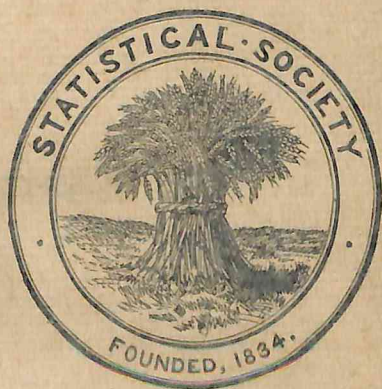




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EDUCATION IN INDIA  
AND THE  
INDIA COMMISSION  
ON  
EDUCATION.



BY THE  
REV. JAMES JOHNSTON.

READ BEFORE THE STATISTICAL SOCIETY, MARCH 20, 1883.

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EDUCATION in INDIA and the INDIA COMMISSION on EDUCATION.

By the REV. JAMES JOHNSTON.

[Read before the Statistical Society, 20th March, 1883. The PRESIDENT in the Chair.]

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*Introduction.*

It is a hopeful sign for India, that the most engrossing subject of public interest for the greater part of last year was the education of the people. Since the month of February, when a "Commission on Education" was appointed by the Viceroy, to the end of 1882, every newspaper in India was filled with the accounts of its progress, and now the country anxiously waits for its Report. The Calcutta correspondent of the "Times" telegraphed for almost every Monday's issue a paragraph, and frequently a column of information about the work of this "Commission." We are told that "from Calcutta to Bombay," and from "Lahore to Madras, the whole country has been stirred, and a great stimulus given to the cause of education in all its branches, but especially in the department of primary instruction, and more particularly to the education of females."

To show the interest excited by the Commission in its progress through the country, for the purpose of examining each province in detail, we give two or three telegrams from the "Times:"—



“ Calcutta, 29th August.

“ The educational enthusiasm, which has recently taken so very active a form, still remains at fever pitch. At Agra, eleven addresses were presented to the president. The memorialists protested against the abolition of the Agra College, and offered to manage it by a board of trustees. The president, in reply, laid stress on the strict application to educational and medical work of the Rs. 35,000 made over to the municipality under the new decentralisation scheme. While he was in the act of speaking, a paper was delivered to him intimating that five native gentlemen had there and then subscribed Rs. 10,000 for Ripon, Lyall, and Hunter scholarships, in commemoration of his visit.

“ A large meeting was held at Allahabad, on Thursday, in the Mayo Hall, to present memorials. The meeting was crowded with natives of position. Among the Europeans present were the chief justice and the judges of the high court, the Commissioner of the division, and other officials.”

A little later he says:—

“ A profound enthusiasm has been excited in the Punjab on the subject of education. The president of the Education Commission visited Lahore by special invitation on Tuesday, and received a deputation from the nine Punjabi societies during the day. The Aujuman-i-Punjab, in the evening, presented him with an address, on which occasion five hundred natives were present. Later a *conversazione* was held, when the president delivered a long speech on the work of the Education Commission. The Commission, he said, was not hostile to the higher education, its actual work consisted in the extension of popular education.” In illustration, he stated a few facts.

Passing to the south of India, the correspondent telegraphs:—

“ The president of the Commission arrived at Madras on Tuesday, and was invited in the evening to meet the chief justice, the bishop, the president of the Municipal Commissioners, the native judge of the high court, and the leading Europeans and natives.” After mentioning the work done, he adds, “ the Commission has already rendered valuable services in stimulating educational aspirations throughout the whole course of his tour.”

#### I.—*The Character and Objects of the Commission.*

This Commission marks a new era in its composition, as well as by the work it has taken in hand. Its composition is unique. Not only is every province represented, each department of the many classes and races and religions of India sit side by side at its board. Native and English gentlemen who have distinguished themselves by disinterested service in the cause of education, are





associated with our professed government educationists, and Indian princes with members of the "Civil Service." Men of every creed are represented there. The Mahomedan, the Brahmin, the Parsee, the Protestant missionary, and Roman Catholic priest, work harmoniously and earnestly together, all presided over by the Hon. W. W. Hunter, a man specially fitted by natural talent and varied experience for such a post; no man in India has at once such extensive and accurate knowledge of the country, combined with such great capacity for business.

The OBJECTS for which this large and vigorous commission has been appointed are defined at length in a "resolution" of the Home Department of the Government of India, drawn up by the able hand of its secretary, the Hon. A. Mackenzie. I cannot give its twenty-three clauses, but its general aim is expressed in the following words:—"It will be the duty of the Commission to inquire particularly into the manner in which effect has been given to the principles of the despatch of 1854, and to suggest such measures as it may think desirable in order to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down. The Government of India is firmly convinced of the soundness of that policy, and has no wish to depart from the principles upon which it is based."

The Commission is thus described in a telegram from the correspondent of the "Times," dated Calcutta, 5th February:—

"Government has resolved to appoint an imperial commission on education, consisting of twenty-one members, representing different provinces of India and classes of the community. Each local government will specially select a high educational officer on behalf of its department of public instruction, and one or more natives of rank or intellectual eminence will also attend from each province. The president will be the Hon. Mr. Hunter, who will represent in a special manner the Supreme Government and the views of the Viceroy with regard to the reforms under consideration. Among the distinguished natives will be the Hon. Maharajah Jotentro Mohun Tajore, the Hon. Bhundeb Moo, and others, on behalf of the Hindoos; and the Hon. Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadoor on behalf of the Mussulmans. Among the educational officers will be Mr. Croft, director of public instruction in Bengal; Professor Deighton, of Agra; Mr. Jacob, Bombay; and Mr. Browning, director of public instruction in the central provinces.

"The missionary societies will be strongly represented by Mr. Blackett, Anglican, principal of the Church Missionary Society Institution; Mr. Miller, Presbyterian, principal of the Christian College, Madras; and a Roman Catholic not yet nominated." The Rev. A. Jean, D.D., has since been appointed.

The duties of the commission are well summed up by the same able hand, in the same paper, which we give in preference to our own :—

“ 1st. The duties of the Commission will be, first, to inquire into the action of the educational despatches from 1854 to 1868, and how far the educational policy prescribed by the Home Government has been carried out by the various local administrations.

“ 2nd. To inquire more especially how far primary education has been given to the people under these despatches, and to suggest means whereby vernacular education can be made more universal.

“ 3rd. To devise means for this extension at a minimum cost to the State by setting free, if possible, funds which are now devoted to higher education, and by substituting a grant-in-aid for the system of direct Government support.

“ 4th. To offer every encouragement to native gentlemen to establish and support schools on a grant-in-aid system.

“ 5th. To ascertain how far it will be possible for the Government to hand over, under proper guarantees, its schools and colleges to bodies of native gentlemen who will undertake to manage them as aided institutions.

“ 6th. To endeavour to supplement the results thus obtained by enlisting the municipalities in the work of primary education, and by a large extension of the vernacular schools at the municipal cost and under municipal control.

“ The development of indigenous schools will also form a special subject of inquiry. The Commission will also be directed to make suggestions as to the better training of teachers, the improvement of the present system of inspection, the extension of female education, and as to a more intelligent system of statistical returns on a uniform basis; also as to the preparation of a great series of text-books for use in the schools throughout India.

“ The first meeting will be held on Friday. The Commission will sit till April, when the members will disperse to their own duties till the next cold season. In the interval Mr. Hunter, as president, will visit the different provincial Governments with a view to studying the systems locally at work, collecting information on specific points, and making such local inquiries as the commission may deem necessary.”

## II.—*The Despatch of 1854, into the Working of which Inquiry is made.*

As the great object of the Commission is to inquire into the





working of the despatch of 1854, any account of its work would be incomplete without an idea of what that great charter of education for India, as it has been well called, really is. As it is a very lengthy document, and cannot be here printed *in extenso*, I give a very brief summary of its principal features by the present Earl of Derby, written when, as Lord Stanley, he was Her Majesty's Secretary for India. In a passage from the important despatch of 1859, quoted in the *Resolution* appointing the Commission, he said, "The improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and vernacular, having been the general objects of the despatch of 1854, the means prescribed for the accomplishment of those objects were the constitution of a separate department of the administration for the work of education; the institution of universities at the several presidency towns; the establishment of training institutions for raising up teachers for the various classes of schools; the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and schools of a high order, and the increase of their number when necessary;\* the establishment of additional zillah or middle schools; the increased attention to vernacular schools for elementary education, including the indigenous schools already existing throughout the country; and, finally, the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid, under which the efforts of private individuals and of local communities would be stimulated and encouraged by pecuniary grants from Government in consideration of a good secular education being afforded in the aided schools."

The following admirable summary of the despatch of 1854, taken from an official authority, is from the pen of Mr. Arthur Howell, when Secretary to the Home Department of the Government in India, and was employed by Lord Mayo to inquire into the working of that despatch in 1870, now one of the most efficient

\* This refers to the time when these colleges had just been set up, and only numbered about a dozen of all kinds; now they number 183. It does not hint at any change of the line of policy laid down in the despatch of 1854 for the "transference" of those colleges to local control when the altered circumstances admitted of it, and rendered it desirable. The following is the text of the despatch on this subject:—

"Par. 62. We would look forward to a time, when any general system of education, entirely provided by the 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 education 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 peculiar circumstances which affect the demand for education in different parts of India."



members of the present Commission. This official and accurate condensation is as follows:—

“ The Indian educational code is contained in the despatches 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.”\*

There are three characteristic features of this despatch of 1854, which was ratified after the mutiny by the despatch of Lord Derby of 1859. FIRST, *The education of the poor*; SECOND, *The system of grants-in-aid*, as being suited to India in its present social and religious aspect; and THIRD, *The encouragement of self-help and local self-government*, in this department of education, which is seen to be no new notion of Lord Ripon's, as is supposed. To his lordship is due the merit of setting himself with characteristic earnestness to carry out a policy as begun under Lord Mayo, the principles of which were laid down in the despatch of 1854.

### III.—*Progress made in Education under the Operation of the Despatch of 1854.*

The following table gives for each province of India THE NUMBER OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS, AND THE NUMBER OF SCHOLARS

\* “Return—East India Education,” ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 29th July, 1870, p. 7.

ON THE ROLLS, THE AVERAGE AREA, AND PROPORTION OF PUPILS TO THE POPULATIONS:—

TABLE I.

Name of Province.	Colleges, including Medical and Engineering Colleges and Mahomedan Madrisas.		Normal Schools and Technical Schools.		Schools for Boys.		Schools for European and other Foreign Races.	
	Institutions.	Students.	Institutions.	Students.	Institutions.	Students.	Institutions.	Students.
Bengal.....	35	3,848	50	1,934	25,565	619,074	49	4,580
Assam.....	—	—	13	345	1,172	33,092	—	—
N. W. Provinces.....	7	887	6	361	8,743	229,218	5	359
Oudh.....	3	196	23	828	1,808	60,976	2	122
Punjab.....	4	270	10	491	7,037	165,900	8	536
Centralprovinces.....	—	—	4	218	1,312	70,652	3	292
British Burma.....	—	—	1	26	3,117	55,082	—	—
Ajmere.....	1	190	2	26	137	2,496	—	—
Berar.....	—	—	1	44	678	26,700	—	—
Mysore.....	4	1,094	11	1,071	1,511	37,818	4	543
Coorg.....	—	—	1	2	78	2,655	—	—
Madras.....	21	1,448	20	676	6,175	157,220	21	1,617
Bombay.....	7	961	13	842	4,141	232,443	12	1,072
Total.....	83	8,894	155	6,864	60,974	1,695,531	104	9,121

Name of Province.	Mixed Schools for Boys and Girls.		Schools for Native Girls.		Total.		Average Number of Square Miles to each Institution.	Number of Pupils to each 1,000 of the Population.
	Institutions.	Students.	Institutions.	Students.	Institutions.	Students.		
Bengal.....	—	—	519	11,964	26,218	641,400	6	10
Assam.....	—	—	60	939	1,175	34,376	38	8
N. W. Provinces.....	—	—	245	6,550	9,006	237,375	9	8
Oudh.....	—	—	87	2,449	1,423	64,571	17	6
Punjab.....	—	—	352	10,184	7,411	177,381	14	10
Centralprovinces.....	1	51	87	3,053	1,407	74,266	60	9
British Burma.....	344	9,864	12	923	3,474	65,895	26	24
Ajmere.....	—	—	14	304	154	5,221	17	13
Berar.....	1	18	14	415	694	27,177	25	12
Mysore.....	8	287	42	2,799	1,580	43,612	19	8
Coorg.....	1	38	1	24	81	2,719	24	16
Madras.....	2,587	79,854	338	14,994	9,162	255,809	17	8
Bombay.....	13	803	231	12,019	4,417	248,140	28	15
Total.....	2,955	90,915	2,002	66,615	66,202	1,877,942	14	9

The above, from a Government "statistical abstract" of 1878, gives the present number and proportion within a very small frac-





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tion in the two last columns; the increase in education being more than counterbalanced by the increase of population. It is a sad and significant fact, that it is necessary to take the number of pupils in the 1,000 of the population to avoid giving only a fraction of a child to each 100.

In the following table WE GIVE THE NUMBERS ON THE ROLL IN THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF INSTITUTIONS—GOVERNMENT AIDED AND UNAIDED, IN EACH PROVINCE, up to the latest return:—

TABLE II.—*Number of Government, Aided, and Unaided Institutions, and the Scholars attending them, for each Presidency or Province of British India, Year ending March, 1881.*

Provinces.	Official Years ended 31st March.	Government Institutions.			Aided Institutions.		
		Number of Institutions.	Number of Students.	Average Daily Attendance.	Number of Institutions.	Number of Students.	Average Daily Attendance.
Bengal .....	1881	303	29,775	21,820	40,490	777,173	575,047
Assam .....	'81	34	3,203	2,294	1,148	34,172	22,809
N.W. provinces } and Oudh .... }	'81	6,200	205,065	156,391	347	18,856	14,727
Punjab .....	'81	1,752	88,616	69,351	336	16,307	12,525
Central provinces	'81	955	56,443	38,957	387	19,768	12,616
British Burmah ..	'81	47	2,778	2,136	838	34,247	33,464
Ajmere .....	'81	76	2,858	2,090	3	417	305
Berar .....	'81	475	26,327	17,965	134	2,856	2,322
Mysore .....	'81	899	33,287	25,425	188	9,370	7,493
Coorg .....	'81	56	2,703	1,882	3	89	67
Madras .....	'81	1,428	51,221	41,527	6,078	178,609	142,919
Bombay .....	'81	4,424	266,798	185,962	255	19,979	15,395
Total .....	'81	16,649	769,074	565,800	50,207	1,111,843	839,489

Provinces.	Official Years ended 31st March.	Unaided Institutions.		Grand Total of Institutions.	Grand Total of Students.
		Number of Institutions.	Number of Students.		
Bengal .....	1881	6,714	121,541	47,507	928,489
Assam .....	'81	105	3,296	1,287	40,671
N.W. provinces } and Oudh .... }	'81	48	1,482	6,595	225,403
Punjab .....	'81	—	—	2,088	104,923
Central provinces	'81	95	3,340	1,437	79,551
British Burmah ..	'81	2,381	51,683	3,266	88,708
Ajmere .....	'81	60	2,142	139	5,417
Berar .....	'81	266	3,038	875	32,221
Mysore .....	'81	—	—	1,087	42,657
Coorg .....	'81	—	—	59	2,792
Madras .....	'81	5,372	97,978	12,878	327,808
Bombay .....	'81	664	30,197	5,343	316,974
Total .....	'81	15,705	314,697	82,563	2,195,614

Our next table, taken from the statistical abstracts of 1881, gives the NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS AND PUPILS, CLASSIFIED UNDER THEIR DIFFERENT HEADS OF UNIVERSITY, SECONDARY, PRIMARY, AND SPECIAL OR TECHNICAL EDUCATION, as given in the last official reports. We give only the GRAND TOTAL for the whole of India, leaving out the details from the different provinces.

