as I was able to judge, gentlemen, there was no attempt by the court, or any body else, to obtain that information from these witnesses. In fact it was an instance—one of the innumerable instances that occur in the court—of the entire absence of cross-examination. In all cases, again, of robbery and dacoity, almost the whole point is the identification of prisoners with the persons who actually committed the offence. It is consequently in the highest degree important that the circumstances attending upon the first recognition of the prisoners by the witnesses should be fully set before the court, enquired into, and explained; for, after the example I have just now given you, gentlemen, you can easily understand that the recognition which is suggested by a leading question, put perhaps by a chowkedar, cannot always be depended upon. And here too, gentlemen, I may venture to say that in a very large proportion of cases the story as told by the witness is accepted unquestioned by the court, and never even to the smallest extent scrutinized by the advisers of the prisoner. I might add instances of this kind, but, gentlemen, I think these are sufficient to point out to you, whether you think satisfactorily or not, that the courts generally throughout the Mofussil are certainly not observant in any material degree of those rules of evidence—of those principles of cross-examination that we English lawyers are accustomed to consider fundamental to our system of trial. Indeed, the impression produced upon my mind is this, that whether from the difficulties of the circumstances under which the courts are placed, or otherwise, the courts in this country do practically fall back upon the first-mentioned mode of trial; that is, they look about in all directions around them for some indication of that which may lead them to a conclusion as to which story is to be adopted, rather than enquire and act upon sound evidence—such evidence as they would look for and like to act upon in their own private concerns—as to the particular facts of the case. And I am rather inclined to think that the peculiarity that I have already alluded to in the people of this country, educated into it as they possibly may have been, either favours or necessitates this. The witnesses that come into court have no idea of giving evidence in our English sense of the word. They come

there honestly to support that side which they believe to be true. They come to state what is the story which they have learned to believe, and when they give utterance to representations which to our English ears look as if they intended to say that they had seen this, that they had perceived that, they are not really mendacious. They do not mean to deceive you; they are simply intending to vouch that story which they believe honestly to be true, and which they believe they have been summoned to the court to vouch. I can give two instances of this kind which I believe to be honest. One occurred in a suit brought upon a hoondee; it became necessary in the course of the proceedings to show that this hoondee had been transmitted from Benares, or some town up-country, to Calcutta. It was so important to the case that the case was actually postponed, and a day fixed in order to enable the witness to come from the firm that had sent the hoondee, for the purpose of testifying to the fact. When the day of trial had come, the required witness presented himself and told a most satisfactory story. He told exactly how the hoondee was written; what was done with it when it was posted; that it was handed to a peon; it was a peon that always took the letters to the post office; he told how it was directed; indeed, he deposed to every one of the points that it was essentially necessary to prove. He was examined and cross-examined, and was just about to leave the witness box, when unluckily mere curiosity on my part with regard to some circumstances of the case quite collateral to the merits, induced me to ask the witness a question, and from his answer it appeared that he was not in the service of the firm or not near the place when the hoondee was made and posted. Now in England, if this had occurred, the man would have been apprehended and sent for trial on a charge of perjury. But I believe that the man was perfectly honest,—at any rate I had no reason for believing to the contrary. I believe he came into court under the impression that he had to tell what his firm, to the best of his information, had done. He had no idea of saying only that he saw this, and that he saw that; though to our English notions of credibility his testimony of these facts depended solely upon the immediate preception of the different circumstances form-

ing the whole of it. Again, in a criminal case, half a dozen or more witnesses deposed in terms that were very aptly represented by the able counsel who defended the prisoners as being nothing more than parrot-like repetitions of one and the same tale. If the story of one of them had been believed, taken by itself, the offence was proved against the prisoner. I will not say, gentlemen, whether I or the gentlemen of the jury, or any one of them, believed the story as told by each of these witnesses or not. There is no doubt that the jury felt themselves bound to acquit upon the simple ground that the six men deposed, apparently as eyewitnesses, to a set of facts and circumstances which could not possibly in their entirety have been witnessed by more than one or two of the whole lot. The jury acted necessarily upon that, and acquitted the prisoner. I have very little doubt that, whether the story was in its criminal elements true or not, most of the six witnesses gave their testimony honestly. They had satisfied themselves, no doubt, by consultation with the person with whom they were connected, that the story was such as they represented; they came into Court and told it. Uncivilized as they were, for they did not come from a part very close to Bengal, they thought doubtlessly, that the circumstance that each word was repeated six times over made it six times more valuable in the eyes of the jury than it would have been if it had only been stated once.

