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SECOND EDITION, with INTRODUCTION.

A3-001863

OUR EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA.

DEDICATED BY PERMISSION

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE VISCOUNT HALIFAX, P.C., G.C.B.,

AUTHOR OF

THE "DESPATCH ON GENERAL EDUCATION IN INDIA" OF 1854.

BY THE

REV. JAMES JOHNSTON.

"The main object of the despatch" of 1854, containing the present Code of Education for India, "is to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes, upon whom they had up to that date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses."—*Parliamentary Blue Book*, 1870.

"And now, after a lapse of twenty years, the emergent unavoidable question is, Why are there not plain indications of its speedy accomplishment? Is it not owing to the lack of 'faithfulness to its principles in the Education Department, tolerated by the Bengal Government.'—*Allahabad Mission Conference*, 1873.

FOURTH THOUSAND.

EDINBURGH: JOHN MACLAREN & SON.

GLASGOW: DAVID BRYCE & SON.

LONDON: JAMES NISBET & CO.

1880.

One Shilling.

2,80.00(13)



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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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INTRODUCTION TO SECOND EDITION.

No YOUTH in the world stood more in need of sound intellectual and moral training than that of India. In no nation was there more need for education being based on the pure morality of the Word of God, and the holy example of the Saviour of men, when Government awoke to its responsibility to give instruction to its Indian subjects.

Under the erroneous impression that to teach religion would imperil the empire, schools and colleges were set up, without any recognition of religion, at the expense of, and under the direct control of, the Government, which soon produced the evils which might have been expected in such circumstances and with such a population.

Had the East Indian Government been as well acquainted with India and human nature as was the late Lord Lawrence, they would have known that their fears were groundless. The following words from an old despatch are worthy of that true Christian statesman :—

“Sir John Lawrence does entertain the earnest belief that all those measures which are really and truly Christian can be carried out in India ; not only without danger to British rule, but, on the contrary, with every advantage to its stability. Christian things done in a Christian way will never, the Chief Commissioner is convinced, alienate the heathen.”



It was in 1853 that I first saw the injurious effects of the operation of direct education in the higher departments of study by the Government, and the great good that might be effected, by a judicious assistance of independent effort on the part of the natives, by calling forth the liberality of British residents, and encouraging the labours of missionary societies.

The publication of the Education Despatch of 1854 was hailed by the friends of India as the wisest and best solution of a great and difficult question, which, in the circumstances, could be expected, although some ardent and enthusiastic Christians looked for a more decided and even aggressive policy in regard to Christian teaching.

Christian educationists saw that if the provisions for aiding equally, native and mission schools and colleges, as was most explicitly promised and provided for in the Despatch, were faithfully carried out, there would be no difficulty in the way of the rapid and almost indefinite extension of Christian instruction; not by asking any special favour for their institutions over those of the natives; not by any forcing of Christianity by Government authority; but by the natural and laudable method of providing the highest form of education in secular studies, along with the knowledge of Divine truth and the love of God, which commend themselves to the understanding and heart even of the heathen, when taught in a loving and sympathetic spirit.

It was their ardent hope that the moral, social, and political evils which they saw and lamented, as the inevitable outcome of direct Government education without religion, would in a large measure disappear,



along with the Government colleges which were chiefly responsible for them; and that they would be able to do a great work for the Government and people of India, by raising up enlightened and loyal youths, trained in sound moral principles, and if not Christian in profession, largely imbued with Christian truth and respect for Christian character, as exemplified by, and admired in, their Christian teachers.

For these five-and-twenty years I have watched the operation of that Education Despatch in silence, and have seen it year by year more and more perverted from its original design. The higher education has been fostered and pampered, and the lower education, to a like extent, comparatively neglected. Direct education in Government colleges, instead of being withdrawn, has been largely extended, and aided colleges discouraged and reduced. And of late years I have seen what was formerly cold indifference, on the part of influential Government servants, turned into positive aversion to our best Christian colleges, which are now, in some cases, threatened with extinction.

Not having been engaged in the work, and having never come into conflict with either system, and these last twenty years being a minister at home, and equally independent of all parties, I hope to deal with the question, as far as possible, free from prejudice or passion.

If prejudice were to sway my judgment, it would be in favour of a bold recognition of religion by the Government, and the public teaching of the Bible in Government schools and colleges on a grand national system of education. It is with reluctance and pain that I am driven to the conclusion, that such a system is not suited to the present condition of India, and the circumstances of the case.



Every careful reader of the following pages, will see that it is not the Government, either at home or in India, with which I find fault, and the question is happily quite free from any political or party bearing. Abundant proof is given that Government has never intentionally or formally departed from the original intention of the Despatch of 1854. The Government of the late Lord Derby ratified the Act of their predecessors in office in the important Despatch of 1859, issued after the suppression of the mutiny of 1857, and the present Governor-General, Lord Lytton, as will be seen from a recent speech, is as loyal to the spirit of the Despatch as any who has occupied the viceregal throne.

Any fault I may find with the Government at home, is a lack of watchfulness, in not seeing that their intention was carried out, and any complaint against the Government in India, is, that it has allowed the management of this department of its work to fall into the wrong hands; the hands of those personally engaged in tuition, who from their profession and circumstances are, however good their intentions, incapable of understanding the wants of the country, or the defect of their own systems. In a letter lately received from one of the most eminent Christian educators in India, he says of his own "Province": "Our Government cannot be called hostile to us; but they are supremely indifferent to the whole question, and just throw the reins on the Director's neck."

It is in no spirit of hostility to Government that I take up my pen, but with a desire to lay facts before our rulers, and to assist in forming a sound public opinion to support them in doing what will be a difficult and in some respects a painful duty.



I have cause for satisfaction with the impression produced on many, by the first issue of this pamphlet. None of those who denied the accuracy of my interpretation of the Education Despatch in former brief publications, have questioned the thoroughness of the proofs in this more complete form. But, that there might be no possibility of doubt on this vital point, I resolved to add to the cogency of logical demonstration, the additional weight of authoritative testimony.

The highest authority I could consult was the author of the Despatch of 1854, Sir Charles Wood, then President of "the Board of Control," and afterwards H.M. Secretary of State for India, and now as Viscount Halifax ably taking his part in the House of Lords, especially in questions of Indian policy. On forwarding a copy of the first edition, with the request that his Lordship would favour me with his candid opinion as to the construction I had put on his Education Despatch, I had the satisfaction of receiving the following reply :—

"HICKLETON, DONCASTER,
"5th July, 1879.

"SIR,—I only reached home two or three days ago, and I have lost no time in reading your pamphlet on Education in India.

"I have read it with the greatest interest. You give a most accurate account of the intention and purport of the Despatch of 1854. The subject was one of great importance, and great care was taken in framing the Despatch.

"I have never seen any reason to doubt the wisdom of the course which was then taken. The views expressed in it were well received by all who took an interest in Indian education, and I have good reason to be grateful to many of the best Indians for the manner in which they have spoken of it.



"The great object was to promote the *general* education of the *people* of India, and to leave the higher and richer portion of the population to provide *mainly* for their own education. It was the grant-in-aid system, applied in India to schools of all religions, so far as the mass of the people were concerned, as applied in this country to Church and Dissenting schools. The upper classes were to contribute largely to their own education as they practically do at the English Universities. All this, of course, *mutatis mutandis*: in a country so unlike England as India.

"I am very sorry to see from your pamphlet how far this principle has been departed from, and how large a portion of the grants devoted to educational purposes in India is applied to the higher branches.

"This is entirely contrary to the intention of the Despatch of 1854, which has been followed up since, and is the recognised policy of the Home Government of India, and is in my opinion quite wrong.—I remain, your obd. servt.,

"HALIFAX.

"The Rev. J. JOHNSTON."

THE EARL OF DERBY.

The present Earl of Derby, who, when Lord Stanley, succeeded Sir Charles Wood as Secretary of State for India under the ministry of his noble father, in the Despatch of 1859 says in reference to that of 1854, "Her Majesty's Government would be very reluctant to disturb existing rules by any change of system which might give occasion to misapprehension;" and regarding the disputed point—the withdrawal of Government from direct education—he is most explicit. In paragraph 46 he says, "It being hoped THAT PRIVATE SCHOOLS AIDED BY GOVERNMENT WOULD EVENTUALLY TAKE THE PLACE *universally* OF THE SEVERAL CLASSES OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS."



THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Judging from the despatches which I find in Government returns, no man took such a watchful and intelligent interest in the question of education in India as His Grace the Duke of Argyll while he held the office of H.M. Secretary for India from 1868-74.

Along with the first issue of the following pamphlet, I sent a copy of Lord Halifax's letter, with the request that his Grace would say whether his views of the Despatch of 1854 were substantially the same as those of his Lordship. To explain the reference in the reply to education by missionaries, I should mention that I had expressed my fear lest missionaries should be compelled to relinquish the higher teaching, owing to the rules laid down for aided schools and colleges not being carried out according to the letter and spirit of the Despatch.

The following is the brief but important answer with which I am favoured, written during a short interval of well-earned rest :—

“‘COLUMBA’ YACHT,
“OBAN, 25th August, 1879.

“REV. SIR,—I have been yachting, and unable sooner to reply to your letter of the 14th.

“I have not seen the pamphlet which it refers to. But I may say at once, that Lord Halifax's letter, of which you enclose a copy, represents the general view which I am disposed to take of the important subject you refer to.

“When I return home I hope to be able to read the pamphlet.

“I should be very sorry to hear that the missionaries had to give up their efforts for the education of India, unless it can be shown that a better substitute has been provided.—
Your obedient servant,

“ARGYLL.”



OPINION OF LORD LYTTON, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

In a recent speech addressed to the University and Government College of the Punjab, His Excellency is reported to have advocated the withdrawal of direct Government education in the higher departments, in language more clear and forcible than I have employed. His words are—

“There are still a great many learned, philanthropic, and enthusiastic persons who held, and hold, that it is the duty of the British Government in India to cover this country with educational hot-beds and forcing-houses, and provide a permanent artificial supply of high-class, and, I may say, high-pressure, education, quite regardless of the existence or non-existence of any natural demand for it. I confess that I could never share that opinion, and therefore *I am thankful that the rule was then at least laid down, that Government colleges and schools in India should be regarded, not as permanent institutions, but simply as an initiatory stimulant to the natural growth of that popular demand for education, which, when sufficiently developed, is sure to find its natural supply in flourishing private institutions.*”

VIEWS OF THE COMMISSIONER OF HYDERABAD ASSIGNED DISTRICTS.

To show that the highest representatives of Government are still sound in their views, and desire to see the Despatch faithfully carried out, I might quote from many official judgments which have been passed during these many years. I shall give one so clearly expressing my own views, that I could wish for nothing more than to see it enforced. But, unhappily, the same views have been expressed a hun-



dred times by Governors and Commissioners, and have produced no results beyond an annual letter or two on either side, and a return to the *status quo*. Large official bodies are not easily moved from the ruts deeply worn by professional habits and vested interests.

In reviewing the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for the Province, he says:—

“It is an easy thing to open schools with Government funds; the difficult thing is to induce the people to start and support their own schools.

“Hitherto we have been almost too well off (in official revenues). The desire for education is undoubtedly spreading. Petitions for new schools are, the Director writes, ‘flung into my tonga,’ and can now be gratified only by making the people pay a part of the cost of what they want. . . .

“What I would urge is that, in the *interest of education*, the Director is bound to do something to increase the number of aided schools, *and to show that he looks forward to the day when the functions of his office will be confined to two, viz., inspection and training of teachers*. NO YEAR WILL BE REGARDED BY ME AS QUITE A SATISFACTORY YEAR, IN WHICH NO STEP SHALL HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO THIS END.”

THE LATE RIGHT HON. LORD LAWRENCE.

There is one other authority to which I must refer, one whose recent death the nation mourns—the late Lord Lawrence, the “Saviour of our Indian Empire” in the rebellion of 1857—one whose sympathy and encouragement in this movement has sustained me amidst opposition and difficulties. In acknowledging my first brief paper on the duty of Government to withdraw from direct teaching in colleges and higher schools, his Lordship wrote: “I concur generally in



your views, but the matter would require delicate handling, and could only be carried out by very slow degrees."

After naming some distinguished men whose opinion on the subject would be worth having, his Lordship suggested a meeting in London to consult as to what course ought to be taken, and in a subsequent letter expressed his willingness to call such a meeting in his own house, as from the state of his health he was not able to attend public meetings. I grieve to think that no such meeting can now be held under his distinguished presidency, and aided by his extensive knowledge and great sagacity. I fondly hope that amidst his many admirers, some will be ready to assist in carrying out his wishes on this subject.

I give the last note with which I was favoured in regard to a report which I had drawn up on this subject, of which the present pamphlet is only an expansion. There is no recommendation in the latter which was not in the former. It was sent to his Lordship with the request that he would kindly suggest any alteration that he thought needful. The following is his reply :—

"23 QUEEN'S GATE GARDENS, S.W.,

"19th February, 1879.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have read over the proof copy of the proposed report of the Free Church on Higher Education among the natives in India. I do not feel disposed to suggest any alterations in it. In its general scope and object I agree; but I think that any change such as is suggested in reducing the expenditure of the Government on Higher Education, should only be gradually and cautiously carried out, or else it would raise a cry which might do harm. I think the best plan would be for some time longer to appeal to the public opinion in England and India, in the way



this report is calculated to do. . . . These appear to be the views of those I have consulted, in which I concur.—
Yours faithfully,

“LAWRENCE.

“Rev. JAMES JOHNSTON, &c.”

THE TIME FOR ACTION IN THIS COUNTRY.

That the present is the proper time for taking up this question, is now admitted by those who have seriously given their minds to the consideration of it. If not prosecuted with energy now, it must be abandoned for ever. Matters cannot continue as they are. Christian educators in India had done their best and failed to induce Government there to carry out the principles of the Despatch of 1854, and now appeal to friends at home to approach Government. Private individuals, like myself and others, had begun to call attention to the subject last year, and public bodies have taken it up. The Church Missionary Society, which has done so much for education in India, addressed a circular to all similar societies in this country in the month of January last, in which they say :—

“The Committee of the Church Missionary Society feel that the time has come when a strong representation should be made to the Home Government on this subject, which is of so momentous concern to our fellow-subjects in India. In common with other Missionary Societies, they heartily welcome the Despatch of 1854. . . . They now, however, see the principle of the Despatch to a great extent reversed ; the grant-in-aid system discouraged rather than fostered ; the chief efforts of Government expended in providing education for those who could provide it for themselves, or for whom it could be otherwise provided ; the primary education of the masses left to a large extent untouched ; and the weight of the authority of Government given meanwhile



to a view of education which is sure in time to produce results disastrous to the moral and social wellbeing of the country."

