the water of the Sutlej through not only our own territories, but through the Native States of Patiála, Nábha, and Jhind, is a work hardly inferior in magnitude to the canals from the Ganges. It is capable of discharging 8000 cubic feet of water per second; the length of its main channel is more than 500 miles, and that of its distributories more than 5000 miles.

The canal from the Chenáb is not less important; it has brought and is bringing under cultivation a tract of country which was formerly little better than a desert. A canal of still greater magnitude is projected which, starting from Kalabagh on the left bank of the Indus, will afford irrigation to nearly two millions of acres.

Altogether, in 1901, the length of the main canals actually in operation in the Punjab exceeded 1600 miles, while the length of minor irrigation works was still greater. The canals of Northern India give to the State a good direct return on the cost of their construction, but the direct receipts are no index whatever to the benefits which are conferred by them upon the country. They give to great tracts complete protection against scarcity and famine, the wealth of the people is immensely increased, and it not seldom happens that the whole first cost of the works, although this is measured in many millions, is less than the value of the crops saved to the people in a single season.

Different systems of irrigation prevail in other parts of India. In Central and Southern India large tracts of country are dependent for their supply of water on lakes or reservoirs, known by the not very appropriate name of tanks. These are in some cases natural lakes, but oftener they have been formed by the construction of dams of masonry or earth across the outlets of valleys

in the hills, and they are fed sometimes by rivers and sometimes by the rainfall of a more or less extensive area. They vary in size from ponds irrigating a few acres to lakes of several miles in circumference. In the Madras Presidency there are some 60,000 of these tanks. Some of them are works constructed in times of which we have no historical record.

These are not the only means of irrigation in Southern India. Works not inferior in importance to those of the United Provinces and Punjab, but on a different system, have been carried out by the British Government in the Madras Presidency for utilising the waters of the Godáveri and Kistna rivers. They constitute a noble monument to Sir Arthur Cotton, to whose genius they are mainly due. At the head of each of the deltas formed by the rivers before they reach the sea, a great weir, or, as it is locally called, an *anicut*, is thrown across the river, which is diverted into irrigation canals and distributing channels, some of which are also used for navigation. A large area, with a population of nearly 2,000,000, thus obtains complete protection against failure of rain; and these works have not only been in the highest degree beneficial to the people, but very profitable to the State. Without canal irrigation there would sometimes be no crops at all, and the value of the produce in a single year of scarcity has been four times as great as the whole of the capital expended on the canal works by the Government. Farther south, in Tanjore, works of a similar kind provide the means of utilising through a large tract of country, in the delta of the Káveri, almost the whole water-supply of that river. Another most remarkable work is in progress which pierces by a long tunnel the range of the Western Ghâts, and brings the waters of the Perigar river, which fed by

a copious rainfall ran uselessly to the sea, into the comparatively dry country on the eastern side of the mountains.

In Northern India the ordinary rental of land is doubled by irrigation, and it is often more than quadrupled in Madras.

In the province of Sind another system prevails. Little rain falls there, and without irrigation there would be no cultivation. In the same way that agriculture in Egypt depends on the inundation of the Nile, it depends in Sind on the floods brought down by the Indus in the season of the periodical rains. There is great room for further improvement, but the existing irrigation renders the province fairly prosperous, and gives or increases the means of subsistence to 3,000,000 people.

Altogether there are, in India, under the management or supervision of the British Government, some 43,000 miles of canals and other works, giving the means of irrigation to 20,000,000 acres of land. No similar works in other countries approach in magnitude the irrigation works of India, and no public works of nobler utility have ever been undertaken in the world. No year passes without some important extension of irrigation, but there are, unfortunately, many vast tracts of country in India where nothing in this direction seems possible, because there are no rivers that can be utilised; other means of storing and utilising water can, however, sometimes be adopted. No admiration can be too great for the Indian engineers to whom we owe these works. They have given fresh examples of their skill and science in the magnificent undertakings which, with similar objects, are being carried out in Egypt.

Up to the end of 1901, including not only the funds borrowed by the Government, but the capital raised by companies under the guarantee of the Secretary of State, or supplied from other sources, nearly £300,000,000 had been spent on railways and irrigation works in India. Nearly the whole of this outlay has taken place since the transfer of the Government to the Crown in 1858, and the greater part of it since 1870. In spite of all encouragement which the Government could legitimately give, there have not been many instances in which any large amount of private capital has hitherto been forthcoming without a guarantee of interest for railways in India. One of the most important causes of this disinclination on the part of English capitalists to invest money in these and other useful undertakings, has been the absence of a common standard of value between India and England. I have explained in a preceding chapter that we may reasonably hope that this obstacle has now been removed. Almost the whole cost of these works has been provided either directly by the Government, or by English companies aided by a guarantee.

I must briefly explain the system under which the funds for this great expenditure have been supplied.

When, after the mutinies of 1857, the obligation of providing numerous works of improvement had been recognised, it became evident that the ordinary revenue could not furnish the means of meeting the necessary outlay. The financial difficulties involved by the suppression of the mutinies were great, and for some years afterwards the necessity of providing barracks and hospitals for the largely increased force of British troops was so urgent that the progress of other works was crippled.

In 1864 the principle was accepted, that for the construction of works of irrigation it was right to supply by loan the funds which could not be otherwise provided, but it was not until 1867, during the Government of Lord Lawrence, that this conclusion took a practical shape under a scheme drawn up by General Sir Richard Strachey. It was clear that only a comparatively small part of the necessary outlay could be met from the revenues; the rest was to be supplied by loans. No project was to be taken up which did not promise to be fairly remunerative within a reasonable time; it was believed that the earnings would before long more than cover the interest on the borrowed capital, and that no ultimate charge would fall on the general revenues. In 1869 Sir Richard Strachey proposed to extend this system to the development of railways. His plans were adopted without reservation by Lord Lawrence, whose conclusions were recorded in a minute which it is now no breach of official reserve to say was drafted by Sir Richard Strachey. The scheme was substantially adopted by the Secretary of State, and the first steps were taken by Lord Mayo in 1870 for carrying them into effect.

I will not describe the various phases through which this policy has passed. The main principle, that railways and irrigation works in India may wisely, and without financial danger, be constructed with borrowed money, has been consistently carried out, partly by the Government directly, and partly through the agency of companies assisted by a guarantee of interest or by subsidies from the State. The complete financial success of this policy will be shown in the next chapter.

All this is closely connected with a subject which for many years past, has constantly occupied the atten-

tion of the Government of India, that of the prevention and relief of famine.

Little is known in detail regarding the famines which devastated India before the establishment of British rule, but there is no doubt that they were numerous and terrible. The first great famine of which trustworthy records exist is that of 1769-70. It would be impossible for any description to exaggerate the frightful sufferings of that time, when it was believed that one-third of the population of Bengal perished. In the ninety years that followed, many serious failures of the periodical rains occurred, but, as the Famine Commissioners of 1901 tell us, there was no systematised and sustained action by the Government for their relief, "and amid the wars and distractions and financial difficulties that attended the building up of an empire, the claims of famine relief attracted small attention." The first serious attempt to deal with the subject was made in the North-Western Provinces in 1861, but when the great famine of 1866, commonly known as the Orissa famine, occurred, "the principles and methods of relief administration were still unsettled and unformed. That famine may be regarded as the turning-point in the history of Indian famines, for in the course of the inquiry conducted into it by the Commission presided over by the late Sir George Campbell, the foundations were laid of the humane policy which the Government of India have now adopted." After the great famine of 1876-78 a Commission, under the presidency of Sir Richard Strachey, with Sir Charles Elliott as secretary, was appointed by Lord Lytton to inquire into the whole subject of famines in India, and to advise the Government on the measures to be taken for their prevention and relief. "Their inquiries," in the words of

the Famine Commissioners of 1901, "for the first time reduced to system the administration of famine relief, and their report has powerfully influenced for good agrarian and administrative reform in India. The labours of the Commission of 1880 were of two kinds: on the one hand they formulated general principles for the proper treatment of famines, and, on the other, they suggested particular measures of a preventive or protective character. In regard to the general principles with which we are immediately concerned, the Commission of 1880 recognised to the full the obligation imposed on the State to offer to the necessitous the means of relief in times of famine. But it was the cardinal principle of their policy that this relief should be so administered as not to check the growth of thrift and self-reliance among the people, or to impair the structure of society, which, resting as it does in India upon the moral obligation of material assistance, is admirably adapted for common effort against a common misfortune. 'The great object,' they said, 'of saving life and giving protection from extreme suffering may not only be as well secured, but in fact will be far better secured, if proper care be taken to prevent the abuse and demoralisation which all experience shows to be the consequence of ill-directed and excessive distribution of charitable relief.' In this spirit the Provincial Famine Code was framed, and the modern policy of famine relief administration was determined. That policy was first brought to a crucial test in the famine of 1896-97, and the very elaborate inquiry into its results conducted by the Commission of 1898 completely vindicated the principles laid down in 1880, and demonstrated the success which a system of relief based upon them could achieve. Wherever there was failure, it was due not so

much to defects in the system of relief, as to defects in the administration of it."[1]

In 1899 another serious famine occurred, and a Commission under the presidency of Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed by the Government of Lord Curzon to re-examine, in the light of the further experience that had been gained, the whole question of measures for the relief and prevention of famine. Sir Antony MacDonnell had himself, in 1897, when Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, shown with admirable ability and conspicuous success the manner in which serious famine must be combated. The Report of this Commission, issued in 1901, will prove hereafter of inestimable value to the Government of India in dealing with these great calamities.

