among the people of the Presidency for the sake of the knowledge or learning accessible through it. Hence he appears to have felt himself compelled to assign but a secondary importance to the English language considered as medium of instruction. "If English," he said, "could be at all diffused among persons who have the least time for reflection, the progress of knowledge, by means of it, would be accelerated in a tenfold ratio, since every man who made himself acquainted with a science through the English, would be able to communicate it, in his own language, to his countrymen. At present, however, there is but little desire to learn English with any such view."

But the Bombay Government had a staunch Anglicist in Mr. Francis Warden. He was opposed to almost every part of Elphinstone's scheme, save that relating to the establishment of a central English school at Bombay. He apprehended that Elphinstone's scheme attempted too much, and he deemed it necessary and expedient that Government should restrict its endeavours to the promotion of education through the medium of English. He differed from Elphinstone in the view that there existed little desire among the people for a knowledge of English, though he acknowledged the existence of obstacles to the rapid diffusion of education

among the higher ranks owing to their almost exclusive devotion to commercial pursuits and a corresponding disregard of intellectual or literary ones. But among the lower or middle classes of society he believed that there existed ample means of encouragement to the study of English. "No doubt," he said, "the progress of knowledge can be most effectually and economically promoted by a study of the English language, wherein, in every branch of science, we have, ready compiled, the most useful works, which cannot be compressed in tracts, and translated in the native languages without great expense and the labour of years. A classical knowledge of English ought to constitute the chief object of the Bombay seminary. As far as I have conversed with the natives, they are anxious that their children should be thoroughly grounded in the English language; some of the wealthiest would be glad to send their children to England for education, were it not for the clamorous objection of their mothers; nothing can be more favourable for commencing, or for the establishment of a good system of education, than such a disposition." On the other hand, he objected to the method proposed by the Governor to encourage translations and compositions in the vernacular tongues on account of the expense and tardiness of process involved therein.[1] "It appears to me," he said on another occasion, "that ultimately, and in a very few years, greater benefit will be bestowed on the country, and at less labour and expense, by circumscribing our efforts and funds, to the diffusion of the English language, and the

[1] Minute, 29th December 1823: Genl. Dept., Vol. 63, 1824, pp. 175-98 (Bom. Recs.)

circulation of English books, than in instructing natives in their own languages, printing and circulating their own works, translations of English tracts, and of English works on arts and sciences in all the languages of India. A laborious undertaking. With all our philological knowledge of the languages, our vigilance and our anxiety, we shall, I am afraid, diffuse in our translations a great many serious errors."[1] Mr. Warden, however, did not, like some Anglicists, look forward to English becoming the universal language of India. "I do not contemplate," he said, "the education of a population of eighty millions of souls in the English language; but I do contemplate, and at no distant period, its general use in all our proceedings, and its ultimate foundation, as the language of the educated classes of British India."[2] And his plan of education was a simple, though narrow, one. It was that "without in any manner interfering with the native village schools, bad as they are, seminaries should be established in each zillah, for instructing the children of the higher and middling classes in the English language, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, jurisprudence, political economy, and medicine, by schoolmasters to be sent from England; qualified assistants to teach the elementary parts of the English language may be found in India."[3]

The discussion between Elphinstone and Mr. Warden was the commencement of what was

[1] *Vide* Reply, dated 30th April 1832, to Villiers' Circular, dated 11th February 1832: Appendix to Report from Commons Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

known as the Anglo-Vernacularist controversy. As yet, however, the controversy consisted of an exchange of views at the Governor's council table on a few practical questions at issue. It was much later that it assumed the proportions of a public controversy which called for authoritative and far-reaching decisions.

The discussion between Elphinstone and Mr. Warden did not, however, cause a total suspension of educational measures. The dispute was referred to the Court of Directors in a despatch from the Bombay Government dated 11th August 1824.[1] In the meanwhile, as Elphinstone intended, an English school was opened at Bombay in July 1824. The instruction to be imparted in the school was originally to consist of "a critical knowledge of English," and, as soon as the boys were sufficiently advanced, of lessons "in books of science, whereby the acquirement of information from them would be procured at the same time with improvement in the language."[2] The school was placed under the management of the Native School Book and School Society. The Court of Directors evinced great interest in the school;[3] and the fact led the Bombay Government to call on the Society in May 1826 to furnish a report on its progress.[4] Accordingly, the Society supplied detailed in-

1 Pub. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 46, 1824-25, pp. 109-50 (Bom. Recs.)

2 *Vide* an undated Minute, probably by Mr. Farish: Genl. Dept., Vol. 63, 1824, pp. 127-34 (Bom. Recs.)

3 Despatch to Bombay Govt., 21st September 1825 (para 13): Pub. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 28, 1825, pp. 122-37, (Bom. Recs.)

4 Letter from Govt. to Society, dated 6th May 1826/No. 42/: Educational Dept., Vol. 2, 1826, pp. 329-30 (Bom. Recs.)

formation regarding the state of the school—the number of pupils, their distribution into classes and their acquirements. According to the Society's report, which was dated 7th June 1826, there were fifty "Maratha pupils" of various castes in four classes, and five Gujaratis in one class. The first class of Marathas contained 12 boys, who read short polysyllabic lessons in English from Murray's spelling and Reading Exercises and translated them into their own tongue. They also translated short pieces of Marathi into English and had gone through an abbreviated course of English Grammar. The second class had 16 boys, who read and translated dissyllabic lessons from the same book and had acquired in English Grammar a complete knowledge of the inflection of nouns and verbs. The third class consisted of 16 boys, who read and translated monosyllabic lessons from Murray's work referred to and had made "a little progress" in English Grammar. The fourth class, the smallest of all, had only 6 boys, who were learning "to write and read monosyllables on sand." As for the class of Gujaratis, the Society reported them as occupied in "learning the powers of the alphabets." Arithmetic formed a part of the studies of the whole school. Evidently, the school as a whole had not advanced much, and the Society felt itself called upon to offer some remarks by way of an apology for the little progress made. "If it should appear," it stated, "……that little progress has been made by the boys in the English School, it will no doubt be recollected that this is a first attempt, and that the mode of instruction adopted is calculated to produce a permanent and not a

transient benefit—For the English language is taught grammatically, and according to the method of double translation, by which means a correct knowledge not only of it, but of the relative capabilities of their mother tongue, is impressed on the minds of the Scholars—Advantageous, however, as this plan is, it would require, in order to produce its effects in a short space of time, more regular attendance and more application than can be expected from the children of natives; and particularly more than one person to conduct and superintend all its details." Accordingly, the Society drew the attention of Government to the various requirements of the school, such as more than one qualified teacher, proper supplies of school books, and other appliances in the form of a Select Library, Maps, Globes, and "Philosophical apparatus."

Although primarily an English school yet the vernacular languages formed an important portion of the studies pursued therein. In fact, considered as an instrument for the enlightenment of the people in general, the English language was held to be of secondary importance; and the general remarks into which the Society's report digressed on this particular subject are interesting as they clearly go to disclose the predominant trend of the educational authorities of the time in favour of the vernacular medium of instruction. "It appears to the Society," the report said, "that the moral and intellectual culture of the Native mind is most successfully effected by employing the Native language as the medium of communication. It must indeed be obvious that the previous acquisition by the Natives of a

sufficient knowledge of English for this purpose, must require a time, which would be much more beneficially employed in enlarging and improving their minds—Little, if any, advantage of this kind can be derived from the course of reading prescribed to them during the four or five years (or even more) which would be necessary for their learning English at all accurately; and when their attention would be occupied by the efforts requisite for retaining the remembrance of the words of a language, which differs so much from their mother tongue, both in idiom and construction. The acquisition also of English has hitherto invariably tended to render a Native negligent of his own vernacular dialect; and consequently, whatever knowledge he might become acquainted with, thro' the medium of English, there was a risk of his being unable to communicate it to his countrymen, and he would thus have been of no use in extending mental and moral improvement amongst the Natives—To obviate this inconvenience the Society requires that each boy shall have acquired a certain degree of conversancy with his mother tongue, before he is admitted into the English School; which qualification is indispensable for facilitating tuition by double translation; and at the same time affords a well grounded expectation that some of the Scholars will become properly qualified for promoting with success the objects of this Institution.—" "Hence it will be observed," the report went on to say in conclusion, "that the Society considers the teaching of the English language as of secondary importance in effecting the mental and moral improvement of the Natives. It is desirable however to render those few Scholars who

evince an inclination and have leisure to continue their studies in the English language, capable of understanding all kinds of English Works on Literature and Science: to the attainment of this object, the genius and ability of Native boys present no obstacle, and the exertions of the Society shall not be wanting—But as these works abound in ideas with which the Natives are totally unacquainted, these ideas will be most easily rendered comprehensible to them by means of the mother tongue of each Scholar. It will therefore no doubt be admitted, that the time and labour both of the Master and Scholar would be materially saved, were these indispensable explanations previously embodied in works written in the Native Languages; and thus it again appears that English can never become the most facile and successful medium of communicating to the Natives, as a body, the Literature, Science and Morality of Europe."[1]

The Society's Report convinced Elphinstone of the need for supplying the school with teachers from England. "A certain degree of knowledge," he remarked, "can be imparted through the medium of the Native languages by persons entertained from among the Natives themselves but the English language and the higher branches of science can only be taught by well educated Englishmen."[2] Consequently, the Government applied to the Court of Directors to "send out one or more European teachers who should if possible be of such a time of life as would render

[1] Letter from B. N. S. B. & S. Society to Govt. dated 6th June 1826: Educational Dept., Vol. 2, 1826, pp. 343-50 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Minute, 8th June 1826: *Ibid.*, pp. 351-53.

them likely to enter with ardour into the task imposed on them and to acquire the languages of this country, without which it is evident they cannot instruct its inhabitants."[1] The Court in reply promised to take the request into consideration on their receiving particulars respecting an institution which was "about to be founded by a subscription among the Natives, for teaching the English Language, and English Literature and Science."[2] The institution alluded to was the Elphinstone College, which will be noticed at length later on.

Another noteworthy institution which was founded was the Engineer Institution. The institution was established in consequence of the great demand on the officers of the line for persons qualified to undertake the numerous surveys which had become necessary on account of the great extension of territory under the Bombay Government. So in 1821 the Chief Engineer had been called on by Government to draw up a plan for training young men for that duty; and the Chief Engineer submitted in January 1823 a plan "directed principally to the education of a limited number of Boys from the Charity School in the duty of Surveyors." The plan met with the approbation of Government; but, subsequently, it was decided to enlarge the scope of the projected institution so as to permit of Indian boys being also trained along with European boys from the Charity School. "In the

[1] Despatch from Bombay Govt. to Court, 1st November 1827 (para 10): Educational Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. I, 1826-27, pp. 55-56 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Despatch from Court to Bombay Govt. 18th February 1829, (para 14): Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 32, 1829, pp. 17-41 (Bom. Recs.)

mean time it occurred to us," wrote the Government to the Court of Directors, "as an object of considerable importance to the well being of your Government in this country, to graft on the Survey Establishment, a plan for instructing Natives in some of the mechanical arts and the lower branches of sciences which might render them useful in superintending Public Works under European Engineers and further the grand design of the Institutions already in full operation in other parts of India for introducing generally among the Natives of the country a more perfect knowledge of Science in its most useful branches founded on European practice." So it was resolved on 18th April 1823 to authorise the establishment of an institution on an enlarged scale and to place it under the superintendence of Lieut. George Jervis, the Secretary of the Bombay Native School Book and School Society. Lieut. Jervis was appointed Superintendent on a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem.[1] The institution was actually started about the middle of July 1823.[2]

A notable feature of the Engineer Institution was that instruction in European science was imparted to the Indian students in the vernacular languages. In the Regulations framed for the institution it was laid down that the prescribed course of studies was "to be imparted to the Native Department of the Institution in *the* two

[1] Despatch from Bombay Govt. to Court, 17th September 1823: Military Dept. Letters to Court, Vol. 18, 1823, pp. 222-28. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Wm. Brooks, Chief Engineer, to Govt., 9th October 1823/No. 22/: Genl. Dept.., Vol. 24/394, 1837, pp. 233-34 (Bom. Recs.)

Vernacular Dialects peculiar to the Territories of Bombay, Maratha and Gujarati."[1] The adoption of the vernaculars for the purpose of imparting the knowledge of a foreign science involved the task of translating into them European works on it. The task by no means proved easy to Lieut. Jervis, whose acquaintance with both the vernacular dialects induced him to undertake the requisite translations. The chief difficulty experienced by him seems to have been a paucity of vernacular words for many of the scientific terms required to be translated; yet he managed to translate successfully "several of the standard books of instruction in Europe, on Arithmetic and Geometry." These translations served to show that the English language was not so absolutely indispensable for the communication of European knowledge as was often made out to be, and that the transfusion of that knowledge into the vernaculars, even in the uncultivated state in which they were stated to exist, was not an impossibility. Of Lieut. Jervis' translations the Chief Engineer wrote in one of his reports: "The books which Captain Jervis has already translated and has in contemplation to translate, cannot fail of greatly assisting the cause of education in general. The estimation, in which they are held, is evinced by the great demand there is for them; they are useful and interesting to all ranks and castes, from the Mechanic, to the Merchant and the man of Science; and it is in vain attempting to disseminate knowledge, to any great extent, in any language but that of the country, for very few

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837, pp. 223-29 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

natives are capable of attaining without years of study, a sufficient knowledge of English, to understand any work of Science in that language." And he added further: "I cannot call to mind that I ever met with one Native during my residence in this country (a period nearly of 30 years) who could read or write English with any degree of correctness, or who was capable of perfectly understanding any English book of a higher class than those calculated for children; although it has been the aim of many of them (probably ever since we had possession of the country) and the means they have had for some years past has been great."[1]

Besides Mathematical works, Lieut. Jervis translated by 1829 a "Preliminary Treatise to the Library of Useful Knowledge," which was intended to be followed by translations of some of the higher branches of Mathematics and some useful treatises in Mechanics and Natural Philosophy. But it was in his translations of Mathematical works that Lieut. Jervis appears to have been most successful and these works proved of great use to the Institution. "If nothing had been done," wrote the Chief Engineer in one of his later reports, "but translating into Maharathi and Gujarati, the works on Arithmetic and Mathematics, by means of which the Native youths who have passed through this Institution, have been instructed, that alone is a boon to the native inhabitants of this side of India of so permanent a nature, as to be well worth all the money that has been expended on this institution,

[1] Chief Engineer's Report, 17th May 1826: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837, pp. 51-62 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

if it could not have been purchased at less cost."[1]

In 1829, during the governorship of Sir John Malcolm, the Engineer Institution was abolished on the footing on which it had till that year been maintained and restored in a different form. The important changes effected in its constitution were: first, the abolition of stipends that it had been customary to pay to students as well as of the stipulations with regard to employment, by which the students, after the expiry of apprenticeship, were called upon to enter into a written agreement to serve the Government for four years; secondly, the throwing open of admission to all young men from recognised educational institutions or from Government Departments, civil or military, throughout the Presidency; and, thirdly, substitution of the direct control of Government for that of the Chief Engineer. The course of instruction remained the same, and the students were taught gratuitously. As the scope of the Institution was enlarged, and its benefit rendered accessible to all youths in the Presidency, its designation was changed from the "Engineer Institution" to that of the "Government Institution," and its superintendent was styled "Superintendent of Public Instruction."[2]

The subsequent history of the Institution does not concern the subject of the present chapter. But it may be noted that in 1830 the abolition of the Institution on grounds of economy

[1] Chief Engineer's Report, 14th December 1829: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837, pp. 247-50 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Govt. to the Chief Engineer, 21st December 1829/ No. 2345/: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837. (Bom. Recs.)

was recommended by the Calcutta Civil Finance Committee, who remarked that "although the success of the institution appears to be considerable, still, in our judgment, it has not been such as at the present period of financial difficulty to justify the expense which attends it."[1] The Institution by that time appears to have fallen off from its once progressive state, and in 1832 it was proposed by the Bombay Government to remove it to Poona—a proposal which, though acted on, met with the strong disapprobation of the Court of Directors, who ordered its removal back to Bombay. Shortly after, the institution appears to have been abolished, probably in accordance with the recommendation of the Civil Finance Committee.[2]

The comments of Lieut. Jervis and the Chief Engineer in justification of the preference of the vernacular medium over the English did not pass unnoticed by Mr. Francis Warden. When the Society's report of 6th June 1826 on the English School and the Chief Engineer's report of 17th May 1826 were laid before Government, Mr. Warden took occasion to dissent from the views therein expressed with regard to the relative advantages of the English and the

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[1] Letter from Committee to Govr.-Genl. in Council at Bengal, 26th April 1830: Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832—I Public—p. 408.