It has been demonstrated in the following pages, and established by clear and emphatic testimony that the design of the Despatch of 1854 was to extend *general* education to the *people* of India, and to leave the higher education to be provided, with partial aid from Government, at the expense of the richer classes who desired it, and by the benevolent associations of natives and foreigners interested in the welfare of the youth of India—of these happily there are many. We are therefore fully justified in demanding that a large proportion of Government grants be devoted to the education of the poor.

By the present working of the Act, this reasonable and generous policy is reversed. Upwards of £186,000 is expended on the higher education of a few in Government schools, and only £86,000 on the poor in the whole of India, with the addition of a small sum given in the form of grants-in-aid to native and mission schools.

It will also be seen that we are fully justified in demanding that the economical system of grants-in-aid, as provided for in the Despatch, should be extended, and the costly Government colleges be gradually withdrawn. It is utterly inexcusable that the sum of £92,000 should be spent on educating 3300 young men in Government colleges, when, as we show, half that number are now educated in aided colleges at the small cost to Government of about £8000.

In the Government colleges each student costs the Imperial Treasury, on an average, £28 a-year. Those educated in aided colleges only cost the Government a



little over £5 per annum. And they could educate twice, or even three times the number they now teach, at a very trifling cost to the institutions, and without any additional charge to the Government.

When I call attention to the fact, that education in Government colleges leads to irreligion, discontent, and disloyalty, let it be distinctly understood that I neither lay the entire blame on Government colleges for the effects produced, nor do I exempt other colleges from producing, in many cases, like results. I know that light in its purest form cannot be shed into the dark chambers of heathenism without causing keen mental conflicts, which may be expected to lead to errors on the most vital subjects. We need not wonder at the unhinging of religious beliefs and the adoption of dangerous opinions in morals and politics. What I do object to, is, first, that Government knowingly employ the money of their heathen subjects to uproot, by indirect means, the belief of the youth of India, when there is no necessity for their doing so, and second, when they know that they are robbing the natives of their gods, they offer no substitute to fill the aching void, which they are responsible for having made.

That the conduct of the Government, or rather of those to whom they have "thrown the reins," is unjustifiable in the *present* circumstances of India, is seen in the great and growing demand for Education which is shown in the following pages, enough to ensure the supply of means; and educational agencies are now in the field, which can be easily extended to meet the largest possible demand.

A weak objection is made to the proposal to withdraw the colleges supported by Government, on the ground, that if the natives came forward in any force



to supply their place, the effect would be the same, as the higher education necessarily overturns their heathen systems, based as they are on physical errors.

But surely there is a vast difference between undermining the religious beliefs of the Heathen by Government officials, in Government colleges, paid out of Government taxes derived from a heathen population, and the Heathen upsetting their own creed, in their own colleges, by teachers of their own choice.

As to any discontent or disloyalty, there would be no excuse for either, on the ground of false hopes being excited, as I have shown in the following pages is the case by the present system.

There would still be the mental ferment, and in many cases the moral chaos, which are almost inevitable at a time of transition from a condition of mental and moral darkness and of political tyranny, to a new era of intellectual light and comparative liberty.

These being the effects of light infused voluntarily and naturally by native institutions, and not proceeding from a system introduced by a foreign power professing a hostile creed, would pass away. That wretched state of the human mind—*unbelief*—a state of negation and vacuity, which nature abhors, will not last more than a generation, if left to the voluntary operation of natural laws and the voluntary action of religious truth.

Besides, if the provisions of the Despatch were carried out, we have the best reason to anticipate a rapid increase of the numbers attending the mission colleges, which are every year gaining more and more the confidence of the natives. The positive inculcation of true religion and sound principles of social order by disinterested parties, would lead to the most beneficial results.



THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES TO BE GAINED BY FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT THE PROVISION OF THE DESPATCH OF 1854, AS ADVOCATED IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES.

1st. It would free the Government in India from a false position, in tacitly sanctioning the evasion, and in some cases the open violation by their own "Directors of Public Instruction" of the rules laid down for the education of the people, and it would deliver our home Government from the sin and folly of allowing the spread of discontent and disloyalty in its name.

2nd. It would lead to the gradual withdrawal of large sums now needlessly lavished on the higher education of the rich, and their employment in the much needed elementary instruction of the poor.

3rd. It would encourage self-reliance and independence in the upper classes of society, and foster the spirit of beneficence amongst both natives and Europeans in the support of institutions for the higher education—of themselves an important part of a nation's education.

4th. By substituting more largely the grant-in-aid, for *direct* Government instruction, they would greatly increase the means at their disposal for extending education in all its departments, without increasing the demands on the Government exchequer—at present not in a condition to be more largely drawn upon.

5th. It would free the higher Aided-Institutions from that unhealthy competition which now greatly hinders their influence for the moral and religious good of the youth of India, and it would vastly increase the sphere of their usefulness, without increasing the cost of their maintenance. In fact, the higher educa-



tion might ere long become largely self-supporting. Some of the higher schools have now reached that happy consummation.

6th. It would prepare the way for education being put on a better and safer platform.

Without lowering the standard for a few of the *élite* of the youth of India, the course of instruction for the many could be much better adapted to the present state of Indian culture. For the "high pressure" of which Lord Lytton and many of the wisest educators have complained—a system of STIMULANTS which Asiatic minds would be better without, and of *cramming* which only clogs the brain with food it cannot assimilate, there might be substituted a system broader and deeper, fitted to give sobriety and solidity to the reasoning powers, to revive and strengthen the moral faculties, and to impart purity and life to the spiritual nature.

For these and other ends which might be secured, I earnestly and reasonably hope for a careful perusal of the following pages.

I am thankful to have the honoured name of the author of the Despatch on which our educational policy was based a quarter of a century ago, on the title-page to secure attention. I trust to the accuracy of my statements, and the soundness of my inferences, to secure the confidence of my readers, and through their influence the honest fulfilment of its wise provisions.



OUR EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA.

I PROPOSE to treat briefly of the educational methods by which the Government of our country has sought, to bestow the benefits of a higher civilisation, and the Church of Christ, to confer the still higher blessings of Christianity on our empire in India, to show what the results of those methods have been, and to call attention to certain changes, in the present modes of procedure, which seem essential to the attainment of the important ends desired by the Church and the Government. Object in writing.

The subject is both important and urgent. It bears directly on the highest wellbeing of two hundred millions of our fellow-subjects, it involves the stability of our empire in India, it affects the higher interest of the kingdom of God.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH.

There are three periods of our history in India which may be characterised by their appropriate symbols—the ell-wand, the sword, and the sceptre. Three periods. The first, or mercantile, which still continues an important feature, had an imperial style and stamp upon it from the first, and the military character of our rule, which has existed side by side with the earliest adventures of commerce, is still painfully prominent in the third period of settled government; still, as we shall show, there is a marked predominance of the three characteristics, trade, conquest, and legislation, at the periods referred to.

FIRST PERIOD.—TRADE.

For about a hundred years trade was the special, we may say the exclusive, object of the East India Company.* East India Company. By

* Appendix A.



the habits of its members, as well as the nature of its constitution, it could not be otherwise. It is expressly laid down in the original charter, that the Company was to consist of merchants only. In the language of the period, "no *gentlemen* were to be members of the Company," and so tenacious were the "Governor and Company" of this feature of their charter, that when the Court party wished to give the command of the first fleet of merchantmen to Sir Edward Michelborne, they refused his services on the ground of his being a *gentleman*, saying they "would sort their business with men of their own quality." Until the end of the seventeenth century gain was the great pursuit. It is not pleasant to look back upon the means employed for the attainment of their sordid ends, and it is not my intention to form an estimate of the character of the men, or the morality of their commercial transactions. The extension of trade, protection of their monopoly, and large profits were the ends they never lost sight of, and which they pursued with a courage, sagacity, and perseverance worthy of the highest aims of moral agents—the pursuit of virtue, the good of men.

SECOND PERIOD.—CONQUEST.

The Company
afflicted with
earth-hunger.

It was not until the year 1689 that the East India Company entered on a new line of policy. In that year we find them openly aspiring to independent authority in the East. In the language of Mr. Mill, "It was then laid down as a determined object of policy that independence was to be established in India, and dominion acquired." At that date they wrote to their agents: "The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care as much as our trade." They resolved to be "a nation in India," and held up to their servants the example of the Dutch, who, they say, in sending advices to their governors, "wrote ten paragraphs regarding tribute for one relative to trade."

Trade tribute.

This tribute they evidently looked on not as a revenue for the maintenance of a government ruling for the benefit of the people, but as a new and fruitful source of profit to the Company. Conquest was sought, not from motives of ambition, that "infirmity of noble minds;" but from the



lower and more degrading infirmity—the love of money. It is true that ambitious men often got the power into their own hands, and aimed at conquest more for its own sake than for the material advantages to be gained; and what seemed incidental circumstances often led to wars which were far from profitable to the Company. A mysterious hand seemed to lead them on from one war of defence or aggression to another, until by the end of another century the trading Company had become masters of an empire more populous than that of Alexander or the Cæsars. Up to this time we can trace no well-defined, far less systematic, plans for the benefit of India. Great generals, able governors, good men did appear and strove hard to introduce beneficent plans for the government of the country or the benefit of portions of it over which they had control; but the system was adverse to any great or beneficent measures, a selfish policy of gain and aggrandisement was the order of the day.

A higher Power
leading.

THIRD PERIOD.—LEGISLATION.

It was not until about the beginning of the present century that we find a clear and decisive change in the policy of the Company; and that originated not from within, but from without. It was in the British Parliament that the change was effected.

The charter of the Company had to be renewed every twenty years, and new powers were claimed by Parliament as the possessions of this imperial trading corporation increased; a sense of responsibility began to manifest itself in the Legislature when the subject was discussed in 1793. It was not, however, until the renewal of the charter in 1813 that the conscience of the country was really aroused to a sense of the solemn obligations which our great power and vast territories in India imposed.

Responsibility
realised.

It was to a small body of men that we owe the beginning of a new era in our relations with India—a compact phalanx of true patriots, whose greatness arose from the soundness of their moral principles and the purity of their motives, and whose power sprang from the strength of their convictions. The same noble band of men who achieved

The "Clapham
Sect."



the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, were the means of introducing into East India sound principles of government and the blessings of education and religion.

The contest was keen, but what the wisdom and experience of Grant and the eloquence of Wilberforce failed to obtain in 1793 was secured in 1813. The movement in the direction of a higher moral tone in the government of India, and a desire to improve the condition of the people, to liberate them from many of their own barbarous and immoral customs, and to free the government from sinful complicity in the idolatrous practices of the heathen, were greatly aided by the writings of Claudius Buchanan, the son of a Scotch schoolmaster, under the patronage of distinguished Indian statesmen such as Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto. Buchanan was sent out by Mr. Henry Thornton, one of the leaders of the "Clapham men," as a chaplain to the Company.

Charter of
1813.

From the year 1781 the Legislature had been asserting its right to a voice in the government of India, at first through one of the responsible advisers of the Crown, and a few years after by a "Board of Control," and in 1793 several members of the Privy Council were placed upon the "Board" with large powers in all matters of imperial policy.

In 1813 the monopoly of the trade with India was abolished, and that with China followed in 1823. In fact, "the Company" as a body of traders practically ceased to exist. Instead of each of its members and servants, as at first, being of the trading class, none of the employees of the Government are now allowed to engage in trade on their own account, and as one consequence of this change of policy, the character of the service has from that time gone on in the march of improvement, and for many years the public servants of the Crown in India have been as distinguished for honour, justice, and benevolence as they had always been for talent, energy, and courage.

Our responsibility
national
and personal.

It is not, however, my intention to describe the nature of the new charter or the effects of its operation. I refer to the change for two reasons.

First, to call attention to the fact, that *the nation* has been from that time responsible for the government of



India, and, that we are individually responsible for the action of our Government in the East, as well as at home,—that we cannot escape from our obligation for national sins and duties towards our fellow-subjects in India.

We are all the more under moral obligations to our fellow-subjects in India from the fact, that they have no representative voice in the choice of their rulers. They are still, and for many a day must continue to be, governed as a conquered race. Our government is *paternal in form*, we are the more bound to see that it is *paternal in character*. The position of our country as a Christian nation, with the destiny of two hundred millions of an alien race in our hands, is the most solemn ever assigned by an overruling Providence to any nation upon earth. This sense of responsibility is intensified by the consideration, that these millions of our fellow-subjects are nearly all Muhammadan or heathen.

Government paternal in form.

Should be paternal in fact.

My second reason, for calling attention to the change in the relation of the Legislature to the people of India, is to arrest attention on this other fact, that the most important and beneficent measures for the amelioration and improvement of the condition of the native of India have been carried out by *the Home Government*.

Reform must come from Parliament.

Great and good men in India have originated and planned most valuable measures, but under the old *régime* they were comparatively powerless to carry them into effect. The interests of trade and profits stood in the way, and blinded the eyes of the Directors to any change merely for the benefit of the native. But since the establishment of the "Board of Control" in 1793, and by more recent measures, Parliament have taken the reins into their own hands, there is a desire to rule for the higher and unselfish ends of government. The heart and conscience of the nation have, to a large extent, been reached, and do now sincerely seek the good of India. If the attention of the Government and the sympathy of Parliament can be fixed on any real grievance, there is a fair prospect of its removal; and, convince our rulers at home of any obvious benefit to be sought by legislation, and if practicable, there is hope that it will be conferred. Under the old rule in India a deaf ear was turned to any change

Improvement
must originate
at home.

purely in the interest of the native population; and even now it is difficult to carry out some of the most important measures that have been passed into law, owing to the obstructions put in the way of the Administration in India, by the prejudices of natives and a few of the old residents, and still more by the host of vested interests and selfish claims which spring up like the rank weeds of the tropics, and choke the good seed of benevolent legislation.