The result of the labours of these three Commissions has been the preparation of elaborate codes of instructions for every province, laying down the principles and the practice to be followed on every occasion of threatened or actual scarcity. We cannot expect that there will be no recurrence of these disasters. India will still be subject from time to time to widespread and lamentable suffering, but we may reasonably hope that we shall not again see in their most aggravated form the horrors and the terrible mortality which attended the famines of former times. Large tracts of country which were, not long ago, isolated by physical obstacles, and, by the want of means of communication, almost inaccessible to trade, and dependent on the food produced in their own borders, are now easy of access. Whereas millions formerly perished from the physical

[1] Since the famine of 1876-78 there have been three Famine Commissions, that of 1880, of 1898, and of 1901, presided over respectively by Sir Richard Strachey, Sir James Lyall, and Sir Antony MacDonnell.

impossibility of providing them with food, Sir Antony MacDonnell's Commission of 1901 was able to state that in the famines of 1897 and 1899 there was never a dearth of food in any famine-stricken tract. "To the policy," the Commission wrote, "of protective railways such ample effect has now been given that the final horror of famine—an actual dearth of food—need no longer be a source of apprehension. In inaccessible mountain country or in some remote valley the local officers may have, upon occasion, to bring food for the people, or to subsidise private trade to do so, but in the continent at large there is, for the future, no anxiety as to the ability of private trade to deliver food where it is needed. There is, indeed, necessity for improving the means of transport by an increase of the rolling stock, but, generally, railway construction has, in our opinion, played its part in the policy of famine insurance. To put the food-supply of the country in circulation was necessarily the first object of a wise famine policy; to protect and develop the supply itself should be its second object; and this is the function of agricultural development generally, and of irrigation in particular. This subject was dealt with at considerable length by the Commission of 1898, and the evidence which we have taken, and our own experience, show that there is a wide field for the construction of irrigation works. All provinces do not, indeed, present practicable schemes for the construction of great canals, but the possibilities of smaller protective works have in no province been exhausted, while in some provinces they have as yet hardly been examined. For storage tanks, reservoirs, and, above all, irrigation wells, the scope and the necessity are very great. As the whole subject of irrigation has now been taken up by the

Government in pursuance of the recommendations of the Commission of 1898, we need do no more than point to the confirmation which our inquiries afford to the conclusions of the last Commission, and express our cordial approval of a new departure in famine policy which would place irrigation works in the place that protective railways have hitherto occupied in the famine insurance programme."

Between 1896 and 1901 India suffered to an extent, happily altogether unusual, from repeated failure of the periodical rains, but, while the distress thus caused was in the highest degree lamentable, there is much in the history of that time which gives hope and encouragement. Speaking with an authority and personal knowledge greater perhaps than that of any man in India, Sir Antony MacDonnell, after the famine of 1897 in the North-Western Provinces, "drew the general conclusion that the cultivating classes, whether tenants or proprietors, have displayed a command of resources, either in the shape of capital or credit, and a power of resistance which has not been paralleled in any period of scarcity." The same conclusion was declared by the Commission of 1898 to be applicable to India generally. "The general conclusions," they wrote, "we are disposed to draw are that it may be said of India as a whole that of late years, owing to higher prices, there has been a considerable increase in the incomes of the land-holding and cultivating classes, and that their standard of comfort and expenditure has also expanded. During the recent famine these classes, as a rule, have therefore shown greater power of resisting famine, either by drawing on savings, or by borrowing, or by reduction of expenditure, than in any previous period of scarcity of like severity."

I cannot leave the subject of famine without referring to the truly noble work of the Englishmen entrusted with the management of relief operations during the scarcities of former and recent years. No language of respect and admiration for them could be too strong. Often they gave not only their health but their lives, dying at their posts, or working to save the people entrusted to them until no possibility of work remained.

# CHAPTER XV

## THE PUBLIC DEBT—FAMINE INSURANCE

The Public Debt—Its amount—Division into Ordinary and Public Works Debt—Increase of Debt owing to the Mutinies of 1857—Subsequent decrease of Ordinary Debt—Investments of the Government in Railways—Railways constructed by guaranteed Companies—The financial results of the policy of borrowing for public works—Expenditure from revenue on public works—Insurance against Famine—The policy adopted.

It will be understood from what has been said in the last chapter that the subject of public works is closely connected with that of the public debt.

The permanent public debt of India amounted in 1900-01 in India and in England to £205,300,000. The debt is divided for purposes of account into two parts—the Ordinary debt, similar in character to the public debt of other countries, and the Public Works debt, consisting of money invested in productive works, that is, in railways and works of irrigation. The ordinary debt was, in 1900-01, £69,996,000, and the public works debt was £135,327,000.

In 1857, just before the outbreak of the mutinies, the public debt of India was about £51,000,000. The task of suppressing the mutinies and the reorganisation of the administration added more than £42,000,000 to the debt; and in 1862 the total amount of the debt was £97,000,000. Thus in the thirty-eight years that

elapsed after the suppression of the mutinies and the cessation of the extraordinary expenditure immediately due to them, that is, from 1862 to 1900, the debt was apparently increased by £108,000,000. This increase resulted entirely from the policy of borrowing for investment in railways and irrigation works, and I call it an apparent increase, because that policy now involves no burden, but a profit to the State. Apart from such investments, the public debt in the period I have mentioned not only received no increase, but was reduced by about £27,000,000. This will appear the more remarkable when it is remembered that India during this time suffered from a succession of serious famines, for the relief of which, and for protective works, an expenditure of more than £23,000,000 was incurred, that a net sum of £12,250,000 was spent on war, that heavy expenses had often to be met on account of military operations against the frontier tribes, and that a very large increase of charge has been caused by the fall in the gold value of silver.

The existing railways have either been constructed directly by the Government or through companies guaranteed or otherwise assisted by the State. In the latter case the Government has reserved, under the original contracts, the power of purchasing the lines after a certain period has elapsed. This power has been exercised in nearly every case in which it was possible to do so, the payments being made in the form of terminable annuities, carrying with them a sinking fund for the redemption of capital. The railways thus become State lines, and, in the course of the next half-century, the Government of India will come into full possession of a magnificent property, yielding every year a great revenue. The most important of the undertakings

purchased in this way was the East Indian Railway, the great line connecting Calcutta with Delhi and the Northern Provinces. The transaction has already proved very advantageous to the State. In the ten years ending with 1901 it brought to the public revenues, after meeting all charges, including interest on borrowed capital, a clear profit of about £6,300,000, and, in addition, a further sum of £650,000, representing capital debt paid off through the operation of the terminable annuity by means of which the purchase of the line was made. At the end of seventy-four years from 1880, when the annuity expires, the Government will come into the receipt of a clear yearly income which is not likely to be less than £2,700,000, equivalent, after making allowance for all outgoings, to the creation of a capital of upwards of sixty or seventy millions sterling. It is not now possible to say what will have been the total capital expenditure on the railway at that time, but up to the end of 1901 it had not exceeded forty millions, and whatever additional capital may be required, it is reasonable to assume that there will be simultaneously an increase of net revenue at least sufficient to cover the additional interest to be paid. In this and in some other cases the working of the line has not been managed directly by the Government, but through a company under a working lease.

The rate of interest guaranteed on the capital of the railways first constructed by companies was 5 per cent, and the Government bound itself to make good any sum by which the net traffic receipts, after paying all working expenses, fall short of the amount necessary to provide interest at that rate. The later contracts have been more favourable to the Government.

The true measure of the burden of public debt is the

annual charge thrown upon the revenues by the payment of interest. The financial results of the policy of borrowing for investment in public works, judged by this test, have been highly satisfactory. It was inevitable that a considerable period must elapse before railways and irrigation works in India could yield an income sufficiently large to meet the charges incurred for their construction, and this for many years was actually the case. It is not easy to state with accuracy the total amount that had to be paid between the time when the construction of railways commenced and the time when they ceased to be any burden on the revenues, nor is this now a question of much importance. According to some estimates it exceeded £50,000,000. Whatever was the amount, it is certain that it was much less than the amount now saved to the country in a single year on the cost of transport alone, and when the direct charge on the revenues was the heaviest, there can be no doubt that it was far more than compensated by the advantages which were being conferred upon the country by the improvement in the means of communication. Its wealth grew steadily, the people were protected against the extreme consequences of famine, and there was no branch of the public administration the efficiency of which was not increased. As I shall presently show, the burden on the revenues necessarily incurred for a time has now, we may hope, finally disappeared.

The direct financial results would have been, and would still be far more favourable, but for the fact that many of the railways and canals are incomplete, and that there are many on which the receipts have not nearly reached the amount which may ultimately be expected. Some of them have been constructed for the

special purpose of giving protection to poor and remote districts, with little prospect of profit. Some other railways are required for military reasons connected with the defence of the North-Western frontier; no works are more necessary, but they are not likely to give much commercial return. Another cause has largely diminished the direct profit from these works. The effect of the fall in the gold value of the rupee has been very serious. The earnings of all these works are in silver, but the greater part of the interest on the capital expenditure, the annuities paid in respect of guaranteed railways purchased, and nearly the whole of the payments to guaranteed companies, have had to be paid in gold. In 1891-92, for example, these gold payments amounted to £5,652,000. To provide this sum India had to pay nearly 25,000,000 rupees more than would have been required if the rupee had retained its old value of two shillings. But for such charges the Indian railways and canals would long ago have yielded a large income to the State.