TABLE III.—*Number of Colleges and Schools, and of Scholars attending them, during the Official Year ending 31st March, 1881.*

2 Institutions and Scholars.	3 University Education.		5 Secondary Institutions.			7 Primary Education.	
	Colleges.		High Schools.	Middle Schools.	Lower Schools.	Primary Schools.	
Insti- tutions {	Males....	87	463	3,323	1,701	72,824	
	Females	1	22	148	318	2,082	
Total .....		88	485	3,471	2,019	74,906	
Scholars {	Males....	7,436	57,103	143,925	58,001	1,790,113	
	Females	5	798	7,130	8,383	103,415	
Total .....		7,441	57,901	151,055	66,384	1,893,528	

2 Institutions and Scholars.	8 Special or Technical Education.							15 Grand Total.
	Schools of Art.	Medical Schools.	Engi- neering and Surveying Schools.	Normal Schools.	Indus- trial Schools.	Mad- rassas.	Other Schools.	
Insti- tutions {	Males....	5	12	16	95	30	458	938
	Females	—	—	—	15	3	—	—
Total .....	5	12	16	110	33	458	938	82,543
Scholars {	Males....	407	836	751	3,278	1,563	4,392	7,424
	Females	11	—	—	499	111	1	9
Total .....	418	836	751	3,777	1,674	4,393	7,433	2,075,249
								120,365
								2,195,614

These tables enable us to judge of what has been accomplished for education in India during the last twenty-eight years, and what remains to be done.

I shall first call attention to what has been done for the education of the great body of the people, as the primary instruction of the masses must ever be the first duty of the State; although in a country like India the State cannot, in the first instance, escape from the necessary duty of originating, and to a large extent conducting the higher as well as the lower forms of education. The





Impulse must in the first instance come from without, although, as we shall afterwards see, there was a large and valuable amount of education and educational appliances previously existing in India.

By the last table, Col. 7, it appears that there are in all 1,893,528 scholars on the roll, giving, so far as we can make out from the average attendance of all institutions, given in Table II, not more than about a million and a half in average attendance in primary schools.

These schools are placed in three categories—Government, aided, and unaided schools, and we get the numbers in each approximately from Table II, which gives 302,063 in attendance on middle and higher schools and colleges of all kinds. See all columns of Table III, except Col. 7, and deduct the aggregate from Col. 15.

TABLE IV.

	Number of Institutions.	Number on the Roll.	Average Attendance.
In Government institutions.....	16,649	769,074	565,800
„ aided institutions .....	50,207	1,111,853	839,489
„ unaided „ .....	15,705	314,697	—

Of the 1,893,528 on the roll in the department of primary instruction, it appears that the larger number are in *aided* schools. These are under the direction of missionaries, local bodies of natives, and private adventure, all receiving Government assistance on the grants-in-aid system: these grants being regulated by different rules in the different provinces, and often altered in a very arbitrary and fitful way, according to the ideas which predominate in the council of the local government, or the fancy of the director of public instruction for the province.

I do not think it worth while to occupy time in describing the many rules laid down for the distribution of grants, as they are sure to undergo revision at an early date. But I may say, that with many defects in the mode of administration, the system has been found admirably fitted for the present state of the country, and if it had been carried out in the spirit in which it was the intention of Government it should be applied, the results would have been much more beneficial than they have been. With all its faults, it has greatly extended education at a very small cost to the Government. In the provinces of Bengal and Madras a pupil in an aided school does not cost the Government more than ONE-TWELTH part of that of a pupil in a Government school. It has encouraged



both native and foreign enterprise, and called forth a large amount of liberality and of the spirit of self-help.

The character of these primary schools varies greatly. Those of Government may be allowed in the majority of cases to be highest of the three classes in the mere teaching department, though even in this, their strongest point, they are often surpassed by both aided and a few unaided schools. The aided are more brought into sympathy with their teachers, especially when these are under the management of missionaries, and the moral culture, and in a great many instances the general intelligence of the children, more highly developed. The unaided are of every possible gradation from the highest to the lowest: the larger proportion being of little value as educational institutions.

#### IV.—*Indigenous Schools.*

In speaking of these 1,893,528 pupils attending primary schools (Table III, Col. 7), which are either directly or indirectly connected with Government, we must not allow it to be supposed that these are the only schools in India. India was not an uneducated country when it came into our hands. It had from a very early period an elaborate system of education. There is reason to believe that with the exception of those districts inhabited by the aboriginal tribes scattered throughout the country, chiefly occupying mountain fastnesses from which they could not be expelled, or unwholesome jungles, from which it was not worth while to drive them, the whole of India was under some kind of education, and much of it of a high order.

It is no part of my plan to describe minutely the character of this education. I merely refer to the fact, that there was in the country a singularly perfect language, with a large body of learned men, and an extensive and varied literature of which any country might be proud. In arithmetic, which lies at the base of all progress in the exact sciences, especially of mathematics, mechanics, and astronomy, the Hindoos were early proficient, and the inheritors at a later period of the more perfect systems of the Arabians. They had their schools of law and medicine. Natural philosophy, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, and geology, were taught in their schools and colleges. I need scarcely add, that their systems of philosophy were ingenious and acute, and their theology elaborate and subtle. Even their history and chronology, with all their errors, had a certain value in their educational systems.

There is much sound common sense in the following minute by the East India Company, written when they were compelled by parliament in 1813 to devote 10,000*l.* a-year to education in India. "We are informed," they say, "that there are in the Sanskrit



“language many excellent systems of ethics, with codes of laws  
“and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of the  
“people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who  
“may be destined for the judicial department of Government.  
“There are also many tracts of merit, we are told, on the virtues  
“of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine,  
“the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European  
“practitioner; and there are treatises on astronomy and mathe-  
“matics, including geometry and algebra, which, although they  
“may not add new light to European science, might be made to  
“form links of communication between the natives and the gentle-  
“men in our service who are attached to the observatory and to the  
“department of engineers; and by such intercourse the natives  
“might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in  
“those and other sciences.”

I rather think that since we began to introduce our English language and literature, great and important as that step was, we have neglected to make a bridge by which the natives of India might pass easily and naturally from the old world system of their ancestors, into the more perfect culture of modern times, and by which the precious discoveries of modern science might be carried over into the languages and intelligence of an ancient people.

I believe that these higher schools of early times are now to a large extent extinct, or when they exist, they are mere fossils of a better period, utterly unsuited to the wants of the present day, and are becoming every year, with the increase of the light and literature of the west, more worthless for any practical purposes, and unless they can be transformed by new methods, and breathed into with a new life, they must disappear or, like bats, retire into their caverns, before the advancing light which, contrary to natural and historic laws, now rises in the west.

The elementary indigenous schools are still deserving of a careful examination, and are to a large extent capable of being made the starting point of a new departure in the education of the people. They have to a large extent declined of late years, both in numbers and efficiency, partly owing to the poverty of the inhabitants, and partly from their lack of adaptation to the new wants of the people. The higher character of the government and aided schools has helped to degrade them in the eyes of the people, who find that their children trained in the old style are not capable of competing with those brought up in the schools formed on the western model, especially when they, by the addition of English, prepare their pupils for Government employment, or the service of Europeans. Still they are a power in the country, and cannot be overlooked in any estimate of educational appliances. It has been one of the

vices in the carrying out of our northern system, that these old schools have been ignored or frowned upon by our Inspectors and Directors of public instruction.

All have not been thus hampered by their early preconceptions, and some of the most successful educators have been men who availed themselves of what was good, or capable of being made good, in Indian schools, and have lifted the "hedge school" by degrees into the well-ordered village school. First and foremost among those benefactors of India was Mr. Thomason in the north-west, from whose noble efforts the framers of the educational despatch got some of their best suggestions; and we are glad to say several have of late been following in his footsteps, more especially the Directors of Public Instruction in Bengal, the Central Provinces, and Oudh.

The number of these indigenous schools is still very large, though not so numerous as they were half a century ago.

Mr. Adam, who spent three years in preparing his valuable report on the state of education in Bengal; for the Government, in 1835, p. 18, says:—

"The number of such schools in Bengal is supposed to be very great. A distinguished member of the General Committee of Public Instruction, in a minute on the subject, expressed the opinion that if one rupee per mensem were expended on each existing village school in the Lower Provinces, the amount would probably fall little short of 12 lakhs of rupees per annum. This supposes that there are 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar, and assuming that the population of those two provinces to be 40 millions, there would be a village school for every 400 persons."

And again, on p. 19:—

"Let it be admitted that these calculations from uncertain premises are only distant approximations to the truth, and it will appear that the system of village schools is extensively prevalent; that the desire to give education to their male children must be deeply seated in the minds of parents, even of the humblest classes; and that these are the institutions, closely interwoven as they are with the habits of the people and the customs of the country, through which primarily, although not exclusively, we may hope to improve the morals and intellect of the native population."

The numbers attending each school is small, and an average of 10 or 12 pupils would probably be large enough. This would only give say 1,200,000 pupils for a population then estimated at 40 millions; and there is reason to believe that now, with a population of 69 millions, the number is not so large as it was in 1835.





From "A History of Indigenous Schools in the Punjab," prepared by Dr. Leitner for the Education Commission, with a proof copy of which I have just been favoured, we have the means of judging with tolerable certainty of the state of these schools in that province, far more full and reliable than anything we have for any other province in India.

Dr. Leitner gives reasons for believing that there has been a great falling off in these schools for some time back. There is good ground for the belief that at one time there was a school in each of the 28,879 villages of the Punjab, which, with an average of little over 10 to each, would give about 300,000 pupils; as many of the villages had more than one school, this number was probably much higher. Now we cannot reckon more than 95,000 pupils in schools of this class, or at the most 120,000, in about 12,000 schools in the 29,000 villages of the province.

Dr. Leitner sums up his remarks on this part of his inquiry in these words, p. 16 :—

"To sum up. Although 60,168 pupils, the lowest number according to the census, probably attending indigenous schools in the province, or even 96,585 under instruction not given by Government or aided schools (not to speak of my conjecture that presumably 120,000 persons receive indigenous instruction in the Punjab), may be considered to be a great falling off from the 300,000 pupils who, according to my lowest estimate, attended school before the annexation of the Punjab, it is obvious that there still exists a considerable educational material that may yet be saved from destruction, and that may even be largely increased and improved, provided the steps are taken that I will venture to indicate hereafter."\*

In the Madras presidency Sir Thomas Munro, after careful inquiry, comes to the conclusion, "*that there were in that province, in the year 1822 not fewer than 12,498 schools, containing 188,650 scholars in indigenous schools,*" and in Bombay at the same period, "*schools were found to be scattered all over the province,*" as was reported in answer to Mount-Stuart Elphinstone's inquiries on the subject.

Dr. Leitner well observes, after quoting these facts, also referred to in Mr. Adam's report, p. 21: "It is much to be regretted that, as each province fell under our rule, the Government did not take advantage of the time when the prestige of conquest, or gratitude

\* Since the above was in type, I am favoured with a copy of an able paper prepared by Mr. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction for the Punjab, for the "Commission," contesting some of Dr. Leitner's statements; amongst others, the diminution of indigenous schools, and showing that certain classes of them had been turned into Government or grant-in-aid schools.

for delivery from war or oppression, were strong in the popular mind, to make the village school an important feature in the village system that was almost everywhere transmitted to us. Had this been done, and had the numerous village allowances been directed to this object, and had the Government devoted itself to the improvement of school books and schoolmasters, instead of establishing a few new schools of its own, and thereby encouraging the belief that it was for the State, and not for the community to look after education, the work of general improvement would have been substituted for the work of partial construction, and we should now have had in every province a really adequate system of national primary education. Sir Thomas Munro aimed at this in Madras, as did Mount-Stuart Elphinstone in Bombay, and Lord William Bentinck in Bengal, but their views were overridden by men who, if less far seeing, were more persistent."

It is a subject of much regret to the friends of education in India that no systematic effort was made at an early period to get at careful and reliable returns of the number and character of those indigenous schools in all parts of the country. The efforts made by Mr. Adam in 1835, under the patronage of Lord William Bentinck, led to no practical results in his time, and the good man threw up a lucrative appointment rather than be a party to unsatisfactory decisions come to on the presentation of his report. But there is little doubt that at a later date the facts he had brought to light stimulated and helped men like Sir George Campbell and Sir Ashley Eden, when lieutenant-governors of Bengal, to carry out their noble aims for the education of the masses; and one of the grandest efforts for primary education carried out by Mr. Croft, the present director of public instruction for the province, is based on the policy of *improving* instead of *superseding* these indigenous schools which Mr. Adam had brought under public notice.

It is satisfactory to find that the present Viceroy's Education Commission takes this view, and the fourth question put to each witness brought before it is as follows:—

"Q. 4. To what extent do indigenous schools exist in your province? How far are they a relic of an ancient village system? Can you describe the subjects and character of the instruction given in them, and the system of discipline in vogue? What fees are taken from the scholars? From what classes are the masters of such schools generally selected, and what are their qualifications? Have any arrangements been made for training or providing masters in such schools? Under what circumstances do you consider that indigenous schools can be turned to good account as part of a system of national education, and what is the best method to adopt for this purpose? Are the masters willing to





accept State aid, and to conform to the rules under which such aid is given? How far has the grant-in-aid system been extended to indigenous schools, and can it be further extended?"

As a good many of the official records of the examination of witnesses have been kindly sent to me by friends, I cannot do better than give a few of the answers. They are necessarily partial and imperfect, as none of the parties had the means or opportunity of making any systematic or extensive investigation, but those which I shall give are from men who had the best opportunities of knowing the facts.

Evidence of P. VEJIARANGA MUDALUYAR, Esq., first deputy-inspector of schools, Madras:—

"A. 4. In the town of Madras indigenous schools are fast disappearing. They are giving way to Anglo-vernacular schools. The few indigenous schools that do still exist are resorted to by very poor people, generally the children of artisans and coolies. In these schools, cadjan books and wooden planks (for slates) are still used. The most important and useful subject taught in these schools is the multiplication table of integers and fractions. There is scarcely any prose read. Poetry, which generally consists of hymns and moral aphorisms, is learnt by heart, but not understood. The discipline in these schools is generally loose, except that the children are kept in constant dread of the teacher's cane. The school fee varies with the capacity of the parents, between two and eight annas per mensem. This is not regularly paid. Besides the monthly school fee, each pupil pays the teacher a pie or two and some rice on feast days, and also a present whenever a book is begun. The generality of the teachers of these indigenous schools are old and crippled men and those who cannot earn their livelihood by any other means. Their only qualification is that they can read and write and cast accounts in the old, but not bad, native method. The number of such indigenous schools is larger in the mofussil, but even there they are gradually giving way to improved schools. Several normal schools exist in the Madras Presidency for training and improving these indigenous schoolmasters, but very few of them can be induced to leave their villages and attend these schools."