It is in this country that Indian questions must be taken up, and it is by the Houses of Parliament that measures must be carried, and their execution vigilantly watched. With the assistance of the able and experienced members of the Council for India, it can be most advantageously done. In saying this, I make no reflection on the disinterestedness and benevolence of the Government in India. Their position and circumstances are such that they often cannot carry out their best schemes. Like all *local* governing bodies, they are at a disadvantage; on the one hand, subject to the authority of the Home Government, and, on the other, exposed to the obstructions or the influence of interested parties, or the clamour and opposition of the discontented on the spot. We know the difficulties of local governments in our own country, on a small scale, and among an enlightened people. It is far worse there, amidst a host of ignorant and excitable natives, easily led by a handful of clever agitators. It is a real kindness in the Government and Council in this country, to limit and guide the Government and Council in India.

Character of
third period.

This third period is one in which the ages of commercial adventure and military conquest are dominated by a higher and nobler spirit than those which preceded it—a spirit by no means tame or unambitious, but, on the whole, a more peaceable and less aggressive age—an age in which war was more of a necessity for the sake of peace, or what might perhaps be thought a more secure frontier. Commerce may have become less dignified when deprived of the stately crutches of monopoly, and the keen edge of a cutting competition may have lowered her moral tone. The military spirit has not been at rest, and legislative measures have been far from satisfactory. Still, no one can dispassionately read the history of our rule in India, from the beginning

Higher tone.



of the present century, without feeling that he is in the Measures.
presence of a high-minded and earnest race of men, seeking to fulfil the grave responsibilities laid upon them by the possession of such an empire. After a careful perusal of many of the voluminous "Blue Books" laid before Parliament from year to year, I can testify to an evident desire to promote the welfare of that great country committed to us by a mysterious Providence.

The careful inquiries made every year into the state of the country, as to its "material and moral progress," and the working of its educational institutions, the minute and elaborate reports with statistical tables, drawn up with great labour, are unmistakable evidences of an earnest solicitude for the general welfare of the country, worthy, in most respects, of a wise and paternal government. Careful oversight.

If from measures we turn to the men who have governed India, we are struck by the large number in every department, civil and military, who distinguished themselves, and shed a lustre on our country by their character and deeds—to name them all would crowd our pages, to name a few would be invidious. The highest moral and intellectual powers of true manhood have been illustrated by them on a stage so conspicuous, and a scale so large, that they have not only benefited vast multitudes by their noble deeds, but have fired the imagination and roused the emulation of the youth of our country. Our rule in India has enlarged the views and stimulated the virtues of our rulers and our people. Character of public men.

The one grand error which has vitiated almost all our relations to the people of India, and to which my subject requires that I call attention, is our neglecting to acknowledge God in the government of that country—worse than neglect, our deliberate and persistent determination not to honour the God of heaven in our official acts, not even in the education of the people. A fundamental error.

I frankly admit the difficulty of the position. It would have required great faith as well as great courage, in the little band of adventurers who first laid the foundation of our empire—a mere handful in the presence of an overwhelming host of fanatical idolaters, or still more fanatical



Muhammadans—to proclaim their determination to rule in the name of the one God of the Christian, and to regulate their government by the principles of His sacred Book. Though I am convinced, that even then, their character would have been more respected, and their rule more trusted by the heathen, had they frankly declared their faith and principles. I also admit that when our Home Government took the direct responsibility for the government of India into their own hands, they were hampered by the legacy of that rule, and the practice and precedent of so many years' standing.

Difficulty
admitted.

An oppor-
tunity missed.

The revolt of 1857, which cancelled unrighteous obligations, abolished dual government, and led to direct imperial rule, was a grand opportunity for a reversal of the vicious policy of their predecessors, while the open proclamation of its continuance, turned, that which had been formerly the offence of individuals, or the errors of a Company, into a national sin, and an imperial injury to India.*

A Government surrounded by and ruling over a vast population, which had been accustomed to perform every act, whether good or bad, private or public, in the name of a God, was placed in a false and perilous position by its neutrality. The Hindu invoked his god at all times, and in everything he did; and his rulers, whether native or foreign, heathen or Muhammadan, ruled in the name of their god. The native could not understand any other basis or authority for government than the Divine. To assert authority on the ground of mere force or military superiority was a deeper degradation to him. With his primitive notions, he would have preferred to be ruled by a people whose God had given them power to subdue them; and if the government exercised in His name, had been from the first wise and tolerant and just, we would have gained his obedience and respect, if not his affection and confidence.

Not a practical
question at
present.

But this, I fear, is not now a practical question. It is vain to hope for any radical and beneficial change in present circumstances. It would now excite a not unreasonable suspicion to introduce a change, without some adequate and obvious grounds for an alteration of policy. Circum-

* See Appendix B.



stances may arise to justify such a step, but as I cannot see how they can arise, except through another revolt, or some justification of a great display of our power, and a call for a fresh proclamation of our authority, I dare neither desire nor advocate such a change. I could not avoid asserting the principle, both because it is sound in policy, and because of its bearing on the question of education.

The want of a Divine authority, and a sacred rule of action to appeal to, became painfully manifest when Government, under a sense of its responsibility, took steps to elevate the moral as well as the intellectual condition of the people. This came out in the despatches of the earlier half of the present century.

Want of a
Divine autho-
rity, rule, and
motive.

We have an illustration of this want of an adequate rule and motive in a despatch of the Court of Directors of 1827. They dwelt "on the importance of raising up educated natives of high moral character for the discharge of public duties." They say: "To this, the last and highest object of education, we expect that a large share of your attention will be applied. We desire that the discipline of these [educational] institutions may be mainly directed towards raising among the students that rational self-esteem which is the best security against degrading sins; and we particularly direct that the greatest pains may be taken to create habits of veracity and fidelity, by inspiring the youth with a due sense of their importance, and by distinguishing, with the approbation of Government or its discontinuance, those who do, or do not, possess these qualifications."

Now, nothing could be better than the *aim* of this despatch and the *intentions* of the Directors. To elevate the moral character, to inculcate veracity and fidelity, to bestow rewards on the upright, and withdraw them from the dishonest, are most important. We applaud the aims and honour the Directors for their good intentions. But mark the utter inadequacy of means to the end.

There is no moral standard to appeal to, no Divine authority to overawe or encourage, no future rewards beyond the temporary salaries of the inferior offices in the Company's service. They cannot quote the purer portions of the Shastras, the better portions of the Koran, nor the sacred



words of Scripture—that would be teaching religion. They dare not appeal to the authority of the many gods of heathenism, the one God of Islam, nor the Triune God of Christianity—that would be theology. Their system shuts them out from an appeal to the rewards and punishments of a future state. The transmigrations of the Hindu, the paradise of the Muhammadan, and the heaven of the Christian are all excluded as beyond the prescribed region of the *secular* instruction to which they have limited the entire circle of knowledge.

Poor substitutes.

The only standard to which they can direct the youth of India is a "RATIONAL SELF-ESTEEM," which they declare is "*the best security against degrading vices.*" The only motives to virtuous action are hope of the rewards of Government service, and the fear of their withdrawal. In other words, *self-esteem* is made to take the place of conscience. "The Company" takes the place of a personal Divine Providence, and the payment or withdrawal of paltry wages are to be the rewards and punishments of the educated natives of India.

The system a failure.

Is it surprising that such a system of education should fail? That the "rational self-esteem" should in the great majority of cases develop itself in the form of intolerable self-conceit; and that "John Coompany," as this new divinity was irreverently called by the precocious youths who had been emancipated from all faith in the more formidable gods of their fathers, should be regarded as a usurper or imposter,—his rewards, when bestowed, received without gratitude, and when withheld his authority despised and his government hated?

When such principles are adopted, and such a position assumed, by a company of merchants, however respectable, it excites contempt or ridicule; when accepted by a Christian government it calls forth a deep sense of humiliation and sorrow.

INTRODUCTION AND INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT EDUCATION.

Historical
sketch from
1813.

It is desirable that we briefly sketch the origin, the diffusion, and results of the Government education in India.

In renewing the charter in 1813, Parliament required,

in addition to many material advantages conferred on the natives, and religious privileges given to the Christian Church and to the British residents in India, that the modest sum of £10,000 should be devoted by the Company to the encouragement of education. This sum was expended partly in improving and extending the higher vernacular education of the natives, and still more in encouraging the study of the Eastern classics—Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian—and in the translation of scientific and classic works from the English into the vernacular languages of India. At the commencement of that period the use of English as a medium of education was not thought of.

The origin of the idea of using the English language as a means of educating the youth of India, and introducing them to the rich treasures of the Western literature—treasures greater far than the gold and precious stones of India, which for centuries fired the imagination and excited the cupidity of Europe, for some time baffled inquiry. I looked for some great genius as the founder of such a system, and for profound philosophic principles on which its foundation had been laid, but looked in vain. It was not until long after the system had been in practice, and its influence felt, that philosophers discussed it, and Government adopted it.

Origin of the use of the English language.

From missionary notices, it appeared that in 1818 the Serampore Mission established a school for teaching English to the natives of India, without requiring their attendance on religious exercises, and in the same year Dr. Inglis, who was the founder of educational missions, preached a sermon in Edinburgh, in which he urged the adoption of the English language as the means for attracting the Hindus, and bringing them under the influence of the Gospel. On further inquiry, however, it was apparent that while the employment of English as a moral or missionary agency in India was first used or advocated by Marshman and Inglis, the discovery was made, like many great discoveries, by a seeming accident, but what was in reality the carrying out of the simple law of supply and demand. There had long been a felt need for a knowledge of English by the natives, for the sake of employment in English families and warehouses, and



Mr. Hare's
school.

as the prospect of service of a humble kind in Government offices opened up, the demand increased.

It was in this state of matters that a benevolent watch-maker in Calcutta, of the name of Hare, taking pity on the many half-caste children who were growing up in ignorance and depravity, neglected by their unnatural fathers, and cast off by native society, to which their mothers belonged, which had no place for them in its rigid system of caste, opened a free school for their instruction. Mr. Hare at first received only these outcast Eurasian children, but as they formed a connecting link with the Hindus, it led to earnest application for admission on the part of the natives, to which he generously responded. The system spread in Calcutta, and was soon introduced into the other cities where any considerable body of English residents were settled.

A native
scholar's re-
collections.

The origin and progress of the study of the English language is graphically described by one who is himself an illustrious example of what education can do for the Hindu, when the study of literature and science is based on moral principle and Christian truth, resulting in his case, not only in the highest culture, but in Christian character. The Rev. Lal Behari Day, in his "Recollections of Dr. Duff," repeats the old story of the dhobi, or washerman, who was the first to acquire a few English words when washing the linen of a ship's company in 1634, and to teach them to his countrymen. "In 1774," he says, "a stimulus was given to a desire for English amongst respectable Bengalis by the establishment of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, but the only aids to the study were one or two spelling-books or vocabularies of very limited extent." "In course of time," he goes on to say, "some Eurasians in Calcutta lent their services to the cause of native education. They went to the houses of rich Baboos and gave instruction in English. They received pupils into their own houses, which they turned into schools. Under the auspices of these men the curriculum of studies was enlarged. To the 'Spelling Book' and the 'Schoolmaster' were added the 'Tales of a Parrot,' the 'Elements of English Grammar,' and the 'Arabian Nights' Entertainments.' The man who could read and understand the last-mentioned book was reckoned in those days a prodigy of learning.



"The year 1817 is a memorable time in the history of English education in Bengal. In that year the Hindu College was established. The honour of originating that institution belongs to David Hare, a watchmaker in Calcutta. The rough plan which he had sketched of the institution fell into the hands of Sir Edward Hyde East, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, who liked the proposal, and took measures for reducing it to practice. This institution, which was at first a school of very humble character, rose into a college chiefly through the exertions of the great Sanserit scholar, Horace Hayman Wilson; who was Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, appointed in 1823 by Government. The success of the Hindu College induced some native gentlemen to set up private schools, the most eminent of which was the Oriental Seminary. The attainments of the youths attending these schools, but especially the Hindu College, were considerable. They were familiar with the historical works of Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon; with the economic works of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham; with the philosophical works of Locke, Reid, and Dugald Stewart; and with the poetry of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Burns, and Scott.

"Such was the state of English education when Duff reached Calcutta in 1830."

The demand for education increased with the openings made for employment in the public works which the Government began in the earlier part of the present century to carry on for the material benefit of the country. And when the Government offices and Civil Service were thrown open, in certain departments, to the natives, the spur of ambition was added to the love of gain, to intensify the already strong desire to acquire English, which was not only the key of knowledge, but the door to wealth and honour in the eyes of the poor and down-trodden races of India.

The arrival of Alexander Duff in Calcutta in the year 1830 formed a new era in education and in missions in India. Though the founder of neither, his methods were as original as they were important. His clear judgment saw the true significance of the state of society in the capital. His intrepid spirit at once entered on an independent line

Dr. Duff's
influence.



Introduction
of religion.

of action, different from that of his predecessors, and the many good and honoured men who were at work around him. In direct opposition to the letter of his instructions from the committee which sent him out, instead of going as directed to some quiet rural district of the country, or employing the English language as a mere educational process, as had been done by Mr. Hare and the Government, or introducing timidly a little religion at a stated hour when the heathen were at liberty to absent themselves, as was then done, even in missionary institutions, he gave it distinctly to be understood that he was a religious teacher, that his great aim was the conversion of the pupils, and that education, with all its importance, was only a means to a higher end—the formation of the character and the salvation of the soul.

But while education was only a means to an end, he manifested his sense of its importance, and with all his characteristic fervour and indomitable energy, he set himself to adapt a system of instruction so thorough and perfect, that within a few months Duff's school was the wonder and admiration of Calcutta. And, in a short time, so far superior to all competitors, that in spite of the dread of his fervent piety and proselytising zeal, his school was the largest and most popular in the Presidency, and himself the most admired and loved of all the teachers in Calcutta.

In 1833, when Indian affairs came for their periodical consideration before Parliament, the conscience of our country again demanded and obtained great advantages for India, and, amongst others, a great increase of money grants for education, which now began to assume a character of imperial importance. The grant of £10,000 in 1813 was increased tenfold, and great interest was excited in the question as to the best way of imparting to the natives of India the full light of western science and literature. Now burst forth in earnest the smouldering controversy between the advocates of the vernacular and English languages, as the medium of instruction. Into that controversy I cannot now enter. It is deserving of, and will demand, earnest reconsideration on an early day. Without going the length to which the "Orientalists" went, there is an important

English versus
vernacular
languages.



principle at the base of the position occupied by such men as James and Thoby Princep, Shakespeare, and others, which must assert itself sooner or later. The importance of English cannot be over-estimated, if it be kept in its proper place, and within due limits. These have been of late overstepped, and there are symptoms of a natural reaction, which will require to be watched lest it be carried too far in the opposite direction.