The railways—and the same is true of the irrigation works of India—yielded in 1900-01 an income which more than covered all the expenditure incurred upon them. The debt incurred for public works was a debt which involved neither the obligation of repayment nor charge for interest, but which brought a direct profit to the State. After charging against revenue all interest charges not only on the open lines but on lines under construction from which no revenue was obtained, all expenses of every kind incurred in working the open lines, the amount paid annually by means of sinking funds and annuities for the redemption of the commuted capital of railways purchased by the State, and charges of every other description, there was in 1900-01 a clear

profit to the State of £325,000. In the words of the Railway Administration Report of the Government of India for 1901, the railways have not only ceased to be a burden on the general revenues of the country, but may be expected in future to be one of the most certain and increasing sources of State revenue. The general truth of this conclusion cannot be doubted, although it must, from the nature of the case, be expected that the receipts will be liable to many vicissitudes, and it may happen in particular years that the results may financially be less favourable than those that I have described.

Up to the end of 1900-01 the total capital expenditure on irrigation works had been £28,246,000. The net receipts more than covered all charges on revenue of every description, and gave a surplus of £236,000.

In 1862 the public works debt was not separated, as it is now, from the ordinary debt. In that year the total net charge to the State on account of debt of every description, and including the sums paid as guaranteed interest to railway companies, was £6,585,000. In 1900-01 the total net charge to the State was £1,487,000, the amount of the interest on the ordinary debt and on other obligations; the payment of the interest on the public works debt, amounting to £5,298,000, involved, as I have shown, no charge at all, but, on the other hand, the railways and works of irrigation constructed with borrowed money gave to the State a profit of £561,000.[1] The ordinary debt of India was much less than the revenue of a single year.

I have hitherto spoken only of those public works

[1] It may be noted that "commercial services," as they have been called, *i.e.* Railways, Irrigation works, Post Office, and Telegraph, gave altogether, in 1900-01, a profit of £809,000.

which give a direct return in cash on the capital outlay, and which have been mainly constructed with borrowed money. Since the transfer of the Government to the Crown there has also been an immense expenditure from revenue on works of a different class, but not less useful, such as roads and bridges, telegraphs, hospitals, barracks and military works, colleges, schools, and other public buildings, and minor works of irrigation and navigation.

Before leaving the subject of public works and debt there is another matter to which reference must be made.

It has already been pointed out that, in addition to the reasons which in other countries render the construction of railways necessary, they are required in India because without them it is not possible to give adequate relief on the occurrence of the famines to which India, an almost purely agricultural country, has always from time to time been exposed through the failure of the periodical rains. In many parts of the country the provision of irrigation works is still more important.

It was not until 1874, when Lord Northbrook was Viceroy, that it was recognised that, since famines could not be looked on as abnormal and exceptional calamities, it was essential that provision against the grave financial obligations which they involve should be made as one of the ordinary charges of the State. "Whatever means," Lord Northbrook said, "we may take to obviate or mitigate them, it must, under present circumstances, be looked upon as inevitable that famines will from time to time occur"; he concluded that to meet them merely by borrowing would be financially ruinous, that it was necessary to reserve in prosperous times a substantial surplus of revenue over expenditure,

and that, if this surplus were devoted to the reduction of debt, or to the construction of productive public works, thereby preventing the increase of debt, there would be no objection, when famine occurred, to meeting from borrowed money charges to the full extent to which debt had been reduced or prevented.

In 1877-78 measures were proposed by myself and adopted by the Government of Lord Lytton for giving practical effect to these principles.

Between 1873 and 1878 the actual expenditure on the relief of famine, including remissions of land revenue, was more than 160,000,000 rupees. This was a period of exceptional disaster, and it was concluded that it might safely be assumed that the average annual charge for relieving famine was not likely to exceed 15,000,000 rupees. It was determined, therefore, that in addition to that necessary margin of revenue over expenditure which a prudent administration always desires to maintain, a surplus of 15,000,000 rupees must every year be provided on account of famine relief alone, and that this sum, when the country was free from famine, must be regularly devoted to the discharge of debt, or to the prevention of debt which would otherwise have been incurred for the construction of railways and canals. The practical result of such a plan would be to store up, in times of prosperity, resources by means of which, when famine occurred, it would be possible to meet the inevitable requirements of the future and the heavy obligations of the State. If, for example, this policy were followed during a period of ten years in which there was no famine, debt at the end of that time would have been reduced or prevented to the extent of 150,000,000 rupees, and, if serious famine then occurred, the same amount might be borrowed for its relief with-

out placing the country in a worse position financially than that of ten years before.

The original scheme was subsequently modified, and it was determined that a portion of the sum set aside every year as an insurance against famine might be directly expended on the construction of railways and canals required for the protection of districts specially liable to drought and consequent scarcity.

This policy of insurance against famine was simple in its nature, but it has been constantly misunderstood and persistently misrepresented. It has often been supposed that a separate fund was constituted into which certain revenues were to be paid, and which could only be drawn upon for a specified purpose. No such unreasonable and impracticable notion was ever entertained, and every idea of the kind was from the first repudiated by the Government and by myself, the author of the original scheme. The "Famine Insurance Fund," of which people have often talked, never existed. The intention was nothing more than the annual application of surplus revenue to the extent of 15,000,000 rupees to the purposes that I have described. The sum now allotted annually is £1,000,000. Although, in some years, financial pressure has made it impossible to make the full annual grant under the Famine Insurance Scheme, the system has been substantially maintained. The sum expended from revenue under the head of Famine Relief and Insurance, either on the actual relief of distress, or on protective irrigation works and railways, or on the reduction of debt, from the time when the scheme came into operation up to the end of 1900-01, exceeded £23,000,000; of this more than one-half was spent on the actual relief of famine.

# CHAPTER XVI

## EDUCATION IN INDIA

First establishment of colleges in Bengal—Controversy between advocates of Oriental and English study—Lord Macaulay in 1835—His contempt for Oriental literature — Mountstuart Elphinstone on Indian education—System established under Macaulay's influence—Neglect of primary education—System laid down by Lord Halifax in 1854—Its main features—Proportion of population able to read and write—Female education—Lady Dufferin's Association—Mr. Baines on illiteracy of the people—The Indian Universities—Colleges—Number of Natives knowing English—Collegiate Instruction—Education of Mohammedans—Sir Syad Ahmad Khán—His College—Medical Colleges—Technical and Art Schools—Secondary Education—Small number of educated Natives—Neglect of study of Science—Sir Henry Maine on study of English classical literature—The teaching of false history—Inaccuracy and bad faith of James Mill—Books and newspapers—Their general character—Mr. Baines on influence of the literate class—Liberty of the Press in India.

It was only during the later times of the East India Company's Government that the promotion of education in India was considered one of the duties of the State. The encouragement, however, of Oriental learning had long, to some extent, been acknowledged to be a matter of importance, both for its own sake, and because a knowledge of Mohammedan and Hindu law was necessary in the civil and criminal courts. To Warren Hastings belongs the honour of having founded, in 1782, the first college in Bengal, and it was maintained for some years at his expense. It was

especially intended to encourage the study of Arabic and Persian literature and Mohammedan theology, "to qualify the Mohammedans of Bengal for the public service, chiefly in the courts of justice, and to enable them to compete on more equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government." In 1791, a college, with similar objects, but "designed to cultivate the laws, literature, and religion of the Hindus, and specially to supply qualified Hindu assistants to European judges," was established at Benares. A few more institutions of a similar kind were founded, and as time went on the demand for other forms of education increased. A long controversy took place between the advocates of Oriental and English study: the former desired to give more liberal help to students of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, to encourage the production of literary and scientific works in Oriental languages, and to provide for the translation of valuable books from the languages of Europe into those of India; the latter maintained that all the higher branches of knowledge should be taught through the medium of English alone. The controversy virtually ended in 1835 with a Minute by Lord Macaulay, who was then a member of the Governor-General's Council in Calcutta. Nothing could exceed the contempt which in his picturesque sentences he poured forth on the languages and literature of the East. That India, and Arabia, and Persia possessed great literatures of their own, that they have produced poets and philosophers whose works hold no mean place among the enduring monuments of human genius, these were facts which Lord Macaulay totally ignored.

"The question before us," he wrote, "is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language—English—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 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 up of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

It is interesting to compare the scornful utterances of Macaulay with, as I believe, the wiser views which a great and accomplished Indian statesman, Mountstuart Elphinstone, expressed in a Minute on education in India not many years before.

"Sanskrit poetry," he wrote, "has called forth the enthusiastic admiration of no mean judges among ourselves. Even without the example and assistance of a more civilised nation, the science possessed by every people is gradually superseded by their own discoveries as they advance in knowledge, and their early works fall into disuse and oblivion. But it is otherwise with their poetry; the standard works maintain their reputation undiminished in every age, they form the models of composition and the fountains of classical language, and the writers of the rudest ages are those who contribute the most to the delight and refinement of the most improved of their posterity."

In the same Minute he deplored the fact that we had dried up the sources of Native talent, that the existing learning of the country was being lost, and the productions of former genius forgotten.