Evidence of J. STURROCK, Esq., C.B., collector and magistrate, South Canara:—

"A. 4. There is not, and as far as I know never was, an extensive and well organised system of indigenous schools in South Canara. Indigenous village schools there are of course here and there, but they are seldom of a permanent nature, and are usually kept by the 'shanbogue' or clerk of some landholder, either in connection with the education of his master's children or as a

“private speculation of his own. There is little of a distinctive character about the education imparted by them now, as they are usually ready to adopt modern methods of instruction, and apply for result grants if they think they are likely to get them. Specially careful instruction in reading ‘cadjan’ documents, a larger multiplication table, and greater attention paid to teaching songs and poems, are the points in which it is sometimes alleged that the old schools were superior to the new.

“When making inquiries in 1871, when the Local Fund Board was started, I could hear of only ninety-two indigenous schools, of which twenty-eight were then under Government inspection. Amongst these I do not include purely sectarian Mohammadan schools imparting instruction solely in the Koran.”

Evidence of P. CHENTSAL ROW, Esq., Superintendent of stamps and stationery, Madras :—

“A. 4.—I have no statistics to show the number of indigenous schools other than those under Government inspection, but there is no doubt that some exist. In 1820, the number of indigenous schools was ascertained to be 12,000, and probably about two-thirds of them have now come under Government inspection. In these schools the boys are taught to read and write, and are also made to learn the names of years, months, and days, and they are taught a little of arithmetic and a few rules of mensuration, and much pains are taken to cultivate the memory of boys. Fees are taken either in the shape of money or grain. The teachers are generally selected from among the class of Brahmins, and as a rule the office passes from father to son.”

Under another question he says :—

“Formerly there was a Brahmin more or less in each village, known as Vadyar, Panchangi, or Purohit, whose duty it was to supply the intellectual wants of the village by way of teaching the Vedas, reading the calendar, and officiating at ceremonies. These men used to be remunerated by rent-free land, or grain fees, or both; and it is a great pity that their office was abolished, and their Inam lands enfranchised, instead of being utilised for maintenance of a schoolmaster.”

Evidence of V. KRISHNAMA CHARIAH, Esq., Curator and Registrar of Books, formerly an inspector of schools in the Madras presidency :—

“4. (a.) So far as I am present able to say, nearly one-half of the primary schools in the country are indigenous schools.

“(b.) They are a relic of the ancient village system, as the following facts prove :—(1.) They retain the old hours of attendance, which are from day-break to sunset, and even later, with intervals for meals. (2.) The schoolmasters continue to receive



payments in kind, such as a certain quantity of fuel, the dole of oil on Saturdays, the measure of rice, &c., on certain feasts, and the Desara feast presents, and other perquisites. (3.) They still hold their schools on pyals, by the side of houses, or under trees or other places exposed to the public view, instead of having some other suitable premises.

“(c.) The subjects taught are mostly poetry and village accounts. The teaching is unsystematic and unintelligent, and there is more individual than class teaching. A boy is often said to have mastered a book if he is simply able to read it over or recite it *verbatim*, without understanding the sense, no attempt being made to explain the meaning and matter of what is read, or to point out any peculiarities of idiom and grammar. Too often the teacher himself of the old indigenous type is not able to read the passage with due regard to sense, emphasis, &c.

“(d.) The discipline is rather unsatisfactory, there being hardly any classification of pupils, or teaching them in class by questions and answers, nor any order either in giving lessons or receiving them. The boys read or bawl out indiscriminately at the top of their voices; and this is enough to satisfy their parents, who think that the understanding of what is read will come in time. Similarly punishments, in some cases barbarous, are inflicted upon boys less with reference to the nature of the offence than to the wealth or poverty of their parents, or according to the temper of the teacher.

“(e.) The fees are paid both in money and in kind, but not regularly. Sometimes the teacher has to wait for the harvest season, and in some cases the payment is made annually.”

The following is important as the testimony of a man of much experience and good opportunities of knowing the language and the feeling of the people, as to the question of using the indigenous schools as a basis for a better system.

Evidence of the Rev. J. Cooling, B.A., Wesleyan Missionary, Madras:—

“The objection generally urged against such a course (the utilising of native schools) is that the condition of these schools is so bad, and the prejudices of the teachers so strong, that improvement is hopeless. No doubt the subjects taught in them are generally of no practical value, and the methods of instruction of the most barbarous kind, so that the description given in 1823 by the collector of Bellary in his report to Sir Thomas Munro (*vide* Appendix D of papers relating to public instruction, compiled by A. J. Arbuthnot, 1855) is substantially correct to-day, yet there is this very important difference: then the parents and teachers were satisfied with the state of things, now there is a growing

“feeling of dissatisfaction among both, and a willingness on the part of teachers to submit to the conditions upon which they can obtain Government aid. Such is the state of feeling in the majority of districts, that without any very extravagant outlay of money, most of the indigenous schools could readily be brought under inspection and improvement. In some districts many such schools have thus been improved, and there seems no reason why means that have been successful in one district should not under similar conditions be equally successful in another.”

In answer to a set of questions which I sent to a number of missionaries and others in different parts of India, one of which was :—

“Are there any unaided indigenous schools in your district of such a character as to benefit the people?” we received a few returns, but the answers, though pretty numerous, were not satisfactory as to the number of such schools, as the qualification of *usefulness* restricted the answer. A few from different parts of the country from the preceding are of value.

The Rev. George Shirt writes from Hyderabad Sindh, “There are a few such, not many.”

From the Deccan, the Rev. J. G. Hawkes Belgaum writes, “Our unaided indigenous schools are few, small, and of little value.”

From Bombay, Mr. W. F. Melvin writes, “There are many private unaided schools here.”

The Rev. J. H. Walters writes from Bangalore, “There are a few unaided indigenous schools in the Mysore, but they are of very little value.”

The following is of much value as being the joint testimony of six distinguished educationists chosen as a committee to represent the great body of missionaries in southern India :—

“5. There are numerous indigenous schools throughout the presidency, known as pial schools. Many of these are now being improved and developed by local fund boards and municipalities. This mode of action can be carried on indefinitely, if only there are sufficient local resources. The taxes for this object cannot be indefinitely increased, but aid could be afforded out of the present allotment to education from provincial revenues, if the policy laid down in the despatch were carried out.”

The following samples of the multiplication tables taught in India, give an idea of the way in which memory is cultivated in these indigenous schools.

In Bengal one of the first tables is to multiply up to  $16 \times 16$ , and then to multiply by fractions from  $1 \times \frac{1}{4}$  up to  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 25$ .

Dr. Leitner gives the following as being in common use in the





Punjab. The simple multiplication 1 to 10—for they all reckon by decimals—is not thought worth mentioning.

TABLE V.—*Multiplication Table as taught in a Hindi School.*

[From Dr. Leitner's "History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab," part iv, p. 5.]

1. Multipli- cation by $\frac{3}{4}$ .	2. Multipli- cation by $1\frac{1}{4}$ .	3. Multipli- cation by $1\frac{1}{2}$ .	4. Multipli- cation by $2\frac{1}{2}$ .	5. Multipli- cation by $3\frac{1}{2}$ .	6. Multipli- cation by $4\frac{1}{2}$ .	7. Multipli- cation by $5\frac{1}{2}$ .
1 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $1\frac{1}{4}$	1 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $1\frac{1}{2}$	1 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $2\frac{1}{2}$	1 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $3\frac{1}{2}$	1 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $4\frac{1}{2}$	1 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $5\frac{1}{2}$
2 $\frac{3}{4}$ $1\frac{1}{2}$	2 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $2\frac{1}{2}$	2 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $3$	2 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $5$	2 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $7$	2 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $9$	2 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $11$
3 $\frac{3}{4}$ $2\frac{1}{4}$	3 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $3\frac{1}{2}$	3 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $4\frac{1}{2}$	3 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $7\frac{1}{2}$	3 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $10\frac{1}{2}$	3 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $13\frac{1}{2}$	3 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $16\frac{1}{2}$
4 $\frac{3}{4}$ $3$	4 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $5$	4 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $6$	4 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $10$	4 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $14$	4 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $18$	4 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $22$
5 $\frac{3}{4}$ $3\frac{3}{4}$	5 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $6\frac{1}{4}$	5 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $7\frac{1}{2}$	5 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $12\frac{1}{2}$	5 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $17\frac{1}{2}$	5 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $22\frac{1}{2}$	5 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $27\frac{1}{2}$
6 $\frac{3}{4}$ $4\frac{1}{2}$	6 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $7\frac{1}{2}$	6 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $9$	6 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $15$	6 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $21$	6 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $27$	6 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $33$
7 $\frac{3}{4}$ $5\frac{1}{4}$	7 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $8\frac{1}{4}$	7 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $10\frac{1}{2}$	7 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $17\frac{1}{2}$	7 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $24\frac{1}{2}$	7 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $31\frac{1}{2}$	7 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $38\frac{1}{2}$
8 $\frac{3}{4}$ $6$	8 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $10$	8 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $12$	8 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $20$	8 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $28$	8 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $36$	8 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $44$
9 $\frac{3}{4}$ $6\frac{3}{4}$	9 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $11\frac{1}{4}$	9 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $13\frac{1}{2}$	9 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $22\frac{1}{2}$	9 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $31\frac{1}{2}$	9 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $40\frac{1}{2}$	9 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $49\frac{1}{2}$
10 $\frac{3}{4}$ $7\frac{1}{4}$	10 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $12\frac{1}{4}$	10 $1\frac{1}{2}$ $15$	10 $2\frac{1}{2}$ $25$	10 $3\frac{1}{2}$ $35$	10 $4\frac{1}{2}$ $45$	10 $5\frac{1}{2}$ $55$

He also gives the following as taught in the Punjab. I do not give the number of each table, as it would not add to our knowledge, p. 181, part ii:—

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. $1 \times 10$ to $5 \times 10$ .  | 8. $36 \times 10$ to $40 \times 10$ .                    |
| 2. $6 \times 10$ „ $10 \times 10$ .  | 9. $1 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ „ $50 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ .  |
| 3. $11 \times 10$ „ $15 \times 10$ . | 10. $1 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ „ $50 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ . |
| 4. $16 \times 10$ „ $20 \times 10$ . | 11. $1 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ „ $50 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ . |
| 5. $21 \times 10$ „ $25 \times 10$ . | 12. A table of money.                                    |
| 6. $26 \times 10$ „ $30 \times 10$ . | 13. „ measurements.                                      |
| 7. $31 \times 10$ „ $35 \times 10$ . |  |

While such exercises may improve the memory, there is a deplorable want of any proper exercise for the understanding, and it is found that after learning by rote a large number of tables and examples, the youths are found incapable, on leaving school, of applying these rules to new cases. There are however examples of good and efficient schools in almost all parts of India, in which the children are taught to keep account books, and even a little mensuration. The trading class get either at home or in school enough to enable them to follow the future occupation or profession of their fathers, which is always hereditary, and may become a hereditary instinct, like that developed in animals, and sufficient for the vegetating existence of an unprogressive race: it is not education suited to the wants and aspirations of the human mind.

From these figures and facts, and others which might have been brought forward, we learn:—

1st. That from a very early period there has existed a system of

education at one time suited in a measure to the limited wants of the people, though now greatly reduced in extent and efficiency, and altogether inadequate to the necessities of a growing population and progressive civilisation.

2nd. That in many cases there were endowments in land for the support of a teacher in the villages, and that these have been to a very large extent lost or diverted from the objects for which they were destined. The extent to which this has been done is not known, but is worthy of inquiry. Dr. Leitner, in his "History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab," laid by request before the Commission, gives long lists of grants for education which have been allowed to lapse or have been resumed, with the names of places and parties. Similar though less definite statements have been made in different parts of India.

3rd. That the people of India have been accustomed to self-imposed taxation for educational purposes, and a large number of the richer classes have liberally contributed for its support, while many of the priestly classes, both Hindu and Mohamman, have given instruction gratuitously as a religious duty.

4th. That fees have been paid in a great variety of ways, suited to the circumstances of the people—some in money, others in kind, or by feeding the teachers in turn, or irregular gifts at certain times or on festival occasions.

I call attention to these peculiarities, not as examples which can be followed or which it would be desirable to follow, but they suggest that in any future legislation it would be well not to lay down rules to be rigidly applied alike to all places and classes of the people, whose old habits ought not to be disregarded by Government.

While these indigenous schools are capable of being used as a basis to start from in a better system of instruction, I must at the same time give expression to the general conviction, that in their present form they are of little or no practical value for the real education of the people: their methods are bad; their materials for instruction are wretched; their training is not fitted to develop the mind. The *morale* is very low; in many it is positively vicious. Many of the lessons taught are absolutely immoral, and inculcate vices, even of an unnatural kind. Even the passages taken from their religious books are full of vile stories of their gods, which by the higher class of their priests or teachers may be allegorised or explained away, but by very many of the teachers of a lower type the worst stories are enlarged on and gloated over with a fleshly realism which is most pernicious to the youthful imagination and morals.

Many of those of a better class morally, are intellectually of





little value. Some are attached to Hindoo temples, where they are taught a theology which does not elevate them, or are only taught to repeat by rote a liturgy of which they never learn the meaning. Many are found in Mohammadan mosques. Haroun-Al-Rachid anticipated the enlightened policy of John Knox, the reformer of the sixteenth century, who insisted on a school being built by the side of each church in Scotland. Haroun in the eighth century gave orders that every mosque throughout his vast empire should support a school or college. The great misfortune was that while he made provision for boys, he, and still more his successors, in their jealous seclusion of women, not only shut out one-half his subjects from the blessings of education, but confirmed and extended the curse of ignorance over the women of India when they became subject to the Moslem rule. There is reason to believe that the native females were not at the early and better periods of Indian history, either secluded or kept in ignorance as they have been in later times. Much of the teaching in these schools is now only a fossil of the famous schools of Bokhara, Fez, and Cordova, and many of them only a learning by rote of portions of the Koran.

The most painful feature of popular education in India is this state of abject ignorance of the women. From the first table it will be seen that in all India there are not more than 2,002 female schools, attended by only 66,615, and 2,955 mixed schools, with 90,915. If half the scholars in these were girls, this would only give 112,000 girls under instruction. But as we must allow for some girls being taught privately, and some women in the Zenanas, we may credit the higher estimate now given, as what seems good authority, *that there are 133,000 females under some kind of instruction in India.* The small number seems only a mockery, and many of these schools are of little value. But for the efforts of missionary societies the education of women would not even have made a beginning. In this department Government in direct teaching seems powerless; their best efforts are suspected, and their schools shunned.