[2] The Editor of "*Selections from Educational Records*," Part II, broadly states that "as early as 1824 an Engineering Institution was in existence, but its subsequent history is obscure." (p. 350). So far, however, as the present writer's acquaintance with the offical records relating to the institution goes, it appears to him that the subsequent history of the Institution can be more or less clearly traced almost upto the time of its abolition. (*Vide* Ex. gr., Despatch from Court to Bombay Government, dated 17th December 1833/ No. 44/: Public Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 36, 1833).

vernacular media for communicating European knowledge to Indian youth, and particularly from the latter's remarks about the paucity of acquirements of Indians in the English language. Mr. Warden stated that his experience had been "directly the reverse of Colonel Goodfellow's." "I am entirely ignorant," he said, "of the great means that have been afforded to the Natives to learn English.—A Charity School was established in Bombay when the Church was built for the Education of Europeans only. Since 1814 a greater degree of attention has been paid to that Establishment—Natives have been admitted into it—Schools have also been opened by one or two Europeans on speculation. From both sources Natives have been taught the English language, and they speak, read, and understand it perfectly—Having acquired such a foundation, surely the means at their command in enlarging their capacities through the medium of English books are beyond measure greater than they can possibly command, if all the literature of India were within their reach." And he added an interesting piece of personal testimony in support of his contention. "I know not," he observed, "whether a Native or an European penned the Chief Engineer's letter now before me. If the former, it constitutes a decisive evidence against him. But in that art, whether in the beauty or correctness of the writing, the superiority is infinitely in favour of the Natives—at least I have ever found it so in an office where the fullest opportunity of ascertaining the fact was afforded me. In fact the most beautifully copied despatches sent home to the Hon'ble Court are by Natives." He concluded with a

suggestion—which did not meet with the approval of Elphinstone—that the clergy at the outstations might be employed to teach English, and with the expression of his opinion that "whatever sum of money the Hon'ble Court may appropriate towards the promotion of education should..... be chiefly applied to the diffusion of the English language."[1]

The Engineer Institution did not represent the only attempt to spread the knowledge of an important branch of European science through the medium of the vernaculars. In 1826 a Medical School was founded, with surgeon John McLennan as superintendent, who translated, for the use of the students of the Institution, various works on medical science into the Marathi and Hindustani languages.[2] But, despite Dr. McLennan's abilities and well-executed translations, the institution did not succeed to the extent expected. One principal reason assigned for its failure in 1829, when the rules of the institution were revised, was that a sufficient number of medical books had not been translated. In that year too English was mentioned or suggested as the suitable medium for the communication of medical knowledge.[3]

An interesting measure, seemingly of little importance, but which subsequently had a far-reaching result, may be appropriately noted here. It originated in a minute of Mr. Francis Warden,

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[1] Minute, 26th June 1826: Educational Dept., Vol. II, pp. 361-64(Bom. Recs.)

[2] Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832,—I Public—pp. 312-14 passim.

[3] Letter from Govt. to Medical Board, 21 December 1829/No. 2347/: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837 (Bom. Recs.)

penned by him on a perusal of Lushington's work on the history of the Calcutta institutions. Mr. Warden referred to the measures in progress in Bengal in order to drive home the views advocated by him with regard to the education of the Indian people. "The English language appears, as it ought," he concluded, "to be the primary object of interest as best calculated, and, in the end, the most easy and economical mode of enlightening the population of India; for this simple and powerful reason—the most approved works on arts and sciences, on every branch of literature, are extant and procurable on the cheapest terms, correct scientific translations of which into the various languages of India, if practicable, must be equally laborious and expensive and after all very inaccurate." And he put forward a practical suggestion to the effect that a recommendation might be made to the Bohras College at Surat—an institution established by the Bohras for imparting theological instruction—and to the Hindu College at Poona to combine the study of English with their Oriental courses, under an offer from Government to have one or more of the most intelligent of the scholars at those seminaries taught at the Presidency at the expense of the Government and sufficiently perfected in the English language to act as teachers.[1] Elphinstone had no objection to the references being made, provided care was taken "not to alarm the religionists who are to be consulted with the prospect of introducing anything European into their institutions."[2]

[1] Minute, 2nd October 1825: Educational Dept., Vol. I, 1825, pp. 213-21 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Minute, 12th October 1825: *Ibid.*, p. 223.

Accordingly, the references were made on 8th October 1825 through the Judge and Criminal Judge at Surat and the Commissioner at Poona.[1] It seems that Government expected that their offer would be accepted by the authorities of the Bohras' College and rejected by the Pundits of the Hindu College.[2] But the reverse proved to be the case. The offer was rejected by the former,[3] and readily accepted by the latter. Four students of the Poona College volunteered to repair to Bombay and study English for the purpose of acting as teachers on their return.[4] So the Commissioner in the Deccan was asked to send them down to Bombay, and an allowance was assigned to them for their support while learning at the Presidency. At the same time a salary of Rs. 50 per month was sanctioned for an English master in the Poona College and a salary of Rs. 20 for an assistant.[5]

Finally, it remains to be noted that on 10th March 1824 circular queries were addressed to the Commissioner in the Deccan and Collectors of the districts under the Bombay Government, asking them to report on the state of indigenous education. The inquiry was undertaken principally with a view to ascertain whether Elphinstone's proposals with regard to the improvement

1 Educational Dept., Vol. I, 1825, pp. 225-27 (Bom. Recs.)

2 *Vide* Warden's Reply, dated 30th April 1832, to Villiers' Circular: Appendix to Report from Commons' Select Committee, 16th August 1832,—I Public—p. 23.

3 Letter from Mr. James, Judge at Surat, 25th September 1826: Educational Dept., Vol. 2, 1826, pp. 727-28 (Bom. Recs.)

4 Letter from Wm. Chaplin, 29th November 1825/No. 165/: Educational Dept., Vol. I, 1825, pp. 419-20 (Bom. Recs.)

5 Letter to Wm. Chaplin, 22nd December 1825/No. 51/: Educational Dept., Vol. I, pp. 421-23, (Bom. Recs.)

of the village schools, as embodied in his minute of 13th December 1823, were practicable. The state of indigenous education which this inquiry disclosed was summed up by the Government, in a despatch to the Court of Directors, as confirming their "former impression of the low state of education throughout the country; that the instruction imparted in schools extends, with very limited exception, only to such an elementary acquaintance with writing and Arithmetic as is absolutely necessary for the business of a shopkeeper, or tullattee, that but a small proportion of the people acquire even this knowledge and that the aid of Government in providing or assisting in the remuneration of School Masters is essential to any advancement of learning, if not, to the preservation of the very inefficient and defective means of instruction now existing."[1]

§ 4.

The retirement of Elphinstone from the governorship of Bombay in November 1827 was signalised by an important event in the educational history of the Presidency. A Committee of Indian gentlemen was formed "to raise subscriptions amongst the Native Princes, and gentlemen, allies, and subjects of the British Government under the Presidency of Bombay, for the purpose of endowing one or more Professorships under the Native Education Society with the denomination of the 'Elphinstone Professorships.' The measure was a spontaneous one on the part of the influential inhabitants of Bombay and

[1] Despatch to Court, dated 15th March 1826: Educational Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. I, 1826-27, pp. 1-15 (Bom. Recs.)

was adopted " with the view of effectually commemorating the very high sense entertained by them of the private and public character of our late Governor, by associating it with that highly honourable, benevolent, and useful object for which he always evinced such intense anxiety from the first moment of assuming the reins of Government, namely, the education of the Natives on sound intellectual and moral principles." Upto 1st December 1827 the fund collected by the Committee amounted to Rs. 2,26,172 and was expected to reach the sum of three lakhs. The sum actually collected was made over to the Bombay Native Education Society in order, as was stated, that no time might be lost " in concerting the best means for giving effect to the important measure in contemplation." The professorships were to be endowed " for the purpose of teaching the Natives the English language and the Arts, Sciences, and literature of Europe." They were intended to be held first " by learned men invited from Great Britain and to continue to be held until the happy period arrive, when the Natives of this country shall be found *perfectly* competent to undertake the office."[1] The Committee appointed to raise the subscriptions preferred a request to Government, through the Society, that a sum proportionate to the amount subscribed be added by Government and that three eminent professors be sent for from England. One of these was to teach " the languages and general literature "; another Mathematics and

[1] The anticipation was fulfilled when Dadabhoy Naoroji became Assistant Professor and subsequently Professor in 1854 in the Elphinstone Institution.

Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy; and the third Chemistry, including Geology and Botany. At the same time the Committee added these important words: "Your Society will be pleased to bear in mind, what the Natives have desired us particularly to express, that, by the study of the English language, they do not contemplate the supercession of the vernacular dialects of this Country, in the promotion of Native Education; but that they regard it merely as a help to the diffusion of European Arts and Sciences among them, by means of translations by those who have acquired a thorough acquaintance with it and as a branch of classical education, to be esteemed and cultivated in this country, as the classical languages of Greece and Rome are in the Universities of Europe."[1]

The Bombay Native Education Society earnestly supported the Committee's request to Government and added one for a suitable building for the professors to teach in.[2] The Government, in submitting the matter to the Court of Directors, recommended the grant of the requested aid to the project;[3] but the Court desired in the first instance to be furnished with a "definite and well digested plan" of the proposed institution before granting the aid asked for.[4] The Governor, Sir John Malcolm, recommended that

[1] Letter to Secy. to B. N. E. Society, 1st December 1827: Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/163, 1828, pp. 17-22 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from B. N. E. Society to Govt., 4th December 1827: *Ibid.*, pp. 6-16.

[3] Despatch to Court, 13th August 1828: Genl. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 48, 1828 (Bom. Recs.)

[4] Despatch from Court, 8th July 1829: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 32, 1829, pp. 289-94 (Bom. Recs.)

two professors might be sent out from England—one "superior Professor of Mathematics, Astronomy, and all branches of Natural Philosophy," and another "an under Professor or Teacher possessed of a complete knowledge of the practical application of the Sciences of Architecture, Hydraulics, Mechanics etc. etc., to the purposes of life." At the same time the Governor touched on several matters regarding the projected institution, such as the need for framing specific regulations for its future management, the place where it was to be accommodated, etc.[1] The recommendations of the Governor were approved of by the Court of Directors in 1832;[2] but it was not till about two years later that the needed professors were sent out. In 1834 Mr. Arthur Bedford Orlebar, B. A. of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Mr. John Harkness of the University of Edinburgh were appointed the first professors; their selection was made by the Court in communication with Elphinstone who had been desired by the subscribers to nominate the first professors.[3] As for the contribution solicited in aid of the proposed institution, the Court empowered the Government, in a despatch dated 29th September 1830, to grant such sum as might be deemed advisable by it.

An interesting fact in connection with the foundation of the Elphinstone Institution remains

[1] Minute, 19th October 1830: Genl. Dept., Vol. 6/203, 1830, pp. 373-75. *Vide* Despatch to Court, 24th November 1830/No. 19/: Genl. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 49, 1829/30. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Despatch from Court, 12th December 1832/No. 56/: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 35, 1832. (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Despatches from Court, 2nd July 1834/No. 20/: and 12th November 1834/No. 34/: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 37, 1834, pp. 68-69 & pp. 104-5 (Bom. Recs.)

to be noted. When the proposal to endow the Elphinstone Professorships was laid before Government by the Bombay Native Education Society, it caused a recrudescence of the old controversy on the language-question. The discussion took place this time between Mr. Francis Warden and Sir John Malcolm, Elphinstone's successor. Mr. Warden regarded the proposed establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships as confirmatory of the views he had all along held about the feasibility of diffusing a knowledge of English among the Indian people, or at least of making that language the general medium of education. "I must confess," he said, "that I did not expect to receive so unqualified a corroboration of the popularity at least of that opinion among the Natives, as is afforded by the letter from the leading Members of the Native Community of Bombay, bringing forward a proposition for establishing Professorships to be denominated the Elphinstone Professorships for the purpose of teaching the Natives the English language and the arts and sciences and literature of Europe—to be held in the first instance by learned men to be invited from Great Britain until Natives of the Country shall be found perfectly competent to undertake the office." And he reiterated his opinion that "the surest mode of diffusing a better system" was by making the study of the English language the primary and not merely the secondary object of attention in the education of the Indian people. "Yielding to no individual," he affirmed, "in a conviction of the advantages of Education to every Country, I have yet differed widely in respect to the best means of successfully pro-

secuting that object. I am so far from abandoning the grounds of that opinion that every year's experience rather confirms me in its soundness. I have urged the policy of directing our chief effort to one object—to a diffusion of a knowledge of the English language, as best calculated to facilitate the intellectual and moral improvement of India. We have as yet made that only a secondary object."[1]

But Malcolm's views accorded with those of his predecessor. He considered that the method of diffusing knowledge adopted at Bombay was of all others the best that could be pursued. He stated clearly the advantages he expected from the founding of the Elphinstone Professorships and the grounds on which he opposed the introduction of English as the general medium of instruction.

> "The chief ground," he replied to Mr. Warden, "on which I anticipate advantages from the Establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships is that a certain proportion of the Natives will be instructed by them not only in the English Language but in every branch of useful Science. To Natives so educated I look for aid in the diffusion of Knowledge among their countrymen through the medium of their vernacular dialects, and I certainly think it is only by knowledge being accessible through the latter medium that it ever can be propagated to any general or beneficial purpose.
>
> "This question may be decided by reference to the history of England. Before the Reformation, our best books on Religion, Morality, Philosophy and Science were veiled in the classical languages of Greece and Rome, and it is a remarkable fact that since all those works have been translated into the vernacular language

[1] Minute, 24th March 1828: Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/163, 1828, pp. 28-34 (Bom. Recs.)

of our native country, though gentlemen, men of the learned professions and those who are to instruct youth still study the classical languages as the fountains of our knowledge, these are unknown to the great bulk of our countrymen to whom improved education has been so useful. The reason is plain, the latter have neither that time nor money to spare which is necessary for such studies. There is a still greater necessity that the Natives of India whom it is our object to instruct, should have the path of knowledge rendered as short and as smooth as possible ; all that we are now doing tends to that object, the complete accomplishment of which will be effected by the establishment of the Elphinstone Professors whose duty it will be to teach the few who are to teach the many, and from whom, as a source the Natives of this quarter of India will be able to obtain that information and knowledge which is best suited to their wishes, their talents, and their various occupations in life.

" I have on political grounds a consolation derived from my conviction of the impossibility of our ever disseminating that half knowledge of our language which is all any considerable number of the Natives could attain. It would decrease that positive necessity which now exists for the servants of Government making themselves masters of the languages of the countries in which they are employed, and without which they never can become in any respect competent to their public duties.

" One of the chief objects I expect from diffusing education among the Natives of India is our increased power of associating them in every part of our administration. This I deem essential on grounds of economy, of improvement and of security. I cannot look for reduction of expense in the different branches of our Government from any diminution of the salaries now enjoyed by European public servants, but I do look to it from many of the duties they now have to perform being executed by Natives on diminished salaries. I further look to the employment of the latter in such duties of trust and responsibility as the only mode in which we can promote their improvement, and I must

deem the instruction we are giving them dangerous instead of useful, unless the road is opened wide to those who receive it to every prospect of honest ambition and honourable distinction.

"To render men who are employed beyond the immediate limits of the Presidency fit for such duties as I contemplate, no knowledge of the English language is necessary. The acquisition of that would occupy a period required for other studies and pursuits, but it is quite essential to aspiring Natives that they should have the advantage of translations from our language of the works which are best calculated to improve their minds and increase their knowledge not only of general Science, but to enable them to understand the grounds which lead us to introduce into the system of administration we have adopted for India, the more liberal views and sounder maxims of our policy and legislation in England. It is to the labours of the Elphinstone Professors that we must look for that instruction which is to form the Native Instruments that must become the medium of diffusing such knowledge, and as no duty can be more important than that of men who are placed at the very head of this course of instruction, and as the power of selecting those qualified for the important task will much depend upon the liberality of the salaries assigned them I trust with Mr. Warden the Hon'ble Court will make a grant to promote this institution, of a sum at least equal to that subscribed by the Natives of this Presidency."[1]

Consequently, Malcolm did not depart from the essential principles of the system of education begun by Elphinstone. That system had in 1829 received the sanction of the highest authority—the Court of Directors. For, the Court at length decided the Elphinstone-Warden controversy in favour of Elphinstone's views and plans. They concurred on the whole with what they stated to be the more comprehensive and

[1] Minute, 4th April 1828: Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/163, 1828, pp. 35-49. (Bom. Recs.)

sounder views of Elphinstone, with whom they agreed in thinking that his plans were not inconsistent with those of Mr. Warden, but went beyond them. "Because," said the Court, "an attempt is made to communicate to the Natives the elements of useful knowledge in their own languages, it by no means follows, that to those who desire them, facilities should not be afforded for learning English. But such knowledge as suffices for the common purposes of life, may, without doubt, be more easily taught to the Natives in their own than in a foreign language. We are persuaded (and experience on the other side of the Peninsula confirms us in the opinion) that a desire for European knowledge and for the advantages connected with (it) is the only effectual stimulus to the acquisition of the English language."[1]

Malcolm sought to consolidate and place on a stable footing the educational system begun by Elphinstone. His plan was to station at the provincial capitals a sufficient number of teachers, drawn from the pupils of the Society's schools, the Government Institution and, if practicable, the missionary schools, "to admit of those best qualified making half yearly circuits of the smaller towns and villages; to distribute books; to give instruction, and to make reports upon the qualifications of the village school-masters and the progress of the pupils."[2] The indigenous village schools were not to be interfered with, but gradually improved. It may, however, be

[1] Despatch from Court, 18th February 1829: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 32, 1829, pp. 17-41. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Circular Letter 21st December 1829/No. 2348/: Genl. Dept., Vol. 24/394, 1837. (Bom. Recs.)

remarked in passing that the improvement of village schools, which had formed an important part of Elphinstone's plan, had been found to be a difficult task and was in fact attended with indifferent success. Even the introduction in those schools of books, printed at the expense of Government as authorised by Elphinstone's Government, was effected to a very poor extent.[1] With a view, however, to encourage provincial and village schools, Malcolm proposed a moderate salary to school-masters, distribution of prizes and rewards, and the holding out of prospect of public employment to those with educational qualifications. With regard to the improvement of the village school-masters, no express provision was made in Malcolm's plan, but it was left to the operation of the system to be introduced to bring it about gradually. But, above all, Malcolm sought to supply a powerful incentive to the spread of education by making public employment as closely dependent as possible on educational acquirements.