"A class of men," he said, "was formerly maintained whose time was devoted to the cultivation of their understanding; their learning may have been obscure and degenerate, but still it bore some affinity to real science, into which it might in time have been improved. They were not, perhaps, much inferior to those monks among whom the seeds of European learning were long kept alive;

and their extinction, if it did not occasion the loss of much present wisdom, would have cut off all hope for the future. . . . When once the college had become an established place of resort for Brahmans, it would be easy to introduce by degrees improvements into the system of education, and thus render the institution a powerful instrument for the diffusion of civilisation. Some such alterations must be the fruit of time, and cannot be adopted until we have instruments better fitted to impart instruction, as well as auditors better prepared to receive it. At no time, however, could I wish that the purely Hindu part of the course should be totally abandoned. It would surely be a preposterous way of adding to the intellectual treasures of a nation to begin by the destruction of its indigenous literature, and I cannot but think that the future attainments of the Natives will be increased in extent as well as in variety by being, as it were, engrafted on their own previous knowledge, and imbued with their own original and peculiar character."[1]

No one was more desirous than Elphinstone to encourage the study of the English language. For a native of India there is no other key by which he can unlock the richer stores of Western science and knowledge, and without it he cannot hope to take any prominent part in the higher branches of the public administration. Whether it was right to assign to English and the classical literature of England the almost exclusive position which they have been made to hold in our system of education in India, and almost to ignore the existence of the vernacular languages of the country and the literature of the East, is another matter. For my part I do not doubt that the views of Warren Hastings, and Sir William Jones, and Wellesley, and Elphinstone were far wiser than those of Macaulay, and that for Hindus and Mohammedans the study of their own languages and the literature of their own people

[1] Forrest's "Selections from the Minutes of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone"—Minute on Education, March 1824.

and kinsmen was not less essential than the study of English.

The influence of Macaulay was irresistible. The Government of Lord William Bentinck decided that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of Education would be best employed on English education alone." Although some of the old institutions were allowed to go on teaching in a feeble way the classical languages of the East, the conclusion virtually arrived at was that Oriental studies required no encouragement from the State. During the next ten or fifteen years progress was made in the establishment of English colleges and schools. Very little was thought at that time about primary education for the masses of the people. Education, it was said, would "filter downwards."

So far as higher education is concerned, the principles laid down in 1835 have been in the main adhered to ever since. The learning and literature of the East are practically as completely ignored in our Government Colleges and Universities at the present time as they were in the time of Lord Macaulay. All higher education, whether scientific or literary, is given in English, and a young man may go through nearly the whole of his University course without having occasion to make use of the language of his own country. The bare statement of the fact that little can be learned in our colleges except through the medium of a foreign tongue, goes far to explain their comparative failure. But the subject of the results obtained by our system of education is one to which I shall return.

There were some exceptions to the general neglect

of primary education which followed the measures taken in 1835. In the North-Western Provinces, in particular, their wise and enlightened Lieutenant-Governor, James Thomason, laid the foundations of a system of village schools; but it was not until 1854 that the duty of the State in regard to this matter was distinctly recognised. In that year orders, for which Lord Halifax (then Sir Charles Wood) was mainly responsible, were sent by the Court of Directors to India. The despatch containing them has been called "the charter of education in India." I shall quote, from the Report of the Indian Education Commission of 1883, a summary of its contents; it will show the system on which the Government has been working ever since:—

"The immediate aims of the Government were the same as those to which the attention of every European State was first directed when organising its system of public instruction. The existing schools of all kinds were to be improved and their number increased, systematic inspection was to be established, and a supply of competent teachers was to be provided. But in India the attitude of the State to national education was affected by three conditions to which no European State could furnish a parallel. In the first place, the population was not only as large as that of all the European States together that had adopted an educational system, but it presented, in its different provinces, at least as many differences of creed, language, race, and custom. Secondly, the ruling power was bound to hold itself aloof from all questions of religion. Thirdly, the scheme of instruction to be introduced was one which should culminate in the organisation of a literature and science essentially foreign. While, therefore, on the one hand, the magnitude of a task before the Indian Government was such as to make it almost impossible of achievement by any direct appropriation from the resources of the empire, on the other, the popular demand for education—so important a factor in the success of the European systems—had to be created. The Government adopted the only course which circumstances permitted. It was admitted that 'to imbue a vast

and ignorant population with a general desire for knowledge, and to take advantage of the desire when excited to improve the means for diffusing education among them, must be the work of many years; as a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people, and aid them wherever they appear to require most assistance.'"

Under the orders of 1854, supplemented by later instructions, a separate Department of Public Instruction was constituted. Universities were to be founded in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools were to be established; the number of Government colleges and high schools was to be increased; new middle schools were to be created; efforts were above all to be devoted to the development of elementary education with the object of "conveying to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life." The English language was to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches of education, and the vernacular languages of the country in the lower, and English was to be taught wherever there was a demand for it. The extension of education in the higher branches would, it was thought, be mainly effected by applying the system of grants-in-aid; the resources of the State were to be so devoted as to assist those who could not be expected to help themselves, while it was hoped that the richer classes would gradually be induced to provide for their own education. The system of grants-in-aid to private institutions was to be based on entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction given in the schools; aid was to be given, within certain limits, to all schools which imparted a

good secular education and were under competent management; all aided schools were to be open to inspection by Government officers. This system has been put into practice throughout British India. Every province has its separate Educational Department under an officer called the Director of Public Instruction, with a large staff of officers, colleges, schools, and grants-in-aid. Very much in this system was, undoubtedly, admirable, but there are many respects in which the results have obviously been far from satisfactory.

There were formerly many advocates in India of "the downward filtration" theory of education, to which reference has already been made. There can be no country in which the expectation that education would "filter downwards" was more impossible to be fulfilled. Apart from the fact that all higher education was given in a foreign language, the literary classes—if we are to give them so inappropriate a name—whether they are Brahmans learned in the sacred literature of ancient India, or men primed with the most modern knowledge that our English Colleges can impart, agree for the most part in rejection of the idea that education ought to be extended to the masses of the people. But for many years past the Government has adhered to the principle affirmed in 1854, that the main duty of the State lies in providing means of primary instruction to the classes which can make no provision for themselves. I need hardly enlarge on the magnitude of such an undertaking in India. Anything like compulsory education is out of the question. Even if unlimited funds were available, it would be impossible to succeed, except by slow degrees, and by steady perseverance through a long course of years, in educating any large proportion of two hundred and

thirty millions of people, nearly the whole of whom are now totally illiterate, and filled to a degree which can hardly be exaggerated with the prejudices of ignorance, and caste, and superstition. It was an almost inevitable consequence of the difficulty of such an undertaking that the Government, notwithstanding the principles that it had laid down for its guidance, should continue to spend the greater part of its available funds on higher education, the results of which were more immediately apparent, and comparatively little on the extension of elementary instruction.

In some parts of India there have been, from time immemorial, considerable numbers of village and local schools, in which instruction of a very elementary kind is given. In the Hindu schools the instruction is chiefly or wholly secular; the Mohammedan schools have a religious character. In Bengal and in Madras the existing system of primary instruction is in a great measure based on the indigenous schools, which receive grants-in-aid from the State; in Bombay, in the United Provinces, and the Punjab, on the other hand, the primary schools are mostly provided by the Government at the cost of local funds, raised by rates on the land. In Burma, where a far larger proportion of the population can read and write than in any part of India, primary education, according to the ancient custom of the country, is almost entirely in the hands of the Buddhist monks.

Reading, writing, arithmetic, and sometimes a little mensuration, are taught in the primary schools.

Although progress has undoubtedly been made, the proportion of the population of India which has received even elementary instruction is almost infinitesimally small.

The census returns of 1901 showed a total population of 294,360,000, of whom 149,951,000 were males, and 144,409,000 were females. Out of the male population, 134,752,000 were illiterate. Out of the female population, no less than 142,976,000 were illiterate, and 1,433,000 could read and write. In other words, about 90 per cent of the male and 99 per cent of the female population were illiterate. Excluding Burma, the differences in these respects between the various provinces of British India and the Native States are not very great. In the United Provinces, for instance, the male population, in 1903, was 24,617,000, of which number 23,194,000 were illiterate. The female population was 23,078,000, of whom the number who could read and write was less than 56,000. In the Punjab and North-West Frontier Provinces, out of 14,512,000 males, 13,578,000 were illiterate, and out of 12,369,000 females the number not illiterate was 42,000. Even in Madras, where education has made greater progress, more than 80 per cent of the male and more than 95 per cent of the female population are illiterate.[1]

Even these figures do not adequately represent the real illiteracy of the mass of the people, for, as Mr. Baines showed in his Report on the Census of 1891, and this is equally true now, more than half of the whole number returned as literate are found among a few classes, comprising less than 20 per cent of the whole population. The Brahmans, as might be expected, head the list; although they were estimated in 1891

[1] Many of these figures can only be looked on as approximately correct. Apart from other causes which, in dealing with such vast numbers in such a country as India, make strict accuracy impossible, there were no returns for nearly a million persons out of the total population of India to show whether they were or were not illiterate. The term "illiterate" in the Indian census returns signifies "unable to read and write."

to constitute only 5 per cent of the total population, they included 17 per cent of the literate class, and more than 20 per cent of those who know English. Percentages of this kind must not, however, be taken for more than they are worth, in dealing with a population larger than that of civilised Europe, and classes grouped under similar names differ greatly in different Indian countries. For instance, a large proportion of the Brahmans of Madras appear in the census returns as literate, and a very small proportion of those of the United Provinces, the Brahmans in the latter case, unlike those in the former, being very largely agricultural.