It is, however, with facts, not principles, we have now to do. The battle between the advocates of the Oriental and English languages was carried on both within and outside the Council Chamber. In this contest the eloquence, and still more, the practical work of Dr. Duff were of great service; but the tide was not turned until the arrival of a powerful ally in the person of Thomas Babington Macaulay.

There seemed a providence in the way Mr. Macaulay had been raised up for his work in India. The son of as pure and devoted a Christian patriot as ever toiled for the poor and oppressed of our race, and trained under the influence of the "Clapham Sect," of which his father, Zachary,* was the hidden spring, Mr. Macaulay was prepared to take an enlightened and generous view of any question affecting the interests of the natives. Macaulay's influence.

The "minute" drawn up by him in 1835, now an English classic rather than an official paper, put an end to controversy, and introduced a new policy. From that date the English language has been the great subject of study in Government schools and colleges, and the medium through which all the higher branches of study are carried on. While the native classic and vernacular languages are taught, not only English literature and history, but all the sciences, and even mathematics, in which the Hindus had long excelled, are taught by English teachers in the English tongue. For twenty years this method went on increasing in efficiency and extent, and so popular is it with the natives that they required to be urged to study their own vernaculars, and it needs a bribe to get them to attend the old endowed classes for Sanscrit, Arabic, or Persian.

* See Appendix C, on Zachary Macaulay.



DESPATCH OF 1854.

Importance of
Parliamentary
discussion of
Indian ques-
tions.

We are now arrived at the most important period of our educational policy in India, and this was another proof of the importance of having the affairs of that country brought before Parliament in such a form as to fix on our Eastern empire that earnest attention which calls into lively exercise the intelligence and conscience of the nation. Now that the necessity for a renewal of the charter every twenty years no longer exists, it is almost impossible to get the House of Commons to listen to a debate on the most important questions affecting the welfare of the two hundred millions of our Eastern empire. Nothing less than a war which demands millions of our gold to carry it on, or a famine, by which millions of lives are carried off, will secure a hearing, and these are times which call for special shifts and temporary expedients, not for large and comprehensive measures.

The periodic revisions of the charter, especially since the end of last century, were in reality eras in the history of our rule in India. That for 1793 sanctioned, besides material benefits, important religious advantages. These were much extended in 1813, when the first grant for education was made. In 1833 this grant was raised tenfold; and in 1853 a principle was laid down which extended it indefinitely, and in actual outlay has raised it seven or eight fold. Had the whole question been raised in a similar way in 1873, we doubt not the results would have been of equal importance and advantage to that country.

Leading
features of
despatch.

To extend the
sphere of
education.

I give in the Appendix a summary of the famous despatch of 1854, issued for the Government by Sir Charles Wood (Viscount Halifax),* and shall now call attention to some of its more important features. The first is one which evidently formed a main ground for the new legislation—viz., TO ENLARGE THE *circle* OF STUDY BY INTRODUCING A GREATER NUMBER OF USEFUL SUBJECTS INTO THE HIGHER DEPARTMENTS, AND TO EXTEND THE *sphere* OF EDUCATION SO AS TO REACH THE LOWER CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

The despatch calls attention to the fact, that up to that time the aim seemed to have been to educate a few to a very

* See Appendix D.



high pitch of excellence, to the neglect of the general education of the people. After referring to the importance of the subject, and the advantages to be gained, section six runs thus :—

Par. 6. "Aided, therefore, by ample experience of the past, and the most competent advice for the future, we are now in a position to decide upon the mode in which *the assistance of Government should be offered* TO THE MORE EXTENDED AND SYSTEMATIC PROMOTION OF GENERAL EDUCATION in India, and on the measures which should at once be adopted to that end."

So that the extension of general education was the special aim of Government in this despatch which introduced the new policy.

This view is confirmed by the tenth paragraph, which is as follows :—

Par. 10. "We have also received *most satisfactory evidence of the high attainments in English literature and European science*, which have been acquired of late years by some of the natives of India. But this success has been confined to *but a small number of persons*; AND WE ARE DESIROUS OF EXTENDING FAR MORE WIDELY THE MEANS OF ACQUIRING GENERAL EUROPEAN KNOWLEDGE, OF A LESS HIGH ORDER, but of such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life. To attain this end it is necessary, for the reasons which we have given above, that they should be made familiar with the works of European authors, and with the results of the thought and labour of Europeans on the subjects of every description upon which knowledge is to be imparted to them; and to extend the means of imparting this knowledge must be the object of any general system of education."

To remove any doubt as to this being the aim of the Home Government, I quote the following from the thirty-ninth paragraph :—

Par. 39. "... The wise abandonment of the early views with regard to native education, which erroneously pointed to the classical languages of the East as the *media* for imparting European knowledge, together with the small amount of pecuniary aid which in the then financial condition of India was at your command, *has led, we think, to too exclusive a direction of the efforts of Govern-*



ment towards providing the means of acquiring A VERY HIGH DEGREE OF EDUCATION for a small number of natives of India, drawn for the most part from what we should here call the higher classes."

Paragraph fifty-two shows that the extension of the higher education in future is to be carried out, not by increasing the number of Government colleges, but by the system of grants-in-aid now for the first time introduced.

Colleges aided
by grants to
supersede
Government
colleges.

Par. 52. "We have, therefore, resolved to adopt in India the system of grants-in-aid which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by the Government; while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combinations for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the wellbeing of a nation."

To show that the Government intended to encourage missionary colleges and schools as well as those supported by natives and resident Europeans, the following tribute is paid to their labours in the past :—

Par. 50. "At the same time, in so far as the noble exertions of societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth, and to instruct uncivilised races, . . . have been accompanied, in their educational establishments, by the diffusion of improved knowledge, they have largely contributed to the spread of that education which it is our object to promote."

In confirmation of our interpretation of the intention of Government, we quote the following from paragraph eighty-six :—

Par. 86. ". . . We confidently expect that the introduction of the system of grants-in-aid will very largely increase the number of schools of a superior order; and we hope that before long sufficient provision may be found to exist in many parts of the country for the education of the middle and higher classes, *independent of the Government institutions, which may then be closed as has been already the case in Burdwan in consequence of the enlightened conduct of the Raja of Burdwan, or they may be transferred to local management.*"



This shows that the Home Government not only looked to the system of grants-in-aid as a means of saving the Indian Government from spending more on the extension of the higher education than they had been expending up to that time, but that it would lead to the *lessening of that expense by the withdrawal of some of the colleges then in existence.*

That this is the right interpretation of the despatch is placed beyond a doubt by the paragraphs sixty-one and sixty-two, which we must quote in full. We do not even take the liberty of altering the type as we have done in some other quotations:—

Par. 61. "We desire to see local management under Government inspection, and assisted by grants-in-aid, taken advantage of where-
ever it is possible to do so, and that no Government colleges or schools shall be founded for the future in any district where a sufficient number of institutions exist capable, with assistance from the State, of supplying the local demand for education. But in order fully to carry out the views we have expressed with regard to the adequate provision of schools throughout the country, it will probably be necessary for some years to supply the wants of particular parts of India by the establishment, temporary support, and management of places of education of every class, in districts where there is little or no prospect of adequate local efforts being made for this purpose, but where, nevertheless, they are urgently required."

Local effort
with grants-in-
aid desired.

Mark the explicit expression of the desire for local voluntary effort, and the caution with which any extension of higher instruction is allowed. It will only "probably" be required in any case, and it is only when "urgently required" that it is to be allowed, and even in such an extreme case it is only to be "temporary support" that is to be given.

Par. 62. "We would look forward to a time, when any general system of education, entirely provided by Government, may be discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of and aided by the State; but it is far from our wish to check the spread of edu-



cation in the slightest degree, by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay, and we therefore entirely confide in your discretion, and in that of the different local authorities, while keeping this object steadily in view, to act with caution, and to be guided by special reference to the particular circumstances which affect the demand for education in different parts of India."

This needs no comment. I would only ask a second perusal of the first half of this paragraph.

The aim, then, is, while keeping up the standard for a few, to "*extend far more widely the means of acquiring a general European knowledge OF A LESS HIGH ORDER,*" but practically useful in every-day life.

By way of enlarging the *circle* of study, it is proposed to introduce technical or professional schools and colleges for the study of medicine, law, engineering, industry and design, and agriculture; and by way of extending the *sphere*, arrangements are made for establishing normal schools for the educating and training of native teachers for elementary and middle schools. In fact, the spirit of the despatch breathes a generous desire to extend the benefits of a useful education to the whole country, instead of limiting it to a favoured few in the large cities, as had been done previously. In paragraph forty, after having called attention to the too exclusive regard hitherto paid to the education of a few of the higher class, they justly say:—

"The higher classes are both able and willing, in many cases, to bear a considerable part, at least, of the cost of their education."

The establishment of *general colleges* was no part of the scheme of the despatch. These were in existence before, and were of two kinds; first, "Government colleges;" and by that must be understood something entirely unlike anything known in this country. They are built with Government money, supported by Government funds, the professors are appointed by Government, and all the arrangements are under Government authority. The pupils pay a fee of from ten to twelve rupees a-month, which goes but a little way towards the expenses of institutions which are carried on in an imperial style, and at great expense.

The other colleges are supported by endowments or

✓ Professional
or technical
instruction.

General col-
leges—two
classes.



voluntary subscriptions, from every class and denomination in the country, native and foreign, heathen, Christian, and secularist. These voluntary or private colleges were in existence before those of the Government, but received, with a few exceptions, no Government assistance or recognition, until after the new era introduced by the despatch of 1854. One of the benefits conferred by it was the encouragement and assistance given to voluntary effort of every kind. "Grants-in-aid" were an essential feature of the despatch. They were not only given—the principle is laid down again and again that it was the aim of Government to foster liberality on the part of individuals and societies, and to encourage the spirit of independence and self-reliance in the natives, as of itself an important part of education. Not only so, but they declare repeatedly that it shall be a part of their plan to withdraw from the field as soon as adequate agencies can be raised up for carrying on the higher education, and to devote the money so saved to the extension of education in the rural districts, and amongst the poorer classes.

UNIVERSITIES ESTABLISHED FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF PRIVATE COLLEGES, SUPPORTED BY LOCAL AND MISSIONARY RESOURCES AND "GRANTS-IN-AID."

The establishment of the universities had a direct bearing on this part of their scheme, and was designed to encourage *independent effort*; and to prepare the way for Government withdrawing from the costly work of direct education. In paragraph forty they say :—

The universities examining not teaching bodies.

Par. 40. "We have, by the establishment and support, of these colleges, pointed out the manner in which a liberal education is to be obtained, and assisted them to a very considerable extent from the public funds. In addition to this we are now prepared to give, by sanctioning the establishment of universities, full development to the highest course of education to which the natives of India or of any other country can aspire; and besides, by the division of university degrees and distinctions into other branches, the exertions of highly-educated men will be directed to the studies which are necessary to success in the various active professions of



life. *We shall, therefore, have done as much as Government can do to place the benefits of education plainly and practically before the higher classes in India.*"

That this was their design is made clear by the following "Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department," passed on the 29th July, 1869, in which, amongst other formal resolutions, they declared that, "Already the Government has gone far beyond the intentions of the despatch of 1854, which declared THAT THE PROVISION OF UNIVERSITIES, *as the examining bodies for higher education*, WAS ALL THAT THEN REMAINED FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO DO."*

This feature of the Government plan of 1854 has been too much overlooked by the Executive in India, and is practically ignored by the officials of the universities and colleges. But here is the principle clearly established in 1854 and acknowledged in 1869—that *universities were set up for the encouragement of private and aided colleges, and that it was the design that Government colleges should eventually give place to these.*

THE HOME GOVERNMENT HAS NEVER CHANGED ITS POLICY SINCE 1854.

Lest any should say that our Government has altered its policy of limiting *direct* teaching of the higher classes at its own expense, and directing its chief effort to extending education downwards to the more needy, where stimulus and aid were more required, let me call attention to the following official utterances, extending over many years, and which show that the policy is unchanged.

Despatch of
1863.

In 1863, the Home Government thus expressed itself:—

Stanley's
despatch of
1859.

"It was one great object proposed in the despatch of the 19th July, 1854, to provide for the extension to the general population of those means of obtaining an education suitable to their station in life, which had hitherto been too exclusively confined to the higher classes; and it is abundantly clear, from Lord Stanley's despatch of 7th April, 1859, that Her Majesty's Government entertained at that time the same sentiments which had been

* Blue Book, p. 468.



Expressed by the home authorities in 1854. . . . But I think it necessary to declare that *Her Majesty's Government have no intention of sanctioning a departure from the principles already deliberately laid down*, and that, while they desire that the means of obtaining an education calculated to fit them for their higher position and responsibility should be offered to the upper classes of society in India, they deem it equally incumbent on the Government to take, at the same time, all suitable measures for extending the benefits of education to those classes of the community 'who,' as observed in the despatch of July, 1854, 'are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts.' *

In 1864, Sir Charles Wood wrote :—

Sir C. Wood
in 1864.

"Those principles are that, as far as possible, the resources of the State should be so applied as to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and *that the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education.*"

The Duke of Argyll writes, May, 1871, to the Viceroy :— Duke of Argyll,
1871.

Par. 5. "I should be understood as approving generally of the main principle which runs through your despatch, that the Government expenditure should, as far as possible, be reduced with reference to the education of those who are well able to pay for themselves, and should be mainly directed to the provision of an elementary education for the masses of the people."

Par. 9. "If once we can instil into the real upper classes of India, that one of the main duties of society is to provide for the sound primary instruction of the humbler classes, we shall lay the real foundation for that general system of education which it is the desire of your Excellency's Government to establish."

Again, on 4th June, 1873, the Duke of Argyll writes to 1873.
the Viceroy :—

Par. 9. "In conclusion, I must express my concurrence with your Excellency in considering that the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir George Campbell) has not departed from the broad line of educational policy which has been laid down by Her Majesty's Government during a long series of years, and in cordially approving the steps his Honour has taken to give a more practical tone to education in Bengal. The advance which has been made in the

* Blue Book, 1870, p. 11.



encouragement of the primary instruction of the people is also a subject of congratulation."

Sir G. Campbell, Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, writes to the Director of Public Instruction, 1872:—

"It is not the policy of the Government to discourage English or high education, but it is its policy not to devote an entirely disproportionate amount of the funds at the disposal of the Local Government to the education of a very limited number of persons, to the comparative exclusion of the much greater number who have equal claims on the State."

Government colleges increased.