At the same time, the eventual establishment of local schools for teaching English formed a part of Malcolm's general plan. But one of the reasons for which he appears to have been desirous of seeing a knowledge of English diffused goes to betray narrow views on the subject. "I have given my sentiments most fully," he said, "upon the expediency as well as impracticability of conveying general instruction to our native subjects in India through the medium of the English language, but I by no means desire

1 *Vide* Sudder Dewanny Adalut's report, dated 16th October 1829/No. 78/: Judl. Dept., Vol. 9/181, 1829, pp. 214-21. (Bom. Recs.)

to express an opinion that schools for that purpose should not be extended. While records of offices, a part of judicial proceedings, and all correspondence and accounts, are written in English, there will be profitable employment for all who learn to read and write this language, and a familiarity with it will open to those who possess it new sources of knowledge, and qualify them to promote improvement. From English schools being established at no place but Bombay, the pay of writers and accountants is immoderately high; and when these move from the Presidency, they require still higher wages and when qualified they can from their limited numbers command almost any pay they demand. This introduces a tone of extravagance of demand from this class of persons in all our departments." The "real mode" according to him of remedying that evil was, as he himself stated, to lower the price by multiplying the article or, in other words, to afford facilities for the acquisition of a knowledge of English by a large number of persons so as to raise up more English-knowing candidates for public employment and thus bring down the market value of English acquirements.[1]

[1] Dhapooree Minute. 10th October 1829. Genl. Dept., Vol. 6/183, 1829, pp. 109-85. (Bom. Recs.)

Chapter II

THE SWERVE TOWARDS ANGLICISM.

Under Malcolm's successors a marked deviation from the principles of Elphinstone's scheme began to occur. The deviation was manifest in the greater attention paid by the authorities to the communication of instruction through English than to that through the vernacular languages.

During the Governorship of Malcom's immediate successor, Lord Clare, an important event took place in the establishment of the first Government English School at Poona. The school was founded under interesting circumstances. One Janardhan Appa Gadgill, in a petition to the Governor dated 15th December 1831,[1] stated that in 1825 he had been sent with other youths from the Poona College to Bombay for the purpose of being qualified as an English teacher for that institution, and he solicited the post as he thought himself sufficiently qualified for it by his knowledge of English. It will be recalled here that some youths were sent to be taught the English language by the Commissioner in the Deccan as the result of a reference made at the suggestion of Mr. Warden to the Poona College and the Bohras' College at Surat. The petition of Janardhan Appa was referred to the Junior Principal Collector at Poona for report.[2] The Junior Principal Collector, Mr. Geo. Giberne, informed Government in reply that he could find no correspondence on

1 Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/229, 1831, p. 26 (Bom. Recs.)

2 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

record regarding Janardhan Appa, and at the same time recommended the addition of an "English branch" to the Poona College, as, according to the Collector, "there would be many desirous of learning the English language." "A knowledge of the English language," he said, "would I humbly conceive tend greatly to the improvement of the Natives generally, the higher walks of literature and science would naturally soon follow and field would be open to many which otherwise for a length of time must remain closed; I should also say that a knowledge of the English language would become a link between the natives and their rulers, it is decidedly a gift, which would scarcely be forgotten in consideration of the valuable works in it." Moreover, the Collector suggested the reduction of the number of "professors for Hindu literature" in the college and the appointment of some for English and Persian.[1] The Governor, Lord Clare, concurred in the opinion of Mr. Giberne that the Poona College might be rendered a more useful institution by reducing the number of professors for Hindu learning and adding some for English and Persian. At the same time he enunciated his view that "in fact in every seminary supported by Government the English language should be taught."[2] A letter was addressed to the Junier Principal Collector on 17th May 1832, requiring him to report as to the number of professors of Hindu literature "which may be reduced in the College to enable Government to effect the object which you have recommended and the amount

1 Letter from J. P. Collr. Poona, dated 29th February 1832/No. 27/ Genl. Dept. Vol. 10/255, 1832, pp. 58-59 (Bom. Recs.)

2 Minute, 8th May 1832; *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

of salary which after such reduction will be available for this purpose."[1] Mr. Giberne's successor referred in reply to the existing strength of the establishment of the Poona College and gave it as his opinion that the professors for Alunkar, Nyaya and Vedanta might be dispensed with, as he thought those branches of Hindu learning "of the least use" and could well be displaced by more useful studies such as those of English and Persian. At the same time he thought it probable "the introduction of a professor in the former language into the College would give offence, if he were not a high caste Brahmin."[2] But, meanwhile, the Governor himself had decided to abandon the idea of adding an English Branch to the College. "I find," he said, "from a communication I have had with the principal of the College that tho' he would be extremely glad to have the English language taught in that seminary he is decidedly averse from any scholar except a Brahmin being allowed to be there instructed. The object therefore being to spread the knowledge of our Tongue it would be very unwise and in my opinion impolitic to confine it to one particular caste; besides any attempt to connect English studies with the system pursued by the Brahmins in the College might alarm their prejudices and would probably fail." Instead, he decided to establish a distinct English school at Poona; and the reasons which induced him to do so are interesting to note. "I am quite satisfied," he said, "that the people in and about the populous

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/255, 1832, p. 62 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Ag. P. Collr., 16th July 1832/No. 89/; *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

City and Camp of Poona are very anxious to learn our language. The number of Situations in the public offices which can only be filled by those who understand it, the Concourse of Europeans, East Indians and Natives of Bombay following profitable Trades, and the number of the Castes whose professions and Education give them a Turn and facility for acquiring languages form a combination of Circumstances which has probably produced that taste for learning English, which I understand evidently prevails to a considerable extent in the City of Poona—For these reasons I do not think a better place could be selected for the establishment of an English School, and I therefore (the principle of extending the knowledge of our Language having been approved at home) propose to establish one at Poona being satisfied that no more useful measure can be devised with a view to enlighten the minds and enlarge the understandings of our Native subjects than to impart to those, who are willing to learn the knowledge of our language and literature and if the experiment shall succeed here, it may be tried hereafter with advantage in the more remote districts of this country."[1]

The Governor himself drew up a "short plan" of the school intended to be established,[2] and selected one Mr. David A. Eisdale, who had previously been recommended by the Secretary to the Bombay Native Education Society, Mr. R. Money,[3] for the situation of head master on

[1] Minute, 27th September 1832: *Ibid.*, pp. 74-77.

[2] Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/225, 1832, pp. 78-79 (Bom Recs.)

[3] Letter from Secy. to B. N. E. Society, 24th May 1832: *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

a salary of Rs. 500. Though the management of the school was to be left solely to the Head-Master, it was at the same time deemed necessary to appoint a Visiting Committee, " for the purpose of making periodical inspections and Examinations, and reporting to Government, whatever information they may deem fit relative to the plan of Study pursued and the progress of the Pupils." On 11th October 1832 Mr. Eisdale was informed of his appointment,[1] which was accepted by him with a becoming acknowledgment of " the honour thus conferred."[2]

On the 7th January 1833 the school was opened by Mr. Eisdale in the Boodwar Palace; and at the time of its opening sixty three " young men and boys " were entered on the Register.[3] Subseqently, there was a falling-off in the number of pupils in attendance owing to disappointment in the expectation of stipends, which it had hitherto been customary in Government schools to give.[4] During the succeeding years of its existence the school maintained on the whole a steady and satisfactory progress.[5] The subjects

1 Genl. Dept., Vol. 10/225, 1832, pp. 80-82 (Bom. Recs.)

2 Letter from Mr. Eisdale to Secy. to Govt., Genl. Dept., 27th October 1832; *Ibid.*, p. 83.

3 Letter from Mr. Eisdale to Secy. to Govt., 7th January 1833; Genl. Dept., Vol. 6/277, 1833, p. 137 (Bom. Recs.)

4 Letter from Mr. Eisdale to Secy. to Govt. 15th March 1833; Genl. Dept., Vol. 6/227, 1833, pp. 148-149 (Bom Recs.)

5 Letter from Visiting Committee, 3rd September 1833; Genl. Dept. Vol. 6/277, 1833, pp. 181-82 (Bom Recs.)

Clare's Minute, 16th September 1833; *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Clare's Minute, 5th October 1833; *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Letter from Visiting Committee, 14th October 1833: *Ibid.*, p. 198.

Report from Visiting Committee, 24th September 1833: Genl. Dept. Vol. 22/354, 1836, pp. 16-19 (Bom. Recs.)

taught, when the school was put in full operation, were, (1) English Reading and Spelling, Grammar and Derivation of Words, (2) Writing, (3) Geography, (4) Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and elementary principles of Natural Philosophy, (5) Translation and Composition.[1] About the year 1838 the study of Chemistry was introduced into the school.[2]

During the governorship of Lord Clare's successor, Sir Robert Grant, was founded the Medical College which to-day bears his name. The proposal for its establishment emanated from the Governor himself, who took a warm interest in the "improvement of medical and surgical science and practice among the Native practitioners in those Departments.[3] A committee of the Bombay Medical Society, whose co-operation was enlisted in the matter, drew up a scheme of a medical school, on different principles from those on which the Native Medical School had been founded by Elphinstone;[4] the latter institution had not succeeded and was abolished in 1832 during the regime of Lord Clare. The two important principles on which the new institution was planned by the Com-

[1] Mr. Eisdale's Report, 15th August 1836; Genl. Dept., Vol. 22/354, 1836, pp. 16-19 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Mr. Eisdale's Report, 1st November 1838; Genl. Dept., Vol. 29/498, 1839, pp. 79-80 (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Grant's Minute, 14th February 1837; Genl. Dept., Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, p. 1 (Bom. Recs.)

[4] Report of Committee of B. M. & P. Society on Native Medical Education, dated 6th (?) July 1837; Genl. Dept. Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, pp. 150-60 (Bom. Recs.)

mittee of the Bombay Medical Society were: first, "that medical education can only be conducted, by approximating as nearly as possible, to the systems of instruction followed in the schools of Europe;" and, secondly, that the English language must be the medium of medical instruction.[1] The grounds advanced by the Committee for the decision it had arrived at with respect to making English the medium of medical instruction were, among others, that the English language was "rich in stores of Medical knowledge," that "the Vernacular languages of the East" were "absolutely barren of all literature," that English was "the language of those who must be the teachers," and that the difficulty of translating scientific works in the vernaculars rendered it possible to impart only the rudiments of medical science through their medium. The Committee however added: "in thus expressing ourselves unhesitatingly on the necessity of the English language being adopted, as the medium of instruction, we are by no means disposed to call in question the opinion, that before Medical Science can be said fairly to flourish, and be incorporated with the Institutions of any Country, that it must exist in the vernacular language of that Country." And it is worthy of note that, on the question, the consensus of opinion among individuals in the medical profession as well as those connected with the educational affairs of the Presidency, whose views were previously ascertained by the Medical Society on the subject of the proposed institution, was in favour of making English the medium of medical

1 *Ibid.*

instruction.[1] A judicious view of the question was expressed by Ball Gangadhur Shastree, the Indian Secretary of the Bombay Native Education Society, who wrote to Dr. Morehead, Secretary of the Bombay Medical Society: "I think it (Medical instruction) should be communicated through the medium of the Native language if the object be to educate the adult practitioners in the elements of the Science, and to make the benefits of the European Systems generally known immediately throughout the Country. But if the end proposed be to give superior education in all branches of Medical Science to a select number of young men, the English is the only medium which can possibly be adopted; as from the difficulty of translating works on Science no more than the rudiment can be taught through the medium of the Native language."[2]

Thus English came to be the medium of medical education in Bombay. The conclusion which the Committee of the Medical Society reached with regard to it was concurred in by Robert Grant, who indeed considered it as one of the defects of the former medical school, leading to its eventual failure, that "instruction

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[1] *Vide* Letter from B. G. Shastree, dated 29th May 1837; Genl. Dept., Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, pp. 175-77, 182-84; Letter from Mr. W. Mackie, dated 28th May 1837; *Ibid.*, pp. 187-194; "Notes," by Mr. A. Gibson, dated 5th December 1836; *Ibid.*, pp. 195-202, (Bom. Recs.) (Mr. Gibson's "Notes" were written before the reference was made to the Medical Society on the subject of Medical Education by Government).

[2] Letter from B. G. Shastree, 29th May 1837; Genl. Dept., Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, pp. 182-84 passim. (Bom. Recs.)

was conveyed in the Hindustanee and Mahrattee languages."[1]

The measures taken during the regimes of Lord Clare and Sir Robert Grant show that English was gaining ground over the vernaculars, which had till the time of Sir John Malcolm been given an unequivocal preference as media of instruction. The tendency became more pronounced by the time that the Government appointed a Board of Education on 13th May 1840.[2] This Board was instituted in compliance with the necessity that was felt for some compact body to organise and superintend the educational operations of the Government over the whole Presidency—a task for which the Bombay Native Education Society was considered inadequate.[3] The Board consisted of six members besides a president. Three members were elected by the Native Education Society and were required to be Indians in order "to represent the feelings and wishes of the Native communities;" and three were appointed by Government in order to represent its "will" on the Board.[4] The first President of the Board was the Hon'ble Sir J. W. Awdry. The supercession, implied by the appointment of the Board, of the agency of the Bombay Native Education Society in the management of public education in the

1 Minute, 5th March 1838; Genl. Dept., Vol. 21A/448A, 1838, pp. 210-36 passim, (Bom. Recs.)

2 Notification, 13th May 1840; Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, p. 151 (Bom. Recs.)

3 *Vide* Minute, dated 21st February 1840; also Letter from Govt. to Committee of the Joint Meeting of the N. E. Society and the Elphinstone College Council, dated 30th April 1840; Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840; pp. 57-63 & 75-84 (Bom. Recs.)

4 Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, pp. 67-69 passim, (Bom. Recs.)

Presidency, did not, as might be expected, fail to call forth a protest from the latter body.[1]

As indicative in some measure of the tendency above alluded to, it is interesting to note the proceedings of the Board of Education as well as of the Government in connection with a matter that first engaged their attention after the appointment of the former. In his minute of November 1839 Lord Auckland had desired to be furnished by the Bombay Government with a report on the mofussil vernacular schools: at the same time he had particularly requested that Government to consider the measures contemplated by him "for raising and adapting to native wants the instruction conveyed in the most advanced of our English colleges." Thereupon the Bombay Government called upon Captain T. Candy, Superintendent of the Poona College and of the Government vernacular schools in the Deccan, for a report and referred to him for opinion certain points arising out of the suggestions of Lord Auckland. Two important points were: "whether inducements might not be held out with advantage to the best scholars of the village schools to prosecute their studies further, and to acquire an improving knowledge of European literature;" and whether he would recommend "the establishment of English schools, with such inducements as may tend to induce the best scholars to continue and prosecute their studies in a few of the interior Districts." Captain Candy submitted an exhaustive and interesting report in which, besides fully exhibiting

[1] Letter from Managing Committee, N. E. Society, dated 30th May 1840: Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, pp. 160-63. (Bom. Recs.)

the state of the Government Marathi schools under his superintendence, he dealt at some length with the question relating to promotion of English education referred to him by Government. On the two particular points noted above, Capt. Candy remarked as follows:

"With respect to.....the Expediency of holding out inducements to the best Scholars of the Vernacular Schools to study English, and of furnishing them with the means of study by the Establishment of English Schools, I beg to say that I think the measure *exceedingly desirable*. The National Education of India cannot be said to be on a suitable basis till there is a *Vernacular School in every Village and an English School in every Zillah*. After these shall have been in operation a few years I doubt not there will be added to them a College for every Province.—

"There is a great desire on the part of Native young men to study English. I would not at all intimate that this desire springs from a love of Knowledge for its own sake. Its source is doubtless the conviction which is daily increasing in the Native mind that ere long a Knowledge of English will be the Chief if not the sole road to situations of honor and emolument.—

"It is the path of wisdom I conceive to take advantage of this State of the Native mind, and to encourage that study which is in every point of view so desirable. Of the many who will begin the acquisition of English with no other object than of securing a livelihood not a few we may hope will be so captivated with the charms of Science as to need no other motive but love to pursue the delightful study. We may look forward, I think to this for some invaluable instruments in the national enlightenment of India. These will be the persons to render accessible to their countrymen true Translations of the rich stores that are contained in the English language.—No foreigner however well versed he may be in the Native languages can do this work so well as these will do it; for there are niceties in every language which can be fully mastered only by those of whom it is the mother tongue."