Women in India take a larger and more active share in the practical business of life than is usually supposed; in the management of family and household affairs they probably exercise almost as great an authority and influence as women in Europe; they often manage estates and large commercial concerns, and show extreme acuteness and intelligence. An example of their practical ability is seen in the Native State of Bhopál, which, four times in succession, has been ruled by women. But the idea that women, or at any rate respectable women, ought to receive a school education, or any of the instruction that is proper for boys, is one that is entirely new in India, even among that small section of the population which has been powerfully affected by Western habits of thought. It is true that some of those who have received an English education feel that it is hardly tolerable that the women with whom they pass their lives should be totally illiterate, and that, in the absence of all female teachers, they have taken upon themselves the duty of instructing their wives and daughters. But among the small number of those who are conscious of the prevailing evil, and would

be glad to see it remedied, the majority cannot overcome the repugnance of their families to female education, nor the opinion of the society that surrounds them, and they prefer to follow the customs of their people and the example of their forefathers. As a general rule, even those who have received the highest training that our English schools and colleges can give, are opposed to the education of women, and hold the traditional Indian view that to be able to read and write is an accomplishment which a modest woman had better be without. While such opinions as these continue to be generally held, it is impossible that the Government can take any very successful steps for the promotion of female education.

In spite of these difficulties, there has been some progress. Remarkable instances have occurred in which Native ladies have attained literary and academic distinction; several have passed the University Entrance Examinations, and a few have obtained degrees. With very rare exceptions, however, the instruction afforded has been purely elementary. The chief progress has been in Southern India, where women are less secluded than in the North. While in 1871 there were about 10,000 girls receiving school instruction in Madras, the numbers had risen to 128,000 in 1901.

Such progress as there has been, is in a great measure due to the missionary societies. The girls in their schools are more numerous than in those of the Government, and zanána missions connected with the societies give more or less secular instruction in a considerable number of Native families. The example given by English ladies who have devoted themselves to teaching in the zanánas has, to some extent, been followed by Natives themselves, who are often unwilling

to admit avowed Christian influences into their families. The Report of the Indian Education Commission states that—

"In Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and in many large cities of India, it is now possible for a wealthy native to obtain instruction for the ladies of his family within his own house. A distinct class of zanána agencies on a secular basis is springing up, conducted by committees of native gentlemen, or by mixed committees of Natives and Europeans, with the object, in some cases, of imparting education in zanánas without any element of religious teaching; in others, of testing by periodical examinations, and encouraging by records, the home education of governesses. These agencies are already doing useful work, although on a comparatively small scale, and the commission trusts that they will receive a still larger measure of sympathy and co-operation from English ladies in India."[1]

In connection with the subject of female education I must mention the truly admirable scheme initiated by the Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, and actively encouraged ever since by the wives of the Viceroys, for supplying female medical aid to the women of India. I have referred to the success of the medical colleges established by the Government, and to the great aptitude shown by Natives of India in the practice of surgery and medicine. The country is covered with hospitals and dispensaries; but the women of India are shut off from the benefits brought by European science to their doors, because their customs make it impossible to allow the professional attendance of men. A lamentable amount of unnecessary suffering is the consequence. The association that has been founded, and which has made remarkable progress, has for its object the provision, on a large scale, of the means of teaching and training women in India to act as doctors, hospital

[1] *Report*, p. 535.

assistants, nurses, and midwives; the establishment, under female superintendence, of dispensaries and hospitals for the treatment of women and children; the opening of female wards, under female superintendence, in existing hospitals and dispensaries; the provision of female medical officers and attendants for existing female wards; and the supply of trained nurses and midwives for women in hospitals and private houses. It has been laid down as a fundamental rule of the association that it shall be absolutely unsectarian in its aims and conduct, and that no one of its servants shall ever be allowed to proselytise or interfere in any way with the religious belief of the people. This excellent movement has received active encouragement both from our own Government and from the rulers of Native States. Connected with this association there were, in 1900, 235 hospitals and dispensaries, and more than 1,500,000 women and children received relief. There were 33 highly educated lady doctors, 73 assistant surgeons, and a large number of hospital assistants, while 354 women were studying in the various medical schools in India.

The figures that have been given show how small an impression has hitherto been made on the enormous mass of Indian ignorance. There are, as Mr. Baines has pointed out, two facts to be remembered. The first is the fact that the great mass of the population is agricultural, and in far more civilised countries this is not the class among which education flourishes. "The second influence antagonistic to a more general spread of literacy is the long-continued existence of a hereditary class, whose object it has been to maintain their own monopoly of all book-learning as the chief buttress of their social supremacy. Sacerdotalism knows that it

can reign over none but an ignorant populace.' The opposition of the Bráhman to the rise of the writer castes has been already mentioned, and the repugnance of both, in the present day, to the diffusion of learning amongst the masses can only be appreciated after long experience. It is true that the recognition by the British Government of the virtue and necessity of primary education has met with some response on the part of the literary castes, but it is chiefly in the direction of academic utterances, which cannot, in the circumstances, be well avoided. It is welcomed, too, in its capacity of affording the means of livelihood to many of these castes, as they have to be engaged as teachers, and are bound accordingly to work up to the State standard of efficient tuition. The real interest of the castes in question is centred on secondary education, of which they almost exclusively are in a position to reap the advantage."[1]

Discouraging as the actual condition of primary education may seem, things are far better than they were, and the progress that has been made must not be undervalued. In the whole of India, excepting the North-Western Provinces, when the Government was transferred to the Crown there were only some 2000 Government and aided elementary schools, with less than 200,000 scholars, while in 1901 there were 147,000 schools and 4,400,000 scholars. Nor should it be forgotten how short a time has elapsed since our own country, under far less difficult circumstances, began practically to recognise the necessity of elementary education. Four years before the accession of Queen Victoria no public money was granted in England for elementary schools.

[1] *General Report on the Castes of India*, 1891, p. 211.

Reference must now be made to the means provided for higher education and to the results that have been obtained.

The three universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were established in 1857; a fourth was established at Allahabad for the North-Western Provinces in 1887. Their constitution is similar to that of the London University: they have a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Senate, with a governing body; they are examining bodies only, but by their examinations they control the course of study throughout the greater part of India, in the colleges affiliated to them. In 1882 a university was established at Lahore for the Punjab, and this, though in the main an examining body, like the older Universities, devotes a portion of the income which it derives from examination fees to the maintenance of a college for Oriental learning.

The entrance examinations for matriculation are open to all. The subjects are English, a classical or vernacular language, history, geography, mathematics, and, in Madras and Bombay, elementary physical science. The usual age of the candidates is between sixteen and eighteen, and, according to the estimate of the Education Commission, the standard of knowledge required is about that which at the age of sixteen an English boy of average intelligence will be found to possess. Success in this examination admits a student to any of the affiliated colleges.

The college course does not much differ in the various provinces. After two years, a student may present himself for the first examination in Arts, the subjects being English, a classical language (Oriental or European), history, mathematics, logic, and, if he so desires, a branch of natural science. Two years

later he may present himself for the B.A. degree. Degrees are conferred in Arts, Law, Medicine, and Civil Engineering. The M.A. degree completes the college course; the examination is held in one or more of the following subjects: languages, history, mental and moral philosophy, mathematics, pure and mixed, and physical science. The proportion of students who go beyond the entrance examination is not large, and the number who obtain degrees is small.

Taking the Arts Colleges of all the universities together, in the five years ending with 1901-02, 37,946 candidates passed the entrance examination. During the same period 15,207 candidates passed the First Arts Examination: there were 6605 B.A. and 655 M.A. graduates. It is a significant fact, illustrating the neglect of Oriental studies, that in the same five years there were two "Masters" and twelve "Bachelors of Oriental learning." In his General Report on the census of 1891, Mr. Baines observed that the main points brought out appeared to be, "first, the insignificant number of pupils that carry instruction beyond the rudiments; secondly, the remarkably unprepared state in which the minute remainder appear for matriculation; and, lastly, the relatively infinitesimal number that obtain a University degree."

The number of Natives possessing a knowledge of English was, in the whole of India, in 1891, only 386,000, and this included boys under instruction. The number seems extraordinarily small, and can apparently, as Mr. Baines says, only be explained by the fact that the study of English ends in a very rudimentary stage, and that the class is numerous "that learn a certain amount of English at school, but carry the use of it no further than the last examination, and

cease to be able to read and write it after the lapse of a few years."

In regard to the general scope and character of collegiate instruction in India, I may quote the account given in the Report of the Indian Education Commissioners:—

"The system is now almost uniform throughout India. Purely Oriental colleges must be excepted. These, however, are so few in number that they scarcely enter into a consideration of collegiate education in its modern development. The college of to-day aims at giving an education that shall fit its recipient to take an honourable share in the administration of the country, or to enter with good hope of success the various liberal professions now expanding in vigorous growth. The English and Oriental classes occupy an important place in the collegiate scheme. In history, philosophy, mathematics, and physical science, English is the medium of instruction, and the passport to academic honours. . . . The affiliated colleges are of two grades: those whose students go no farther than the First Arts Examination, and those in which they proceed to the B.A. and M.A. degrees. The strength of the teaching staff varies with the wealth of the institution, the number of the students, and the class of examinations for which candidates are sent up. Thus, the Presidency College in Calcutta has a Principal, eleven Professors, and two teachers of Sanskrit and Arabic. This staff provides for lectures being given in all the various subjects of all the examinations. A smaller college will be content with a Principal, two Professors, a Pandit, and a Maulavi. In their scheme of discipline, and in the academic life of their students, Indian colleges have but little analogy to those of the older of the English universities, their resemblance being closer to those of Scotland and Germany. Residence in college buildings is not only not generally compulsory, but the colleges are few in which any systematic provision is made for control over the students' pursuits out of college hours. Boarding-houses are indeed attached to certain institutions, and their number increases year by year, but unless the student's home be at a distance from the collegiate city, and he have no relatives to receive him, it is seldom that he will incur the expense which residence involves. Two principal reasons account for this feature

in our system. First, the initial outlay upon buildings is one from which Government and independent bodies alike shrink. For so poor is the Indian student that it would be impossible to demand of him any but the most moderate rent—a rent perhaps barely sufficient to cover the cost of the annual repairs. The second obstacle lies in the religious and social prejudices which force class from class. Not only does the Hindu refuse to eat with the Musalman, but from close contact with whole sections of his own co-religionists he is shut off by the imperious ordinances of caste. Experience, however, has already proved that the barriers of custom are giving way. In the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, where the residential system has been widely tried, the success has been considerable, and nothing but want of funds stands in the way of a fuller development. In the more important Bombay colleges, also, a considerable number of the students are in residence; in Bengal and Madras the system has been less fully recognised."[1]