But while these have been the plans of the Home Government, what has been the practice in India? Instead of withdrawing the Government colleges, they have doubled the number, and multiplied the cost. Instead of encouraging local effort, they have made the maintenance of colleges by missionary societies almost impossible, and what is, if possible, more to be deplored, they have pauperised the richer classes of the natives by leading them to depend on Government doing almost everything for them. I admit the difficulty of withdrawing from these Government colleges when the natives have got to value and use them. But this difficulty should have induced caution in establishing new ones, all the more that Government never meant the number to be increased but rather diminished.

The principle ought to have been laid down that a college could only be set up in a new locality where a stimulus to the higher education was required, by giving one up where it was no longer needed. Instead of this, what do we find? In 1854 there were only fourteen general colleges supported by the Government, as I find from the Blue Book, and on inquiring at the Indian Office the other day, I am favoured by the following return:—

"In 1876-77 there were—

Government colleges—General	29
„ „ Professional	17
	—
	46"

It may be said with apparent truth that twenty-nine general colleges are quite insufficient for the wants of the



millions of India, and even if we add the seventeen aided colleges, with a total of less than 5000 graduates in all the colleges of India, what are these among so many? Compared with the colleges in European countries, it would be miserably inadequate. But this is an inverted way of looking at the subject. We must consider the state of education in the country, the demand for the higher, and the need for the lower culture. If the natives had developed such a system, and maintained it themselves, no one could find fault; but when the vast proportion of the attention and funds of the Imperial Treasury are devoted to fostering a fictitious culture in the higher, above the wants and habits of the people, it is both unnatural and pernicious. I know the idea prevailed that education would "filter down" from the higher to the lower class. This, as is shown by Mr. Howell, when Under-Secretary, has proved a mere delusion and a snare. It could not but fail, when that higher culture was an exotic, taught in a foreign tongue, and by foreign teachers. There is no analogy between the English language, as taught in India, and the Latin tongue, as used on the revival of learning in Europe; and even it failed to reach the body of the people, although the priesthood read it, and the people heard it in the daily services of the Church for centuries before. So much is the English system unnaturally forced, that the distinctive peculiarities of Cambridge and Oxford can be traced in the universities of Calcutta and Bombay. In the "Return" for 1870, it is said (p. 49)—"There is a difference of kind between those two universities, corresponding to the difference between Cambridge and Oxford. The Calcutta University has been, I believe, chiefly moulded by Cambridge men, and the Bombay University has certainly taken its direction from a preponderance of Oxford men among its founders." Is India generally educated to a position for profiting by such an exotic system of horticulture?

WORK ACTUALLY ACCOMPLISHED IN LOWER DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

I thankfully acknowledge the large amount of good which has been accomplished in the education of the lower classes



The Aided Schools and Colleges, which receive from the Imperial Treasury £133,000.

Educated in 19 General Colleges, . . .	1,414 students.
" 25 Normal Schools for Males, . . .	1,859 "
" 13 " for Females, . . .	463 "
" 203 Schools of Higher Class, . . .	36,901 pupils.
" 1,502 " Middle, . . .	90,000 "
" 18,388 " Lower, . . .	479,777 "
" 1,196 " for Girls, . . .	42,379 "
" 1,850 Mixed Schools, . . .	71,000 "
	<hr/>
	723,785

It will be seen that the amount spent on the higher education is out of all proportion to the sum spent on the elementary, where it is far more needed. The sum £186,694 to educate highly 32,792 of the youth of India, the great majority of whom are well able to pay for their own education, while the paltry sum £85,480 is spent on 641,376 of the humbler classes, who can ill afford to pay anything, is out of all proportion.

But there is another feature of this system which brings out its positive injustice. To supplement the small amount spent on elementary instruction, a special tax is imposed for their support, which falls, directly or indirectly, chiefly on the humbler classes, while by far the greater part of the imperial funds, spent so largely on the higher education, is drawn from these same poor and neglected classes.*

Injustice of
the system.

It adds to this injustice that the higher education is fitted and designed to qualify the favoured richer class for lucrative employments, while the elementary gives no such advantage. The imposition of this education-tax accounts for the education of half-a-million of pupils for the sum of £85,000 from the Imperial Exchequer. The tax itself is not unreasonable, but it is hard to make the same class pay for the higher education also.

* It was pointed out long ago by Col. Davidson, that it costs the Government as much to educate one rich Brahmin as to support a village school with eighty pupils. At present the Government spends £27. 9s. on the education of each of the 3331 graduates in their colleges, only a fraction of whom ever take a degree, and on each of 641,000 boys in lower and middle class schools the sum of 2s. 10½d., while 14,000,000 are left uncared for.

To show the inadequacy of the means as yet employed for the education of the country, let me call attention to a few facts taken from the last "Statistical Abstract" laid before Parliament.

In one of the tables is given the number of children now attending colleges and schools of all kinds of which the numbers can be given. It includes not only those attending Government schools, which was 698,377, and aided schools, numbering 820,855, but a very inferior class, which are only "registered," and not worthy of a place in such a list, of these there were 358,710. Taking all, it appears that there is on the average of all India, only one institution for fourteen square miles, and nine pupils for each thousand of the population. Not a tithe of what it ought to be. In our country we expect one in six or one in seven to be at school—i.e., about 160 in the thousand.

I would call special attention to the work requiring to be done in the elementary education of the poor.

Taking the last returns with the latest census I find the state of matters in 1877 stands thus :—

Population of British India,	191,018,412
Taking <i>one in twelve</i> of the population as a fair proportion of those who ought to be attending elementary schools, we have, needing instruction,	15,918,201
Pupils attending Government elementary schools,	550,790
Add number attending aided elementary schools,	479,777
Total Government and aided schools have an attendance of	1,030,567

Number of the uneducated.

So that after twenty-five years of the operation of this famous and most valuable despatch, there are still MORE THAN FOURTEEN MILLIONS* OF THE CHILDREN OF BRITISH INDIA, OF AGE FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, UNPROVIDED FOR BY THE GOVERNMENT.

Let it not be supposed that we say all these millions are untaught. The Hindus were an educated people long before we were.

* This estimate by a missionary seems very low, only one in twelve of the population. In this country about one in six or seven is the ratio for all ages.



When we consider that those who may be attending native schools without superintendence are in the vast majority of instances brought up in an atmosphere morally worse than if they were allowed to run wild in a state of total ignorance, we see the vast work which remains to be done, while the money wrung from the poor ryots is squandered on pet schemes, which are producing, as we shall show, very doubtful results. There are in the returns 16,882 schools, with 332,952 children, called "unaided," but under a very imperfect kind of supervision or registration. We cannot reckon them with the others.

Urgency of
that need.

The great need of elementary education is well shown in pamphlets by Sir William Hill and Lieut.-Col. Davidson,—the uneducated rural population being exposed to the ruinous exactions of money-lenders, whose cruel bonds and extortionate interest they can neither read nor calculate, in addition to all the common evils of native ignorance.

COMPARISON OF RESULTS IN GOVERNMENT AND AIDED COLLEGES.

But is the large amount expended on the higher education better devoted to the Government colleges than the aided colleges?

We frankly admit that at present the Government colleges generally show better results in the way of intellectual teaching—a greater number of students attaining the higher degrees in art and science than in the aided colleges. This is easily accounted for. The fact of their being Government institutions gives them social and political advantages in the eyes of a people like the Hindus, of which an independent Saxon can form no idea. And when we add the hope of a lucrative appointment, and the honour of Government employment, the wonder is that any colleges can compete with theirs; and yet we have the fact before us that, at the present time, the Free Church College in Madras and the Established Church College in Calcutta are more popular with the natives, and are attended by a larger number of students than those of the Government in these cities. In the Madras returns for 1877 there are 220 students in the Free Church and only 150 in the Government college,



and in the General Assembly College, Calcutta, for the same year the numbers were 317, the largest number in any one college in India.

It is also worthy of remark that whilst the wealthier part of the population, who are able and willing to pay for education, attend in larger numbers the Government colleges, there is very little difference in the caste and social status of those attending the different colleges.

In the Report for 1870 we have the following important Tables, showing the social position of the parents of the pupils attending Government and aided colleges. For Calcutta :—

	SOCIAL POSITION OF THE PARENTS. Percentage on Total of Pupils.					
	Zemindars, Talookdars, and Persons of Independent Income.	Merchants, Bankers, Baniyas, and Brokers.	Profes- sional Persons.	Govt. Servants and Pen- sioners.	Shop- keepers.	Others.
Govt. Colleges,	30.6	8.6	9.6	31.8	1.3	18.1
Private Colleges,	26.6	14.4	11.2	23.2	1.4	23.2

For Madras it was :—

	SOCIAL POSITION OF PARENTS. Percentage of Students.					
	Zemindars, Talookdars, and Persons of Independent Income.	Merchants, Bankers, Baniyas, and Brokers.	Profes- sional Persons.	Govt. Servants and Pen- sioners.	Shop- keepers.	Others.
Govt. Colleges,	28.0	9.0	15.4	28.6	1.7	16.0
Private Colleges,	25.0	13.3	10.8	22.3	2.3	26.2

On these Tables the Under-Secretary of Government remarks: "As far, therefore, as this classification can be depended upon, it would appear that there is no great difference in social position between the students attending Government and private colleges. And this is probably the case, but the more wealthy members of each class frequent



the Government colleges, while the poorer students resort to the aided colleges."

This popularity prevails in spite of the attraction of Government patronage and the supposed disadvantage of religious teaching.

Let Government withdraw from the unfair and unhealthy competition in direct education, as in 1854 it promised to do, while maintaining its universities, and soon, under the stimulus of the universities and the grant-in-aid, the natives of India, the European residents, and missionary societies, will keep up an educational system fully equal to the wants of the country, and far better fitted for training the moral and religious, as well as the intellectual, nature of the young; while it would call forth a spirit of liberality which is suppressed, and of independence which is crushed, by the present system.

Time to
withdraw.

The Government colleges, we may admit, did good at first, in stimulating a desire for higher education, when that was needed. But now that a keen appetite is created and intellectual tastes are so highly cultivated, they may, as these reports to Government show, be advantageously withdrawn. Many of the more intelligent members of the Government, both at home and in India, admit this, and we believe steps would have been taken in this direction long ago, but for the strong prejudices of some influential men of the old school, who still distrust the natives and the missionaries, and what is perhaps more difficult to be got rid of, the strong, vested interests of the large body of professors—men who can by their social position and fluent pen influence society both abroad and at home.

The grant-in-aid system has been called by a high authority, the pivot of the educational system. When there is, as at present, a loud call for retrenchment, and a louder call for the extension of elementary education, the advantages of substituting the grant-in-aid for the Government education is apparent by a reference to the comparative cost of the two systems.

The significance of the tables in the Parliamentary reports cannot be mistaken. They call attention to the fact that for the year 1868 the cost to the Imperial Treasury



for each pupil in the Government College in Calcutta was 255 rupees; in Patna College, it was as high as 748 rupees; while in the following aided colleges it was—

London Missionary Society College,	109 rupees.
Cathedral College,	65 „
General Assembly's College,	43 „
Free Church College,	31 „

In the Bombay Presidency, 108 who matriculated at the Government colleges cost 493 rupees each for the year, while 23 who matriculated in private colleges cost them nothing.

In the entire Presidency of Bengal, 701 students on the roll of all the Government colleges cost the Imperial Treasury 226 rupees each for eleven months' instruction, while 325 on the roll of aided colleges only cost the Treasury 67 rupees each for the same period.

A comparison
of Government
expenditure
on education
and on other
objects.

If we put down to the spread of general education among the poor a fair proportion of the sum spent on directors and inspectors, and the entire sum expended on normal schools for training teachers, and on schools for the lower and middle class, it cannot amount to more than about £200,000; and this is all, with the exception of about £100,000 for grants-in-aid, that is done for carrying out the chief design of the despatch, which was to inaugurate such great things for the education of India.

Take even the entire sum of £730,000 devoted to education, and what is that for such an important work in such a country, and under a paternal Government? Compare it with the immense expenditure from the Imperial Treasury for other objects. From the returns for 1877-78, we find that the ordinary expenditure was £51,430,673, and including that on "Productive Public Works," in which class education might be more accurately put than many of the public works, and working expenses of railways and canals, it was £58,178,563. Of this sum, £15,792,112 was spent on the Army, £2,158,032 on Police, £3,519,668 on ordinary public works, £3,275,821 on law and justice, more than £7,000,000 on the "collection of revenue," and only £730,013 on the entire education of about 200,000,000 of a population, sunk in the grossest ignor-



ance and immorality and superstition; and of that, not more than about £300,000 on the most needy class. Why, the Government spent that same year £443,776 on "stationery and printing."

Since the above was written, I am favoured with a copy of the "General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1877-78," and from it give the following Table. The report is a very able and interesting one, by the Director of Public Instruction, A. W. Croft, Esq., and manifests an enlightened interest in the spread of education among all classes. The methods used for bringing instruction down to the lower classes seem earnest and successful, but obviously need large increased grants of money, and more agents for extending the organisation to the wants of the people. It will be seen that the cost of Government graduates has increased, while that of those in aided colleges is less than formerly.

Official Report
for Bengal,
1878.

Statement of Number of Students attending Government and Aided Colleges in Bengal, the Number of Candidates for First Arts Examination, and the Number passed, with the Cost of each College and each Student to the State.

General Colleges.	Number of Students on Roll.	Received from State Funds.	Each Student cost State.	Number of Candidates for Exam. in Arts.	No. who passed.
		Rupees.	Rupees.		
Government—					
Presidency College,	329	59,499	212½	73	31
Sanskrit,	36	14,356	495	6	2
Hooghly,	208	32,543	230	49	19
Dacca,	129	22,622	226½	69	14
Krishnagur, . . .	105	18,380	235½	16	3
Berhampore, . . .	39	14,840	479	13	6
Patna,	108	32,381	450	51	2
Cuttack,	39	15,367	354	9	5
Rajshahye,	41
Midnapore,	17	544	54	5	1
Chittagong,	15	1888	236
Bungpore,	16	2073	172
Total,	1082	214,533	270½	301	94
Aided—					
St. Xavier's, . . .	105	3600	53	12	8
Free Church, . . .	99	5520	75½	33	13
Established Church,	333	4200	24	54	15
Cathedral Mission,	86	5520	76	30	9
Doveton,	18	3000	273	3	1
London Mission, .	60	2296	56	20	10
Total,	701	24,136	55	152	56



The Director calls attention to the fact, that "For the first time in its history, or in that of any aided college, the number of students in the General Assembly's Institution exceeds that of the Presidency College."