#### V.—*Numbers still Needing Instruction.*

In estimating the number of the youth of India for whom provision must be made, if we are to aim at a national system of education for the people, we see *no reason for fixing on any lower average than 1 in 6 of the population.* I do not exclude the females. The prospect of overtaking the education of either the boys or girls is a gigantic enterprise, and its accomplishment remote, but we must not lower our ideal. It is true that the habits and needs of the inhabitants, and even the physical development of the people, are different from those of Europe; they require an

earlier period for commencing the work of education, and a still earlier period for its close. But these considerations are more than counterbalanced by a fact which must be kept in mind, *that the number of youths of school age is much greater in proportion to the population in India than it is in Europe.* If youth is more precocious, life is also shorter.

By the following comparison of the population of India and England at different ages, we find the striking fact brought out that *the proportion of the population under 12 years of age in India is almost quite as large as the portion under 15 is in England;* and were it not that the number of females of that early age in India is unnaturally low, the equality between the proportion of Indian girls under 12 and English girls under 15 would be equally striking. The following table gives the data of our comparison:—

TABLE VI.—*Population of British India under Twelve Years of Age, Classified according to Sex and Age.*

[Made from "Statistical Abstract," 1881.]

Males.			Females.		
Boys under 12.	Total Population.	Percentage under 12.	Girls under 12.	Total Population.	Percentage under 12.
35,788,154	98,067,555	36.49	31,182,746	92,582,657	33.67

*Population of England and Wales under Fifteen Years of Age, Classified according to Sex and Age, Census of 1871.*

Males.			Females.		
Boys under 15.	Total Population.	Percentage under 15.	Girls under 15.	Total Population.	Percentage under 15.
4,108,053	11,058,934	37.04	4,093,988	11,653,332	35.99

Assuming then that 1 in 6 of the population is a fair proportion\* for attendance at school in India, this, according to the

\* To show how low our estimate is, we annex in a note the following from the "Report of the Committee of Council on Education in England and Wales for 1882:"—

"In 1881, the estimated population (at the middle of the year) being 26,055,406, the children of school age will have risen to 6,146,104; and deducting from that number one-seventh, as being the children of a class above that commonly found in public elementary schools, the remainder, 5,268,089, is the number of children, from 3 to 13, for whom elementary education falls to be provided. If we assume that each child goes to school for only seven years out of the ten of its proper school life, there ought to be 3,687,662 children under daily instruction in our schools.





census of 1880, with its 198,508,793 people in British India, would give 33,084,764 to be provided with school appliances. We do not say *accommodation*, for we have seen that nature and art are provided in that land, where the shadow of a tree or the verandah of a house are sufficient for the commencement of our work of instruction. Deducting the numbers provided for, which according to the last reports are found to be only 2,195,614 in all kinds of schools of which Government takes cognizance, we have 30,889,090—in round numbers, *thirty millions of the youth of India unprovided for by Government with the proper means of elementary instruction*. In fact, only about *one child in ten of school age is as yet properly cared for*.

The most unsatisfactory circumstance is that the increase of scholars in the schools has not even kept pace with the *birth-rate* of the population; that while the increase of scholars was only on an average 60,000 over the whole period of the operation of the present education Act, the population was increasing during that time at a rate which added on an *average 250,000 children of school age to the population*. That in fact the *uneducated* were increasing at the rate of nearly 200,000 a year.

I cannot allow this reference to the increase of population in India to pass without a reference to its profound significance. It casts a dark shadow over the future of the country, and a deep gloom over the past.

There is no reason to question the accuracy of the estimate given by our President in his opening address, that the population of India under our rule doubles itself in a hundred years. It is the estimate which has been accepted at the India House by its most cautious and accurate financiers and statisticians. In presence of the fact that densely populated countries like Scotland and England, with a large emigration, double themselves, the former in seventy-four years and the latter in seventy-two years, while America doubles its population in twenty-five years, there is nothing incredible in it. It is true that the census for the last decade in India gives only half the rate of cent. per cent. in a hundred years: the adverse circumstances during this period have been exceptionally severe.

• But taking the rate of increase to be one-half the above estimate, and only at the known rate during these ten years, which have

“It follows from these considerations that more than a million of names have still to be added to the number (4,045,362) already borne on the registers of inspected schools; and that a further increase of at least 800,000 may even now take place in the average attendance at the schools, which has risen from 1,152,389 in 1870 to 2,863,535 in 1881, i.e., from 5.0 to 10.99 per cent. of the population.”



been exceptionally adverse to the increase of population, not only from the millions who have actually died, but from the great check given by famine to the national birth-rate, and what is the thought suggested as to the future not only in respect of the supply of education but of food.

The fact stares our Government and every philanthropist in the face, that without any further acquisition by conquest, of which I hope we have seen an end, there will be in another hundred years of our rule in India, 400 millions of people, without any corresponding increase of area for the growth of food, even if lands now uncultivated be brought under the plough.

But while this rapid increase of population bears witness most eloquently to the security of life, and the beneficence of our rule, it casts a lurid light on the past history of that country, and contrasts the conquests of modern civilisation with those of the past, even when by substantially the same Aryan race.

Take the rate at only cent. per cent. in *two* hundred years, and let us form an estimate of what the population of India would now be, if the results of the early Aryan conquest or rather *migration*, which should have tended to increase population in a thinly peopled country all the more rapidly, had in any way corresponded to that of our conquest, without emigration.

Supposing the early Aryan immigrations into India to have been well established even at a period as recent as four hundred years before the Christian era, and that the entire aggregate of the population of the country, including both conquered and conquerors, was only 5 millions, and we should have the following results: results which under such a Government as India now enjoys would have been realised far more easily than they are being realised now under British rule, but which not having been realised, suggest sad thoughts of the past history of that country, and ought to call forth gratitude in the heart of the natives of India towards our Government, whose firm and beneficent rule in preserving life forms its chief source of embarrassment in sustaining it.

*Natural Increase of Population at the Rate of Cent. per Cent. in Two Hundred Years.*

B.C.			
400 years,	Population of India, say, only	5,000,000	
200	„ should have been	10,000,000	
A.D.			
1	„ „	20,000,000	
200	„ „	40,000,000	
1800	„ „	10,240,000,000	

In other words the population of India would have been 10,000 millions more than it now is, that is to say, seven times the popu-



lation of the whole world, an unreal but yet no mere fancy picture. It tells of cruel conquerors sweeping over the land in successive waves of blood, of desolating internal wars, of oppressive governments crushing out the nation's life, of famines and pestilences, and those unnumbered and unutterable miseries which follow in their rear, making life wretched and increase of population impossible. I have put the population of all India at 5 millions at the close of the fifth century before Christ: there is great probability that it was as great as it was when we began our conquest of the country. If we are to attach any value to either its history or mythology, it must have been much greater.

But returning from this digression to the comparative school-rate and birth-rate of increase in India, it appears that the increase of scholars, instead of becoming every year more rapid in geometrical ratio, was in reality becoming comparatively slower and slower. From 1857 to 1866, allowing three years for organisation, they rose from 8,490 institutions with 190,856 pupils, to 18,563 institutions with 590,217 pupils in average attendance, *trebling the number of scholars in nine years.\** And had this fervour of early zeal, under the able and disinterested management of members of the civil and military service of the Government been kept up, there would have been hope for the education of India. But the management has got into other hands. Education has become a bureaucracy, and, like other bureaus, it is steadily settling down into a self-contained, self-satisfied, if not self-aggrandising system. What is the rate of increase since? From 1866 the numbers only rose from 590,317 in average attendance to 1,153,217 in 1879.† *They barely doubled their number in thirteen years.* And on comparing the return of 1879 with that of 1878, we find that there is *an actual decrease of 25,862 in average attendance, and of not fewer than 65,000 of the pupils on the roll.*

To show what can be done in the way of increasing the numbers of scholars in a country less favourably situated than India, I may point to Japan, which only began to introduce Western culture a few years ago, and already has outstripped India in the number of its primary schools and pupils.

Such was the state of matters in 1879, when the movement began which led to the appointment of the "Education Commission." We are happy to say that since that time a great change has taken place for the better, at once showing the need for a new stimulus, and what can be done by energy and good management.

\* Statistical Abstract, British India, 1866, p. 45. Published in 1868.

† Statistical Abstract, British India, 1869-70, 1878-79. Published in 1880.

VI.—*Expenditure on Education in India.*

The following table, taken from a paper read before the Commission by Mr. Arthur Howell, one of its most useful members, shows the EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION BY GOVERNMENT, AND FROM ALL SOURCES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PRIMARY EDUCATION, WITH THE AREA AND POPULATION OF EACH PROVINCE.

TABLE VII.—1879-80.

[Extracted from the Educational Reports of each Government or Administration for the Year 1879-80.]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Provinces.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Government Expenditure on Education from Imperial Revenues in 1879-80 (exclusive of Local Cess).	Total Expenditure on Education.	Government Expenditure on Primary Education for Boys.	Total Expenditure on Primary Education for Boys.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Bengal .....	156,286	60,738,217	21,96,791	25,68,547	2,95,519	11,72,906
2. Madras .....	138,856	31,385,820	10,37,209	28,23,473	1,19,751	10,23,189
3. Bombay .....	124,105	16,349,806	11,02,630	24,13,176	2,34,635	9,54,591
4. N. W. provinces and Oudh ....	105,991	42,005,299	9,58,651	20,10,378	1,75,072	8,34,982
5. Punjab .....	107,010	17,611,498	5,58,522	13,41,118	84,318	4,69,108
6. Central provinces	84,208	8,173,824	3,23,615	6,10,690	82,140	2,52,319
7. British Burmah	87,464	3,088,902	2,23,996	4,10,067	45,138	1,46,161
8. Assam .....	45,303	4,124,972	1,41,551	2,64,910	23,743	80,366
9. Berar .....	17,711	2,227,654	2,22,307	3,15,489	1,20,411	1,75,440
10. Coorg .....	1,572	168,312	17,981	22,967	2,423	7,188
Total .....	868,506	185,874,304	67,84,253	1,49,80,215	11,83,150	51,16,250

The table which follows is also from Mr. Howell's able paper, and shows the way in which the entire imperial grant for education is expended in each province, and the cost of each department of education. It is the more important to look well into the way in which the grant is expended, as the sum devoted by Government for this all-important object is so small, only about three-quarters of a million in the gross for the whole of India, and as part of this is paid back, the net sum is only about 678,000*l.* a year.



TABLE VIII.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Provinces.	Imperial Expenditure on Education, 1879-80 (Details of Col. 4, Table VII).								
	Univer- sities.	Colleges or Depart- ments of Colleges.	Higher Schools, Secondary Education.	Primary Education.	Normal and Technical Education.	Female Educa- tion.	Direction and Inspection.	Miscel- laneous.	Total Expendi- ture from Provincial Revenues, Col. 4, Table I.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Bengal .....	*	5,09,010	6,00,719	2,95,519	2,01,999	80,336	4,15,953	93,255	21,96,791
2. Madras .....	*	1,45,981	2,25,562	1,19,751	1,34,260	83,142	2,24,605	1,03,908	10,37,209
3. Bombay ....	31,547	1,54,106	2,26,524	2,34,635	1,05,320	37,201	2,07,723	1,05,574	11,02,630
4. N.W. pro- vinces and Oudh }	—	1,31,528	2,92,212	1,75,072	49,999	53,062	2,44,110	12,668	9,58,651
5. Punjab .....	21,000	54,465	1,82,996	84,318	31,082	41,346	1,24,562	18,753	5,58,522
6. Central provinces }	—	15,002	74,174	82,140	28,735	5,025	1,01,391	17,148	3,23,615
7. British Burmah }	—	—	54,689	45,138	7,276	10,064	58,209	48,620	2,23,996
8. Assam .....	—	—	51,521	23,743	16,613	1,407	44,039	4,228	1,41,551
9. Berar .....	—	1,801	27,436	1,20,411	3,306	1,963	48,198	20,192	2,23,307
10. Coorg .....	—	—	5,064	2,432	2,422	120	7,065	887	17,981
Total .....	52,547	10,11,893	17,40,896	11,83,150	5,81,012	3,13,666	14,75,855	4,25,233	67,84,253

	Bengal. Rs.	Madras. Rs.
* For these Universities the Receipts were .....	93,950	54,311
and the Charges were .....	92,251	53,155
Leaving a balance in favour.....	1,699	1,156

It appears from the foregoing tables that the expenditure on primary education was quite inadequate to the wants of the country. From Mr. Howell's paper read before the Commission in March, it is seen, Table VII, Col. 6, that the entire sum spent on the primary education of the whole of India was only Rs. 11,83,150, or little more than 118,000*l.* a year, and about 30,000*l.* more on female education in all its branches, chiefly *primary*. At the same time they were spending, Col. 4, Table VIII, on higher and secondary education, Rs. 17,40,897, on arts colleges, Col. 3, Rs. 10,11,893, on universities, Col. 2, Rs. 58,547, and on technical and normal education, Col. 6, Rs. 5,81,012; that is to say, from direct imperial grants they spent fully 300,000*l.* on higher education for about 100,000*l.* on primary instruction. The few, and many of these the richer class, were receiving three times as much to educate them for lucrative appointments, as the masses of the poor were receiving to educate them for the necessary duties of everyday life.

A reference to Table VII, Col. 7, where it appears that the sum spent on the primary education of boys amounts in the aggregate to Rs. 51,16,250, or nearly five times as much as the imperial grant, seems to contradict our statement.

In reality this fact only brings out an aggravation of the evil—I may say the injustice of the present system. It is a notorious fact, that the larger part of the imperial revenue is derived from the land. That this revenue is more of the nature of a rent than a tax is nothing to our present purpose. We call attention to the fact that it is derived chiefly from the ryots, or agricultural classes; and yet we find, first, that by far the larger part of the grant from that imperial revenue so derived is devoted in the proportion of 3 to 1 to the higher education, chiefly in our large cities, and is spent on a class richer than the ryots; and secondly, that to promote the lower education *a fresh tax falling chiefly on the poor is imposed for their elementary instruction*. The following table, though not coinciding exactly with Mr. Howell's figures, will show with sufficient accuracy the sources of revenue for educational purposes. It is taken from the "Statistical Abstract for 1880."

TABLE IX.—*Receipts for Education in British India for 1880.*

Received from

Grants from Provincial Revenues.	Local Rates or Cesses.	Endowments.	Subscriptions.	Municipal Grants.	Revenues of Native States.	Fees and Fines.	Funds other than foregoing.	Total.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
70,24,461	23,92,254	4,40,747	6,00,755	3,60,726	1,94,250	31,78,172	20,15,773	1,52,07,138

1. What are called "grants from provincial revenues" are given from the *imperial* grant for education, which is handed over by Lord Mayo's localisation scheme, in a certain proportion to each province, and disposed of as "provincial revenue."

2. The local cess, and the grant from municipal bodies, are all devoted to primary education.

3. Fees are exacted in all schools supported or aided by Government.

The "local cess," "municipal grants," and a portion of the "fees," make up the difference in Cols. 6 and 7 of Table VII.

By way of contrast we give in Appendix A the revenue and expenditure on elementary schools in England for 1881.

#### VII.—*Fees in Schools and Colleges.*

It is impossible to give the fees in all the institutions of India, they vary so much in different parts of the country: no two pro-





vinces are alike; and even in different parts of the same province they vary according to circumstances. This is in many cases a necessity, and it would be injurious to reduce all to one uniform standard.

I give the rate as fixed by Government for the province of Madras, which may be taken as a fair example and as near the average for India as could well be given.