Accordingly, Captain Candy suggested the immediate establishment of an English school in each of the collectorates of the Deccan and the Conkan, and pointed out Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Kelwa Mahim, and Ratnagiri as the places in want of English schools and in which they could be fittingly located as the inhabitants evinced a desire for the study of English. But at the same time Capt. Candy did not omit to recommend strongly that "it should be established as a rule that no Scholar be admitted into a Zillah English School who has not acquired a grammatical Knowledge of his Native tongue." "The benefit of this," he added, "will be twofold. It will secure to the English Schools a class of Scholars whose minds have been trained and exercised, and who will therefore enter on the new study under favourable circumstances. It will have a most beneficial reflex influence on the Vernacular Schools, as it will stimulate all to acquire that Knowledge which will qualify them for admission into the English School."[1]

The Board of Education, in forwarding Capt. Candy's report to Government, stated their concurrence with his views as to the desirability of establishing English schools, and recommended the measure to Government. "The Establishment of English Schools," said the Board, "at the Chief Zillah Towns of the Districts under this Presidency to be managed by a mixed Committee of the principal European Gentlemen at each Station, associated with the Government Native Officials, and other Natives of respecta-

[1] Candy's Report, 27th May 1840: Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, pp. 197-202. (Bom. Recs.)

bility, would tend much to encourage Vernacular education, and make it popular, as a general belief prevails among the Natives that all Official advancement will ultimately depend on their Knowledge of the English language."[1]

Government on their part were entirely favourable to the plan of locating an English school in each collectorate. The minute of the Governor, penned on consideration of Capt. Candy's report and the recommendations of the Board of Education, clearly reflected the attitude of Government towards the question of the promotion of English education in the Presidency. The Governor wrote :

> "My own opinion is that instruction should be afforded to the utmost extent in our power both in the Vernacular and English Languages and that it is incumbent on us to make some beginning in the latter object. It is a point on which much difference has prevailed whether we should confine ourselves to the encouragement of Vernacular Schools or of Schools teaching the English language.—
>
> "The object is much more comprehensive than that the Scholars should be prepared only for Government employ but appears to me the general diffusion of the English Language and eventually its general adoption in the Country, and though the time may be distant before this object can be accomplished it is desirable I think that Government should make some beginning and institute as recommended by Capt. Candy an English School in each Zilla.—
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> "As the advantages of English acquirements become more apparent it is to be hoped that other Schools of a similar description will spring up, independent of Government Support."[2]

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[1] Letter from Board of Education to Govt., 9th October 1840 /No. 51/ ; *Ibid.*, pp. 182-84 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Minute, 10th November 1840 ; Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, p. 210. (Bom. Recs.)

So also a member of the Governor's Council stated: "Though I have no expectation that the English language will ever be generally adopted in this Country I am very much in favor of *good* English Schools and shall be glad to see one in every Zilla.—but I am much against *inferior* English Schools which are ten times as expensive as Vernacular Schools, and do not convey to the *minds of the Scholars* nearly so much useful instruction."[1] The remaining member too expressed his assent to the measure.[2]

The sanction of the Government of India was sought for the measure proposed by Capt. Candy. In asking for the requisite sanction the Bombay Government expressed its views in terms which again unmistakably show the new current in favor of education through the English language. The Bombay Government observed that it was "an act of duty" to make some beginning in the promotion of English education, that "the teaching of reading and writing in the English language" was "a great step in our present stage of education," and proceeded to explain:

> "His Honour in Council is aware that it is a point on which much difference has prevailed whether Government should confine their exertions in the cause of Education to the encouragement of Vernacular Schools, or extend them to Schools for teaching the English Language. Some apprehension may be entertained whether the establishment of the latter may not lead to a superficial system of Education, and to the mere acquirement of such knowledge as will ensure admittance into the public service.—but to this objection it may be answered that in most of the Government

[1] Minute, 13th November 1840; *Ibid.*

[2] Minute, 14th November 1840; *Ibid.*

Offices in the Districts, a Knowledge of English is not necessary, and would avail nothing, except as it may give intelligence and knowledge independent of the duty to be done. No man will be the worse for such knowledge, but in cases in which it is not necessary to the duty which he has to perform, his introduction or promotion in the Service of Government could scarcely be aided by it.—

"The chief object to be held in view is however of a much more comprehensive nature than simply that Scholars should be prepared for Government employ and it may be said to be the general diffusion of the English Language, and eventually its general adoption in the country, and tho' the time is doubtless very distant when the accomplishment of this end may be looked for, it seems desirable that some commencement towards its attainment, of the nature of the measures now proposed by Captain Candy should be made, since it may be expected that as the advantages of English acquirements become more apparent, other Schools of a similar description will spring up independent of Government support."[1]

But the reply of the Government of India was not very encouraging. The Governor-General in Council stated it as his opinion that it would not be "reasonable to charge the finances of Bombay with a number of expensive English Zillah Schools as well as with the Vernacular institutions already established." But the Supreme Government was favourable to the establishment of an efficient English school in Gujerat and a similar one in the Southern Mahratta Country.[2]

The Board of Education, however, was shortly to communicate a strong impetus to the

[1] Letter from Bombay Govt. to Govt. of India, dated 4th December 1840/No. 4053/; Genl. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840; pp. 222-24. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Govt. of India to Bombay Govt., dated 16th December 1840/No. 991/; Genl. Dept., Vol. 15/586, 1841, pp. 75-76, (Bom. Recs.)

promotion of education through the English language in the Presidency. But the new movement in Bombay as in Bengal did not escape a conflict with the established ideas and precepts. Let us now proceed to see what that conflict was and what it brought forth.

Chapter III

THE CONFLICT.

The Board of Education was by no means prepared to concede to the vernaculars the pre-eminence which the pioneers of education in Bombay had uniformly given to it. The proceedings of the Board betrayed a tendency to depart steadily from the aims and principles which had guided those pioneers and to approximate more and more to the conclusions that had been reached in Bengal on the question of the medium of education. Neither in theory nor in practice had the early labourers in the field of education in the Presidency ever lost sight of the importance of the vernaculars. But, whatever its theoretic professions, the Board on the contrary deviated in the direction of giving the English language a preponderance in the system of education placed under its control. This was made clear during the very second year of the Board's existence when in its second annual report it proceeded to make certain observations with regard to its proceedings during the year 1842. "The tendency of our proceedings in regard to Vernacular Education," said the Board, "has evinced our conviction that the primary Instruction of the people should be conducted exclusively in the Vernacular language of the respective Provinces, and that it is essential to permanent and real success, that the exertions of Government should be responded to, by that degree of co-operation on the part of the people, which will suffice to give evidence of a sincere desire on their part, to

avail themselves of the benefits of Education.... Whereas on the part of the controlling authority, we trust that we have shown our sense of the importance of practically demonstrating the advantages of Education, by advancing the Educated; of exercising a vigilant system of superintendency over the Schools; of providing well trained Masters; and of preparing a series of Vernacular School-books, calculated to impart a degree of moral and intellectual training to the body of the people, and to lay the foundation of a Vernacular literature to be made, we would hope, ultimately available for the improvement of the adult population, by means of Village Libraries in connection with the Schools, and their Committees." On the other hand, "the measures resolved on or proposed in regard to the English Schools, show," the Board pointed out, "that we are of opinion, that the course of instruction pursued in them should be suitable for the preparatory Education of those Members of the Community, who have higher objects in view than a course of primary instruction is calculated to provide for,—who aim at qualifying themselves for the higher offices connected with the State,—for different Professions as Merchants, Teachers, Civil Engineers, Physicians, Lawyers &c.—In fact we consider that the English Schools should represent the "Secondary Schools" of a system of national Education,—analogous in position to the Gymnasia in Germany and Prussia, and the Grammar Schools in England."[1]

With Sir Erskine Perry, Chief Justice of Bombay, as its President in succession to Sir

[1] Report of the Board of Education for the year 1842, dated 31st March 1843, pp. 76-80 passim.

W. J. Awdry, the Board of Education definitely broke away from the educational opinions and aims that had so long held the field in Bombay. There was an open swerve on its part in favour of adoption of the views and principles on which the system of education in Bengal was grounded. The year 1845 marks a notable turning-point in the history of education in Bombay. In its annual report for that year the Board of Education laid down the principles, which it desired to observe in the management and extension of educational operations in the Presidency, but which, as will be seen subsequently, did not pass unchallenged by a representative of the old school of thought on the Board.

In that Report, hard to rival for the lucidity of its diction, the Board took a survey of the educational proceedings of the Bombay Government, past as well as contemporaneous, and deduced therefrom important general conclusions. In the course of the survey the Board set forth the object or objects to be kept in view in the promotion of Indian education—which had been stated clearly enough before in a previous report[1]—narrated the history of the educational ideas and endeavours of the Bombay and the Bengal Governments, compared the results of the systems of education prevalent in the two presidencies, and dwelt inter alia upon the controversy that had taken place first between Elphinstone and Mr. Warden and then between Mr. Warden and Sir John Malcolm. It was a comparison of the results so far obtained under the Bengal and the Bombay systems respectively

[1] Report of the Board of Education for the year 1844 (paras 89-92); Genl. Dept., Vol. 28/934, 1845, pp. 207-10. (Bom. Recs.)

that led the Board to inquire into the relative merits of the two and perhaps helped it to form its final decision.[1] "It clearly appears," the Board pointed out, "..... that while the resources available for education in this presidency have principally been directed to numbers and to vernacular instruction, the Bengal authorities have chiefly adapted their institutions to the reception of the smaller numbers who desired to acquire the English tongue.—The question therefore at once arises as to the comparative value of the two systems, and as measures have been lately adopted in Bengal for carrying out Vernacular Education on a large scale at that Presidency also, it would be very desirable in many points of view if an accurate account could be presented of what the true results had been of the system pursued at Bombay during the last 20 years."

After a review of the various educational measures taken till that time, the Board concluded that the "true results" of the system of education in Bombay were far from encouraging any hope of inducing any profound change in the Indian mind. It acknowledged that considerable

[1] The Board stated those results in a tabular form thus:—

1843-44

	Bengal Presidency.	Bombay Presidency.
Population	37 Millions.	10½ Millions.
Funds applicable to Education.	Rs. 4,77,593	Rs. 1,68,226
Total number receiving Government Education.. ..	5,570	10,616
Receiving English Education ..	3,953	761

improvement had been wrought upon "what prevailed of old"—in other words, the indigenous system of vernacular education—yet it felt itself constrained at the same time to state: "We do not think we are at liberty to assume that our vernacular establishments as at present conducted are capable of operating any effective permanent improvement on the Native mind, or of introducing habits and tones of thought which may serve to encourage a spirit of progress and self-development amongst the Community."

Consequently, the Board was led to raise two important questions with regard to the system of education hitherto pursued in Bombay: first, whether with the existing means and materials the vernacular schools were capable of reaching the level of improvement to which it was desired to raise them; and secondly, assuming they were, whether any great benefit in the way of the mental and moral improvement of the country was likely to accrue in the result from a perseverance in that direction. The Board did not deny the possibility of improving the village schools by such means as a strict and careful system of superintendence and supply of vernacular class-books; but to the second question the Board's answer was a decided negative. With the kind of ineffectual men available as teachers for the vernacular schools and with the paucity or absence of the needed literature in the vernacular languages as two almost insuperable obstacles to the attainment of the object in view, the Board concluded that the existing system could never take the place of a sound and adequate system of education.

The question which such a state of affairs as that depicted by the Board gave rise to was obvious and the Board itself proceeded to state it. It asked: "Such then being the sorry account which the Board feel themselves compelled to give of their impressions as to the true effect and operations of the Vernacular Schools, what then it may be asked is their practical conclusion? Are the attempts of Government to achieve the objects set forth at the beginning of this report to be looked upon as wholly illusory; are the millions who inhabit British India so immovable and impervious to the active spirit of improvement at work in other parts of the world that it is hopeless to endeavour to bring them within its influence?" And its answer was: "The Board would anxiously guard against the supposition that they entertain any such desponding views. While it is at all times necessary to look the truth steadily in the face, and in the case of a Board constituted like ourselves, it is required that we should be on the watch to avoid being betrayed by any feeling of self complacency into an undue appreciation of the value of our services, we conceive that the important practical lesson which is taught by a careful analysis such as we have made above, is the clear perception of the course which it is expedient for us to pursue in future."

To the Board its future course or policy was clear enough, and it consisted in nothing more than the systematic application to Bombay of the filtration theory, as espoused by the authorities in Bengal and countenanced by the Court of Directors, and of all that that theory

implied or was made to imply. As the Board expressed it in the limpid language of its report:

> "We consider that in order to make a permanent deep impression on the Asiatic mind, and in order to fit it for the reception of the results of Western Civilization, we must apply our chief endeavours to the cultivation of the higher branches of learning and of the superior orders of minds. The growth of opinions in nations appears to us exactly analogous to what takes place in small circles; in these as in the former, the majority have no opinions of their own; they take them from the original mind, from the man who thinks for himself, the man whom they look up to and respect in each Caste or Coterie, and when no person exists sufficient to excite the feeling called hero worship, the mass of opinions existing in the treasured experience of the aged, is sufficient to afford the authoritative decision to which the majority of society is so willing to bow. And of such small circles a nation is made up.—
>
> "Without going the length of the Philosophers of the last century as to the omnipotence of Education, we think it by no means Utopian to suppose that it is possible to train in our higher institutions a number of young men altogether equal to ourselves in acquired information. But to achieve this there must be the same facility available to them as to youths educated in Europe, to carry on their studies after they leave school, and to keep pace with the accumulating knowledge of the day. That is to say they must be made perfectly familiar with the English tongue in which alone they will be able to obtain that supply for their intellectual cravings which will be of any service to themselves or to others.
>
> "To make our vernacular schools really effective therefore, we conceive that it is indispensable and also that it is possible, to place at the head of them a set of men trained as is indicated in the last paragraph and who shall be in reality superior to the rest of their countrymen. Larger salaries, than may be necessary afterwards, will be required in the first instance, and

a respectability needs to be attached to the position which it is so easy within the competence of Government to bestow. The work moreover may not proceed very rapidly; it will undoubtedly be slow in the first instance. But this security seems to attend upon the plan that however little may be done, that little is certain to be effective, and if the course is steadily persevered in without impatience and without despondency, the fine language of Coleridge may perhaps one day or other be applicable to India: "that to every parish throughout the Kingdom there (shall be) transplanted a germ of Civilisation; that in the remotest villages there (shall be) a nucleus, round which the capabilities of the place may crystallize and brighten; a model sufficiently superior to excite, yet sufficiently near to encourage and facilitate imitation."—

"The Board have the satisfaction of knowing that in the conclusions they have arrived at of the necessity of beginning from above downwards, when the attempt is made by a western nation to introduce their own systems of Education, and their own habits of thought amongst a people whose type and character of Civilization have been so wholly different; and further that the language of the governing nation is the only effective medium by which such ideas can in the first instance be conveyed—it is satisfactory, we repeat, to perceive that exactly the same conclusions have been arrived at by the Home Government."