Economy of
grants-in-aid.

I would add that it is also worthy of remark that while each pupil in the Presidency Collège costs the Government 212½ rupees, those of the General Assembly's College cost only twenty-four rupees each. While if we take all the Government colleges in Bengal, the cost per student is 270½ rupees, and that of the aided colleges is only fifty-five rupees. With all their disadvantages, it appears that in Bengal they yield 152 candidates for the first Arts examination against 301 from Government colleges, and fifty-six of the former pass for ninety-four of the latter; a strong proof of the economy of the grant-in-aid system, and if the system were more generously and fairly encouraged, it would soon prove its efficiency, and the wisdom of the Home Government in recommending its substitution for direct Government instruction in the higher department of education.

There are no official returns for the other Presidencies, but from authentic sources I am able to state that the number of students attending the Government College in Madras in 1877 was only 150, while the number in the Free Church College was 220, while the cost of the former was four times that of the latter. So that mission colleges are now more popular when fairly tried than those of Government in both these seats of education.

An Under-Sec-
retary's view.

We close this part of our subject in the words of one intimately acquainted with the working of the educational system. Mr. A. P. Howell, formerly Under-Secretary to the Home Department in India, in a report laid before both Houses of Parliament in 1870, calls attention to the 62nd clause of the Education Despatch, and recommends its application (p. 8), and adds (p. 51): "It seems, therefore, quite open to doubt whether the direct patronage of the State flows most in the channel where there is the greatest need for it, and whether the expenditure on the higher Government institutions *might not gradually but largely be withdrawn*, and the funds be utilised in the extension and improvement of the lower institutions." He



then quotes a long passage from the Report of the inspector of the south-west division favourable to the encouragement of voluntary and mission schools. Again and again, in that important document laid before Parliament, with all the sanction and authority of the Council on Education in India, is attention called to the importance of carrying out the recommendation of the 62nd section of the despatch of 1854. In one passage he says: "The obvious inference is that if Government wishes to restrict itself to its proper province, and to promote higher education by the grant-in-aid system, it *must retire from direct competition with it.*"

RELIGIOUS NEUTRALITY AN IMPORTANT FEATURE OF THE
DESPATCH OF 1854. ✓

That the Home Government meant their education scheme to be thoroughly impartial in its treatment of all forms of religion is too obvious to need any demonstration. I am not aware of any one in this country having questioned this feature of the Government policy. It is too ostentatiously proclaimed to be questioned by any one who knows and trusts in the honesty of English statesmen; it is only doubted by suspicious Asiatics, who, the more it is asserted, only doubt it the more.

But wherein does neutrality consist? Does it mean that the Government will not in any way interfere with the religious beliefs of the natives of India, then I unhesitatingly maintain that in the matter of direct teaching in the higher departments, the principle of neutrality is violated in the most practical and important manner. It is true the Government professors do not *directly* attack the heathen systems of religion in class hours, nor do they teach Christianity. But they do what is far worse, they undermine the religion of the Hindus, and offer no substitute in its place. I admit it is not intentional, but is not the less real and effectual. It is impossible to teach European science and literature without destroying belief in the gods and religions of India. I will not waste time in showing how it is that such is the effect. It is well known that their

Neutrality by system now in force impossible.

It undermines native religions. *OL*



Uproots belief. false religions are so interwoven with the most erroneous systems of geography, history, astronomy, and science, that the mere teaching of the truth in these departments of a higher education necessarily destroys religious belief. No man who knows India can doubt this. To say that the effect is the same as the teaching of true science in Christian countries is gross misrepresentation. None but a man who is ignorant of India or a sceptic in religion could assert it.

But let me call a few out of many witnesses to the fact.

T.B.Macaulay. So long ago as 1833 Macaulay wrote as follows :—"No Hindu, who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy ; but many profess themselves pure Deists, and some embrace Christianity."*

Dr.M.Mitchell. Dr. Murray Mitchell, so long a distinguished missionary and educationist in India, said at a mission conference in Mildmay Hall last year: "In colleges the gulf between Hinduism and European thought yawns wide and fathomless. Hinduism teaches a professedly inspired science which is outrageously absurd. The pupil soon rejects it with contempt, and at the same time necessarily rejects also the authority of the book which inculcates it. There is thus to him no divine revelation ; no authoritative declaration of spiritual truth. For an individual or a community to be thus suddenly tossed from superstition into scepticism is surely a transition most perilous and painful. No wonder if the mental balance is destroyed and the moral nature often completely wrecked."

Unsettles
moral prin-
ciples.

Government
appointment of
professors.

He then speaks of the effect of the character and profession of the teachers in the Government colleges. "In appointing professors, Government seems to have a regard only to intellectual qualifications. In religion, a man may be a Christian, Deist, Atheist, Comtist, or Agnostic ; the Government serenely ignores the question both of his creed and character." He admits that there are Christian men among them, but quotes authority for saying that there are also among them distinguished men who have "diffused the principles of Tom Paine over a whole generation of youth."

Rev. W. F.
Stevenson.

The Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson, lately returned from his

* "Life of Lord Macaulay."



mission of inquiry in the East, told the last General Assembly in Ireland that a native who observed to him "those of us who learn English do not believe in idols," expressed the general mind of his class. He adds: "The head of a native college said one day, 'I believe that every one of our students who leaves us, knowing English, has ceased to believe in popular Hinduism.'" How many educated young men believe in the Shastras? was the question recently addressed to the students in a Calcutta college. Promptly there were two answers—"Not one in a hundred," and "Not one in a thousand," and the rest assented. And the Under-Secretary of Government in India, in a report to the Home Government, puts it in the mildest form when he says: "And what is the product which it costs the State so much to produce? The Bengali undergraduate has had a fair vernacular education, and has gained at least a superficial knowledge of English, but he is possibly, I may say probably, if from a Government school, without any religious belief at all."

We might multiply such evidence, but it is unnecessary.

It is in vain to call such a system neutral, it systematically undermines all religious belief, and leaves the youth of India at the most critical period of their lives in a condition most dangerous and disadvantageous to the formation of moral principles and habits. This not neutrality.

The Under-Secretary in a report to the Indian Government, speaking of the effect of introducing European science, &c., says: "Every day opened to the student a succession of new and strange phenomena in the unsealed realm of history, science, and philosophy. They were suddenly thrown adrift from the mooring and anchorages of old creeds, and tossed upon the wide sea of speculation and extravagance." Testimony of an Under-Secretary of Government.
Unsettles beliefs,

"It was no wonder that moral and social obligations began to share the fate of religious beliefs, and that the whole community was in alarm at the spread of the new views. This was precisely the state of things which Mr. Charles Marsh had so eloquently anticipated during the discussion of the charter in 1813. 'It is one thing,' he said, 'to dispel the charm which binds mankind to established habits and ancient obligations, and another to turn them over to the discipline and the authority of new doctrines. *In that dreadful*" and sense of moral obligation.



His testimony
to missionary
influence.

interval—that dreary void, when the mind is left to wander and grope its way without the props that have hitherto supported it, or the lights which have guided it—what are the chances that they will discern the beauties or submit to the restraints of the religion you may propose to give them?’ That ‘dreadful interval,” the Under-Secretary goes on to say, “and ‘that dreary void’ had now arrived, and *it is impossible to say how far native society might not have been disorganised*, HAD NOT THE MISSIONARIES STEPPED IN AND SUPPLIED A NEW DIRECTION TO THE AWAKENING SCEPTICISM AND A FRESH SUBJECT TO ATTRACT THE NEW AROUSED SPIRIT OF SPECULATION.”

A most important testimony from a high official of great knowledge and experience reporting to the Government.

Moral and
social prin-
ciples sub-
verted.

In regard to the moral influence of the teaching in the colleges where no religion is taught, it may be admitted that the educated natives, from contact with English professors of high character and position, are influenced by a feeling of honour to pay more regard to truth and honesty than the uneducated. But, on the other hand, it is indisputable that they have acquired not a few new vices or aggravated old ones. They have far less regard to the authority of parents or superiors, and they are more supercilious and contemptuous in the treatment of their more ignorant brethren. The marriage tie is less regarded, and they are more addicted to luxurious habits, and the new vice of drunkenness is making alarming inroads on the physical condition and social habits of the educated youth of India.

Dr. C.
Macnamara.

The Report to Parliament of 1870 seems to us frequently to indicate what it would have been unwise in such a document to express, that the results in this respect are not satisfactory. It is a subject on which we cannot get documentary or official evidence, but, from all we can learn, the following sad picture of society in Bengal could be substantiated by overwhelming moral evidence. It was spoken publicly at the opening of the session of the Medical School of Westminster Hospital last October by Dr. C. Macnamara, and, from his long and extensive practice, to a large extent amongst the highest class of the native, few men have had such opportunities of knowing their habits and sentiments.



He said : " Many natives admit the benefits conferred by our rule, but they deplore the disorganised state of society in Bengal. The old families have almost disappeared, and the sons and husbands of the educated and rising generation are largely addicted to drunkenness and vice of every kind, and the more thoughtful men and the vast majority of women contrast this state of things with times when there was less security to life and property, less law, taxation, and education, but when the greatest slur that could attach itself to a man's name was that of being an undutiful son. Our system of education has broken down all faith in religion, and the outcome of a purely secular training has developed gross materialism and rank socialism, and so the necessity for suppressing the outspoken sentiments of the vernacular press, which, nevertheless, gave utterance to opinions he had heard over and over again for some years past among all classes of natives, and which he dreaded would one day break out into a revolt, in comparison with which the Mutiny was a mere brawl."

Where, then, I ask, is the neutrality of our present method ? But what was the design of the Home Government in the despatch of 1854 ? It aimed at neutrality, as we shall show, in a most enlightened and effective way.

UNIVERSITIES, GRANTS-IN-AID, AND INSPECTION WERE THE MEANS BY WHICH A NEUTRAL SYSTEM IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF INDIA COULD ALONE BE CARRIED OUT.

I have shown how decidedly the Home Government expressed its desire for the withdrawal of the *direct teaching* in the higher departments, and that the universities were meant to supersede the necessity for it.

I do not assert that it was wholly, or chiefly,—it was, perhaps, not at all on the ground of their not being inconsistent with neutrality that they were to be withdrawn. It would have been questionable policy to have declared that they were practically incompatible with neutrality. But it is a most significant fact, that all the references to neutrality that I can see in the despatch, are in connection with the three new features which it introduced into the education



of India—viz., The “Universities,” “Grants-in-Aid,” and “Inspection.”

Neutrality of
despatch.

To secure impartiality in quotations, I shall give those collected by a strong advocate of the present system. Mr. Cust says in his pamphlet on this subject:—

“I have carefully gone over these famous one hundred paragraphs, though I have often read them before. If there is any one leading characteristic of that charter, it is the desire not to awaken a religious difficulty. Thus:—

“Par. 28. ‘The examination at the University will not include any subject connected with religious belief, and the affiliated institutions will be under the management of persons of every variety of religious persuasion.’

Refers to con-
ferring univer-
sity degrees on
special subjects

“Par. 32. ‘We shall refuse to sanction any teaching (connected with Hindu and Mohammedan tenets), as directly opposed to the principle of religious neutrality, to which we have always adhered.’

“Par. 34. ‘(The Senate) will include natives of India of all religious persuasions.’

“Par. 53. ‘The system of grants-in-aid will be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school.’

“Par. 56. ‘No notice whatsoever to be taken by the Inspector of the religious doctrines, which may be taught in the school.’

“Par. 57. ‘It may be advisable distinctly to assert in them the principle of perfect religious neutrality, on which the grants will be awarded.’”

Not carried
out.

If the system thus laid down had been faithfully and impartially carried out there would have been nothing to complain of.

Mr. Robert N. Cust, and Mr. M. Kempson, who have lately written pamphlets in support of the higher education by Government, and in opposition to the recent circular of the Church Missionary Society, and the views I had advocated at the Conference on Missions in October last, both maintain, that the principles of the despatch have been carried out. The former quotes a number of passages from resolutions and declarations by the Government in India. But these gentlemen should distinguish between good *resolutions* and good *deeds*. I never questioned the designs and intentions of the Government, or its members. I have always made



full allowance for the difficulties of their position. I do not even impute motives to the parties most interested in supporting the present system, I give them full credit for thinking the system of which they are the representatives or agents the best that could be carried out. But we cannot blind our eyes to facts, and it is with *facts* that I deal, not *words*. It is very difficult for any class of men to see their own faults, or the faults of their systems, and it is for that reason I urge action from without.

Systems dread extinction.

It is hardly to be expected that the system will perform the rite which Japanese officials ironically call the "happy despatch." "Euthanasia," a most sweet word, is not likely to become popular among systems any more than amongst individuals; nor is it desirable. A responsible Government must take the work in hand. Mr. Kempson tells us, without the slightest reference to any evidence, that in regard to my charges against the tendency of the present system, "They have no existence in fact, so far as my experience goes." If Mr. Kempson's experience was limited to the north-west provinces, in which he was "Director of Public Instruction," I can conceive it possible that he may not have seen, in an obvious form, the evils I speak of, for two reasons. First, because these provinces have been only a comparatively short time under the system, which takes time to produce its baneful fruit. In a list of the professed religious beliefs of graduates over all India, I was struck with the fact, that of the number of those who professed themselves of no religious belief, the proportion was far greatest in Bengal, where the system had been longest in force, and it almost vanished as we came to these regions in which it was comparatively new.

Mr. Kempson's experience.

Oldest seats of learning the worst results.

Second, the north-west provinces and the Punjab have been highly favoured with commissioners and lieutenant-governors of the very highest wisdom and character, who did much to put education on the best possible basis in their power. Disloyalty and open irreligion and immorality, under such men as Sir Henry Lawrence, Lord Lawrence, and Sir William Muir, would have been unnatural and improbable.*

Good rulers.

* There is a third reason, but as it assumes the form of personality I will not introduce it into my argument. Mr. Kempson seems to form very decided



Natives could
support
colleges.