That the significance of these rates may be understood, I may give by as near an approximation as I can the values of the different standards as compared with those of this country.

A student for a B.A. degree is as nearly as possible on a level with the students for the same degree in the University of London. It is supposed to be as difficult of attainment as a B.A. with honors in Oxford or Cambridge.

The F.A., or First Arts, is obtainable in the middle of the four years' college course, but is not properly speaking a degree.

The matriculation or sixth class is equal to our high schools which prepare for matriculation in English colleges.

The fifth, fourth, third, second, and first classes correspond to our secondary or middle class schools, and are all designed to lead up to the university course.

English is taught in all these schools, and in the higher classes it becomes the *medium* of instruction as well as a subject of study.

By referring to Table III it will be found (Col. 6) that there are 66,384 children in the lowest form or schools of this class; 151,055 in the middle school (Col. 5); 57,901 in high schools (Col. 7); and 7,441 in colleges (Col. 3).

Below this class there are what are called *primary schools* (Col. 7), in which there are 1,893,528 pupils receiving elementary instruction; the vast proportion in the vernacular only, but a considerable number also a little English, preparatory to moving into the higher schools; and there are in some places scholarships open to promising boys in these schools to enable them to rise.

*Monthly Fees in the Presidency of Madras.*

Character of Institution.	Government Institutions.		Aided Institutions.	
	In Madras.	In Mofussil.	In Madras.	In Mofussil.
	Rs. An.	Rs. An.	Rs. An.	Rs. An.
Two B.A. classes in college.....	5 -	4 -	3 8	2 12
„ F.A. „ .....	4 -	3 -	2 12	2 -
Matriculation or 6th class school	3 -	2 8	2 -	1 12
Fifth and fourth classes .....	2 8	2 -	1 12	1 8
Third class .....	1 8	1 -	1 -	- 12
Second „ .....	1 -	- 12	- 12	- 8
First „ .....	- 8	- 8	- 8	- 6

In primary schools the fees vary from 1 to 4 annas per month, according to the locality and character of the teaching.

For the class of indigenous schools no fees can be stated, but they can be learned from the evidence given before the Commission. For the sake of comparison I give the following table of fees in English and Scotch schools.\*

The following table gives the total expenditure on education in all its branches. I give it as in the official report corresponding to the above table of receipts, though it is not so intelligible to the general reader as Table VIII, by Mr. Howell:—

TABLE X.—Expenditure on Education in British India in the Year 1881.  
[Taken from "Statistical Abstract."]

Universities.	Colleges.	Normal and Technical Schools.	Secondary Schools, Boys and Girls.	Primary Schools.	
				Boys.	Girls.
Rs. 1,97,953	Rs. 15,10,102	Rs. 7,25,997	Rs. 41,11,627	Rs. 54,53,182	Rs. 8,91,812
Schools for European and other Foreign Races.		Direction and Inspection.	Scholarships.	Buildings and Miscellaneous.	Total.
Rs. 3,21,116		Rs. 16,94,983	Rs. 4,22,771	Rs. 8,29,840	Rs. 1,61,59,383

\* The Yearly Income, Expenditure, and Grant "in Day Schools in certain Classes and Localities in England."

	Income per Scholar in Average Attendance from					Expenditure per Scholar in Average Attendance.				Grant Earned per Scholar in Average Attendance.			
	School Pence.		Voluntary Contributions.			For Salaries.		Total.					
	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
<i>Voluntary Schools—</i>													
Church of England	10	5 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	7	7 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	7	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	15	1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	15	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Wesleyan .....	15	10	—	2	7	1	8	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	15	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	16	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Roman Catholic	8	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	6	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	1	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	10	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	15	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
British and Un- denominational }	13	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	6	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	8	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	16	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	16	— <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
London .....	13	3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	9	5	1	10	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2	1	3	15	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
England and Wales..	11	— <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	7	1	1	7	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	14	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	15	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
	Rates.												
<i>Board Schools—</i>													
Birmingham .....	6	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	16	5	1	10	— <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	18	1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	16	4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Bradford .....	15	8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	15	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	15	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2	6	6	15	11
Hull .....	8	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	4	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	4	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	9	11	16	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Leeds .....	11	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	11	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	9	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	17	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	15	9
Liverpool .....	12	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	13	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	11	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2	3	3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	17	2
London .....	8	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1	11	— <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2	3	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2	15	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	16	8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Manchester .....	13	4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	9	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	6	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1	19	— <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	17	— <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Sheffield .....	12	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	—	9	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	7	11	1	17	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	16	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
England and Wales..	9	3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	—	16	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1	12	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2	1	6	15	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>





In addition to this unfair treatment of the ryots, we see that recently attention has been called to the fact that a large number of endowments in lands and other property for educational purposes of all kinds, but largely for the benefit of the poor, have been allowed in one way and another to lapse or be absorbed—a subject to which I am glad to see the Commission is directing attention.

### VIII.—Universities and University Education.

Under this head I call attention to the way in which the higher education is unduly, and as we think injuriously, fostered—injurious alike to the spirit of the nation and the proper culture of its youth.

As has been seen from the despatch of 1854, it was the design of Government that the higher education, especially the collegiate course, should be left at as early a date as was expedient to local or voluntary effort, and that for the keeping up of the standard, universities were to be established in the principal cities, while Government would continue to encourage the highest culture by its patronage of successful graduates, for whom important posts in its service were to be the rewards.

These universities were formed on the model of the London University, with its affiliated colleges. They were *not to be teaching* but *examining* bodies, with the power of conferring degrees; and certain scholarships were also at their disposal.

These colleges were to be aided by liberal grants, and it was hoped endowed by the richer natives or the yearly contributions of societies or individuals.

At first, however, it was thought desirable to establish a few colleges *entirely supported by Government* as models, and while needful to stimulate education.

It is now contended that the time has arrived for Government to withdraw, as it from the first proposed to do, from *direct teaching*, and leave these colleges to be conducted and supported by local effort, for which it is thought the great presidency towns at least are fully ripe.

It is also thought by many experienced friends of India, that the present system has been forcing the higher education on false and mercenary grounds. These colleges were set on foot *professedly* for the purpose of raising up a class of men fitted for employment by Government in many of its departments, and a graduate of the university was at first almost sure of a good post.

The effect has been, that the higher education is sought, not for *its own sake, or even for literary or professional pursuits*, but specially

A friend kindly sends me a note of the latest returns of "The Cost of Elementary Education in Scotland:—From Fees, 12s.; from Local Rates, 12s.; "from Government Grant, 17s.; Total cost per head, 2l. 1s."

and almost exclusively with a view to Government service, and it is only when a man has failed in obtaining this, his great aim, that he turns to other pursuits, often with a sense of dissatisfaction, if not under a feeling of having been deceived as well as disappointed. We do not say that this is the case with all. For some time young men having seen the futility of expecting Government employment, have at an early stage of their course directed their studies to the professions of law, medicine, engineering or other pursuits. But even in these professions hankering after Government employment.

To show how strong and progressive is the growth of the desire for education of the higher sort, we give the following tables from the Government abstracts. The first gives the returns for the first ten years, from the time the universities got into working order; the second gives the return for the last ten up to 1880.

TABLE XI.—Statement Exhibiting the Results of the University Examinations for Matriculation or Entrance.

	Calcutta.	Madras.	Bombay.
<i>Colleges—</i>			
Government.....	19	6	5
Independent.....	22	13	1
Total.....	41	19	6

Years ended	Candidates.	Passed.	Candidates.	Passed.	Candidates.	Passed.
<i>30th April—</i>						
1860 .....	1,411	583	52	23	127	22
'61 .....	808	415	80	48	42	14
'62 .....	1,058	477	195	82	86	30
'63 .....	1,114	477	252	105	134	30
'64 .....	1,307	690	390	143	148	56
'65 .....	1,396	702	565	223	241	109
'66 .....	1,500	510	555	229	82	111
<i>31st March—</i>						
1867 (11 months)...	1,350	629	895	306	440	93
'68 .....	1,507	814	1,069	338	539	163
'69 .....	1,734	892	1,320	324	600	250
	13,185	6,189	5,573	1,821	2,439	878
<i>Degrees.</i>						
1858-69 .....	977	255	179	104	567	276
'68 .....	777	384	388	141	143	57
'69 .....	422	218	532	213	137	67
	2,176	857	1,099	458	847	400

*Note.*—The universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were incorporated in 1857 by Acts of Imperial Legislature, Nos. II, XXII, and XXVII. All are based on the model of the University of London, without rigorous uniformity of details being insisted upon.



TABLE XII.—Result of Examinations at the Universities in India, for Entrance, Degrees, &c., in each of the Eleven undermentioned Official Years.

Official Years ended 31st March.	Entrance.		First Arts Examination.		B.A.		Honours in Arts and M.A.		Law.		Medicine.		Civil Engineering.	
	Candi- dates.	Passed.	Candi- dates.	Passed.	Candi- dates.	Passed.	Candi- dates.	Passed.	Candi- dates.	Passed.	Candi- dates.	Passed.	Candi- dates.	Passed.
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.														
1870 ....	1,730	817	520	225	210	98	32	24	130	92	68	52	8	5
'71 ....	1,950	1,099	540	233	212	84	39	35	113	65	91	68	9	3
'72 ....	1,902	767	507	204	232	100	32	24	111	63	117	59	13	7
'73 ....	2,144	938	560	220	242	126	30	20	158	152	130	56	16	8
'74 ....	2,544	848	539	305	212	92	57	32	230	125	168	75	21	3
'75 ....	2,254	966	533	193	217	90	38	18	168	40	209	51	24	2
'76 ....	2,373	838	575	182	281	73	38	24	71	55	245	92	20	10
'77 ....	2,425	1,355	756	344	287	144	49	31	85	63	287	90	21	8
'78 ....	2,720	1,166	791	253	228	68	62	28	62	30	227	118	34	11
'79 ....	2,617	1,098	923	267	323	91	48	28	84	46	160	49	28	6
'80 ....	1,996	767	909	261	262	90	48	29	89	48	182	96	26	—
Total for the 11 yrs. }	24,610	10,659	7,153	2,687	2,706	1,056	473	293	1,301	779	1,884	806	220	58
MADRAS UNIVERSITY.														
1870 ....	1,200	401	531	220	50	34	5	5	88	45	—	—	2	—
'71 ....	1,358	424	268	96	65	34	—	—	4	2	1	1	4	2
'72 ....	1,419	492	205	97	131	65	1	1	9	6	—	—	2	—
'73 ....	1,530	611	240	76	81	29	1	1	8	5	2	2	—	—
'74 ....	1,704	626	285	125	88	50	1	1	26	13	4	4	4	1
'75 ....	1,911	784	342	183	85	55	1	1	16	9	3	2	2	2
'76 ....	2,164	662	401	187	107	67	2	1	18	8	3	3	5	3
'77 ....	2,517	1,250	429	131	136	70	6	3	22	7	4	3	4	3
'78 ....	2,495	807	516	191	157	52	4	—	26	11	9	8	4	2
'79 ....	2,597	356	663	172	231	140	4	2	35	23	6	4	4	—
'80 ....	3,309	1,094	582	295	175	85	7	2	31	4	12	10	8	5
Total for the 11 yrs. }	22,204	7,507	4,462	1,770	1,306	681	32	17	283	103	44	37	39	18
BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.														
1870 ....	839	142	105	34	52	20	7	2	17	6	11	5	12	17
'71 ....	901	142	136	44	61	13	4	2	14	13	16	7	21	10
'72 ....	876	227	134	32	58	14	5	1	2	—	28	15	31	14
'73 ....	909	378	99	24	56	22	6	5	6	1	28	19	29	19
'74 ....	1,025	355	146	48	62	23	8	3	7	3	38	21	36	23
'75 ....	1,115	262	213	74	69	30	9	2	11	2	51	25	39	17
'76 ....	1,269	434	193	69	88	18	6	4	11	5	66	47	36	30
'77 ....	1,154	203	176	29	92	40	4	2	16	3	60	30	35	29
'78 ....	1,049	217	150	61	87	30	6	3	14	4	86	41	45	28
'79 ....	932	261	183	57	93	42	7	3	19	6	76	43	44	34
'80 ....	1,093	436	150	65	97	51	6	4	29	20	61	44	50	39
Total for the 11 yrs. }	11,162	3,957	1,635	537	815	303	68	31	146	63	521	297	378	260

The following gives the GRAND TOTAL from the beginning of the university system to 1880, the last return, published in 1882, including, *as in the earlier tables*, F.A., or First Arts, B.A., and professional degrees under the general head of DEGREES, although F.A. is not, properly speaking, a degree.

TABLE XIII.—*Exhibiting the Total Results of the University Examinations for Matriculations or Entrance in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay.*

Years.	Calcutta.		Madras.		Bombay.		Grand Total of Three Universities.	
	Candidates.	Passed.	Candidates.	Passed.	Candidates	Passed.	Candidates.	Passed.
1860-80..	37,795	16,848	28,077	9,328	13,651	3,935	79,523	30,111
Degrees.								
'58-80..	15,913	6,539	7,265	3,084	4,410	1,891	27,588	11,514

I do not say that these numbers are excessive as compared with the population of India; but as aspirants for offices under Government, or even for lucrative employment of a literary or professional kind, they are far above the demand in the present condition of the country: and that all of them expect to make their literary studies a means to the attainment of a living is unquestionable. I do not consider it is discreditable, I mention it only as a fact. The strongest advocate for the present policy, Professor Duncan, of the Madras Presidency College, says, in his evidence before the Commission, "DURING MY TWELVE YEARS' EXPERIENCE I HAVE HAD ONLY ONE YOUNG MAN WHO ATTENDED MY CLASSES SOLELY FOR THE SAKE OF THE KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURE HE EXPECTED TO ACQUIRE." Mr. Arthur Howell, in his report for Lord Mayo's Government in 1870, asks the following pregnant questions:—

"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." Mr. Howell does not give the answer, because no satisfactory answer was possible.

The strongest evidence which we can give of the supply being far above the demand in this department, while it is so lamentably short of it in the lower departments of education, is that laid before the Commission by Mr. Duncan, the ablest opponent of any change in the educational policy which has led to such results. Mr. Duncan gives the following table to show that educated natives find sufficient and satisfactory employment on leaving college. He thus accounts for the EMPLOYMENT OF THE BACHELORS OF ARTS IN MADRAS. He says it is, though not perfect, "sufficiently accurate for his purpose."

TABLE XIV.

Bachelors of Arts 31st March, 1882.	In Government Service.							Teachers in Aided and Private Schools.
	Judicial.	Revenue.	Educational.	Engineering.	Indian Medical Service.	Clerical.	Clerks under Rs. 100 per Mensem.	
971	118	36	90	4	3	1	96	118

Vakils.	Merchants.	Mirasidars.	In Service of Native States.	Of Independent Means.	Pensioners.	Students at Professional Colleges.	Total.	Occupation Unknown.
92	4	4	68	5	4	103	796	175

When we take into account what a B.A. degree in India really imports, we would ask any fair minded man to look over that table and judge if the work and rewards are such as might have been reasonably expected.