Such was the course laid down by the Board for its own guidance. Accordingly, it proceeded to divide the schools in the Presidency into two "great classes"—the first class comprising all vernacular schools in which elementary instruction was imparted through the medium of the vernacular tongues; and the second class consisting of all those institutions in which a knowledge of the English language and of the literature and sciences of Europe was communicated. At the same time it tried to extend English education, so far as the limited pecuniary resources at

its disposal permitted, by establishing English schools in localities considered of great importance. A circular letter was addressed to the collectors of Ahmedabad, Nuggur, Sholapur, Broach and Kaira with a view to ascertain the disposition of the people at those places towards English education. Encouraging response came from Ahmedabad[1] and Rutnagiri;[2] but with regard to several other districts the Board regretted to state that "our endeavours to stir up the inhabitants of Nuggur, Kaira and Broach have met with either no or unfavourable responses".[3] But in the course of the succeeding years the Board helped to establish an English school in each collectorate of the Presidency, save in Kaira which right upto 1855 remained without an English school[4]

The policy of the Board and the measures taken in pursuance of it, which gradually tended to be exclusively in favour of education through the medium of English, eventually brought it into conflict with two sets of opinions. One was that Orientalist opinion, which held that Oriental learning and languages could be turned to useful account in order to further the cause of Indian improvement and hence was entitled to a place in a national system of education—a representative of that opinion being Captain T. Candy,

[1] Letter from Board to Govt., 17th October 1845/No. 530/; Genl. Dept., Vol. 32/938, 1845, pp. 29-30 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Board to Govt., 30th December 1844/No. 508/; Genl. Dept., Vol. 27/933, 1845, p. 69 (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Report of the Board of Education for the year 1845, dated 16th April 1846; Genl. Dept., Vol. 31/1050, 1846, pp. 11-133 passim (Bom. Recs.)

[4] *Vide* Report of the Board of Education, 1853-54, pp. 2-7; Report of the Board of Education, 1854-55, pp. 2-4 (paras 5-7).

Superintendent of the Hindu College at Poona. The other opinion was that the vernacular medium of instruction required under the prevalent circumstances of India to be given preference to the English and had a staunch advocate in Major George Jervis, who, as secretary of the Bombay Native Education Society, had long been connected with the educational affairs of the Presidency and, though now a member of the Board, held views that belonged to the days of Elphinstone and Malcolm. Thus in Bombay there took place, not only an Anglo-Orientalist controversy on a miniature scale, so to speak, but also a sharp conflict between the vernacularists and the authors of the policy of the Board, or in other words, an Anglo-Vernacularist controversy.

The friction between the Board and Captain Candy arose out of certain measures proposed to be taken by the Board for changing the constitution of the Hindu College at Poona. But the discussion which ensued on the proposed measures was more or less a replica of the Anglo-Orientalist controversy in Bengal, so far as the general views and arguments advanced in the course of it went. Neither Sir Erskine Perry, the protagonist of Anglicism in Bombay, nor Captain Candy, who defended the propriety of encouraging the cultivation of the Sanskrit language and literature for certain ulterior purposes, added anything to the stock of pleas and arguments with which the controversialists in Bengal had combatted each other. Hence the discussion regarding the Poona College needs but a brief mention here.

In a previous chapter the circumstances in which the Hindu College at Poona arose were briefly mentioned. Its subsequent history seems to show that it went the way of similar institutions founded by the British authorities at the other presidency. Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner in the Deccan, had been entrusted with the general superintendence of the College; and in 1826 the Collector was invested with its superintendence on the expiration of the Commission.[1] In 1834, Mr. Baber, the principal Collector of Poona, stopped the payment of stipends to certain scholars of the College on the ground of their exceeding the proper age within which they were entitled to them. Thereupon the scholars petitioned the Revenue Commissioner against the action of the Collector, who, on the petition being referred to him by the superior authority, not only explained the grounds of the step taken by him, but further raised the question whether it was not advisable to abolish the College as in his view it had not been productive of beneficial results. Government on its part demurred to such a drastic measure as was proposed by Mr. Baber, but, for the purpose of ensuring a more vigilant and regular superintendence of the College, it associated the agent for the Sirdars and the Revenue and Judicial Commissioners with the Collector—all of them forming a committee of management.[2]

"The Committee of Supervision took a very unfavourable view of the Institution, and recommended its abolition, on the ground that the

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 14/122, 1826, p. 181 & p. 183 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Genl. Dept., Vol. 8/303, 1834, pp. 129-37. (Bom. Recs.)

advantage was not commensurate with the expense of it.

"Government in reply agreed with the Committee that the Institution had failed of its object; that it had fulfilled no purpose but that of perpetuating prejudices and false systems of opinion, and that unless it could be reformed it had better be abolished. In a subsequent communication Government intimated to the Committee its resolution to maintain the College on a reformed plan, and under special Superintendence. One main ground for retaining the Institution was the importance of the preservation and cultivation of the Sanscrit language with reference to the improvement through it of the Vernacular languages that are derivatives from it.—

"It was argued that Sanscrit is as essential to Students in India as Latin is to Students in Europe. It is the language of the Laws and Literature as well as of the religion of this country. And as English, it is allowed, is necessary in the present circumstances of this Country to furnish ideas to the Native mind so is Sanscrit equally necessary to ensure the right expression of those ideas in the Vernacular tongues. By the abolition therefore of the Study of Sanscrit literature would be lost a powerful aid in the diffusion of true Science."[1] Acting on those considerations, Government reduced in 1837 the branches of knowledge taught in the College and retained only (1) Dharma Shastra ; (2) Vyakurn (Grammar);

1 Capt. Candy's Report, 5th June 1840 ; Genl.. Dept., Vol. 13/530, 1840, pp. 252-63 (Bom. Recs.) ; *Vide* also, Genl. Dept., Vol. 17/349, 1836, pp. 1-30 & Genl. Dept., Vol. 39/409, 1837, pp. 1-29 (Bom. Recs.)

(3) Gyotish; and (4) Alankar (Belles Lettres). To these the branch of Nyaya or Logic was subsequently added. At the same time, as the necessity of an European Superintendent for the purpose of ensuring the efficiency of the institution had been pointed out to Government,[1] Captain T. Candy was apointed superintendent on 9th February 1837 and charged with supervision of the College as well as the Marathi Schools in the Deccan and in the Ratnagiri Collectorate.[2] With the assent of the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, Capt. Candy introduced certain improvements in the College, two of which deserve particular mention. These were that the medical branch of studies, which had been abolished, was revived and a teacher of the vernacular language was appointed to the College.[3] With regard to the latter innovation Capt. Candy had some interesting remarks to offer. "Hitherto," he said, "it had been too much the case that those who had been educated in the College left it with a contempt for their mother tongue, and without the ability to write even a common letter in it with propriety. Of course they were not qualified to enter any Department of the Public Service, except that such of them as had studied the Dharma Shastra might be qualified to become Shastrees of Law Courts. But now the Students are instructed in the Vernacular language in all the Branches of Study that are taught in the Government Maratha Schools.

[1] *Vide* Memorandum by Rev. J. Stevenson: Genl. Dept., Vol. 39/409, 1837, pp. 3-8 passim (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letters to Capt. Candy, dated 9th February 1837/Nos. 364 & 369/; *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22 & 28-29 (Bom. Recs.)

[3] Governor's Minute, 9th November 1837; Genl. Dept., Vol. 39/409, 1837, pp. 210-13 (Bom. Recs.)

The good effect of this it may be hoped will be great and permanent." Under Capt. Candy's superintendence the College showed favourable progress.

To such a state of improvement the College had been brought, when Captain (now Major) Candy in his annual report for 1847-48 suggested an enlargement of the scope of the institution so that it might conduce to the improvement and diffusion of general education in the country. In putting forward his suggestions, Major Candy was led to discuss the value and place to be accorded to the study of the English, Sanskrit and vernacular languages, first, in the Poona College itself, and secondly, in a general system of education for the country. With regard to the first topic, he said :

> "The philosophers, Metaphysicians, dialectitians, Astronomers and poets of Ancient India were men, in comparison with whom the present race are mere pygmies. This generation could not therefore but profit by a perusal of the works of their abler forefathers.
>
> "Much rubbish would indeed be brought from these ancient Sanscrit mines, but with it would also be brought some good ore, which if coined and made current in Murathee, would increase its literary wealth.
>
> "Still as the ancient sages and Philosophers of India were ignorant of *The Truth*, not only in Divinity, but in secular science, and as their Histories are nothing but legend and mythological fables, we must look chiefly to another source for matter with which to enrich the Vernacular and to enlighten the age.
>
> "The best source, indeed the only good one from which we can draw, is the English language with its rich stores of History and Philosophy, Mental, Moral, and physical. It is on this ground that I rejoice at the introduction of English into the Poona College,

and at the study of it being combined with the study of Sanscrit and Murathee.

"As taught in other Institutions, the study of English must be viewed principally as benefitting the individual students of it, expanding *their* minds, enlarging *their* ideas, removing *their* prejudices, and *only as units helping to make up the mass of Society* influencing through the community in general.

"But as taught in the College in combination with Sanscrit and Marathee, its chief aspect is different. Though it will subserve the important end of individual enlightenment, as well when taught in the College, as when taught in other Institutions, its chief use here will be that of *qualifying and training a Body of Translators*, thus operating directly for the welfare of the Public."

On the second topic, Major Candy set forth his views as follows:

"My own view is that the study of the Vernacular cannot be too much encouraged, nor that of English in its proper place.

"The Vernacular should be studied *by all*, from the Prince to the Peasant; and it should, nay *it must*, form the medium through which the Mass of the population shall receive the education suitable for and needed by them.

"English, on the other hand, should be studied by *every Gentleman*, by every one who has leisure and means to prosecute the study, by every one who aspires to a superior situation under Government, and by every one who wishes to be *thoroughly educated*. My educational motto should be "Murathee for the Multitude; Murathee and English for the Elite."

"English should take in this Country the place which Latin holds in England—It does not constitute the medium through which the masses of society are instructed, *but it is necessary* to the education of the Scholar and the Gentleman."

In brief, Major Candy's idea was to convert the Poona College into a regular nursery of translators and school-masters, and with this idea he put forward three important proposals—namely, that an English professor, specially trained in Sanskrit and Marathi, should be selected for the superintendence of the College; that a professor of the vernacular language should be attached to the English department of the College; and that "translation scholarships" or "exhibitions" should be founded in the College.[1]

When Major Candy's report came under the consideration of the Board of Education, the President, Sir Erskine Perry, while agreeing with Major Candy in his views regarding the place of the English and the vernacular languages in a general system of education, proceeded to state his objection to Major Candy's plan for the enlargement of the Poona College thus: "I conceive that it is quite feazible to carry out these views. But the question for the Board is, whether it is consistent with their views and with those of Government to make the Poona College, with its exclusive character, the nucleus of those operations. I conceive that it is not. The institution was established as a sop to the Brahmines on the settlement of the Country, and I agree that we ought to make it as useful as we can *out of its own funds*—but if we set about establishing new institutions having the benefit of the whole community in view, I think we ought to abandon all exclusive principles, and throw

[1] Genl. Dept., Vol. 11, 1851, pp. 27-39 (Bom. Recs.)

open the door wide to all castes and to merit of all kinds."[1]

But the Board of Education did not think its President's objection of sufficient weight to warrant the rejection of Major Candy's plan, and accordingly he was requested to submit to the Board a draft of rules for carrying his suggestions into effect.[2]

In obedience to the Resolution of the Board Major Candy forwarded an elaborate draft of the rules asked for and embodying the principles enunciated by him in his report. But Sir Erskine Perry objected to the rules on several grounds. In the first place, he was not in favour of giving so much importance to the study of Sanskrit as was contemplated by Major Candy's scheme. He thought it impracticable for a student to acquire such a critical knowledge of both English and Sanskrit as was deemed necessary by Major Candy to make him a fit translator or schoolmaster. He examined the grounds on which in his opinion undue importance was sought to be given to Sanskrit and found the claim usually put forward in its behalf on those grounds to be exaggerated. The grounds in question were stated by him to be two: "First, the knowledge of Sanscrit, like the knowledge of the Classical languages in Europe only in a much higher degree secures a reputation for scholarship and the respect of the community; Second,.....a knowledge of the parent Classical Sanscrit is necessary for those who have to write in the Vernacular languages,

[1] Minute, 19th July 1848: Genl. Dept., Vol. 11, 1851, pp. 40-41, (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Resolution, 3rd August 1848: *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

in order to supplement their inadequacy and poverty." And he proceeded to remark on these as follows:

"The first reason has weight in it, but it must not be pushed too far. A learned Pundit no doubt has influence in a Hindoo Village, but I question whether it ever equals that of the Mamlutdar or other Government officer; and if the new race of school-masters formed by the Board get a superior rate of pay, and are able to communicate information not before known in the village, I conceive that there will be no lack of respect paid to them. Besides which the students of the Poona College will have acquired quite sufficient knowledge of Sanscrit, before entering the Normal Class, to obtain the respect alluded to, and which it must be owned is chiefly factitious.

"The second reason I conceive to be much exaggerated. Major Candy and others are fond of bringing forward the analogy of the English language, which has borrowed so largely from the Latin (or rather from French) and Greek, especially for the expression of scientific terms. But all Scholars are aware that this is purely accidental. The sister tongues to English, the German &ca supply such terms from their own resources, and the English might have done the same if accident had led to the practice,—even now "three cornered" and "four cornered" are probably more intelligible to the English people, and almost as well sounding as triangular and quadrangular, and this observation may be pushed to any extent.

"But even if Mahrathi and Guzerathi should be obliged to borrow from Sanscrit, it seems a wild scheme to teach the latter Language so extensively as Major Candy proposes, for it is well known that there is nothing which requires so much judicious skill as the introduction of new words into literature.....Whereas if the doctrine is put forth that every translator from English is at liberty to introduce a new fangled word from Sanscirt on every new idea that presents itself, the consequence will be that his translation will be unintelligible to his Countrymen."

In conclusion, what he deemed necessary to train up the students of a Normal Department was a knowledge of the English and the vernacular languages .and an elementary acquaintance with Sanskrit. He therefore recommended that the scheme of Major Candy might be revised with a view chiefly to provide for the organisation of a Normal Department in the College.[1]

The views of Sir E. Perry as well as certain other circumstances appear to have induced the Board to change its mind, and Major Candy's scheme was put aside for reconsideration at a future date. When Major Candy referred, in his next annual report for 1848-49, to the fact that his rules had not been acknowledged by the Board, he was informed in reply that "when your draft arrived, and had been considered by the Board, the feasibility of carrying your suggestions into effect was found to be more apparent than real."[2]

Meanwhile, a suggestion for the amalgamation of the Poona English School, founded by Lord Clare, and the Sanskrit College—a suggestion that primarily emanated from Mr. Harkness who had apparently been sent to Poona to organise an English class at the Sanskrit College[3] found favour with the Board and Major Candy was asked to draft rules for carrying out an amalgamation between the two institutions on the lines of that effected between the English and the

[1] Minute, 8th September 1848: Genl. Dept., Vol. 11, 1851, pp. 71-78.

[2] Letter from Board to Major Candy, 17th July 1849: *Ibid.*, pp. 100-02.

[3] Perry's Minute, 22nd September 1848 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-84.

Sanskrit Colleges at Benares under the Government of the N. W. Provinces.[1] Major Candy, however, appears to have been averse to the proposed measure, and on the nature of the amalgamation, which the Board had in view and which was tantamount to the abolition of the Sanskrit College on its old footing, being made explicit to him, he submitted to the Board, not only a scheme for amalgamation as asked for by the Board, but an elaborate "Minute on Education," in order, as he said, "to show the necessity of the study of Sanscrit literature having a place in a scheme of National education for India, and to point out the place which it should occupy, with the end to be attained by it."[2] The Minute, however, contained for the most part the usual ideas and views and suggestions of the Orientalists, and was summarily dismissed by Sir Erskine Perry as "an elaborate defence of Sanscrit College" and "a neat summary of the arguments which Horace Wilson, and two or three students of Sanscrit literature, have been continually putting forward for some years past."[3] Major Candy's scheme of amalgamation gave rise to further discussion among the members of the Board, and one of them, Juggonath Sunkershett, put in a spirited plea for the preservation of the Sanskrit language and literature. "It would be a sad reproach," he said, "on an Indian Board of Education professing to foster Education for the benefit of mankind in general, were so rich and classical a language

[1] Letter from Board to Major Candy, 30th October 1849: *Ibid.*, pp. 103-04.

[2] Letter from Major Candy to Board of Education, 13th November 1849/No. 19/: *Ibid.*, pp. 110-12.