Second misconception. Both Mr. Kempson and Mr. Cust assume, that in advocating the withdrawal of the Government colleges we expect that the grants-in-aid are to go exclusively, or almost exclusively, to mission colleges, and against this their arguments on the ground of neutrality are telling enough. But it is an easy feat to knock down a man of straw of our own setting up. I would at once say that such a procedure would be not only opposed to *neutrality* but to *justice*. The natives of India have a right to be fairly and even liberally dealt with in such a case; and I fully expect that they would set themselves to establish and maintain colleges and high schools, if they were left to stand alone, instead of being bolstered up by a pauperising system. They have done so before, and would do it again. When the desire for education had not a tithe of the strength it has now, the natives of India made noble contributions for education. Now it is a felt necessity, and there is no fear of the higher education going down. If the universities are kept up, they will maintain the standard in all the higher schools and colleges.

Testimony of
witnesses.

Evidence
recent and
remote.

That the natives of India are able, and would, if left to their own resources, maintain the colleges, is asserted in Government reports. Mr. Arthur Howell, than whom no man had better means of knowing, asserts it; the conference of missionaries at Allahabad expressed the same opinion and in the last "statement exhibiting the moral and material progress of India," attention is called to the circumstance that on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales, the wealthy natives in several places commemorated the event by raising money for educational purposes. The native gentlemen of Behar alone subscribed the sum of £20,000.

We have had noble examples of liberality among the natives of India in both building and endowing colleges and opinions on very slender data. He had only seen a brief and necessarily an imperfect account of my views in a pamphlet by Mr. Cust, who did not even quote my words; and yet, with no other means of knowing my character or opinions, he pens and prints the following words: "It need hardly be said that want of sympathy leads to detraction and antagonism." Then follow such expressions as "unfair and mischievous," "imperfect information," "a libel on the people of India," &c. On what ground does Mr. Kempson charge me with "want of sympathy" with the Government, and guilty of "detraction" and "libel" and "mischievous representations" of the people of India?



schools before Government began to do it for them. We are apt to forget that learning was honoured and maintained in India long before we had emerged from barbarism.

We do not expect them to volunteer to do this ; like most subjects of an absolute government, they prefer to have everything done for them. But if left alone in a firm, cautious, and friendly spirit, they could and would provide it for themselves.

But would this be an advantage in a missionary point of view? That is not with me the first question. Is it right in itself? That is what we have to see to ; and if it is right, I am sure it will be best for the righteous cause.

Missions have nothing to fear in a fair competition with natives of any class. It is only the unfair competition with a Government, backed by the prestige and pay that makes voluntary efforts by either natives or missions so arduous or impossible. If that competition were withdrawn, we have reason to believe that colleges would soon cease to be a burden on the funds of the Church. They would, with slightly higher fees and a larger attendance, pay their own expenses. The average attendance at aided colleges is only seventy-four ; they could educate three or four times that number without any corresponding addition to their contributions from home. If any should still say that the natives of India could not or would not support colleges for themselves, I would only say, that in that improbable and sad case they would have themselves to blame, and could not charge on Government the fault of aiding either missionary societies or European residents in providing the needed means of education.

It is found in Calcutta, that the high schools are now paying concerns, to use a mercantile phrase, and they are being established as a profitable commercial speculation.

We have another and painful reason for urging the gradual withdrawal of the direct teaching by Government in the higher departments.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM IS RAISING UP A NUMBER OF DISCONTENTED AND DISLOYAL SUBJECTS.

This is not so much felt in districts in which education is of recent origin and limited in extent to the wants of the



locality. But in the old educational seats, especially in Bengal, this result of the Government system of direct education is painfully and alarmingly felt.

Expectations
raised,

It fosters and gives facilities for getting an education in the language and culture of the ruling power, which is generally interpreted into an intention to employing in lucrative and honourable posts those who have entered, as they think, with their Asiatic notions, into relations with the Government, in which their only sense of gratitude for the benefits of a cheap and liberal education is a "lively anticipation of future favours," and a sense of injustice and a feeling of resentment if they are not conferred. The interpretation put on the despatch of 1854 has added to that native tendency to anticipate Government patronage for the favour they think they confer by attending its colleges. The wording of sec. 72 seems to have been so understood. It runs thus: "We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration, by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and, on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up may afford a great stimulus to education."

They could then say, as they do in sec. 73: "We understand that it is often not so much the want of Government employment, as the want of properly qualified persons to be employed by Government, which is felt at the present time in many parts of India." They express regret that "no more than forty-six persons had been gazetted in Bengal up to 1852, all of whom were students in the Government colleges." Other passages might be quoted to the same effect. These are worthy objects in themselves, but they have engendered unreasonable expectations in the minds of a people like the Hindus.

to be dis-
appointed.

But what is the state of matters now? A supply vastly in excess of the demand, not only from Government offices, but from all sources of employment. In the Report for 1870, the Under-Secretary makes frequent reference to this.



fact. The following may be taken as a sample of the views repeatedly expressed or implied in the "Blue Book." Referring to the educated native, he says: "He is precluded by his education from manual labour, and from recruiting that class on whose industry and intelligence the prosperity of the country depends. He finds himself in keenest competition for intellectual employment—for there are thousands like himself—as the market, though ample, has been overstocked, and all the while industrial education has been neglected altogether, and there are millions for whom no kind of instruction has been provided by the Government at all."

This will easily be understood by a reference to the numbers who are prepared for, or who actually pass through the colleges now, as compared with what they were 21 years ago, when the three universities were set up.

Supply in
excess of
demand.

In 1857 when the universities were founded, the matriculation examination only is given. In Calcutta, there were 244 candidates, of whom 162 passed. In 1877, there were 2425 candidates, of whom 1355 passed. In Madras, the number for 1857 was 41 candidates, of whom 36 passed; in 1877 there were 2517 candidates, of whom 1250 passed. It will give an idea of the increase of education, when we quote from the "Abstract," laid before Parliament last year, the following figures.

In ten years, from 1868 to 1877, the three universities conferred the following degrees:—

286 received the degree of M.A.

1,652 " " B.A.

209 received diplomas in civil engineering.

809 " " in medicine.

910 " " in law.

4,091 passed the first arts examination.

17,802 " entrance examination.

Add 5,948 who passed the entrance examination from 1857-1867, and we have 23,740 matriculated within these 21 years.

The rapid rate of progress may be judged of by taking



the numbers who passed each fifth year during this period.

In 1857, 198 passed the entrance examination in Calcutta and Madras universities; that for Bombay was not then formed.

„ 1862, 522	„	„	„	„
„ 1867, 1123	„	„	„	the three universities.
„ 1872, 1486	„	„	„	„
„ 1877, 2808	„	„	„	„

Well may we ask with the Under-Secretary in the "Return" from which these figures are taken: "Does the system tend to confer those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge?" described in the despatch of 1854.

What becomes
of the edu-
cated?

"What becomes of all these highly-educated young men, whom the university turns out every year? Are they, as in England, absorbed into the channels of every-day life, with a satisfactory or even perceptible result? Are they to be traced, as in England, in a liberal and enlightened native press? Do native gentlemen, like English gentlemen, return to their zemindaries from a university career to spread around them the reflex of the enlightenment they have received themselves? Does the process of highly educating a few and leaving the masses, tend to increase or diminish the gulf between class and class? Are there any indications of a decrease in crime, or of a dawn of intelligence in the agricultural classes? Such questions will occur to any one who sees how the public expenditure on education is annually distributed, and how comparatively few are the recipients of the larger share of the State's bounty."

Native press
controlled.

He professes his inability to answer these questions. It is time they were answered. Recent events have given an unsatisfactory reply; our attempt to control the native press is the most significant answer that Government has yet given. Will that satisfy the nation and the Church?

The above figures give no idea of the number of educated natives qualified for, as they think, and fully expecting employment in Government or mercantile offices, and in a



large proportion of cases finding none of the kind they expected; while, by their training, they are, as Mr. Howell says, "unfitted for manual and productive industry."

In the official Report on the "Moral and Material Progress of India," laid before Parliament last year, the expression occurs regarding the educated class—"The complaint is reiterated by the local Government, that the youth of Bengal resort almost exclusively to two professions, *which are over-stocked—the law and the public service.* . . . Dislike of manual work creates a prejudice against (even) the practical study of mechanics."

If we look beyond those who have succeeded in passing the entrance examination, or in obtaining degrees, to the much larger number who have come up as candidates from the higher schools, with a good education in their own languages, and a fair knowledge of English, acquired not for its own sake, or for the sake of the literary treasures it contains, but solely with a view to sordid gain or worldly promotion, we shall have a better idea of the source whence so much discontent and disloyalty emanate.

The number of candidates who have presented themselves for examination by the universities, during these twenty-one years, amounts in the aggregate to not less than 61,650. To show the rate of increase, we find, that for the first eleven years the number of applicants was 15,673. In the last ten years it was 45,977. The "General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal," just come to hand, states, that "*the number has doubled since 1874.*" These numbers, though large, are not, it may be said, great, when compared with the population of India. But they are out of all proportion to the numbers educated in the lower departments, and what is of far more consequence, far above the natural law of demand and supply. No comparison can be drawn from European habits, where the higher education is part of the equipment for the life of a gentleman, as well as a qualification for professional employment. To the Indian this European culture is almost exclusively a preparation for professional, and still more for official, life, and disappointed of these, the education has only excited wants and raised expectations which leave the unsuccessful aspirant a discon-

Indian not
like English
graduates.

Only too
numerous
relatively.



tented and dangerous man. These figures speak for themselves.

The Under-Secretary of the Home Department in India, was painfully impressed with the state of matters of which he knew so much, and in 1869 wrote these eloquent and solemn words in his "Report"—words which may well go home to every patriotic heart. The danger is far greater now than it was ten years ago. It grows with the growth of the system: "Looking to the rapid growth of our educational system, and to the enormous influence for good or evil that a single able and well-educated man may exercise in this country; and looking at the dense but inflammable ignorance of the millions around us, it seems a tremendous experiment for the State to undertake, and in some provinces almost monopolise, the direct training of whole generations, above their own creed, and above the sense of relation to another world upon which they base all their moral obligations; and the possible evil is obviously growing with this system;" and he concludes with the solemn warning: "It is true that things go smoothly and quietly, but this is attained by ignoring, not only the inevitable results of early training on the character, and the great needs of human nature, especially in the East, but by also ignoring the responsibility which devolves on the Government that assumes the entire control of direct education at all. If, therefore, while fanaticism is raging around, there is a calm in our schools and colleges, it is an ominous and unnatural calm of impossible continuance, the calm of the centre of the cyclone."

A solemn official warning.

Government is responsible.

ABOUT REMEDIES AND OBJECTIONS.—FIRST, GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS.

I do not feel called on to lay down the programme of a future policy; that I leave for more experienced and competent hands. I have proved the existence of an evil of a most pernicious and perilous kind, which demands a remedy on the score of religion, morality, and good government. I have shown the presence of institutions supported by natives and European residents, as well as those by missionary



societies, capable of indefinite expansion, with a continuance of the grants-in-aid now given. I have called attention to the principle underlying the whole of the despatch of 1854, which anticipated and required a change from the existing method of *direct* instruction by the Government. The universities, the grants-in-aid, and inspection being all based on that principle. In these circumstances, I am under no necessity of proposing any new method, I simply ask for the honest and earnest carrying out of the provision of the despatch.* It will be a difficult, but not an impossible task. It must be done firmly and persistently, but slowly and cautiously, under imperial authority: not in a spirit of antagonism to the natives, but by appealing to their better feelings, and calling on them to make a sacrifice for the benefit of their poorer and less-favoured brethren. I have too much respect for the higher classes in India, to suspect them of the selfish desire to continue a monopoly of State education at the expense of the poor. With special colleges, and the technical schools, and normal schools and colleges, we would not interfere.

Firm, cautious,
and kindly
withdrawal of
Government
Colleges,

The education in the higher class of schools should also be given up by the Government. In them the branches taught necessarily tend to undermine belief, as well as, though not to the same extent as in the colleges, and it would be easy for the natives and societies to keep them up. They can be made even now to pay their own expenses under native teachers, with a good European master. The universities would of course remain, and would be a guarantee, and the means of keeping up the standard, and stimulating to the highest effort by their examinations, degrees, scholarships, and rewards. They might be improved by broadening the basis of representation at their boards.

and higher-
class schools.

These are what we ask, and they are only what the Home Government have urged for the last quarter of a century. But if "it's a far cry to Loch Awe," it's a farther cry to the Hooghly, and it will require the loudest and most stern call of the British Parliament, to secure a consistent carrying out of its determinations.

What Home
Government
called for in
vain.

* See the first sentence in the analysis of the despatch by the Under-Secretary, Appendix D.



Why in vain.

But it may be asked, since the terms of the despatch are so explicit, and the wishes of Government have been so clearly and frequently expressed during these twenty-five years, why have not Government colleges been reduced in number, and the funds employed on lower education, or the cheap substitution for grants-in-aid in native and mission colleges?

Government
preoccupied.

✓ The answer is not far to seek. The Indian Government cannot give, or does not give, that amount of time and attention to education which the subject demands. They are so much taken up with weighty and multifarious affairs of a more urgent, though not more important nature, that they have left the power, not formally, but practically, in the hands of secular educationists. They have thrown open the highest appointments, even those of "Directors of Public Instruction," which at first were given to experienced civilians, to professors and principals of colleges and schools, as the rewards of lengthened service, or of ability in teaching. The consequences are what might have been expected. With the best intention, it may be, these men inevitably identify themselves with their system, which had been all along the higher education. They think, and in fact tell us, that we must educate the higher classes to the highest pitch, and by-and-by education will "percolate downward to the lower strata." We all know the tendency of professional and class legislation. To set a body of ecclesiastics or schoolmasters, of doctors or lawyers, of officers of the army or navy, to take steps for gradually reducing their numbers, until they become extinct, and to foster and strengthen another body of men for whom they had no affection, and in whom, from professional pride, they had probably no confidence, to take their place, would not be a likely way to gain the end desired. They would find a thousand good reasons for avoiding the task, or delaying its execution. In fact, to ask men to extinguish themselves or their system is wrong, to expect them to do it is folly.

External
influence,

of a profes-
sional class.

Mission col-
leges disliked.

But I must call attention to what is worse than evasion and delay in carrying out the provisions of the despatch and the wishes of the Government. There seems of late, a growing tendency to discourage, if not to destroy, the aided colleges, as rivals to those of Government.



It is with pain that I have lately received stronger confirmation of what has long been feared, that there is a great desire to get rid of all our missionary colleges, which have done so much for the education of the people, and, as the highest officers of the Government have allowed, done much to save society from the baneful effects of mere secular teaching.