In the years that have elapsed since the above words were written, the results of our system of education have come into clearer relief, and few Englishmen would now be found to take so optimistic a view as that expressed by the Education Commissioners of 1883. It cannot be said that our Indian Colleges have fostered a genuine desire for learning; the students seldom pursue learning for its own sake, but for the most part solely to acquire a degree, and the object of a degree is that it constitutes a qualification for Government service or a profession. Nor can it be denied that the knowledge which an Indian graduate possesses is at best shallow; he has a smattering of several subjects, but he can hardly acquire in our Colleges that mastery of any subject which would make his knowledge of it really valuable. No native of India, educated solely in his own country, has yet produced any work of original merit in any of the subjects taught in our Colleges, nor

[1] *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, p. 273.

has our teaching brought forth fruit in the application of Western ideas and Western science to Indian problems. Indian history and Indian archæology have been enriched by no contributions from Indian students, nor has any native of the country adapted and applied the experience of the West to the development of the material resources of India.

If, however, all this be admitted, and if the fermentation of ideas which the new learning has generated has not led to the results which were hoped for, it has on the other hand undoubtedly produced other results, the value of which must not be ignored. Speaking generally, the English-educated generation differs from that which preceded it rather on the moral than on the intellectual side. As public servants the higher integrity of those who have received an English education is a matter of common observation. The past of India has not been favourable to the cultivation of civic virtues, but to whatever extent movements for the suppression of undesirable customs, for the spread of education, or for other enlightened purposes, have been encouraged by Natives of the country, it has been by those who have some tincture of Western learning. These are results of importance, and it is remarkable that they have been gained from an education which is purely intellectual, and which strictly abstains from interference in morals or religion.

On the whole, and without undervaluing the many advantages that have followed, it must be confessed that a sense of disappointment is the prevailing opinion with regard to our system of College education in India. The last public inquiry into this subject was made in 1902, when a Commission was appointed by Lord Curzon to inquire into the whole question of the

conduct of examinations by the Indian Universities. It pronounced a somewhat guarded and not very encouraging verdict.

Although an important share in higher education is taken by the institutions established by private effort, with the help of grants-in-aid from the State, there is no present probability of the arrival of the time when it may be possible for the State to devote its principal efforts to the encouragement of primary instruction, leaving the main provision of the means of higher education to private institutions, aided and supervised by the Government. But much honour is due to the work of secular education undertaken by private agencies, and especially to that of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries. In 1890 there were in British India nearly 300,000 scholars in their colleges and schools.

The success of the measures for the promotion of higher education has been more marked among Hindus than among Mohammedans. In many parts of India, Mohammedans, especially those of the upper classes, have always been disinclined to accept the education offered in our schools and colleges, and frequent complaint has been made that they are consequently unable to compete on equal terms with Hindus for employment under Government. Feelings of religious intolerance sometimes tend to make the Mohammedans refuse to admit the necessity of Western knowledge, but there are other reasons which affect them, and which have been described as follows by the Indian Education Commission :—

"Apart from the social and historical conditions of the Mohammedan community in India, there are causes of a strictly educational character which heavily weigh it in the race of life. The teaching of the mosque must precede the lessons of the school.

The one object of a young Hindu is to obtain an education which will fit him for an official or a professional career. But before the young Mohammedan is allowed to turn his thoughts to secular instruction, he must commonly pass some years in going through a course of sacred learning. The Mohammedan boy, therefore, enters school later than the Hindu. In the second place, he very often leaves school at an earlier age. The Mohammedan parent belonging to the better classes is usually poorer than the Hindu parent in a corresponding social position. He cannot afford to give his son a complete education. In the third place, irrespectively of his worldly means, the Mohammedan parent often chooses for his son while at school an education which will secure for him an honoured place among the learned of his own community, rather than one which will command success in the modern professions or in official life. The years which the young Hindu gives to English and mathematics in a public school, the young Mohammedan devotes in a Madrasa to Arabic and the law and theology of Islam. When such an education is completed, it is to the vocation of a man of learning rather than to the more profitable professions that the thoughts of a promising Mohammedan youth naturally turn."[1]

It must not be assumed from the fact that the Mohammedans look with little favour on our system that they are always less alive to the value of education than Hindus. In the United Provinces, for instance, the Mohammedan section of the population furnishes, in proportion to its numbers, more pupils than the Hindu. In spite of the disadvantages under which the Mohammedans are placed by their dislike of the education given in our colleges, they hold, in those Provinces, in proportion to their numbers, a larger number of offices in the service of the Government than the Hindus. But this is not the case in the greater part of India; as a rule, the share of the Hindus in public employments much exceeds that of the Mohammedans.

[1] *Report*, p. 505.

These difficulties in regard to the higher education of Mohammedans have been similar in kind to those which have frequently arisen in our own country. That education should be severed from religion is an idea as repugnant to a good Mohammedan as it is to many Christians. There is little use in discussing whether our Government could have done otherwise than hold itself rigidly aloof from all concern with the religious education of the Mohammedans. Similar questions hardly arise in regard to the education of Hindus, for their religion is not one that can be taught, or that they desire to see taught, for it has no fixed dogmas and tenets. It may be true that it would have been politically wise to show greater sympathy with the belief and habits of thought of our Mohammedan subjects, and to treat more respectfully a religion and literature which they highly and naturally prize, but it was and is practically impossible for an English Government to act in these matters on any other rule than that which has been adopted. It cannot teach in its own schools and colleges the doctrines of Islam.

Thus it has come to pass that the colleges of the Government, as well as those conducted by missionaries, are all unacceptable to the Mohammedan who desires that his son shall be instructed in his own faith, and in the classical languages of his people.

There was a man among the Mohammedans of Northern India who believed that this difficult problem could be solved, and the results of his efforts have been so great that I must somewhat fully explain them. He has shown, in my opinion, and, so far as I know, it has been shown nowhere else in India, how this difficult question of education, in some at least of its phases, should be treated.

Sir Syad Ahmad Khán belonged, as his name betokens, to an ancient family that claims to be descended from the Prophet. His ancestors came into India from Central Asia, and held high office under the Moghal Emperors. I was proud to call him my friend, and there was no man of any creed or country for whom I felt a more true respect. It was soon after the mutinies of 1857 that I first knew him at Morádabad. He was then one of the most distinguished of our Native judges, bearing, at a time when Native courts of justice were often far from immaculate, a character as high as that of any Englishman. He was in the prime of life, a man of noble presence, honoured by all our countrymen for the loyalty and courage with which he had devoted himself to our cause, when our Government had been swept away, and not one Englishman remained in Rohilkhand.

Sir Syad Ahmad Khán, although he did not possess the power of fluent speech in English, had made himself well acquainted with our language. He was in every respect a thoroughly enlightened man, fully alive to the value of European knowledge, and to the fact that unless the Mohammedans could accept the results of Western civilisation there was no hope for them in the future. He felt that after a century of British rule there was still little sympathy between the Mohammedans and ourselves, and that nothing but the better education of his countrymen could bring the two into more friendly relations. This education could not be supplied by the State; it must be supplied by the Mohammedans themselves, in a manner consistent with the dictates of their religious belief.

Sir Syad Ahmad Khán, like the friends of knowledge and progress in other countries, had to bear the open or

covert opposition of many of his countrymen. His doctrines were declared to be unorthodox and dangerous, nor were Englishmen wanting whose opinions had been cast in moulds of a sort similar to those approved by Mohammedan bigotry, and who looked with little favour on his innovations. For he, a Musalman, not only declared that he reverently accepted the authority of the Christian Scriptures, but had dared to enter into critical dissertations of their meaning, and to appeal to them for evidence of the mission of Mohammed.

Sir Syad Ahmad Khán was a sincere believer in his own religion. He claimed for it that it should not be judged by the opinions of the ignorant and the bigots of his own faith, or by those of hostile critics of another, but that it should be interpreted in the liberal spirit in which wise Christians interpret theirs. According to his belief, the faith of Islam, properly understood, would be the friend of truth and progress in every branch of human knowledge.

With this conviction Sir Syad Ahmad Khán devoted himself to the establishment of a college for the higher education of Mohammedans. He gave to this object for many years every effort of his life, and the whole of his worldly means. He was joined by some influential friends; as time went on, hostile prejudices and opposition diminished; munificent endowments were offered, and help and encouragement came not only from Mohammedans, but from Hindus and Englishmen. In 1883, the college founded by him at Aligarh, in the North-Western Provinces, had made such progress that the Indian Education Commissioners wrote of it in the following terms:—

"It is in some respects superior to any educational institution in India, and one which bids fair to be of the greatest importance

from a political as well as from an educational point of view. . . . It is the first expression of independent Musalman effort which the country has witnessed since it came under British rule. The Aligarh Society has set an example which, if followed to any large extent, will solve the problem of national education: and it is difficult to speak in words of too high praise of those whose labours have been so strenuous, or to overrate the value of the ally which the State has gained in the cause of education and advancement."