[3] Minute, 17th November 1849; *Ibid.*, pp. 135-37.

as Sanscrit to be excluded from its schools and colleges;.....My prejudices as a Hindoo are of course averse to condemn entirely this ancient and sacred Language as a means of the study of the sciences which Hindoos have supposed can only be properly attained by its knowledge—I am not however so ignorant of the rapid strides which have been made in Knowledge by the inhabitants of the West as not to fully understand that as a country which has for centuries lost its independence, and has been debarred by political circumstances from making those advances in science and the mode of attaining it, which a free and independent nation possesses, must be at this day far behind in the race of intellect, which the 19th century has spread over Europe and America; and therefore that the application and means of teaching such sciences as Astronomy and Medicine may be found in a more efficient form in the English Language than in Sanscrit. But for the sake of the nationality which still lingers in the breasts of Hindoos, I humbly advocate the continuance of the study of Sanskrit at least in the sciences of Rhetoric-Logical Philosophy, Grammar and Law."[1] As a result of the discussion, some concession was made to Sanskrit, and Major Candy, when his scheme was returned to him for being recast, was informed of the Board's views in these terms: "The Board then are of opinion that the study of Sanscrit, as a classical language, is one important element in the improvement of the vernacular languages, but they are also of opinion that it should not be encouraged to a greater extent than may be necessary to enable us to

[1] Minute, 15th December 1849; *Ibid.*, pp. 143-46.

express in the Vernaculars all that we want to impart in the way of secular education. It therefore appears to the Board desirable to determine that course of study which will enable us to cull the flowers we require, without taking more than we can help of the weeds. We want "its copiousness in vocables, its wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and yet more exquisite than either." We want "the facility which it offers for the formation of compound tenses according to the rules of Grammar, the abundance of its inflections, and the multitudes of its synonyms." We do *not* want "its conceits and absurdities of Science falsely so called, still less its polytheism and pantheism," and a course of study should be selected which will give us all we want, with as little as possible of what we eschew."[1]

In the end, rules were framed for the amalgamation of the English school and the Sanskrit College and were forwarded to Government on 10th August 1850 for sanction.[2] The sanction was granted;[3] and the "new Poona College" was opened "with some solemnity" by a member of the Board of Education, Mr. John Warden, on 7th June 1851.[4]

But this amalgamation, it may be mentioned in conclusion, did not ultimately succeed. In 1856, the Director of Public Instruction, Mr.

1 Letter from Board to Major Candy, 1st March 1850/No. 119/: *Ibid.*, pp. 150-53.

2 Genl. Dept., Vol. 11, 1851, pp. 161-66 (Bom. Recs.)

3 *Vide* Governor's Minute, 11th October 1850; *Ibid.*, pp. 181-89

4 Letter from Mr. John Warden to Board, 9th June 1851: *Ibid.*' pp. 271-75.

Erskine, in submitting the reports of the examinations, specially ordered by Government, of the Elphinstone and the Poona Colleges, took occasion to remark: "It is difficult to peruse these papers without feeling that the arrangement known as the amalgamation of the English School and Sanscrit College at Poona in 1851 was an attempt to fuse together elements which had no tendency to combine; and that the Establishments, allowed for the United Institution have in many respects been most inadequate—Those who ordered the amalgamation—in opposition it appears to the wishes and recommendations of Major Candy—would not, I apprehend, have encouraged the introduction of a rigid discipline—if by that means the number of students were to be greatly reduced as it would have been."[1]

The controversy over the re-modelling of the Poona College was preceded by one of far more importance—in fact, considering the question at issue that was involved in it, of perhaps greater importance even than the Anglo-Orientalist controversy in Bengal.

It has already been seen how the Board of Education departed from the educational policy laid down by Elphinstone and Malcolm and how in its report for the year 1845 it proceeded to avow Anglicist views and principles. That report gave cause for the first note of controversy to be struck. Colonel George Jervis, who had for a long period been closely associated with the pioneer endeavours for the promotion of education

1 Letter from Director of Public Instruction to Govt., dated 12th May 1856: Genl. Dept., Vol. 30, 1856, pp. 4-5 (Bom. Recs.)

in Bombay, objected to the introduction of "opinions and discussions" in the report, as it seemed to him to be "altogether without the purpose" for which such a report was intended. He also objected to the mention of the classification of the schools into English and vernacular, as it "might probably tend to convey the idea, that the classification, therein adverted to, did not exist until last year; while on the contrary, it was *contemplated* and virtually practised from the very first institution of the Elphinstone College." And he proceeded to remark:

> "The *Schools* of the Native Education Society were intended for the purpose of teaching the Native youth the vernacular dialects, and English; and thus, of preparing those who wished it, to attend the lectures on European literature of the Professors of the Elphinstone College. Nor has there ever been any difference of opinion, at this Presidency, regarding the system of Education which should be adopted, except with respect to the degree of attention and encouragement which should be given to promoting the study of the English language; and this is a point still in dispute, its settlement, I conceive, depends upon considering that this difference of opinion involves the question,—what are the best and most effective means for instructing Youth in the literature and science of a foreign country? But, in resolving this question, it must be particularly observed that no analogy whatever exists between the acquisition by an English youth of a knowledge of Greek, Latin, or any modern European language and the acquisition of a knowledge of European literature and science by a Native of India or any other Asiatic. For, in the former case, the natural objects described, and the ideas expressed in Greek, Latin, and modern European works, can be easily rendered intelligible and familiar to an English youth. But to a Native of India the natural objects described and the ideas expressed in European literature and science

are, for the most part, so entirely dissimilar to those to which he has been accustomed from his infancy that it is with the utmost difficulty that he can acquire a conception and knowledge of them. It is the same with an European who studies, for instance, Sanscrit or Arabic, for there continually occur passages in the works he reads, which neither commentaries, nor the explanations of learned Natives enable him to understand fully. To instruct, therefore, the Natives of India in European literature and science through the medium of English *only*, is obviously impracticable, because experience shews that Natives, who speak English well, and even write it with tolerable accuracy, cannot read and understand the commonest English work. The fact is, that they have learned words, but not ideas. It seems consequently evident that the only practicable means of conveying to the Natives of India the literary, scientific and moral ideas of Europe, is by explaining them orally in the vernacular dialects, or by translations into the vernacular dialects, of such European works as are best adapted for that purpose—or what would be better, selections from such works, as it would be advisable not to tax, at first, the attention of the Native learner too much. But to understand such oral instruction or such translations it is indispensable that the Native should have acquired a correct and grammatical—not merely a colloquial—knowledge of his own vernacular dialects, and for this purpose therefore the vernacular dialects should form a principal object in Education."

Moreover, Colonel Jervis pointed out in conclusion that Indians, who had contributed to the funds of the Native Education Society and founded the Elphinstone Institution never intended that "the study of their own vernacular dialects should be neglected and that the funds contributed by them should be exclusively appropriated to the study of English." It may be mentioned here that in these views of his Colonel Jervis had the concurrence of two Indian

members of the Board, Juggonath Shunkershett and Mahomed Ibrahim Muckba.[1]

But the immediate occasion, which caused the controversy to blaze forth in full vigour, occurred some time later. It may be recalled here that the Engineer Institution, founded by Elphinstone, was abolished about the year 1832. But the substantial advantages which had accrued from that institution induced Government to attach in 1843 an Engineering class to the Elphinstone College, the class being placed under the charge of a professor specially sent out from England.[2] The class, however, does not appear to have been a success, as there was a dearth of pupils with the requisite preliminary qualifications to attend it. Thereupon it was determined to establish scholarships as an inducement to boys of ability to join the class; and Principal Harkness of the Elphinstone College suggested that, if the scholarships failed to achieve their purpose, it might be advisable to take into consideration the formation of a vernacular class of Engineering. This led the Board of Education to record a resolution in September 1846 to the effect that the proposition of Principal Harkness was regarded by it as "worthy of consideration at some future time." Subsequently Colonel Jervis, under a misconception, stated, in the Military Board, that orders had been issued for the formation of a vernacular class of Engineering, when in fact no such orders had been issued.

[1] Minute, 16th March, 1846: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 191/96 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] *Vide* Letter from Bombay Govt., to Court of Directors, 17th May 1843/No. 45/; Genl. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 66, 1843. (Bom. Recs.)

But the fact led Government to address a letter to the Board of Education, dated 30th January 1847/No. 240/, in which it demanded to know why the formation of a vernacular class had been ordered, when it saw no reason why the instruction in the Engineering class "should not be conveyed exclusively in English."

The letter from Government, the tone of which was animadverted upon by Sir Erskine Perry,[1] was taken by Colonel Jervis to enunciate two principles from both of which he strongly dissented. As stated by him, those were: first, "that instruction of any kind is to be conveyed exclusively in English;" and, second, "that our Board have no authority to issue any orders that would have the effect of changing the constitution of a class without the sanction of Government." The first issue raised by Colonel Jervis gave rise to the Anglo-Vernacularist controversy. With the second issue the subject of the present chapter is not immediately concerned.

Colonel Jervis objected to the first principle relating to medium of instruction, which he believed to be enunciated in Government's letter, both on general and special grounds. The general grounds of his opposition were stated by him ably and at length with a Hodgson ring about them and representing fully the vernacularist point of view.

> "My general objections," he wrote, "are those obvious considerations which for years, regulated, throughout India, the efforts of the British Government and of many of the most distinguished Members of

[1] Minute, 25th February 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 135-37 (Bom. Recs.)

the Service for the promotion of Native Education, and which were unquestioned, until of late years, when the influence of certain men in authority of undoubted talent, but of strong and peculiar prejudices, introduced the idea of giving the preponderating consideration to the study of English, which appears still so unhappily in my opinion to influence the educational views of our present Rulers.—

"Surely it must be admitted, that general instruction cannot be afforded, except through the medium of a language with which the mind is familiar; and therefore the consistent result of the views above mentioned, which would constitute English the essential medium for the intellectual improvement of the Natives of India, (startling tho' it must appear to the commonest sense) is, to withhold all Education from the Native population of this Country, until the English language is so familiar to them, that each individual can think and reason, in that tongue, to the supercession necessarily of his own dialect; and moreover, strange to say, the idea of making English the sole language of our Indian subjects has been seriously entertained and propounded. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the chimerical nature, to say the least, of such extreme views; but the conclusion appears incontrovertible, that, in proportion as we confine education to the channel of the English language, so will the fruits be restricted to a number of scribes and inferior agents for Public and Private Offices, and a few enlightened Individuals—isolated, by their very superiority from their fellow Countrymen.—

"In our endeavours to make the knowledge of English among the Natives so prominent and essential a qualification we are neglecting the benefit of three hundred years' experience in Europe, and we are retrograding to the days, in which Latin was the sole language of Literature; and when, in consequence, knowledge, both spiritual and temporal, was confined to a few Monks—a few Divines—a few men of Letters. Until such an exclusive agency was put an end to—until the modern tongues of Europe were emancipated—the

people could never learn or know for themselves—On the abrogation of the exclusive use of the Latin language, on the inauguration of the language of the People, the acquirement of knowledge was made accessible to all—from the Noble to the Artizan—*all* men could be taught, *all* men could be Teachers—and how wonderful has been the advancement in morality and literature by such a change in Europe. Should we then, here, at this day, so far forget this lesson, and insist so much on imposing the burden of the foreign language of a handful of Rulers on the millions of our Native population? On the contrary I conceive it a paramount duty, on our part, to foster the Vernacular Dialects, and to use every endeavour to free them from the swaddling Bands in which they have been hitherto confined. Aided by their cognate Classical Dialects (Sanskrit &ca) they would be capable of a copiousness of expression, now unknown to them; and of indicating the dependence, the connection, the minute diversity, and transition of ideas, and the various steps in the process of logical deductions, and they would attain to a vigorous maturity, in which the highest powers of language to embody every operation of the mind, from the simplest to the most subtle, would be developed.—

"The popular idioms, which have hitherto been employed, only, in a few meagre productions of the Chronicler and Minstrel must be summoned, under our auspices, to act a new part; and, consequently to receive a new development—In this way we should endeavour to raise up a new world of morality and Literature around the whole mass of Native Society, and not contract their advancement solely within the bounds which the tutelage of our English Government and the medium of our English language would impose."

As for the special grounds of his opposition, Colonel Jervis pointed out the failure of the class of Engineering as conducted through the medium of English, and the admission by the Board, implied in their resolution on Principal Harkness'

suggestion, that a vernacular Engineering class might be a necessity at some future time.[1]

Sir Erskine Perry of course did not agree with the views of Colonel Jervis on both the questions dealt with by him, though he resented the tone of several recent communications from Government; while another member of the Board, Dr. McLennan failed to see, in the letter from Government, the enunciation of any such principle regarding the use of the English medium as seemed to him to be assumed by Colonel Jervis. He thought that it was a mere practical necessity, and not an abstract consideration of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of English and the vernaculars as media of instruction, that had dictated the preference for the former.[2]

Subsequently, at a meeting of the Board of Education on 18th March 1847, the President remarked that the definite object of Colonel Jervis in the discussions regarding the Board's system of education was not sufficiently apparent. Hence Colonel Jervis in a minute of 13th April 1847 defined in precise terms the object he had in view.

> "My object is," he wrote, "to establish the point, that we must look to the diffusion of a truly sound, intellectual and moral education, primarily and mainly thro' the medium of the vernacular dialects; and, that for that object, we should make considerable efforts and sacrifices to obtain good translations; and well educated Englishmen, as Teachers, who would enter with ardor in the task imposed on them, and would acquire the languages of this Country, "without which

[1] Minute, 24th February 1847; Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 115-34 (Bom. Recs.)

[2] McLennan's Minute, undated: *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42.

they cannot instruct the Natives."—These were the views of Mr. Elphinstone and of Sir John Malcolm, and for some time they were the basis of the Hon'ble Court's instructions to this Government.—

"I will here recapitulate the two principal grounds of these views—Vizt, the greater ease with which the instruction is communicated in the first place, and, in the second, the fact that an individual, when educated solely thro' the medium of a foreign language, is still unable, to impart the results to others, thro' the medium of his own.—

"The practicability of the view I advocate hinges upon the practicability of obtaining good translations.... I believe that the best mode of obtaining good translations would be to advertise liberal rewards for approved translations, as was proposed by Mr. Elphinstone, in his general Minute on Education of the 13th December 1823, and the funds for the purpose should either be obtained by a curtailment of our present operations in some respect or by requesting Government for a special grant for the purpose."

At the same time he brought the question to issue by moving "that the object, most prominently demanding our attention, is the improvement of the means of Vernacular instruction—That the first step must be the translation of standard works—and that we take into immediate consideration the means of obtaining such, whether by a curtailment of our present operations, or in any other manner that may appear feasible."[1]

Replying to Colonel Jervis, Sir Erskine Perry stated the view-point of his party. Preliminary to entering on an examination of Colonel Jervis' views as stated in his minute of 13th April, Sir Erskine observed that the latter had not "quite placed the difference between him-

[1] Minute, 13th April 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 153-66.

self and the majority of the Board in a proper light." "The true difference," he proceeded to point out, "between the Board and Colonel Jervis is, that the former think the superior branches of education and the information of modern times can only be conveyed to the Natives, at present, through the medium of English, and that vernacular education can be most effectually promoted by improvements wrought upon the upper classes of Natives: Colonel Jervis on the contrary thinks that a great deal too much attention is paid to English education, that the chief object of our exertions should be to produce a vernacular literature, and that it would be expedient at once to draw off from our English establishments those gentlemen who are employed in teaching, and to employ them in the translation of standard European works."

Such being the practical proposal to which, as understood by Sir Erskine, Colonel Jervis' arguments tended, the former went on to demonstrate next that it was impolitic and impracticable.

> "Impolitic," said the President, "because all experience shews that the improvement of a Native in knowledge, and probably in morality also, must always proceed from above downwards.—The example Coll. Jervis cites from the middle ages is most unfortunate. The Petrarchs, the Calileos, and Luther were able to speak with effect to their countrymen because they had made themselves masters of all the recorded knowledge of their day, which was to be found only in the learned tongues.—If they had not made themselves acquainted with those languages they could have produced no effect on the world. And their predecessors moreover wrote in Latin, not for the purpose of veiling their knowedge, but in order to address a larger audience,

the learned of Europe, a very remarkable example of which may be found in Bacon's direction to have his Novum Organon translated into Latin. So soon as the thirst of knowledge had sprung up, and a reading class presented itself of sufficient numbers at home, men of genius addressed them in their mother tongues. And exactly the same course I hope, but do not feel sure, will prevail in India. Natives who wish to be as instructed as ourselves must go to the same sources where we gain our information, and we must lend them every assistance in our power. Whether a reading Hindu public will ever spring up, eager to hear of the wonders of art and science, each in his own tongue, is a problem that only time can solve.—

"Colonel Jervis seems to think that a vernacular literature and men of genius can be raised to order. I, on the other hand, conceive that Government is exceedingly impotent in these matters, that all that statesmen can do is to watch carefully the indications of the phenomena which the thoughts, polity and dispositions of the people evolve in its daily growth, and then to mould them to the best of their ability. But if any phenomenon connected with the education presents itself in a more marked form than another during the experience of the last 25 years, it is this, that the tendency and desire of the Natives throughout India is to *acquire a knowledge of the English language*.....I say then that sound policy and experience dictate that we must bow to circumstances, adopt what we find to be the disposition of the people, and if, in addition to this imperious necessity of bending to events, we are satisfied that the disposition is a happy one, we may go on cheerfully with our task."