Some of these colleges have of late years greatly improved in their management and efficiency, and now number a larger roll of graduates than those of Government. This is what the despatch aimed at, and what ought to have been hailed with gratitude. Instead of that, what do we find? The most efficient of them are being treated with the greatest severity, and the grants-in-aid are reduced, and reduced in the most arbitrary way, and on such short notice as to be embarrassing and discouraging to the managers. I cannot now give details, but record the fact, and am prepared with details which will appear ere long.

It has long been known that some in high employment in the Educational Department are opposed to mission colleges, on the ground of religious feeling. They openly advocate views directly adverse to Christianity; and this feeling, which formerly found vent in contempt for a weak opponent, now finds vent in acts of bitter hostility towards a powerful rival. I am far from charging professors and directors as a body with hostility to religion, but it cannot be denied that there are some of the most active and pushing of their number who are opposed to anything in the form of living Christianity, and in a system *which is based on the exclusion of religion* those who are hostile to it have a vantage ground, in opposing institutions which condemn their own by teaching the truths which they ignore, and yet gain the confidence of the natives, and do their work at so much less cost to the Government.*

I need not reply to the objections which may be made to these simple proposals. I would refer to the able men who drew up the despatch, as a guarantee that its provisions are wise and practicable. It is well known that Sir Charles Wood took counsel with the wisest and most experienced men of all parties, in preparing that important document—

* They plead economy, but are increasing the cost of Government colleges.

the Magna Charta of education in India. The most experienced governors, civilians, professors, and missionaries were engaged in its composition, and it bears the mark of the greatest wisdom and minutest forethought, "aided," as they say they were in paragraph six, "by ample experience of the past and the most competent advice for the future." It is not disrespectful to say of those who have carped at, and opposed the carrying out of its provisions, that they cannot boast of greater wisdom and experience than those who gave such mature and disinterested attention to the drawing up of a code worthy of the new era, when, as they say, in the opening paragraph, "By an Act of the Imperial Legislature, the responsible trust of the Government of India has again been placed in our hands." If the despatch is impracticable, let them ask for its repeal.

SECOND, ABOUT MISSION COLLEGES.

Call for co-operation.

It is most desirable that, in order to the efficient and economical management of mission colleges, the different Evangelical Churches co-operate in supporting and managing them. At first these educational missions were entirely conducted by the Church of Scotland, and only one was set up in each Presidential city.

In place division of labour.

But ere long, one after another of the leading missionary societies started on the same line—a most gratifying evidence of the proved efficiency of the system which Dr. Duff may be said to have originated, but leading to what cannot but be deplored as a needless waste in men and money. So long as the Presbyterian Church of Scotland made this line of action a speciality in mission work, for which, as the Church of John Knox, she was peculiarly fitted, it made a good division of labour, taking the missions in India as one body working for one great end; but when each began to add this feature to their other work, or to give up other forms of work for this, it had the necessary effect of multiplying small educational institutions, with a small number of pupils, either with a small staff of teachers, in which case they were inefficient, or with a large staff, and then the average cost of each pupil was very high.

Waste in men and money.



It is found, then, that four or five European professors, with native assistants, can teach 300 or 400 pupils as well as they could teach a fourth part of the number, which reduces the cost of each pupil in proportion. At present the number of pupils, in aided colleges, is on an average only seventy-four to each. Far too small a number to pay, as they might be made to do, the great part, if not eventually nearly the whole, of their own expenses, but for the wasteful competition amongst themselves, and still more the unequal competition with Government institutions. A slight rise in the fee with increased attendance would make colleges self-supporting. Economy.

An example of this kind of co-operation has been exhibited in Madras under the able presidency and through the exertions of Mr. Miller, with the most satisfactory results—the Church of England, the Established Church of Scotland, and the Methodist Missionary Societies, all contributing to the Free Church College, under a board of management on the spot. It is hoped that these societies and others will combine at home for a general movement, which may establish mission colleges of a high class, in greater force, at more stations, and at less expense to each society than at present. A partial example.

Another point of great importance is to see that such a staff of professors and teachers is kept up, as shall admit of greater attention being paid to evangelistic work in the colleges and amongst those who have passed through our educational institutions. A full staff needed for higher success.

This work must, as a rule, be done by the professors, not by a separate class set apart as evangelists. They would be looked on with distrust, and would not get the hold on old scholars which a former teacher would. Every professor and teacher must be an evangelist, who carries his evangelistic spirit into the school and college, every day, and at all times. By having a larger staff, there could always be one in turn engaged in looking after, and addressing as occasion offered, old graduates of their own or Government colleges, in the towns, and by occasional itinerancy in the surrounding country for scattering the seed of the Word where it may fall into the hearts of old pupils, and recall old lessons. Must be evangelistic.

This kind of sporadic work, conducted on a concentric prin- Sporadic and concentric work.



ciple, would be of great use. Each college should be a centre, and the circle would correspond with the radius from which its graduates were drawn. It is a shame to the Church that by having almost all our colleges undermanned it was impossible to carry on such work in a methodical and efficient way.

Normal schools
and colleges.

Another branch of work which ought to be greatly extended, is the training of teachers for the elementary schools. If a large number of well-qualified teachers were trained, they would soon get employment throughout the country, if the stimulus were given to the elementary education which was originally intended by the despatch of 1854.

The Church's
duty, over-
sight and
prayer.

In the last place, let there be more intelligent oversight, and earnest prayer by the Church at home; and we hope, that, ere long, we may see glorious results. There is a great leavening process going on in Hindu thought and feeling. There is a conviction diffused that the Christian system is the true, and will be the triumphant religion in India.

Hinduism to
fall not by dis-
integration;

There will be opposition, there may be a conflict, imperiling our rule, if not our existence, in the country, ere that triumph is attained, but it will come, and it will, we believe, come with a sudden and mighty rush which will startle and amaze an incredulous age. Hinduism is like no other system that now exists, or has ever existed in the world. It seems as if it would defy those processes of disintegration, by which believers may be gathered by units or tens or hundreds from other sects and races, in other systems, in other lands, or even in India, as among the aboriginal tribes, or those simpler races in Tinevelley and Travancore, which never fully partook of the fatal privileges of Brahminical religion, and were never brought within the iron bondage of caste, where missions have been so largely successful. Hinduism defies the tooth of time and the tool of the engineer to disintegrate it, or to pick out a stone from the hard and compact structure, except in a few rare and exceptional cases, and the intensity of passion with which these few conversions are felt and resented shows how perfect is the unity of the body—"If one member suffers all the members suffer with it." When Hinduism falls, it will fall as those grand old towers fall which have outlived the age and state of society for which

but in mass,

like old tower.



they were constructed ; so strongly cemented that they will stand or fall entire—they cannot be taken down like our frail modern structures, stone by stone. It is only by the slow and persevering process of sapping and mining that they can be brought to the ground, and they fall in one solid mass. It is thus that this great donjon, in which superstition and caste have kept the millions of India as in a castle of despair, will one day fall, "to rise no more at all." A thousand agencies are at work to undermine it, secular and religious, and we wish them all God-speed ; but none can compare with the full and clear proclamation of the glorious Gospel, in thoroughly equipped and efficiently conducted educational institutions, in which Divine light is thrown on every subject of human study, by generous and disinterested men of the highest culture and Christian character.

By under-
mining foun-
dations.



APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

It is not necessary that I go back to the earlier periods of our intercourse with that country. Without reckoning the embassy which King Arthur is said to have sent out in 883, our direct connection with India may be said to date from the year 1601, when a "company of merchants trading to the East Indies," with a capital of £75,000, sent out five vessels, varying from 600 to 130 tons, carrying £6860 in goods and £28,742 in bullion. Our attempts to impart the higher blessings of education and religion date from a much more recent period. To our disgrace, two centuries passed without any attempt by the nation or the Church to confer any benefit, material or spiritual, on the natives of India. Individual efforts for the amelioration and enlightenment of the population were made. Noble philanthropists and earnest Christians made the pages of our history bright with their deeds, all the more bright and worthy of admiration from the general darkness and the opposition they met with from those in power.

APPENDIX B.

It is, I believe, a great mistake to suppose that by our professing that we would rule the country in the fear and according to the revealed will of our God, we would have endangered our position in India. On the contrary, it would have strengthened our position, and have tended to secure the confidence of the natives. Keeping our religion in the back-ground is the way to excite their suspicions. They, like all weak races, are accustomed to gain their ends by concealment and duplicity, and they never doubt but that we have some deep and dangerous policy concealed under our ostentatious form of ignoring religion. They naturally think that it is our interest to make them adopt our religion. They



cannot conceive of a religion that does not pervade every department of human life,—personal, social, and political. Their own religion covers the whole of life, and they cannot be convinced that ours does not. They necessarily and rightly conclude that it ought to do so.

The practical effect of our neutral policy is to excite distrust and fear, and lays us open to the constant suspicion of a deep-laid scheme to undermine their religion or to convert them by stratagem. The nature of religion, as they understand it, makes this not only possible, but easy, if not inevitable. By the essential outwardness and minute observances of their system they know that they may be made outcasts from society, and put beyond the pale of their religion by a most trifling outward act or circumstance entirely independent of their own intention or will,—a mere accident or oversight of their own, or a malicious act of another may be the cause of ruin to multitudes both for this world and the next.

It is this feature of the religion of the Hindus, coupled with their suspicion of our designs, that makes those rumours of our intention to convert them by means of force or fraud possible of belief and so dangerous to the Government.

Had we at the beginning of our rule, or when proclaiming the empire in 1858 done two things—First, had we frankly and publicly declared that we were ourselves Christians, and that we believed it was the only true religion, and the best for all men, but that we had no intention of interfering with any man in his religious beliefs.* That we held the domain of conscience to be beyond and above the province of civil government, and appealed to the facts of our historic neutrality in this sense for these hundred years. Second, that the essential nature of our holy religion was such, that no power on earth could make a man a Christian against his will. That a mere outward profession of Christianity was an insult to our God, and would be of no use to its professor in this or in another world. That Christianity was a religion of faith and love and holy living, and that any service which was not rendered with the heart and of free will, was a mockery, and that the Government would prefer an honest and upright heathen to a hypocritical and false professor of Christianity.

Had such a course been pursued from the first, a widespread rebellion like that of 1857, excited by the rumour of our convert-

* We gratefully admit the frank avowal of personal belief in Christianity by our noble Queen. But the proclamation failed in not avowing that our Government would be regulated by the principles of the Word of God.



ing the soldiers by making them bite off the ends of cartridges greased with cow's fat, would have been impossible, even in credulous and suspicious India.

Had our country pursued such a course, it might, with the blessing of God, have stayed the horrors of that war, and it might have hastened the establishment of the kingdom of peace.

If from books we turn to the men who have had the destiny of millions put into their hands, we are struck with warm admiration of the many noble lives which have been devoted to the welfare of our Eastern Empire. The profound wisdom displayed in the most trying circumstances, the calm courage in presence of appalling danger, the indomitable perseverance in overcoming Herculean difficulties, and above all the noble self-consecration and often self-sacrifice in serving a people who could not appreciate their aims or their motives, and often returned ingratitude for kindness and hatred for love, are an honour to our country and a blessing to the race.

APPENDIX C.

I cannot resist the temptation to quote the following testimony to the character of Zachary Macaulay from the lips of Mr. Gladstone, when speaking in opposition to the son of that noble old man :—

“I can only speak from tradition of the struggle for the abolition of slavery ; but if I have not been misinformed, there was engaged in it a man who was the unseen ally of Mr. Wilberforce and the pillar of his strength ; a man of profound benevolence, of acute understanding, of indefatigable industry, and of that self-denying temper which is content to work in secret, to forego the recompense of present fame, and to seek for its reward beyond the grave. The name of that man was Zachary Macaulay, and his son is a member in the existing Cabinet.”

APPENDIX D.

DESPATCH OF 1854.

The following brief summary of this important despatch is by the pen of the Secretary for the Home Department in India, prepared by authority for the Houses of Parliament :—

“The Indian educational code is contained in the despatches of the Home Government of 1854 and 1859. The main object of the former despatch is to divert the efforts of the Government



from the education of the higher classes upon whom they had up to that date been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction for the masses. Such instruction is to be provided by the direct instrumentality of Government, and a compulsory rate, levied under the direct authority of Government, is pointed out as the best means of obtaining funds for the purpose. The system must be extended upwards by the establishment of Government schools as models, to be superseded gradually by schools supported on the grant-in-aid principle. This principle is to be of perfect religious neutrality, defined in regular rules adapted to the circumstances of each province, and clearly and publicly placed before the natives of India. Schools, whether purely Government institutions or aided, in all of which (excepting Normal schools) the payment of some fee, however small, is to be the rule, are to be in regular gradation from those which give the humblest elementary instruction to the highest colleges, and the best pupils of one grade are to climb through the other grades by means of scholarships obtained in the lower school and tenable in the higher. To provide masters, Normal schools are to be established in each province, and moderate allowances given for the support of those who possess an aptness for teaching and are willing to devote themselves to the profession of schoolmasters. By this means it is hoped that, at no distant period, institutions may be in operation in all the presidencies calculated to supply masters for all classes of schools, and thus in time greatly to limit, if not altogether to obviate, the necessity of recruiting the educational service by means of engagements made in England. The medium of education is to be the vernacular languages of India, into which the best elementary treatises in English should be translated. Such translations are to be advertised for, and liberally rewarded by Government as the means of enriching vernacular literature. While, therefore, the vernacular languages are on no account to be neglected, the English language may be taught where there is a demand for it, but the English language is not to be substituted for the vernacular dialects of the country. The existing institutions for the study of the classical languages of India are to be maintained, and respect is to be paid to the hereditary veneration which they command. Female education is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government, as by it a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people, than by the education of men. In addition to the Government and aided



colleges and schools for general education, special institutions for imparting special education in law, medicine, engineering, art, and agriculture are to receive in every province the direct aid and encouragement of Government. The agency by which this system of education is to be carried out is a director in each province, assisted by a competent staff of inspectors, care being taken that the cost of control shall be kept in fair proportion to the cost of direct measures of instruction. To complete the system in each presidency, a university is to be established, on the model of the London University, at each of the three presidency towns. These universities not to be themselves places of education, but they are to test the value of the education given elsewhere; they are to pass every student of ordinary ability who has fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has passed through, the standard required being such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students. Education is to be aided and supported by the principal officials in every district, and is to receive, besides, the direct encouragement of the State by the opening of Government appointments to those who have received a good education, irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired; and in the lower situations, by preferring a man who can read and write, and is equally eligible in other respects, to one who cannot."*

* Parliamentary Blue Book, 1870, p. 7.