The College receives grants-in-aid from the Provincial Government and from the Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1902 its income from all sources did not exceed £6000. It has an English Principal and three English Professors, graduates of the University of Cambridge, and six Native Professors, four of whom have taken degrees in Indian Universities. The school attached to the College has an English headmaster, an English assistant master, and sixteen Native masters, many of whom were formerly pupils in the College, and who from devotion to its interests have remained at Aligarh rather than seek more lucrative careers elsewhere.

The great majority of the students live in the quadrangles which are built round the College; the number in residence in 1902 was nearly 500. Religious instruction and the observation of religious rites are part of the daily exercise; but although the College was primarily intended for Mohammedans, and is essentially a Mohammedan institution, so much sympathy and generosity were shown by Hindu friends that its secular classes are open to Hindus also. In regard to scholarships and prizes the rules of the College show no partiality to Mohammedans, and separate boarding-houses are provided for Hindu students. The College is affiliated to the Allahabad University, and, judged by the results of University examinations, there is no

College in the United Provinces that has been so successful. Students have come to it not only from distant provinces but from countries beyond the borders of India. Manly sports of all kinds are encouraged to an extent nowhere else known in India. The College has its gymnasium, its riding-school, its teams for hockey, football, and cricket. Its cricketers have beaten the best English eleven that Simla could produce.

In January 1877, Lord Lytton laid the foundation stone of new college buildings at Aligarh, and Sir Syad Ahmad Khán, in words addressed especially to the Viceroy and to his numerous English friends, spoke as follows :—

"The personal honour," he said, "which you have done me assures me of a great fact, and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you, who upon this occasion represent the British rule, have sympathies with our labours, and to me this assurance is very valuable, and a source of great happiness. At my time of life it is a comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which has been for many years, and is now, the sole object of my life, has roused, on the one hand, the energies of my own countrymen, and, on the other, has won the sympathy of our British fellow-subjects and the support of our rulers; so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no longer amongst you, the College will still prosper, and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with our British fellow-subjects as have been the ruling feelings of my life."

Sir Syad Ahmad Khán closed his long and noble life in March 1898. The bitter theological animosity which his religious teaching at first aroused had already begun to give way before the growing respect which his

I shall refer in a subsequent chapter[1] to the Colleges that have been established for the education of young Chiefs and nobles.

Very useful colleges have also been established for special objects, such as the study of medicine and surgery, and engineering.

The Medical Colleges deserve particular notice, for no educational institutions in India have been more remarkably successful. There are more than 1700 hospitals and dispensaries in British India, in charge of Native surgeons educated in our colleges and schools. Among all the benefits conferred upon the people by our rule, there is perhaps no one more highly and universally valued than this. Many of the Native surgeons are extremely skilful, and perform operations in a manner that would not discredit the surgeons of London or Paris. More than 10,000,000 patients are treated every year at the Indian hospitals and dispensaries.

Science has, for the most part, received in India, as in England, scant encouragement from the State, but that it has not been altogether neglected is shown by the work performed by the Departments of Survey, Geology, Botany, Meteorology, Forest, and Agriculture. Lord Curzon has spared no efforts for the promotion of

the Legislative Council in the North-Western Provinces, and Queen Victoria recognised his services by conferring on him the dignity of Knight Commander of the Star of India. Towards the end of 1902, an association was founded in London, under the name of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, Association, with the object of promoting the cause of education among Mohammedans, and the interests of the Aligarh College, and at the same time of assisting and advising any Natives of India desiring help in regard to their manner of life and course of study in England. It has been formed by a number of Mohammedan gentlemen, many of them students in this country, and other Natives of India who sympathise with its objects and many distinguished Englishmen are among its honorary members.

[1] See Chapter XXIV.

scientific research. Mining experts have been appointed; posts have been created for the study of economic chemistry, of the diseases of cattle, of plants and insect pests, and a Board of Experts has been nominated to act as the permanent scientific adviser of the Government of India.

One other admirable institution must be noticed, the Pasteur Institute at the Hill Station of Kasauli below Simla. It is performing a noble work in the service of humanity. In 1902 more than 500 persons were saved by it from the peril of a terrible death. A similar institution has now (1903) been established in Southern India.

Little has hitherto been done for technical instruction, but a useful beginning has been made, especially in Bombay. This is a want which in England is being slowly supplied, and we see in India the reflection of English indifference. The establishment of Agricultural Departments has, however, given recognition to the importance of applying scientific knowledge to agriculture, the chief of the industries of India.

In several provinces schools of art have been established, and presided over by highly accomplished men. Their utility is more than doubtful. India has nothing to learn from us in the matter of decorative art. We have done much to debase her beautiful and still living arts, and almost all the influence that we have exercised has been destructive. A wide field, on the other hand, is open for practical training in many handicrafts and manufactures.

The systems followed in different provinces in respect of secondary education vary so much that no description would be generally applicable. There is usually in every district a Government Higher school, where English and

the subjects required for the entrance examinations at the Universities are taught. Many schools of a similar kind have been established by missionaries, and receive grants-in-aid. In most of the smaller towns there is a Middle school, giving an education intermediate between that given in the higher and primary schools, and English is sometimes taught.

Although the number of the Natives of India who are good English scholars is small, there are many who have learned enough of our language for the ordinary clerical work of the public offices, and they hold almost all the minor appointments of this kind. They are a very useful and efficient class, but they have seldom any pretensions to be called educated men. The great majority of the young men at our higher schools and colleges go there because it is a certain way of getting on in life. It is a very successful way both for themselves and for their employers, but, with rare exceptions, they are content with the smallest amount of English education which enables them to perform their work. A few are more ambitious, and qualify themselves for higher employment. In some provinces they hold important offices in the executive service, and supply a large proportion of the Native Judges. Some of them have reached, as Judges of the High Courts, the highest judicial rank which any one, whether he be Native or English, can attain in India. Many practise with great success at the bar; others are professors and masters in the colleges and schools, or in charge of the numerous hospitals and dispensaries.

Although our educational system has been, in some important respects, successful, the number of Natives of India who can be called highly educated, according to a European standard, is almost infinitesimally

small in proportion to the vast population of the country. Sir Henry Maine, commenting on the fact that in the twenty years ending with 1883 not more than 5000 M.A. and B.A. degrees were given altogether, wrote as follows:—"I will assume that every man who has taken a Bachelor of Arts degree is sufficiently educated to have valuable ideas on politics; and for the purpose of including all who, in any sense, can be called educated men, I will multiply the total by five. That gives 25,000 Indian gentlemen of an education and age to take an interest or a part in politics."[1] Sir Henry Maine added that he thought it probable that his estimate of 25,000 was much above the mark. Since that opinion was given the number of graduates has largely increased. In the ten years ending with 1901-02, the number of M.A. degrees given in India was altogether 1185, and the number of B.A. degrees was 12,533. Notwithstanding this increase of numbers, I do not doubt that the conclusion stated by Sir Henry Maine remains substantially true. I doubt whether out of the almost infinitesimally small proportion of the population of British India who possess any education at all, there are as many as 25,000 men who, judged by a high European standard, can be called educated. Nor can it be doubted that the assumption that every man with a B.A. degree can properly be called educated is, in India, far too sanguine. The female population of India exceeds 144,000,000, and among them there are probably not 1000 women to whom the term educated could properly be applied.

The number of Brahmans who are more or less learned in ancient Sanskrit literature is considerable, although there are not many great scholars. With rare

[1] "The Reign of Queen Victoria," *India*, vol. i. p. 526.

exceptions, they have no acquaintance with any branches of Western knowledge, nor any desire to obtain it.

I have spoken of the controversy of 1835, which, under Lord Macaulay's influence, ended with the decision that English literature and science, taught through the medium of the English language, must be the basis of higher education in India. Very little science was taught in those days even in England, and still less in India; it was the study, not of English science, but of English classical literature, that was practically encouraged, and so it has been ever since. As Sir Henry Maine has often pointed out, the strict and sober tests of truth which modern science can alone supply were exactly the element that was wanting in the education of Orientals, and especially of Hindus. Native thought and literature, as he says, "is elaborately inaccurate; it is supremely and deliberately careless of all precision in magnitude, number, and time." "The Indian intellect stood in need, beyond everything else, of stricter criteria of truth. It required a treatment to harden and brace it, and scientific teaching was exactly the tonic which its infirmities called for." Even at the present time, although matters in this respect are somewhat better than they were, science holds an altogether secondary place in the Indian Universities. We may find an illustration of the truth of Sir Henry Maine's remarks in the remarkable success achieved by Natives of India whose professions have a more or less scientific, exact, and practical basis. This is especially the case with those who have devoted themselves to the study and practice of European surgery and medicine, and to that of Anglo-Indian law, the character of which is eminently accurate and precise. The best results of English education in India are seen in the Native surgeons and in the

Native judges, not in those whose education has been merely literary. Natives have not been successful as engineers. As a rule, they dislike physical exertion that can be avoided. A good engineer must be himself a master of mechanical arts, always ready in case of necessity to make use of his own hands, and this is usually not agreeable to the educated Native.

Almost nothing of our knowledge of ancient or modern India, whether of its history, its languages, or its people, or which can help us in the arduous task of administering this vast empire, has been contributed by men who have been educated in our Indian schools and colleges. These institutions give, in the English language, a more or less good imitation of the purely scholastic part of an ordinary English education, but the young men of India learn in them almost nothing about their own country, or about the Government under which they live, and, least of all, are they taught to be good and loyal citizens.

Sir Henry Maine has pointed out with admirable truth the mischievous results to India of the fact that the English classical literature of the end of the eighteenth century, which we teach in our Colleges, was "saturated with party politics," and that its views are often absolutely false.