Again, the President thought Colonel Jervis' proposal impracticable both on the score of expense that translations would involve and on that of lack of competent men "to make good translations."[1]

Colonel Jervis' rejoinder to Sir Erskine Perry was to the effect that his main contention was

[1] Minute, 14th April 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848; pp.167-73.

simply that the ultimate object of diffusing education through the vernaculars was apt to be lost sight of in the exertions made to impart it through the medium of English exclusively. What it was essential to do, in his opinion, was to preserve a connection between the educated few and the rest of their countrymen by ensuring in the case of the former an adequate knowledge of and sufficient interest in their own tongues.[1]

Almost throughout the controversy, it is interesting to note, Colonel Jervis had the support of the Indian members of the Board; and, as coming from an Indian, the views of Juggonath Shunkersett, who actively participated in the controversy, on the question at issue have an interest of their own. Juggonath Shunkersett carried with him the other Indian members, Framji Cowasji and Mahomed Ibrahim Muckba.

> "I am persuaded," wrote Juggonath Shunkersett, "that the vernacular languages possess advantages superior to English as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the people of Western India. It cannot be denied that they must have less difficulty in understanding what is communicated to them in their own language than in a foreign tongue. When a native is inclined to prosecute the study of the English, his progress is more rapid and his usefulness doubled provided he be first well grounded in his own language—I say his usefulness will be increased, because it is only by this preparation that any knowledge he may have acquired can be imparted by him to his countrymen through the medium of the vernacular languages. It is in my humble opinion an impossibility to teach the great mass of the people a language such as the English

[1] Minute, 13th May 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 185-88. (Bom. Recs.)

so widely different from their own, I must also observe that when the Native chiefs and others gave large subscriptions for the establishment of the Elphinstone Professorships they contributed them with an understanding that the vernacular languages (were ?) not to be neglected but carefully fostered and improved and brought into use as the medium of communicating useful knowledge to the great body of the people. The Vernacular languages have been much neglected by the people in Bombay, and this being the centre from which we expect the beams of knowledge to spread these languages are pre-eminently entitled to our fostering care. It was to this that the early efforts of native education were directed. It was to this end that all Mr. Elphinstone's plans tended—For a time these efforts were eminently successful, but they have remained in abeyance and the state in which they now are though somewhat improved, requires the most strenuous effort for improvement to render them efficient organs of imparting European knowledge to the Natives.—Our worthy President has observed that the Board are equally alive with Coll. Jervis to the necessity of the vernacular languages being the medium of instruction to the masses of people, to the importance of promoting the growth of vernacular literature and to the urgency of providing schools. This is true nor have I any hesitation in stating that the desire of acquiring a knowledge of the English language and literature evinced by the natives is very great and very prevalent; and this is evident from the efforts which Parents make to get their sons as quickly removed from the Vernacular into the English schools as they can. Their motives for this acquirement are obvious: public employment and a facility of intercourse with Europeans, but it seems to be hopeless that we can ever change the language of a whole country. In reality how insignificant the portion of the whole population are acquainted with English, or have any prospect or means of becoming so. If our object is to diffuse knowledge and improve the minds of the natives of India as a people, it is my opinion that it must be done first by imparting that knowledge to them in their own language. By what other channel we can ever hope to extend the advantages of education

generally to our females? I repeat I am far from wishing to discourage the study of English but I believe it to be beyond the reach of the masses of people. I cannot at the same time help remarking that the encouragement which we provide to vernacular education is far less than what real interest of Native Education demands, the Masters pay is so small and we have never as yet conferred any scholarships on vernacular students.".[1]

The controversy was at last brought to a head when, at a meeting of the Board on 27th May 1847, the proposition of Colonel Jervis that the object most prominently demanding the Board's attention was the improvement of the means of vernacular instruction, was carried by a majority of the members of the Board; but "as this resolution clashed with the scheme of education laid down by the Board in their report for 1845 and approved of by Government," it was consequently resolved that the whole question at issue should be submitted to the decision of Government.[2]

The deliberations of Government on the question submitted to it were marked by two noteworthy characteristics. In the first place, they showed that the Government was decidedly in favour of a preference being given to the vernaculars; and, in the second place, they revealed the attitude of Government as candidly critical of the policy and system of education followed.

The Governor, the Hon'ble George Arthur, had little to say on the immediate question of

[1] Minute, 1st May 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 179-81. (Bom. Recs.)

[2] Letter from Board to Govt., 31st May 1847: *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.

the medium of education; but what evidently appeared to him a matter of greater importance was the condition and character of the system of vernacular education under the management of the Board. On the former topic he contented himself with remarking:

> "The main question at present in which there is a difference of opinion in the Board of Education is as to the medium through which the higher branches of education shall be taught. Had we the funds, and the qualified superintending ministers of Instruction, to apply extensively to restoring to the East the learning existing in Europe, by means of Vernacular languages, I should consider that such means were incomparably the readiest, and the surest; that by such means more education of a high order would be acquired in India by some, and more of beneficial Education by millions, in twenty years, than through means of our language in two centuries. But, unfortunately, we are altogegether unable to supply the translations, the teachers, and the establishments, requisite for carrying out, over an extensive field, an almost exclusively vernacular system of Education. There seems to be therefore no alternative but to follow the course of keeping both the present systems at work as well, and as fairly, as we can; admitting all who seek it, and who have capacity so to acquire learning, to be educated in the English language, and, for the rest, to use every exertion to extend useful education by means of vernacular classes and schools."

But on the latter topic the Governor had a good deal to say. He had noticed that the zillah vernacular schools were flagging. "There is little appearance," he said, "of directing energy on the part of a superintending Board of Instruction, and there is still less of the people voluntarily making efforts to improve themselves through such means tendered to them by us." The main reason for the want of effort on the

part of the people he found in the fact that the Government system of education was not adapted to the wishes and wants of the people. "Whatever may be the higher aim," he declared, "that we may have in view, it is by the standard of its utility in this respect and by such standard only, that those, for whom any educational measures of ours in this country are intended, will test it. It would therefore be well that we should strive either to afford to the rising generation a degree of education suitable to their allotted occupation through life, or that, if we aspire to raise them, by means of the Government affording them a higher mental culture, to a sphere above their own at present, we should be careful to provide for sometime to come adequate encouragement, by throwing open to them various departments, the situations in which afford a respectable livelihood in those more elevated ranks of society. It is however obvious that to no more than the comparatively few can any Government offer such direct encouragement. It is therefore the more practical kind of education, adapted to common life, that requires to be introduced extensively—an education that will not consume, in study which must prove useless to the greater part of mankind, that time which ought to be given to the acquirement of whatsoever it is useful for those to learn who by their own efforts alone can be preserved from starvation." He observed this lack of adaptation throughout the established system of education and hence also its want of popularity. "From what I have observed of the system of education now being pursued in Bombay," he concluded, "I do not feel any great confidence in it as a system

adapted to the wants of the people throughout the Presidency generally; altho' as respects the Island of Bombay, where offices of various kinds, shops, trades, and other thriving establishments of European commerce, provide ample encouragement to hundreds of natives, it proceeds with vigor and success proportionate to the care, assiduity and labour bestowed upon, and the direction given to, by the superintending Board of Education. But I think it is rather doubtful, whether even at the Presidency itself, it is popular among the leading Natives; not that their opinions ought to be our only guide. They are certainly looked upon by some people as having advanced considerably towards European civilization; but it seems to me that the steps they march in that direction are very exactly measured to the adoption of some English habits of relaxation, and to the attainment of the English language with a view solely to marcantile success in that English part, or to local employment in its various English offices and shops. They appear neither to have imbibed, nor to hold out the slightest promise of inbibing a love of letters, though in the enjoyment—many of them—of ample wealth and leisure. But looking elsewhere in this Presidency there are signs not to be mistaken that for its own sake it is neither very popular among those natives who are the most respected and influential, nor useful and improving as yet to the mass of the people in general."[1]

In a similar strain another member of Government proceeded to record his sentiments on the

[1] Minute, 10th October 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 201-30 (Bom. Recs.)

subject. Referring to the question of the medium of instruction, he remarked that so much had been written on it that

> "..... it is quite unnecessary at this period to do more than to range oneself under the English or the vernacular banner. And I have no hesitation in declaring my acquiescence in the opinions of those who give the preference to the native languages, so far that I consider that our main efforts for the general education of the people, should be in their own language, though I would afford them the means of acquiring the higher branches of knowledge in ours.
>
> "We have now the practical experience of many years to guide us, and this should be sufficient for the purpose, without losing ourselves in the mazes of controversy or disquisitions upon the human mind, and the means of fitting it for the reception of knowledge.—
>
> "I think an error has been committed in judging of this question by the assumed analogy of other states of society, to which that of India has no resemblance. No two states of society can be more dissimilar than that of Europe, when, after having been overrun by barbarians for centuries, it struggled to emancipate itself from the darkness of ignorance and error, and the present state of India, where we find an assemblage of nations in a certain state of civilization, governed by foreigners who are in a far more advanced stage.—
>
> "We ought not to forget that we do not go with the natives in our educational efforts—We are forcing education upon them—We are not aiding any exertions they are making. They are not dissatisfied with the present state of their own knowledge, imperfect though it may be. Of this there needs no greater proof than the fact that throughout this large Presidency there is not a single Printing press beyond the island of Bombay.
>
> "Even among the higher classes there is little desire of knowledge for its own sake. That which formerly existed under the Native Rule seems greatly

to have diminished, owing probably to the absence of the encouragement which Native Princes afforded to those skilled in the learning of their nation. And we have not succeeded in substituting for this an ambition to excel in the learning of their conquerors.

"The reason of the desire to learn English is not that such learning will open out the paths of literature and science, but that it will afford the chance of more lucrative employment than the study of the vernacular tongue, and a greater facility in the pursuit of commercial gain. This may be fairly stated as the result of our experience from the commencement of our efforts to extend the knowledge of our own language.

"We have not acted on the mass of the people. We may have produced better, or at least a greater number of, English writers for public or private employment, but I doubt much whether any impression has been made by our teaching on the native mind in general. We may have instructed a few individuals—we may feel gratification in observing the success of our periodical examinations—but there we stopped. We have made no advance towards producing better, more learned or more moral men.—

"We strive I think at the wrong end—that is, we give our greatest attention to the study of English, and treat the communication of knowledge in the vernacular languages as of secondary moment. We ought to reverse the process.—

"To impart knowledge through the native languages is deemed impracticable, because those languages possess no literature of their own, such as we desire for our purpose, and because it is impossible to supply its place by translations. This last impossibility I have never been able to understand. What has been done under little or no encouragement suffices to show what may be done, if that encouragement be increased. The dissemination among the people of elementary works whether of science, literature or morals will create a demand for further works, and I see no reason to doubt the supply progressing, under such encouragement as the Government may in the first instance afford, with the demand.—

> "I quite concur with the Hon'ble the President in the opinion.....that we should keep both the existing systems at work, but I think that for the present at least, and perhaps for many years to come, we should make our greatest exertions in the Village and district schools :—that we should provide for them good elementary works in the vernacular languages—that this should be our first care—and that our efforts in English should be confined to a school in each Province, and the College at the Presidency, where moreover I would teach the higher branches of learning in the vernacular tongue, as the progress of translation may enable this to be effected."[1]

The final decision arrived at on the question and communicated to the Board of Education was in perfect accord with the trend of opinion noted above among the members of Government. In a letter dated 5th April 1848—a document as important in the annals of education in Bombay as Bentinck's Resolution is in the annals of education in Bengal—Government informed the Board that :

> ".....The Honorable the Governor in Council is decidedly of opinion, that any one who observes and compares the proficiency attained by the pupils in the English and Vernacular Schools cannot fail to be convinced of the superiority which the latter manifest in sound and accurate understanding of the subject of their studies. He has no hesitation in declaring his acquiescence in the views of those who give the preference to the Native Languages, in so far that he considers the main efforts for the general Education of the people, should be exerted in the Language familiar to them from infancy, at the same time he would unquestionably afford them the means of acquiring the higher branches of Education in the English language.—

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1 Minute, 30th November 1847: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 233-41 (Bom. Recs.)

"Hitherto the greatest attention appears to have been devoted to the study of English, and the communication of knowledge in the Vernacular seems to have been treated as of secondary moment. But before any lasting or effectual impression can be made by our teaching upon the native mind in general, or any advance towards producing better, more learned, or more moral men, the Governor in Council feels convinced that the process must be reversed, and that the Vernacular must become the medium for the diffusion of sound knowledge among the masses. He is consequently of opinion that particular efforts ought to be directed towards increasing the efficiency of the District and Village Schools in which that medium is employed and in order to effect this object, it is very desirable that a more highly qualified class of school masters should be trained up, and that their salaries should, where superior qualifications exist, be raised much above the small sum which is now assigned to them.

"The dissemination of education through the native languages is by some deemed impracticable because the natives possess no literature of their own such as is desirable for the purpose and because it is impossible to supply its place by Translations. With regard to providing Translations of useful elementary works in the Vernacular Languages, the difficulty seems to His Honor in Council to be somewhat overrated, for what was effected by the zeal and ability of Colonel Jervis and Dr. MacLennan many years ago may, he conceives, again be effected by men imbued with the same earnest desire to promote the improvement of the Natives. The duty of supplying a sufficient number of works of the kind required devolves upon the Government, who are prepared to consider the best means of providing Translations, either under the superintendence of their own officers, or by offering premiums for good ones as proposed by Colonel Jervis. With a view to this object the Governor in Council requests that the Board will be so good as to revise the list of Works now available and forwarded to Government and that they will, after careful consideration, suggest such additions as they may deem best calculated to provide systematically for the diffusion of general

knowledge and to promote the spread of useful and rational education.

"In bringing the observations on this point to a conclusion I am directed to intimate, that the Governor in Council is of opinion that the present system should be maintained in as efficient a state as possible, admitting all who seek it, and who have capacity to acquire European learning to the advantage of Education in the English language—The chief and greatest exertions should however be directed to the promotion generally of education, by means of Vernacular Classes, and Schools; Good elementary works in the Vernacular on science literature and morals ought to be provided: While the efforts in English should be confined to a school in each Province, and the College at the Presidency, where moreover the higher branches of learning should be taught also in the Vernacular tongue as the progress of translations may enable this to be effected."[1]

The decision of Government, as conveyed in its letter of 5th April, did not, however, set matters at rest. On the contrary, it created a commotion. Each party on the Board of Education interpreted the letter as supporting its own particular opinions. Consequently, a fresh reference to Government was necessitated; and though Government thought that no sufficient ground had been made out for a further reference as it considered its letter to be explicit, and, moreover, that it was not its province to engage in controversies, yet it did explain its decision on the question in terms that could admit of no doubt. Government explained that it had had no intention "to condemn the *principles* upon which the Board have hitherto ostensibly proceeded, but rather to point out in what respects the process pursued appeared to Government to be erroneous." It agreed with the Board that

[1] Letter from Govt. to Board, 5th April 1848/No. 1169/: Genl. Dept., Vol. 26, 1848, pp. 243-55 (Bom. Recs.)

"education of superior quality" could only be imparted through the medium of English, and further that "if ever the deplorable ignorance and error prevailing throughout the country, is to give place to the high order of education and enlightenment, which now distinguishes the European race, the triumph will be due to minds imbued with the science and literature of England, *acquired through the English language.*" But at the same time it added: "although all this were granted, it by no means follows that the income at the disposal of the Board ought to be exclusively or disproportionately devoted to the single object of producing men of very superior attainments, the presumed regenerators of their Country. Before such men can exercise any decided influence, their Countrymen must be prepared to receive it by sound elementary and general instruction. Government are clearly of opinion that this general instruction ought not to be communicated to the masses through the medium of English, but in the language in which people speak and think. Instead therefore of multiplying English district schools, such schools they think should be limited in number, and should be accessible only to pupils of a superior order, who were distinguished either for their intelligence or for their wealth. On the other hand it was considered that the attention of the Board should be turned more earnestly than formerly to the improvement of the *district Vernacular schools.*" Moreover, it was pointed out that there were two ways of effecting the improvement of the vernacular schools. The first was "by providing a highly qualified class of district school masters"; and the second "by encouraging

translations into the Vernacular of useful standard works." To both those objects the attention of the Board was " directly solicited."