I asked a friend who had been for years a member of the Calcutta University senate, and frequently one of the examiners, and the following is his reply:—

"Dr. Cotton, the learned Bishop of Calcutta, stated in his charge (and he was a most competent judge on this point) that the B.A. examination of the Calcutta University was much harder than the ordinary examination for the same degree in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and that the M.A. examination (for in Calcutta the securing of that degree is not a mere matter of course or the payment of a fee) was quite on a par with the honour examination of the home universities. He more especially referred to the examination in mathematics in Calcutta, and the honour B.A. examination in mathematics in Cambridge."

of the outlay on Government colleges is found in Madras, where there is no question as to the equality of the two institutions in that city. The Christian college, which was gradually developed from a high school, which was in existence there before the Government college was set up, has for years competed with equal and sometimes greater success than its rival for the highest honours of the university. It has repeatedly taken the highest place in the quality, though not in the number, of its graduates; and for three years running has carried off the much coveted gold medal in the science department. Instead of giving my own figures, I shall give those laid, by the present Director of Public Instruction for the Presidency, before the Government, and transmitted along with an important case of appeal to the Secretary of State for India.

In recommending a more liberal treatment of aided colleges, the Director, Mr. Grigg, showed a freedom from official routine as refreshing as it is rare, and proposed to reverse the decision of his predecessor, who had reduced the "grant" at a period of highest efficiency in these institutions. At the time he wrote, the pupils in the Christian college only cost Government Rs. 25 per annum, while those of the presidency college cost it Rs. 307; and as not half the number pass the F.A. examination, and only the half of those pass the B.A., he very naturally estimates the cost of the *finished* student before he is fit for Government service. He might have shown the cost to be far more than he makes it, if he had taken the cost of the graduate at the earlier stages of his studies. He puts it thus:—

"23. But it may be urged that this arrangement would be too expensive to the State. This question can only be answered by reference to the sum which Government pays in the presidency college for the education of graduates. This, according to the returns, was Rs. 56,206, or Rs. 70,320 if 25 per cent. for the authorised pension liability is added, but leaving out of account capital sunk in buildings, viz., Rs. 2,50,000. The university course extends over four years; consequently the present cost to the State of each graduate educated at this college is Rs. 1,800; and if the fact be taken into consideration that probably not more than 50 per cent. of the matriculated students who continue their studies for the degree examination pass the first examination in arts, and not more than 50 per cent. of these finally obtain a degree, the real cost to the State may be estimated roughly at Rs. 7,200 for each.

"24. Now, how would the matter stand in the hypothetical case given above. The maximum grant claimable is Rs. 800 or Rs. 9,600 per annum. As there are 200 students, this gives the





“ annual cost to Government for each as Rs. 48, or a total cost for  
“ the four years’ course of Rs. 192, and if this be quadrupled to  
“ allow for 50 per cent. of failures in the F.A., and 50 per cent. in  
“ the B.A., examinations, the total cost to the State is only Rs. 768,  
“ against Rs. 7,200 at the presidency college, that is, by one agency  
“ the State pays for practically the same article nearly ten times as  
“ much as for the other.”

The advocates of the transference of Government colleges to local management, according to the rules of the Education Despatch of 1854, have been most unjustly charged with a design to get these colleges handed over to missionary societies, or to get them out of the way in order that the missionaries might have the field entirely to themselves.

Nothing could be further from the aims or wishes of those who originated and have carried on this movement; and from the part I have taken in it, I can speak with certainty.

It has been declared publicly and officially, that they would regard any action of the Government giving patronage or special advantages to missionary institutions, or that might even seem to require the youth of India either to attend missionary colleges or forego the advantages of the higher educations, as a *gross injustice* to the people of India, and a *great injury* to the cause of missions. It would give the former a just ground of complaint against the Government, and would put the latter in a false position, ruinous to their influence over the minds and hearts of the natives of India. I never heard of a missionary in India, or a society at home, that would accept such a position.

Equally groundless is the charge that there is any desire to lower the character of the higher education, or the opportunities for its acquisition. The rule laid down from the first only applies to places in which the people are capable of taking the management of high schools and colleges into their own hands with advantage to education as well as to themselves. It is as follows :—

“ THE GRADUAL WITHDRAWAL BY GOVERNMENT FROM *direct teaching*  
“ IN COLLEGES AND HIGH SCHOOLS WHEREVER THE DESIRE FOR THE  
“ HIGHER EDUCATION IS SO FAR DEVELOPED AS TO GIVE A REASONABLE  
“ GUARANTEE THAT IT WILL BE MAINTAINED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF  
“ GRANTS-IN-AID, AND THE INDEPENDENT EFFORTS OF THE NATIVES,  
“ AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN THEIR WELFARE, AS LAID DOWN IN  
“ PARAS. 52, 61, 62, AND 86.”

#### X.—*Adaptation of Education to the Wants of the Country.*

The most unsatisfactory feature of our collegiate system is, that with all our extravagant outlay, and that at the cost of neglecting

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It will be observed that only one-third of them have reached the great object of their ambition, and we may say their expectation—the Government service; and one-third of these have less than 120/. a-year.

But let any man compare this table with that which we have given above, and ask himself what has become of the 3,084 who took degrees in Madras (see Table XIII) during the last twenty-three years. Half of these, it is true, were only F.A.'s, but where are the others? What has become of 7,265 candidates for degrees, and what of the 9,328 undergraduates of the university, to say nothing of the 28,077 who failed in the entrance examination? The fact of failure in any of these examinations, after the efforts and sacrifices they have made, does not tend to promote contentment of mind, or satisfaction with the Government which had tempted them to study with a view to promotion, as well as provided the college to facilitate their doing so. There is no doubt that a large amount of discontent prevails amongst a large number of those who pass, and those who fail to do so; it may be unreasonable, but it is not the less unsatisfactory.

IX.—Comparative Cost of Pupils in Government and Aided Schools and Colleges.

The next thing to which I would call attention is the extravagant expenditure on the education of students in Government schools and colleges, as compared with those in aided colleges. This is clearly brought out in the following table, also from the able paper of Mr. Howell:—

TABLE XV.

Provinces.	Cost to Government of each Student, 1879-80.									
	Colleges.		Higher Schools.		Lower Schools.					
	Government.	Aided.	Government.	Aided.	Government.			Aided.		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Bengal .....	213	42	128	4	6	5	4	—	10	1
2. Madras .....	235	63	92	29	26	10	—	2	15	2
3. Bombay .....	361	50	37	9	2	—	11	2	10	2
4. N.W. provinces and Oudh ....	653	185	E. 81 V. 23	E. 31 V. 6	13	1	9	E. 12 V. 3	3	10
5. Punjab .....	552	—	59	31	E. 16 V. 10	7	—	E. 24 V. 12	8	—
6. Central provinces	291	—	38	34	E. 10 V. 6	9	9	E. 12 V. 2	5	7
7. Burmah .....	—	—	171	15	E. 48 V. 18	—	11	E. 10 V. —	1	9
8. Assam .....	—	—	E. 22 V. 8	E. 7 V. 5	—	—	—	2	6	6
9. Berar .....	—	—	109	—	E. 83 V. 5	3	2	E. 31 V. 2	—	2
10. Coorg .....	—	—	—	—	V. 10	2	4	V. 2	8	6

Note.—As half the number of pupils are in Bengal, where education is cheapest, and the vast proportion in aided schools, and two-thirds of remainder are in Bombay and Madras, also chiefly in aided schools, the average per head in the lower schools is not materially affected by the high rate in other provinces. The average for all India is less than 2s. a-head from Government grants.





I need not enlarge on the features of this table, they are sufficiently marked. The irregularity is striking. No two provinces are alike, either in the higher or lower departments. They show an utter want of system in the regulation of the grants, varying in the *lower* from Rs. 2 to Rs. 83 in Government schools, and from 10 annas to Rs. 24 in aided schools; but with one or two exceptions the Government schools cost a vast deal more than the aided ones: in some cases ten and even twenty times as much for each pupil in the same class of school.

The anomalies may be seen by comparing the cost to Government in India as compared with the cost in England. Taking the latter at 15s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. at the lowest, and 17s. 2d. as the highest per head, as per table in foot note, p. 32, we find some of the schools in India cost as much as 48s. and 62s. in the aided schools, and 96s. and even 166s. in those of Government. But these are rare cases, and we only refer to them to show the anomalies in the working of the system. The vast proportion cost the Government a mere trifle in the class of aided schools, as for example in Bengal, in which the larger number are found, where the cost to Government is only about 15d. per head, while in Government schools they cost over 12s.; and in the province of Madras, where the aided pupils cost Government a little under 6s., while the Government pupils cost it 52s. each.

The difference in the cost to Government of students in the "aided" and the Government colleges is not only very great, but from the largeness of the sums paid, even much greater in the aggregate. In Madras, it is four times; in Calcutta, five times; and in Bombay, seven times the cost in the Government that it is in the aided institutions. I take no notice of the extravagant cost of education in the north-western provinces, as that abnormal state of matters is now brought to an end by handing over the Government colleges to the administration of natives, who are subscribing liberally for its maintenance as an aided institution.

The disparity of cost between these two classes of colleges is much greater than it appears in the tables, if, instead of taking the average cost of all the institutions of each kind, we take the cost of separate institutions. By grouping them thus, the difference of cost of each is reduced in some and raised in others. If, for example, we take such an aided college as that of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Calcutta, and compare it with some of the Government colleges, it is found that the pupils in the latter cost twenty or even thirty times as much; though in the presidency college they do not cost more than five or six times the sum.

The best illustrations we can give of the needless extravagance

well known that the class who have chiefly superseded them is the poor class of "begging Brahmins."

In the August number of the "Nineteenth Century," from which these figures are taken, a table is given showing first, that of 2,007 gazetted appointments, 1,080 fell to Christians, 850 to Hindoos, and only 77 to Mohammadans, and in inferior appointments in Calcutta 3,143 Hindoos are employed, and only 416 Mohammadans. But in similar appointments in the Mofussil, where the physical and mental superiority of the Mohammadan race stands out in bold contrast with rural populations, the disparity is on the other side, if we keep in mind the difference of their numbers. There are 213 Mohammadans to 508 appointments, but in this case both are far outstripped by Christian employés, who number 3,065.

The following table, taken from the evidence of the Hon. Kristodas Pal, C.I.E., now a member of the legislative council, shows how completely Government colleges fail to gain the confidence of the richer classes even in a city like Calcutta, where the advantages of western culture have been so long enjoyed, and where the prejudices of the natives are far from being so strong as they are in other parts of India. He told the Commission that his statistics were collected by Mr. Sutcliffe, when he was principal of the Presidency College.

*Table showing the Income of Parents of the Pupils at the Presidency College, Calcutta.*

Amount of Monthly Income.	First Year Class.	Second Year Class.	Third Year Class.	Fourth Year Class.
Rs. 5,000 and upwards .....	—	1	1	—
" 4,000 and less than 5,000....	—	1	—	—
" 3,000 " 4,000....	3	2	—	—
" 2,500 " 3,000....	1	1	—	1
" 2,000 " 2,500....	—	—	—	1
" 1,500 " 2,000....	2	4	—	—
" 1,000 " 1,500....	6	7	1	4
" 500 " 1,000....	5	10	3	2
" 200 " 500....	6	16	8	3
" 100 " 200....	15	23	6	10
Below Rs. 100....	58	40	19	20
Total .....	96	105	38	41

The two tables, which follow are important as showing that while the richer classes as a rule prefer the presidency colleges, as more aristocratic and under the wing of the State, there is no material difference in the *class* or *social position* of those who attend the aided, and Government colleges, and that, but for fashion, or the hope of patronage from being in Government colleges, there is no reason for keeping up such costly institutions when others are



doing the same work at a fourth part of the cost. They are taken from Mr. Howell's report previously referred to.

	Social Position of the Parents. Percentage on Total of Pupils.					
	Zemindars, Talookdars, and persons of Independent Income.	Merchants, Bankers, Baniaps, and Brokers.	Professional Persons.	Government Servants and Pensioners.	Shopkeepers.	Others.
Government 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, Baniaps, and Brokers.	Professional Persons.	Government Servants and Pensioners.	Shopkeepers.	Others.
Government 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."

The entire control of direct teaching in Government colleges hinders the natural development of education and its adaptation to the wants of the people, which vary in different districts of the country.

There is too much of the mere importation of English culture and English methods from England to India, without that regard to the peculiar character and varying necessities of the natives which is essential to the highest success. As an illustration of the rigidity of the system, we have only to refer to a fact to which Mr. Howell called attention in his report to Government in 1870. He informs us, "that the course of study for examination in the  
 "university of Bombay was modelled on that of Oxford, and that of  
 "Calcutta on the Cambridge principle, because the first principal of  
 "Bombay Presidency College was an Oxford graduate, and the first  
 "principal of Calcutta College was from Cambridge."

and starving the primary education, WE HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED IN GETTING THE MOST IMPORTANT CLASSES IN THE COUNTRY TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO OUR HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

I cannot put this better than I did lately in a "Reply" addressed to the Maharajah of Travancore, who has been led to write on this subject. Amongst other things I said :—

"It was found, after a quarter of a century's experience, that Government colleges had signally failed to gain the confidence of the highest classes of the natives of India. In these circumstances we thought it full time to try some new departure in our system. The fact is admitted on all hands that the native nobility and the wealthy classes of India hold aloof from our collegiate course. The exceptions are so few as only to confirm the rule. Your Highness said, in your speech before the Kumbakonum College in March last, '*Western culture can hardly be said to have yet reached our rajahs, princes, zemindars, and generally the noble-men of the country.*' In a rejoinder to my reply, the Maharajah in '*denying that the religious question had anything to do with this state of matters,*' says, '*The reason why the Hindoo and Mohamadan chiefs do not send their youths to ordinary Government schools and colleges, is not that the Vedas and Koran are not taught there, but because they do not wish their children to herd with common boys, and run the risk of losing their gentility and learning vulgarity;*' a reason which may satisfy a disciple of the modern school, but will not account for the absence of the children of the old orthodox type. The Hon. Kristodas Pal, C.I.E., from his talents and experience a most competent witness, in his evidence before the Commission in Calcutta, asserts, on the strength of careful statistics, that '*whilst less than 5 per cent. of our students belong to families worth incomes of Rs. 200 a month and upwards, nearly 50 per cent. belong to families with incomes not exceeding Rs. 100 a month. . . . Out of fifty notoriously wealthy families resident in Calcutta and its suburbs, I find that only four or five are represented in our class rooms, whilst the holders of junior and senior scholarships belong almost entirely to families with incomes of less than Rs. 200 a month.*'

"Whatever reasons may be assigned for this fact, its deep significance cannot be overlooked by statesmen and philanthropists. That the classes who have for centuries been the rulers or administrators of India, and who have the largest stake in the country, should be either shut out or shut themselves out from taking the places they are best fitted to occupy in the civil appointments we so earnestly desire to see filled by natives, is a grave injury to the State, if not an injustice to them. Civil appointments are only open to the successful graduates of our





universities. The keeping up of our costly Government colleges is professedly for the purpose of securing the best men for Government service, and if we not only give facilities, but bestow scholarships, by which the poor may rise to high offices in the State, we are bound, in the cause of expediency and justice, to see that no obstacle is put in the way of the sons of princes and nobles taking their share of the duties of the State formerly enjoyed by their ancestors, and of the honours and rewards which Government can bestow.