"This," he says, "would have been less serious if at this epoch one chief topic of the great writers and rhetoricians—of Burke and Sheridan, of Fox and Francis—had not been India itself. I have no doubt that the view of Indian government taken, at the end of the century, by Englishmen whose work and speeches are held to be models of English style, has had deep effect on the mind of the educated Indian of this day. We are only now beginning to see how excessively inaccurate were their statements of fact and how one-sided were their judgments."[1]

[1] "The Reign of Queen Victoria," *India*, vol. i. p. 506.

The prevailing burden of this literature is, as another eminent man has observed, the duty of "resistance to authority, the doctrine that Governments are always oppressive and unwise, and the canonisation of those who have built up the shrine of liberty with stones plucked from the fortress of tyranny. Much of the hostile attitude we meet with in India is due to the books we have placed in the hands of schoolboys; we have fed them with the invectives of Milton and Burke, and they, with their great imitative faculty, have conceived that we stand to the people of India in the position of the Stuarts and the Georges towards the people of England." This sort of education, in the words of M. Harmand, "is dangerous fare for Asiatic brains. It seems to dislocate all the foundations of what they know and what they feel, to deprive them of moral stability, and to perturb their souls with irresolution to their very depths."[1]

In late years valuable contributions have been made to the history of British India, but it still remains true that the old stories of the crimes by which the establishment of our power in India was attended have been passed on as articles of faith from one author to another. A few students know that for the most part these stories are false, and (to use the words of Sir Alfred Lyall) that "the hardihood and endurance of the men who won for England an empire, were equalled only by the general justice and patience with which they pacified and administered it." These calumnies have caused, and still are causing, no little mischief both in England and in India. Thousands of excellent people are filled with righteous indignation when they read of the atrocious acts of Clive and Hastings, the judicial murder of Nand-

[1] *L'Inde*, Préface de M. Jules Harmand.

kumár, the extermination of the Rohillas, the plunder of the Begums. No suspicion reaches them of the truth that these horrors never occurred, and the fear can hardly be repressed that there may be some foundation even now for charges of Indian misgovernment and oppression. Disparagement of their own countrymen has always been one of the common failings of unwise Englishmen, those "birds of evil presage who," as Burke has told us in a passage that I have already quoted, "have at all times grated our ears with their melancholy song." They find in the supposed crimes of the founders of our Indian empire an unfailing source of invective and obloquy. This false history has been taught by our schools and colleges and universities, and believed by the educated Natives of India to be true. It is impossible that this should not have a serious effect on their feelings towards their English rulers.

We owe to Sir James Stephen, to whom India owes many other debts for good service, "the first attempt (I am quoting the words of Sir Henry Maine) to apply robust, careful, and dispassionate criticism to this period of history." One at least of the imaginary crimes to which I have referred—the judicial murder of Nand-kumár by Impey and Hastings—will hardly again appear in sober history.

The great criminal in this matter was James Mill, whose history, "saturated," if history was ever so saturated, "with party politics," is ordinarily accepted to this day as a veritable history of British India. His "excessive dryness and severity of style," Sir James Stephen says, "produce an impression of accuracy and labour which a study of original authorities does not by any means confirm. . . . His want of accuracy is nothing to his bad faith. My experience is that when

he makes imputations, especially on lawyers, he ought always to be carefully confronted with the original authorities."[1] I should have hesitated even on such authority as that of Sir James Stephen, to accuse an historian not only of inaccuracy but of bad faith, if I did not feel that I had qualified myself to form an independent opinion on the subject.

I have personally had occasion to investigate the facts of perhaps the worst of the crimes of which Hastings has been accused, the sale and extermination of the Rohillas.[2] Several years of my Indian service were passed in the province of Rohilkhand. When I was first sent there, men were still living who remembered having heard in their childhood the story of Háfiz Rahmat, the great Rohilla chief, of his defeat by the English, and his death. I went to Rohilkhand without a doubt of the truth of the terrible story told by Burke and Mill, and by Lord Macaulay in his famous essay, but I soon changed my opinion. I found myself in the midst of a population by which the history of those times had not been forgotten, and of which an important and numerous section consisted of Rohillas, the children and grandchildren of the men whose race was supposed to have been almost exterminated. I was in frequent communication with a Rohilla prince who ruled over a considerable territory which his ancestor owed to Warren Hastings, and which had been in the possession of his family ever since. No one had ever heard of the atrocities which to this day fill Englishmen with shame. Later in life I was able to undertake an examination of the original authorities on the Rohilla

[1] *The Story of Nuncomar and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey*, vol. ii. p. 149.

[2] *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, by Sir John Strachey, 1892.

war, and I can hardly express in moderate language my indignation at the misrepresentations, the suppression of truth, the garbling of documents of which I found that Mill had been guilty. The English army was not hired out by Hastings for the destruction of the Rohillas; the Rohillas, described by Burke as belonging to "the bravest, the most honourable and generous nation on earth," were no nation at all, but a comparatively small body of cruel and rapacious Afghán adventurers who had imposed their foreign rule on an unwilling Hindu population; and the story of their destruction is absolutely fictitious. It was unfortunate that Lord Macaulay accepted Mill as an authority deserving the fullest confidence. There is hardly an important statement of fact in his essay on Warren Hastings which is not taken from Mill's History, or from the equally inaccurate charges and speeches of Burke. I share the admiration which Sir James Stephen has expressed for the services rendered to India by Lord Macaulay, and of him I shall speak no word of disrespect. But it is a misfortune that he was thus misled. I fear that the time is distant when English people will cease to accept his brilliant essays as the chief sources of their knowledge regarding the establishment of our empire in India.

A few words must be added on the subject of the books and newspapers published in India. The number of books that appear every year is large, but the number of new works of permanent value by Native authors, issued from the Indian press, is infinitely small. In 1890-91 there were 5595 publications, of which 2157 were in various vernacular languages, 424 in Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian, and 650 in English. "According to the Official Reporter (I am quoting from Mr. Baines), a few works on Sanskrit texts, with an

occasional drama on a historical occurrence or a subject of the day, are all that are likely to survive the year of their birth. A good deal of this infant mortality, so to speak, seems to be attributable to the very high proportion of the publications which deal with the text-books prescribed for University or School Examinations, or other ephemeral works designed for the same market. . . . A more favourite outlet for budding talent is found in journalism, of which we find 490 exponents in the list. The largest circulation is stated to be 20,000 in the case of one paper in Bengal; about 6000 is the maximum in Bombay, and 5000 in Madras. Elsewhere it seems to rarely reach a thousand. This does not represent, of course, nearly the number of readers."

It is a serious misfortune that discredit should often have been thrown on the results of English education by the foolish talk and disloyal writing of a section of the English-speaking Natives of India. This is chiefly true of the Bengális. Many of them are gifted with a remarkable faculty of fluent speech and writing. Although to our taste their English is often antiquated and magniloquent, few foreigners master so completely the difficulties of our language. Some of their newspapers, published in English, are, so far as the style is concerned, well written, but, with honourable exceptions, little else can be said in their favour. The vernacular press of Bengal has been sometimes distinctly seditious and shamefully scurrilous. This is by no means equally true of some of the other provinces, where many of the newspapers, although they may have little or no value, have at least been conducted with propriety and decorum.

To every one who desires to learn the truth regarding the progress of education in India, the excellent state-

ment of the facts contained in the Report by Mr. Baines on the census of 1891 cannot be too highly commended. Many references have already been made to it, but I may quote also the words with which he concludes his chapter on the "Literacy of the Population." "Where so much is heard as at present of the literate claims of India, it is just as well to define the limitations of that term. It may thus be judged how far the φῶς ἀφεγγής of the handful of people to whom, under the most liberal interpretation, the term can be said to apply, is to be held capable of illuminating the thoughts and conditions of the vast mass from whom the very education, apart from the traditions, of that close corporation, inclines them to stand aloof."

I do not propose to describe how it came to pass that no means were for many years provided by the law in India for punishing the authors of publications that were unquestionably seditious, which stirred up dangerous strife between men of different religions, or were used as the means of levying blackmail from Native princes and Native officials. I doubt whether there is any civilised country in the world where the things would be tolerated which, until a few years ago, were tolerated in India, or where liberty of the Press was interpreted as it was interpreted there. When, in 1835, Lord Macaulay rightly and successfully advocated the abolition of the restrictions then existing on the Press in India—restrictions which no reasonable man would desire to see restored—he said that if the law that he proposed were adopted, "no person would be able to print or publish sedition or calumny without imminent risk of punishment." Lord Macaulay's anticipations were far from being fulfilled. For many years there was no sedition however flagrant, and no calumny

however virulent, that could not be published in India with no risk at all. The Government of Lord Lytton attempted to deal with this subject by a legislative measure of extreme moderation, which placed no real restrictions on the freedom of the Press. Soon afterwards there was a change of Government in England, and all the checks imposed on seditious publications were removed. The evil became worse than ever, until, in 1898, after seditious writing in the public Press, especially in Bombay, had become intolerable and politically dangerous—when serious riots had occurred and British officers had been murdered—it was admitted by all reasonable men that action could no longer be delayed. The Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure were amended by the Government of Lord Elgin in a manner which placed no restrictions on the absolute freedom of the Press to criticise or condemn, in language consistent with loyalty to our rule, any of the proceedings of the Government, but which at the same time brought the law into a shape in which it fulfilled the requirements declared, more than sixty years before, to be necessary by so true a friend to the liberty of the Press as Lord Macaulay.