To place its meaning completely beyond doubt, Government indicated the order of precedence in which it desired to see the education funds to be appropriated to the various purposes of education, and it was as follows :

" 1. Provision for superior education through the medium of English—strictly limited however to the education of

the wealthy who can afford to pay for it—

the highly intelligent among the native youth who can establish their claims to admission into the English schools by a standard of acquirements to be regulated by the Board—

the class of young men who are trained up as masters of the Vernacular schools—

2. The production through the same medium of superior class of district school masters and the providing for them an adequate scale of salaries—

3. The education of the people under these masters in Vernacular Schools ; their number and location—

4. The systematic encouragement of translations into the Vernacular from works of science and general literature."[1]

1 *Vide* Falkland's Minute, 9th September : Genl. Dept. Vol. 29, 1850, pp. 131-41, (Bom. Recs.) Also Letter from Govt. to Board of Education, dated 24th April 1850/No. 1635./

Thus the educational language-question was at the period settled in Bombay. Both the terms and the spirit in which it was decided by the Bombay Government earned the approval of the Court of Directors on their being apprised of the controversy that had taken place.[1] The Court considered the controversy, after all that had been before written on the subject, "an unprofitable occupation of the time of the Board and of the Government." They went on to observe: "We do not think that any good purpose would be answered by entering into any detailed review of the points in debate, especially as the difference is rather that of degree than of substance. It is admitted on all sides that the Education of the whole people of India can be effected only through their own languages; and it is equally admitted, that whilst those languages are the most appropriate channels for distributing knowledge, the *material*, the knowledge, is to be derived, if not wholly yet mainly from an European source *viz.*, the literature and language of England. The necessity of the cultivation of English is therefore undisputed, but the point in question is the extent to which it is to be carried and whether all the funds at the disposal of the Government shall or shall not be exclusively devoted to the encouragement of English instruction and the support of public establishments in which that alone is to be taught. This mode of procedure would virtually nullify the principle that the mass of the people are to be instructed through the medium of their spoken languages,

[1] Despatch from Bombay Govt. to Court, 16th October 1850 No. 95/: Genl. Dept., Letters to Court, Vol. 93, 1850, pp. 163-66. (Bom. Recs.)

and we are satisfied would be unjust to the people at large and would be fatal to the extensive dissemination of useful instruction. We therefore, entirely approve of the directions which you have given to the Board in the letters to which we have referred."[1]

A just and wise decision, but, as the lapse of time showed, the tide of Anglicism could not be stayed.

[1] Despatch from Court to Bombay Govt., 22nd June 1853/No. 21/: Genl. Dept., Letters from Court, Vol. 68, 1853, pp. 211-43, (Bom. Recs.)

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION.

Our survey of the first great educational controversies in India under the British rule is at an end. The question remains: What does it tell us?

In answering the question we have to remember that our present-day system of education is a product of slow and chequered growth and our survey helps to reveal two facts which have a profound connection with it.

One fact is that the controversies we have surveyed laid the foundation of the existing educational system of British India. The working conclusions or solutions which were the outcome of the controversies were almost bodily taken over and developed as the basis of the educational policy laid down in those official documents which historians love to style "the charters" of Indian education. Without labouring the point we may only refer to the famous Wood's Despatch of 1854, which was a logical corollary of the controversies that preceded it, and to the Hunter Report which was a masterly amplification of that corollary in various directions. Our present educational policy and system therefore owe a historical debt to the controversies we have related so much so that it is not easy to understand fully the one without a knowledge of the other as it is not easy to appreciate the qualities of a tree without some knowledge of the soil in which it germinated.

Again, an important consequence of the controversies was the emergence of our language-problem which remains yet without a satisfactory solution despite a century of discussion. The controversies gave shape to the problem as it exists to-day, but did not contribute to a permanent solution of it, mainly because the controversialists adopted or were obliged to adopt a temporising attitude towards it. The professed ultimate aim of the controversialists was the uplift of the vernaculars to the status of literary languages ; but their immediate object was the spread of some superior literary language, English or Oriental, to aid and vitalise the process of development of the vernaculars. When the Anglicists finally prevailed, they too acknowledged a duty to the vernaculars, but a duty capable only of remote fulfilment. On the other hand, they exalted the indispensability of the English language in the immediate formative period into a creed. The two—the abstract duty to the vernaculars and the apparent necessity of a foreign language—were not easy to reconcile with each other nor with the Anglicist conception of cultural conquest whereby Indians were to be anglicised in thought and speech. But a rough-and-ready compromise was arrived at with the help of the favourite filtration theory of the time. What the Anglicists in effect said through their policy was: "We shall have English for the elite and the vernaculars for the multitude: we shall propagate the knowledge of English first and leave the growth of the vernaculars to follow popular enlightenment aided by such encouragement as it may be in our power to give." Such a compromise was from its

inception weighted against the vernaculars and the idea of their active development receded to the background with the lapse of time. Instead of helping vernacularisation the compromise succeeded in imposing a foreign language with which our national genius carries on as best as a disabled man might with an artificial limb.

The tragedy of the Anglicists was that they failed to take correct or complete measure of the environment in which they set to work on their theory. They overlooked factors that militated against their professed ultimate aims. They overlooked, for example, what the Orientalists and the Vernacularists perceived in the particular political situation of India—namely, the predilection of a conquered people for the language of their conquerors in preference to their own. They also underrated the consequences of the isolation of the educated few from the uneducated masses inherent in the process of an overwhelming Anglicisation from above. For want of sufficient counteractives to such tendencies the ultimate aim of the uplift of the vernaculars lost its original significance, while the immediate objective of the spread of English assumed a pre-eminence retained by it to this day. Moreover, the Anglicists played with the notion of making English the lingua franca of the Peninsula. But here, again, they did not see clearly enough to realise that India had already a lingua franca—one of the finest spiritual legacies of the Mughal rule—capable of proving with the attainment of its full literary stature a formidable rival to English as the medium of inter-provincial intercourse.

The point is important as indicated by the survey of the controversies that the present predominance of the English language in India owes its origin to what was in essence a compromise between the conflicting claims of the various languages, a half-way house rather than a final and lasting solution. A further point is that if our national genius is to be given full and unfettered scope for expression through its natural medium, we have to outgrow the compromise, break away from the subservience to the foreign language and not passively accept the half-way house for the final abode at the journey's end. Compromises can outlast their usefulness and, if adhered to with blind persistence, may have unexpected consequences. As it is, for example, our linguistic compromise has been with us long enough to produce the typical phenomenon of an educated breed who, in ordinary intercourse, speak two sentences of English for one of the vernacular.

Incidentally, a study of the controversies may also help us to do at least belated justice to the Orientalist phase of Indian education. We have seen what Orientalism was and its aims were. What is striking is that some of the apprehensions of the Orientalists, who were on the whole an intelligent and acute group, regarding the effects of a purely English education have come true. They appear to have foreseen some of the present-day reactions to the system of education founded by the Resolution of 7th March 1835. One is left to speculate whether, with more time and trial granted to them, the Orientalists might not have overcome their

partial failure and succeeded in maturing a national system of education truer or better adapted to the soil. However that may have been, Orientalism could not withstand that surge of new ideas on which Anglicism rode triumphantly, taking as little count of the virtues of the opposed system as a whirlwind of the obstacles in its path. Above all, Orientalism was doomed with the appearance of a new politico-social conception in the minds of the British rulers in the thirties of the last century. That conception loomed behind Bentinck's Resolution, which in historical retrospect appears not only as the grave of Orientalism, but as a landmark at a great turning-point in the intellectual history of our country.

This takes us to the other fact brought out by our survey.

Curiously enough, the importance of that fact has been hardly ever noted as it should be by works on Indian education. An incorrect or improper appreciation of it has led to a conflict of interpretations. Several intelligent writers have tried to take to pieces the ideological framework within which the British educational policy in India has evolved to its present stage, but they have for the most part ended by attributing this or that praiseworthy or damning motive or set of motives to that policy as inclination or sentiment dictated. Broadly speaking, two rival schools of opinion exist at present. On the one hand, there is the official school which with an ubiquitous undercurrent of cant about the white man's trusteeship insists on the humanitarian aspect of the British educational policy. On

the other hand, there is the new school of what may be called nationalised history, still in the stage of infancy, which has a sharp eye mainly for self-serving motives on the part of the British rulers as the incentive to that policy and points to the loss of indigenous educational institutions as a sin to be laid at Britain's door. Both the schools are wide of the mark, though not without a modicum of truth to their credit, because they fail to probe to the ruling conception at the back of the minds of the British administrators who formulated the much criticised educational policy.

The conception we are referring to is that of the cultural conquest of India. It was a conception hatched in the spring-day of Imperialism and brought to maturity in a singular political situation which permitted of the administration and the education of the country being combined in one and the same hands. True to the type of all imperialists down from the Romans, the British Rulers early aimed at a dual conquest to consolidate their hold on this country. The conquest was physical or territorial followed and supplemented by the cultural. As a matter of fact, the physical and the cultural conquests were the two facets of an imperialist plan—the inseparable components of a total Imperialism.

Here it may well be asked: What was exactly that conception of cultural conquest? In trying to describe it we must avoid the tendency to identify the conception of cultural conquest with educational policy. The one was an aim to which the other was a means. Cultural conquest

was something thought of in wider terms than mere educational means and methods. It implied not only the formation of a new system of education, but also a modification to some extent of the general administrative system to suit the changes brought about or likely to be brought about by the propagation of the new knowledge. It implied a certain degree of covert and indirect interference with the social customs of the country. It implied in its ultimate effect a break with the old civilisation of the people and the inception of the new one of the rulers. It meant an active, deliberate attempt at the transmutation of the Indian ways of life and thought into a Western pattern through all the direct and indirect means at the command of the Government.

The next question and one that needs somewhat detailed answer is, Why was this cultural conquest of the Indian people or classes of people—the transformation of their ways of life and thought in the Western mould—undertaken and systematically pursued through and by means of an organised system of education? Our survey of the educational controversies in the previous pages has already supplied a casual answer. But we shall now attempt a fuller one even at the cost of some reiteration, the purpose here being to show how the various ideas and influences of the period finally crystallised in the conception of cultural conquest.

The British policy which ultimately came to embody the conception of cultural conquest was of a varied texture not easy to analyse without reference to the circumstances in which it was formulated. We find in this rather curious

texture the fine strands of liberalism mixed with the base ones of selfish utilitarianism. Taking the policy as we find it, we cannot fail to perceive that it was the outcome of various contemporary influences each of which went in turn to shape it and of which the two most potent but the least expressed were the English Liberalism of the early nineteenth century and the birth of the Imperialist outlook on colonial affairs. Hence we find this policy of cultural conquest at the formative stage reflecting both the humanitarianism and the political necessity of the age. However, with the passage of time and the dimming of the glow of liberal sentiment, the imperialist outlook and motive gradually overshadowed the entire policy.

It was but natural in the sequence of historical events that the influence of the imperialist tendencies should have preceded that of the others. Quite at the outset of the last century the British rulers had begun to think of their Indian possession in terms of an Empire. True, those rulers were themselves the servants and part and parcel of a mercantile Company; but the Company had learnt that the policy of mere greedy acquisitiveness was a short-sighted one and apt to rebound adversely to its interests. The Company, as it grew more and more to consider itself the political heir of the Great Mughal, was forced to modify its mercantile propensities in favour of better government of its Indian subjects. This gave rise to a class of British administrators in India whose devotion to the art of government has not since been surpassed. The existence of that class owed much to the efforts of a brilliant Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, who

conceived and carried into execution a plan for rearing educated civil servants for the government of the Indian Empire. To that end special colleges were founded both in India and England and, although those institutions did not meet with the anticipated measure of success, yet they succeeded in turning out superior instruments of government to those the Company possessed in the days of its first territorial acquisitions. It was that class of rulers and administrators which steadily acquired and fostered the imperialist outlook on Indian affairs.

To the astute amongst them the peculiar origin and foundation of the British Empire in India could never escape attention as fraught with serious problems and lessons in Government. It did not take them long to realise that the sword could carve an empire but not permanently sustain it. They surveyed the grand territorial conquests before them. They saw that they had become by accident or design the successors to the wealth and grandeur of a mighty Empire. They were gratified with their gains and thanked Providence for the superb compensation India offered for the recent loss of America. But at the same time they could not fail to be struck by the perpetual menace to the safety of their rule which existed in the deep gulf between the Anglo-Saxon ruler and the Asiatic ruled. As they settled down to the task of governing an alien people and studied and gained experience of the latter's ways and ideas, they became increasingly conscious of their own peculiar, isolated position. They were amongst the people they ruled but not of them. There was practically no enduring bond

to unite the rulers and the ruled—either of race, creed, customs, habits or even that mutual sympathy which led to the considerable fusion of the Mogul conquerors with their Hindu subjects. The gulf had to be bridged and it could only be bridged if by some means a community of ideas and interests could be established and the affection or sympathy of the ruled could be drawn to the rulers. Mere good government resting on bayonets could not do that or win that popular affection which was deemed a necessary moral prop to the alien regime.

Various means were tried in the early days to gratify the populace. The encouragement to "Oriental learning" owed its origin in part to that incipient imperialist policy of securing the attachment of the people. It was thought that a sure means of creating a favourable impression about the British rule was to display a solicitude for the preservation of the learning and the learned of the land. But the idea that finally gained ground and was noted in treating of the controversies, was that the best way of establishing the community of ideas and interests between the rulers and the ruled so necessary from the political point of view was to Europeanise the Indian mentally and morally rather than to confirm him in his traditional beliefs and ideas.

To this line of political thought a new impetus was added from a totally different quarter. The British Imperialists who ruled India eschewed carefully the proselytizing professions of the missionaries from political expediency, but they could not help being touched by the revivalist

religious spirit that was abroad in their country and of which Wilberforce was one of the most dynamic representatives. As already noted in an early part of this work, the famous education clause found its place in the Charter Act of 1813 through Wilberforce's exertions which thus secured at least a formal recognition to the duty of educating the people of India. So far as the British-Indian administrators were concerned, what they avoided with their lips they could not entirely avoid with their hearts. However scrupulously the policy of religious neutrality was observed, the men at the helm could not quite forgo the desire to see what was called the "light" of Christianity introduced amongst the "heathens" of India. In this place, if a parenthesis can be pardoned, it would be apposite to recall Macaulay's well-known words written to his father in 1836 that if the plans of education were followed up, there would not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years later. To such men the idea of conquest of India by European civilisation presented itself with a reinforced appeal. If they could not introduce Christianity directly, they could at least help to clear the ground for it by undermining the indigenous beliefs and dogmas through contact with European ideas and knowledge. In this aspect of the matter the cultural conquest of India was supposed to be directed not only to the intellectual but the moral regeneration of the country. For, Christianity was considered to be the supreme factor for moral regeneration and it was a simple assumption of those days (which may make us

smile now) that the hoary intellectual and religious heritage of India could be effaced by the mere impact of Western culture and that, once that was done, Christianity would have a smooth passage to the Indian mind and heart. With the British Imperialists religious neutrality was more an affair of the letter than of the spirit.

Finally, there was superadded the influence of the new liberalism in English politics which found one of the strongest practical expressions in the Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832. It supplied the philanthropic motive to the attempt at cultural conquest. In England the zeal for political and moral reform was in the air and, though we have to be careful in connecting that zeal with the reformist tendencies of the Indian Government of the period, there seems to be little doubt that Bentinck and his successors did not escape its infection which in their case found practical expression in measures of administrative and other reforms. It was that reformist enthusiasm that was responsible for such a bold stroke of Indian social amelioration as the abolition of Sati as also certain other measures noted in a foregoing chapter. It gave confirmation to the idea now firmly anchored in the British mind that the moral, intellectual and social amelioration of the Indian people could be brought about only by bringing Western civilisation to India or, in other words, by the cultural conquest of the country with a view to reshape it on Western lines.

At this point we must not forget that the trend of thought in the British rulers was greatly encouraged and aided by the reformist

movements of our own countrymen. The period which saw the culmination of that trend also saw the first fruits of the labours of the magnificent Rammohun Roy who was one of the first to protest against the Government's support to indigenous systems of learning and who boldly advocated the introduction of Western knowledge and culture. The British rulers at first looked askance at the new reformist tendencies amongst their subjects, but later on took advantage of them to push forward their plan of cultural conquest.

Intermingled with all these ideas was also the utilitarian aim of obtaining a class of Indian public servants to help the handful of white rulers to carry on the Government. The necessity of raising such a class of servants by imparting to them Western education was very early perceived. It was however really a subsidiary aim which need not be magnified into a major one.

All those factors or influences ultimately combined to produce a realisation of the need for the cultural conquest of India and to shape the British policy for the future of the country. To stress one particular factor or motive to the exclusion of the others is to see the policy of cultural conquest in part and not as a whole. If we may say so, its components are varied and unless we put them all together, we cannot get a complete picture of it. Or, to put it in different words, that policy resulted from the confluence of the various tendencies of the age, and we cannot judge it aright unless we trace each contributory stream to its source.

When translated into practice, the policy meant a changed attitude on the part of the

British rulers towards the enlightenment of the people, the establishment of an organised system of education and a new orientation of administrative policy. Of course, the main plank in the programme of cultural conquest was education on Western lines, for it was only through education that it was hoped to make the Indian as close an approximation to the Anglo-Saxon as possible; or, to create, as Macaulay put it, a class of Indians who were to be English in everything, except their blood and colour.

Thus the policy of cultural conquest of India came to be formulated. It represented one of the great endeavours in history for the moral conquest of an alien people. That its feeble execution through stinting methods creditable to trafficking pedlars rather than to rulers of an empire left much to be desired from the Imperialist's point of view is another matter. From our point of view we shall be better able to judge of its final and abiding results when the present moral and political evolution of our people started by it reaches its culmination.

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