By our present system we are turning the order of society upside down. We have no wish to withdraw the facilities for the education and promotion of the lower classes, but we deprecate the exclusion of the higher and better classes of society.

We know that the Government has no wish to exclude any class, and that our colleges are open to all. We are aware that the blame may be cast on those who decline to avail themselves of the opportunities. We know that your Highness and the Hon. Kristodas Pal, with many others, make the fact of so few having as yet taken advantage of our western culture an argument for continuing our present system of Government colleges. But to us it appears more probable that there are some faults in our present arrangements. It seems to us that this state of matters having continued so long without any marked or adequate improvement, indicates a need for some changes which might remove objections which have kept parties outside of our western culture and our 'Civil Service'—that at least *there was reasonable ground for inquiry on the subject.*

One most important part of the Indian community, the late rulers of the country, our Mohammadan fellow subjects, are practically shut out from posts of honour and usefulness in any department of Government service.

Since *Persian* was abolished as the language of the governing class in 1837, the Mohammadans have fallen completely into the background. They have not shown themselves capable of adapting themselves to the altered conditions like the pliable Bengali, who has supplanted his more rigid fellow subject. In 1871, Dr., now the Hon. Mr. Hunter, the president of the Commission on Education, wrote, "The proportion of Mohammadans to Hindus in *gazetted appointments* is only 1 in 7," and since then it has fallen as low as 1 in 10, and in inferior appointments the absence of Mohammadans is equally marked.

In the days of Wellesley and Hastings they were largely employed in the highest offices.

I cannot here give the many reasons for this unsatisfactory state of matters; poverty may have something to do with it, but it is

Lord Ripon has repeatedly referred to this rigidity of our system, and expressed himself in favour of greater liberty; and by establishing the new university in the Punjab, he has given Government sanction in a very practical form. The object of this new university is to promote the introduction of occidental learning into India by means of the oriental languages, and not, as has been too exclusively attempted, by presenting them to the natives in the costume of the English tongue, which can no more be accepted universally and at once than the English constitution. English will be studied more, on the footing of the classical languages of the country, but will not be made an essential condition to the attainment of degrees or posts of responsibility and good pay.

To show the need of adaptation, I give below a part of a memorial presented to the Hon. Mr. Hunter, the President of the Commission, when in Bombay, as it appeared in a Bombay paper:—

*“The Merchants’ Memorial.”*

“Mr. Jacob also introduced a representative of the merchants of Bombay.

“Mr. Vizbhooan Atmaram read a memorial from bankers, shroffs, merchants, and traders carrying on business in Bombay. “The following passages occur in the memorial:—The memorialists bring to your notice a pressing want they have of late years felt in connection with their establishment of clerks, and the general management of their banking and mercantile affairs, both in Bombay and up-country. The want they refer to is that of clerks and accountants thoroughly trained in the native and European systems of banking, bookkeeping, casting up of mercantile accounts, and carrying on mercantile correspondence, and of men qualified by their education to take up the posts of managers of banking or mercantile institutions. They find it difficult every year to replace old, dead, or dismissed hands by men fit to take up at once the active duties of a mehta (an accountant or bookkeeper), a killadar (cashkeeper), and a moonim (manager). A few years back it was usual to recruit such persons from Gujerat, but latterly your memorialists have found that such recruits are not easily obtainable even on tempting salaries, owing, they believe, partly to the falling off, in Gujerat and elsewhere in this presidency, in the number of indigenous schools which aim at imparting such instruction to their pupils as is useful to them in daily life, and partly, or rather in a great measure, to the fact of the present schools for primary and secondary education, Government or aided, having failed to give instruction in subjects purely of a practical character.”



We doubt not the following could be paralleled in some individual cases in this country; but let it be read in the light of the complaint of the inspector, that out of 700 students only 128 answered the questions correctly, and we shall be disposed to go much further in throwing the blame on the question being put and answered in a foreign tongue.

Mr. Porter, who was one of the ablest and most experienced Examiners in Physics, thus writes:—

“The mark-book itself, without the aid of any comment, tells a striking enough tale that of the 2,500 candidates there were *over a thousand that got no marks at all*,” adding those who never sent up their papers, he says, “in round numbers there were 1,100 candidates who showed no knowledge numerically appreciable in any of the points contained in my questions.”

To show that his questions were not difficult, he gives the following as an example:—“State how the two points first marked on a thermometer are obtained?”

After showing how the question had been answered in their primer in a very simple and intelligible way, he shows what the answers were of the 532 who failed out of 700:—

“The most numerous class,” he says, “evaded the difficulty by writing out the whole (from memory), beginning with the glass blower, and ending with the acid. In the latter case when the part I wanted was correctly given the answer was accepted, and all such answers were included in the 128 already mentioned. I have here incidentally touched on one of the commonest faults of students of this standing, an inability to see the point of a question, leading to much diffuse and superfluous writing. The majority of matriculation candidates possess the property which comically enough they are so fond of ascribing to air, ‘an intense desire to fill any vacant space.’

“To return to the answers. Some are amusing from their vagueness. The following are specimens:—‘When the weather is very cold, we take one point; when the heat is increased to the highest, we take the other.’ ‘Take it to the coldest place in the earth for the one point; take it to the warm country for the other.’ ‘The people near the equator founded the one point; the people of the cold country founded the other.’

“Sometimes the boiling point is obtained by putting the tube in a ‘bright excessive fire,’ by ‘exposing it to the rays of the sun,’ by ‘constant application of heat,’ or by ‘heating the mercury till it boils.’ The freezing point by ‘placing it out of the rays of the sun,’ by ‘constant application of cold,’ by ‘taking it to the top of a mountain,’ or by ‘cooling the mercury till it freezes.’ Another class effect the task with less trouble in some of the fol-

“lowing ways:—‘Mark one point at the bottom and another at the  
“‘top,’ ‘coat the tube with wax and draw marks with the needle  
“‘at proper places, and then plunge in hydrofluoric acid,’ ‘take a  
“‘glass tube and scratch with a needle a line at a hundred  
“‘steps, &c.,’ wax and acid as before. I notice that boys who use  
“no ceremony in scratching the marks are always very strict about  
“the acid. Some indeed leave the whole work to the acid as  
“thus:—‘If you dip the thermometer in a solution of hydrogen  
“‘gas, you will obtain the first two points.’ The wildest answer I  
“received was the following, to which I see no clue in any words  
“of the primer:—‘The two points are obtained by Sir Stamford  
“Raleigh when he was in Ireland.’”

The above illustration is chosen out of many as an example of the difficulty under which Indian youths labour in the use of books prepared for English students, as well as of the superficial character of much of the education given.

I close with the following from the pen of Dr. Monier Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. It points out what I have long felt was the great want of Indian education, *the development of the manhood of the youth of India* BY THE HEALTHY CULTIVATION OF THEIR PHYSICAL, MENTAL, AND MORAL NATURE:—

“With regard to languages, I cannot help thinking that a great  
“mistake is committed—a mistake which calls for the immediate  
“consideration of the directors of public instruction. We do not  
“sufficiently encourage the vernaculars. The classical languages  
“receive due respect and attention, but the vernacular dialects of  
“India, which ought to be stimulated to draw fresh vitality and  
“energy from Sanskrit, are everywhere showing signs of serious  
“deterioration. Be it observed, however, that they are by no  
“means dying out. It would be simple folly to suppose that we  
“can impose English on 240 millions of people.”—“Modern India,”  
p. 219.

On the effects of our higher education on the youth of India, instead of giving my own opinion I give that of Dr. Monier Williams. In his “Modern India,” after a personal and careful survey of the field, he says:—“We in England sometimes require  
“to be reminded that the duty of an educator ought to be in  
“accordance with the etymology of the word—that it should  
“consist in gently drawing out rather than in roughly hammering  
“in. Indian educators of Indian children are still more forgetful  
“of this truth. Nor do they sufficiently bear in mind that the  
“most valuable knowledge is that which is self-acquired when the  
“faculties are matured, and that teachers are doing their business  
“more effectively when they are teaching their pupils to be their





own future self-teachers. I am afraid our Indian colleges and schools are turning out more well-informed than well-formed men, more free thinkers than wise thinkers, more silly sceptics than honest inquirers, more glib talkers than accurate writers, more political agitators than useful citizens."

This is stronger language than I have ever ventured to use, and but for the position and character of the writer I would not have quoted it. Few men have so good authority for speaking on such a subject, and none can question Dr. Williams's deep and intelligent interest in the welfare of the youth of India. I gladly acknowledge the important service which has been rendered by the Government colleges, not only in the intellectual work they have done, but in the elevation of the moral tone of a large number of the youth. It was impossible for those susceptible youths to come into daily contact with English gentlemen of culture, and in most cases men of high character, without being inspired with better thoughts and a deeper sense of moral responsibility, and especially a regard for honour and justice and truth. But even in these respects there is room for great improvement. The better thoughts and feelings are too often overcome by temptations which wreck the most hopeful of them from the want of stable principles and an authoritative standard. The system tends to substitute the imitation of the English character for the cultivation of a good conscience. An illustration will explain my meaning. An undergraduate came to the principal of the Calcutta University in a towering passion, and demanded redress for his injured feelings, because he had been called a "liar" by a fellow student. The principal observed, with a smile, "I did not think that it was thought a disgrace to be called a liar," using the Bengali word for the epithet. "True," said the youth, with increasing rage, "if he had called me a liar in Bengali I would have laughed at it; but, Sir, he called me a liar in English, and I won't stand it."

We do not despise even this dawn of a Saxon conscience in an Indian youth.



# APPENDIX A.—Aggregate Annual Income and Expenditure of Schools in England.

CSL

JOHNSTON—On Education in India.

Denominations.	Income.									Rate of Income per Scholar in Average Attendance (Calculated on Complete Annual Returns only).
	Endowment.	School Board Rates.	Voluntary Contributions.	School Pence.		Government Grant (1879-80).	Other Sources.	Total.		
				Paid by Scholars.	Paid by Guardians.					
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Schools connected with National Society of England.....	126,451 1 1	—	582,382 3 2	765,310 17 7	19,871 2 3*	1,133,291 3 8	31,418 19 1	2,658,725 6 10	1 15 3	
Wesleyan schools.....	538 14 10	—	15,514 13 5	94,315 14 2	1,373 11 3†	97,086 14 11	3,875 15 5	212,705 4 —	1 15 —‡	
Roman Catholic schools.....	2,025 8 2	—	52,027 19 10	62,657 — —	5,363 6 —†	114,461 7 6	835 17 10	237,380 19 4	1 10 8‡	
British, Undenominational, and other schools.....	15,800 4 8	—	76,750 12 5	161,342 — 2	2,474 18 10§	191,275 14 9	6,766 1 9	454,410 12 7	1 16 4‡	
School Board schools.....	3,208 5 5	738,737 3 7	2,260 1 8	390,491 3 7	6,452 15 6	619,550 — 7	25,918 8 8	1,786,617 14 —	2 1 7	
Total.....	148,033 14 2	738,737 3 7	728,935 10 6	1,474,117 15 6	35,535 13 10	2,155,655 1 5	68,814 17 9	5,349,839 16 9	1 16 1½	

Denominations.	Expenditure.				Rate of Expenditure per Scholar in Average Attendance (Calculated on Complete Annual Returns only).	Number of Voluntary Subscribers.			
	Salaries.	Books and Apparatus.	Miscellaneous.	Total.		Of 5l. and upwards.	Of 1l. and upwards.	Of less than 1l.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.			
Schools connected with National Society or Church of England ...	9,091,832 14 2	143,093 15 8	414,641 7 1	2,649,567 16 6	1 15 1½	21,091	95,263	104,783	221,137
Wesleyan schools .....	172,389 18 8	10,955 1 4	30,033 2 0	213,378 2 0	1 15 2½	190	1,470	3,396	5,056
Roman Catholic schools .....	166,965 5 8	15,766 6 8	55,188 8 11	237,940 1 3	1 10 8½	1,112	2,979	11,605	15,696
British, Undenominational, and other schools ...	355,551 17 0	25,135 18 4	72,263 2 4	452,955 17 8	1 16 3½	1,535	9,143	17,326	28,004
School Board schools .....	1,380,121 10 4	122,936 16 5	280,078 9 0	1,783,136 15 9	2 1 6	24	159	61	244
Total .....	4,166,861 5 10	317,907 18 0	852,209 9 4	5,336,978 13 2	1 16 10½	23,952	109,014	137,171	270,137

\* On account of 63,337 scholars. † On account of 4,425 scholars. ‡ On account of 17,364 scholars. § On account of 8,508 scholars. || On account of 25,157 scholars.



DISCUSSION on the REV. JAMES JOHNSTON'S PAPER.

[R. GIFFEN, ESQ. (*President*) in the Chair.]

PROFESSOR LEONE LEVI said several facts stood out very prominently from the paper just read, namely, first, that the attention of the Indian Government had not been given to education to the extent that it deserved; and second, that the expenditure devoted to this purpose formed a much smaller proportion than was the case in this country; third, that the persons instructed belonged entirely to the male population, to the almost absolute exclusion of the females; and fourth, that the largest proportion of the expenditure was devoted to superior instead of to popular education. The following comparisons brought this out very prominently. In India, out of a total expenditure of 76,500,000*l.*, the estimate for last year was under 1,000,000*l.* for educational purposes, giving a proportion of 1·30 per cent. In the United Kingdom, with a total expenditure of 85,000,000*l.*, the imperial expenditure for education was 4,500,000*l.*, or a proportion of 5·26 per cent. In the United Kingdom, out of the 4,500,000*l.* devoted to education, 3,800,000*l.*, or 84 per cent., was applied to elementary education, whereas in India, out of 1,000,000*l.*, only 118,000*l.* were devoted to elementary education, or only 11 per cent. Whereas, therefore, the bulk of the Government expenditure in this country was on behalf of the masses of the people, the bulk of the Government expenditure on education in India was on behalf of secondary and higher instruction, or of the middle and higher classes. The disproportion of females was very notable. In this country the numbers of boys and girls under education were nearly equal; in India, on the contrary, out of 2,000,000 under education, 1,800,000 were boys; the abandonment of the girls to ignorance, whatever was the cause, being very sensible and extraordinary. They had before them the deplorable fact that there were 30 millions of people in India unprovided with education of any kind by the State, and these must constitute a great mass of ignorance which might occasion difficulty in government. In this country they held that education was a great element of safety, progress, and advancement, both social, political, and economical, and if this element was wanting in India, the consequence would be that the country must be kept far behind for a very considerable time to come.

General Sir HENRY NORMAN said Mr. Johnston's address had been very interesting, and afforded great scope for reflection, but they must recollect that at the present moment the whole of this subject was being most exhaustively inquired into by a tribunal which appeared to command Mr. Johnston's entire confidence, presided over by Dr. Hunter, and on which all the most eminent authorities connected with education in India were serving. With reference to the comparison made between the expenditure in



England and India, he should like to know how much was expended in England twenty years ago in proportion to the imperial revenue. Education was now compulsory in England; there was no such thing in India; the country was not ripe for it, and they had not the means of carrying it out. Then again as to the number of people who were educated, they must remember that there were an enormous number of indigenous schools all over India in which the people found an education suited to their wants, and which were not aided by the Government. Taking England as it was fifty years ago, there were as many natives in India educated up to their requirements as there were then in England. Now they had a comparatively perfect system of education in this country which compelled everybody to go to school, but in India that was impossible, and might be so for many years to come. Practically the females in India were not educated at all. Great efforts were being made to educate them by means of Zenana missions and institutions of that kind, but still when it was remembered that there were 100 millions of females in India, that agency for many years to come could produce very little results. He agreed that there was too much expended for higher education, and people if they wanted this higher education ought to pay for it themselves. The observations that these higher colleges turned out people who, failing to get Government employ, became political agitators and so forth, would, he was afraid, apply equally to all the colleges whether aided or not, for certainly some of the political agitators in Calcutta had not come from Government colleges. If a large number of natives were educated to a high extent, there being no scope for them as there was in England, they would infallibly become agitators, and some of them possibly dangerous characters to British rule. He did not mean to say that that was any argument against high education, but any argument that applied to Government colleges in that respect would also apply to the aided colleges. He hoped they would see a good deal of improvement as the result of the inquiry of the Commission, but too much must not be expected at once, and it must not be supposed that it would end in an expenditure on education in India proportionate to the amount now expended in England.

Mr. T. B. KIRKHAM said he would avail himself of the courteous invitation to visitors, to offer a word or two of respectful criticism on the exceedingly interesting paper which they had just heard read. If his remarks were exclusively confined to criticism, it was not because he did not appreciate the mass of information and the valuable views put forward in the paper, but simply because he believed criticism was expected, as being the most useful sort of comment. What they had been asked to do was to abolish Government colleges altogether, or else to transfer them to local and private management. Why were they asked to do this? First because the author seemed to say in one place that the education was bad. He quoted Mr. Porter, an examiner of Madras, who stated that out of 1,000 candidates a very large proportion got no marks at all; and he also quoted some exceedingly ridiculous



answers to prove apparently that the instruction was absolutely worthless. At another part of the paper, however, he said the B.A. degree was equal to that of London. He (Mr. Kirkham) did not quite understand that; there seemed to be a want of steadiness of view of the subject. To quote in a paper of such pretensions a passing remark of Mr. Porter, one single examiner in one single university, was altogether inadequate as an argument for a great change of policy. The fact was that these amusing answers to examination questions were perfectly well known to be stock matter in all examiners' reports. Only the other day a Board School examiner quoted a child as answering the question "Who was Esau?" "Esau was a writer of fables, who sold his copyright for a bottle of potash." Mr. Johnston would hardly consider that as a conclusive argument against teaching scripture history or the elements of chemistry in schools. Another reason Mr. Johnston gave was because the expenditure on higher education was out of all proportion to the expenditure on primary education. That of course would be a very good argument for making some change. He however was very much surprised to hear that the expenditure on higher education was three times that on primary education, and with all deference to the authorities quoted, he did not think such a statement would bear investigation. The only part of India with which he was practically acquainted was the presidency of Bombay, and he could confidently state that there the expenditure on primary education was far greater than that on higher education. If this disproportion really existed in any province, it was a good reason for doing something, and the natural inference was that the expenditure on primary education should be forthwith increased. He would cordially support the observation made by Professor Leone Levi, that the expenditure on education in India was almost scandalously low, less than 1 per cent. of the whole revenues of India. There was, however, one matter which must be carefully kept in mind in comparing the expenditure on education in India and in England, and on higher and elementary instruction. In mentioning the educational expenditure in England, they left out of question altogether the immense revenues of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and which for all practical purposes were public funds. In India there was absolutely nothing of the kind, and if what was done in the way of higher education was not done by the State, it would not be done at all. If therefore a statistician were to take into account the enormous wealth accumulated in Oxford and Cambridge, the comparison would not perhaps be altogether against India. He did not quite understand Mr. Johnston's contention as to the indigenous schools, whether they were good and ought to be supported; but at any rate this tremendous fact stood out in the whole of his paper, that whereas in England they were able to calculate children at so much per cent., in India they must take the thousand in order to talk about educational statistics at all. There was room in India then for all classes of schools, and therefore he could not see how Mr. Johnston's facts at all led to the conclusion that Government should withdraw from the field of



education. Another measure of comparison employed was "cost to Government," and they had been told that the cost to Government in aided schools was very much less than in Government schools, the inference being that Government should withdraw, because it could get the same article at a lower rate in the aided school. A moment's examination would show that that was a great fallacy. What did they mean by the cost to Government? No doubt the cost to Government in a Government school was the whole cost of educating the child. The cost to Government in an aided school was the grant in aid, but that was not the cost of educating the child; the cost of educating the child was the grant in aid *plus* all the contributions from England, or from benevolent persons, or from the funded sums of money, and so on. Mr. Johnston's argument was that the Government should withdraw from the field of education because it might get the same article in aided schools, but how was that consistent with what he showed of the immense need for schools of all kinds? Would he guarantee that if the Government schools were closed the same article would be forthcoming in the same quantities? If so he must be prepared to tell them that England had not yet been sufficiently tapped of the superfluous contributions which people here were prepared to contribute to education in India. He (Mr. Kirkham) believed from his experience of Bombay, that if the Government schools were all closed to-morrow, the aided schools would remain in number very much what they are at present. The proposition, therefore, practically came to this, to close one agency which was doing a great deal of good, without any clear prospect that it would be supplied in other directions. With regard to the words which Mr. Johnston read with so much solemnity from Professor Monier Williams about their Indian schools turning out more "well-informed than well-formed men, more free thinkers than wise thinkers, more silly sceptics than honest inquirers," and so on, was not that true of all colleges, and all places of education? It was the same complaint which they heard constantly even of the English universities, and every one knew that inaccurate thinkers were always in the majority. On the whole he could not think that Mr. Johnston had made out a case for the tremendous change which he advocated.

General R. MACLAGAN said Mr. Johnston had referred to the great extent of education of a certain kind amongst all classes of people in India in the early part of the century, and to the interesting report by Mr. Adam on indigenous schools in the time of Lord William Bentinck—a report which has not lost its interest even now. They could not ascertain very distinctly the character of the indigenous education at that time in the parts of the country under native rulers, but they could perhaps get some idea of its nature by looking at some of the native States in the present day. That afternoon, by mail from India, he had received some information regarding education in one of those native States—the State of Mārwar in Rājputana. At the capital city, Jódpur, there is a good school maintained by the Maharaja, in which English is





taught as well as Persian, Urdu, and Hindi languages, with arithmetic and a little geography. The State was divided into twenty-two districts, and at the head-quarters of each of those districts there is a school in which a little Hindi and arithmetic are taught, with writing in the local (Márwari) character. In these schools no books are used. In one of the districts which is under British supervision there are two towns at which there is a school of a higher class, teaching a little history and geography, besides the Urdu and Hindi languages and arithmetic, which is universal. Besides these, there are everywhere indigenous schools of a lower class, in which scarcely anything is taught beyond a little writing, mental arithmetic, and notation. Education will thus appear to be very general. Then the first effect of endeavouring to introduce education of a higher kind is this: the parents, having little idea of the use of higher education, did not care to let their children give up the time required; they wanted their services in the field and in various occupations at home. The result is a decrease, for a time, of the number of pupils with increased outlay on the schools. Mr. Johnston had noticed the system of educational rates. People ordinarily valued what they had to pay for, and they would willingly pay for what they valued. It is important to maintain the system of paying for education. With regard to the general statement that the Government had expended an undue proportion of its educational funds on the higher education, to the neglect of the lower, it should be noticed that some of those most interested in the spread of popular education in India are not of this opinion, but believe that with a view to the education of the people generally, higher education, of a right kind, is what requires most to be attended to at present. Also the lower classes attached importance to what they saw those above them doing, and if they did not find that persons in high position valued education they were not induced to do so themselves. It was, perhaps, therefore wise both to promote education of a high class, and to encourage the higher classes of people to cultivate education with the view both of preparing those who should educate others and of stimulating those in the lower ranks of society to make efforts to educate themselves. No doubt the higher education was in a great measure sought by the people with the hope of getting Government employment, and this is surely the case in many places besides India. They knew what efforts were made in England with a view to obtaining Government employment, what a number of candidates appeared for every office in the civil and military services of the State. India did not at the present time offer such fields of honourable employment as were afforded by the liberal professions in this country. But in this matter things would advance no doubt in India as they had done in other countries, and learning would also come to be cultivated for its own sake. But they must not be disappointed that things had not gone on more rapidly. They must not be in too great a hurry, or expect that by merely wishing to expend larger sums of money, or by great effort on the part of the governing power, they could at once produce a certain amount of education corresponding to the expenditure bestowed upon it.



These and all other matters relating to education in India were now being examined most carefully by the Commission presided over by Dr. Hunter. We may well wait for the report of that Commission, and all hoped the result would be great practical gain to the education of the people of India.

The PRESIDENT said it was now his duty to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Johnston for the paper which he had read. In doing so, he might say they were as a Society not only indebted to Mr. Johnston, but also to their Indian friends who had addressed them, for the great amount of information they had given upon a subject which was very interesting in itself, but which comparatively few people in this country were able to give their attention to. The complaint was often made that people in England did not give the attention they ought to do to the affairs of India; but naturally it was not easy for people in this country, with so many cares and interests of their own, to give that attention to the affairs of India, however important in themselves, which many Indian people thought ought to be given. It really was one of the essential difficulties of the government of India, by another country and another people, that that people was not able to give the attention which was really requisite, and therefore the duty was left to the experts who were specially charged with its performance. It was desirable of course that the interest of this country in Indian matters should spread and increase, and whilst there was perhaps no sufficient ground for the complaints which were made, that the interest here was too little, they must all be gratified at any sign of that interest increasing, and he hoped that their proceedings of that evening would contribute to some extent to help the attainment of that result. Speaking as one who was not an expert, he was much impressed with the tremendous difficulty of these Indian problems. The substance of what they had heard appeared to be this, that while the Indian people had a native education of their own which was very general, and which they accepted as up to the standard of their own necessities, they who were the governing class, with superior desires and wants, thought that that education ought to be much better than it was. All that they were able to do in that respect, however, seemed merely to touch the very smallest margin of the people of India, for they had only succeeded, as far as primary education was concerned, in giving that primary education which they thought desirable to about 5 per cent. of the population. A good deal had been said about the great expenditure lavished upon the superior education in India, as compared with that upon the primary education, and Mr. Johnston as well as one or two other speakers, had emphasised that as apparently a great omission or defect in what the Government had done for the education of the people. They must however have been impressed with the argument, that the necessities of India were so great, that it could hardly be said that in any direction what the Government had done was too much. The defect was, that whilst it did not do too much in any of the directions in which it pretended to do something, yet it was unable to do what was really requisite in other





directions. And this brought them to the other great difficulty, namely, that when they had satisfied themselves that the education of India was very deficient and that it would be very desirable to do a great deal more, the practical question arose, how was the Government to do any more. They spend now about 400,000*l.* or 500,000*l.* in the education of the people, but the Government of India was so constituted financially, that it could not possibly find more than 400,000*l.* or 500,000*l.* except with enormous difficulty. The financial problem in India overshadowed every other, and they could not say that the Government could spend even if it wished much more than that sum of 400,000*l.* or 500,000*l.* Then also the question would arise, and they saw it with reference to many similar problems in this country, that it was not altogether a question of expenditure that the Government of India might have facilities for giving a certain amount of the higher education, and might not have the same facilities on account of the difficulties of organisation in extending primary education; that it could not find the instruments and the means in sufficient number for extending that primary education. These were all wonderfully difficult problems which had been brought before them, and in which they ought to take some interest, but which after all could only be left to the experts who were charged with the government of India. They were questions upon which public opinion in this country could never exert any real influence, as far as he could judge; it must be the opinion of special classes and of experts. While, therefore, they had to thank Mr. Johnston and other speakers for the information which they had given, it must be recognised that it could not lead to much practical result as far as the direct government of India was concerned. The classes which Mr. Johnston must hope to influence were not the people of the United Kingdom as a whole, but that very small and special class which was charged with the government of India. In this way the paper would be very useful, and he had great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Johnston.

REV. J. JOHNSTON in responding, said he quite agreed with the two previous speakers who said that this was not a subject which could be settled in this country, and his only object in bringing it forward was to get a few intelligent persons to take up the question, in order that if it became a public question here, they might use their influence in the direction of helping forward what he regarded as a very important movement for the future welfare of India—the education of the people. He was also quite ready to admit that the voting of money would not of itself and at once lead to a great extension of elementary education. Even if the Government of India were able to devote an additional million to the elementary education of the masses, it would be some time before it could be advantageously applied. He was glad to say that a great step had been taken in the way of encouraging the indigenous schools, which, however imperfect, still formed a most important basis for elevating native education to a higher platform. Mr. Kirkham had referred to the large sum spent in Bombay in primary instruction, and disputed the accuracy of his (Mr. Johnston's) statement. He did not





distinguish between the sum spent on elementary education and the sum devoted to that object from the imperial grant. He could only say that the proportion of about 300,000*l.* on the higher to 100,000*l.* on the lower education was a statement printed by him five years ago, and although his pamphlet in which that statement appeared had called forth about a dozen replies in India and in this country, not a single critic upon that pamphlet who professed to know the facts had ever ventured to call in question that or any single statement that it contained. The 100,000*l.* given by Government for primary education, called forth from all parts of India by way of cess and municipal grants, voluntary contributions, fees, and other sources, 400,000*l.* more for the same object, so that there was, as he had stated in his paper, upwards of 500,000*l.* spent upon primary education, but only little more than 100,000*l.* of that came from the Government grant. With regard to the imperfect and ridiculous answers given in the examinations in colleges, he knew the same thing could be said of examinations in Oxford and Cambridge, but he called attention to the fact that out of 2,500 who were examined, there were actually 1,100 whose answers were so imperfect that they could not assign them a single unit of numerical value, and in the higher department still, of those who were going in for degrees, out of 700 who were examined there were only 128 whose answers were sufficient to allow of their being passed. As to the "abolition of colleges," it was a form of expression which entirely misrepresented his meaning. He had in a pamphlet written long ago advocated the "abolition or transference" of *Government Colleges* on the principles laid down in the despatch of 1854, but recommended it in the most cautious terms possible; so much so, that he said again and again, he did not believe there were more than three Government Colleges in all India that could at that moment be so transferred. It could only be done by the most gradual means, for he would not transfer a single college until the natives themselves were able to take up and carry on the higher education under their own management and with their own funds liberally aided by a Government grant. Mr. Kirkham seemed to be replying to that old controversial pamphlet, and not to the paper which has been read to-night. In preparing that paper, he, Mr. Johnston, had guarded himself from the charge of controversy. He had scarcely spoken of the abolition or transference of Government colleges; the terms chiefly occurred in quotations, for the most part, from official Government documents. If the simple statement of facts, to which he had almost exclusively confined himself, as the character of the Society required, had left on any one's mind the impression that he was arguing for the transference of Government colleges to local management, it was not his fault. The facts must be held responsible. The parallel drawn by Mr. Kirkham between the middle classes in England and the poor Brahminical castes in India, who are now taking the place of the old ruling class, is so obviously inconsistent with facts, as to need no remark; no two classes of men on earth are so diverse in mental, moral, and physical characteristics.