Now, gentlemen, if I am right in the views I have been putting forward, it may be of some importance to ask whether there are any excuses for the state of things I have pointed out in this part of British India. The admirers of existing systems, who think that everything as it is, is perfect, very quickly find excuses for deficiencies which are not easily remedied. And one of the very first that is put forward—one that I have heard so often and often that I am doubtful how I ought to answer it, is that the testimony of witnesses, throughout this country, and the evidence even of documents, is, from circumstances inherent in the people, so untrustworthy that the ordinary rules for judging upon matters of fact are not to be followed, but that the most eccentric routes to a conclusion which can be devised are preferable thereto. Gentlemen, I

will for the moment say that I do not share that belief. My short experience on the original side of the High Court has led me to the conclusion that the intrinsic value of oral testimony in this country is pretty much the same as it is in England. There are differences in regard to the view that witnesses take of the necessity of speaking truth, and hence it often happens, no doubt, that when perjury and forgery are detected here, that we Englishmen are very much startled at what we conceive to be the inadequacy of the motive. But I think that, as regards prevalence of truth or falsehood in the evidence offered in Court, that that evidence can be as generally relied upon which is given in the witness-box in the Town Hall of Calcutta, as that can be which is given in the Guildhall of the City of London.

But even if I shared this belief, it seems to me to be an inevitable conclusion that instead of adopting abnormal modes of arriving at a determination of fact, it is only the more necessary rigidly to adhere to those rules of investigation and scrutiny which the experience of minds long practised in the art almost unanimously consider as the best for the purpose. And it seems to me, gentlemen, to be a great mistake to suppose that false evidence is unserviceable in the cause. The demeanour of the witness and his position relative to the facts, and to either party, must be equally instructive, whether he has spoken truth or falsehood, and, as a learned and able writer has remarked, the "real security against judicial error is to be found rather in the power of detecting and contradicting falsehood, than in preventing falsehood from being spoken." I do not hesitate to subscribe to what I have heard constantly said, and which I believe to be certainly true, that there has been very great improvement in the administration of justice throughout this vast empire of late years. The tribunals throughout the length and breadth of the land are now presided over by gentlemen, both English, and Native, whose impartiality and whose integrity are unimpeachable. Their knowledge of law and of the principles of law are very respectable, and this is no less conspicuous in the courts of first instance, than in those of a higher grade. But from the observations which I have already made to you, you will have seen that I cannot give unqualified approbation, and indeed only a small amount of qualified ap-

probation with regard to the conclusions of fact, the findings of fact, as far as they have come under my notice, of the Mofussil tribunals of Bengal. And, gentlemen, I ask you to-night, whether the views I have put forward are, in any degree just, and whether, if just, there is any ground for thinking that the courts in this country, under the particular mode of trial which obtains here now, do, in respect of inquiries of fact, altogether realize the high end for which they exist, or whether those fundamental principles, to which I have several times referred ought not to be more considered than they are considered, and are not necessary to be observed in the regulation of their investigations to enable them to conduct their trials in the same mode and with the same effect as in England. At present the High Court, which is supposed to superintend the judicial system of this country, has no means, or very little means, of correcting such abuses, or such short-comings as those I have been dwelling upon. The High Court can only act through the process of appeal. Now I take it that no amount of appeal can set right a deficient investigation upon fact in the court of first instance. To the court of appeal, too, all evidence is equal—it is all written evidence,—and besides that, it is only half evidence. The depositions present the answer only of the witnesses that appeared, and I take it that the question and answer together are absolutely necessary for you, before you can form a complete opinion of the full purport of the answer, and its full application. Probably even the most powerful effect in cross-examination is often produced, not by the answers but by the questions. It is impossible by the nature of things that the appeal court can thus set right the short-comings of the first court. Then, again, the appeals from the courts of first instance to the High Court are but few in number. Special appeals, which are appeals to the appellate court, can only be second-hand in its operation upon the first court. Then, gentlemen, the result, as it works itself out in my mind, is very nearly this. What you want to have is this, a court of first instance acting in subordination to well-recognized, well-digested rules of evidence and of examination,—kept to the observance of those rules by a superintending court. The English mode of doing this is, that upon the application for a new trial in those

cases where there has been such a glaring departure from the observance of ordinary precautions for arriving at safe conclusions of fact, that the result cannot be trusted, the higher court sends back the case to be retried. I am not at this moment recommending anything of the kind here; at the same time, I do not view such a proposition as that, were it made, with anything like a feeling that it would be to reverse or alter the judicial system of this country, as I know many qualified persons do think. Nor does the practice of sending back cases for new trial operate to increase litigation, or to materially diminish the finality of judicial decisions. The amount of litigation in England, compared with the litigation in France, relatively to the number of persons is, I believe, strikingly small, and further the number of second trials, however you may estimate them, whether appeals or new trials, the proportion of them to the original trials is much smaller still. And therefore I do not think that a proposal to make trials of fact final, except so far as they have been shown to have been conducted without due regard to the proper principles of investigation—that to this extent means should be provided to send it back for a new trial, I do not think that a proposal of that kind is one which ought to be looked upon as tending to increase the litigation of this country. Although I have thus said so much, I beg you will not consider that this is a proposal I desire to make in any distinct form: my ideas on the subject are at present very crude. What I have been speaking to you, I have said with the view of offering you a text, that perhaps some of the gentlemen present may dilate upon, rather than with the intention of giving you an authoritative lecture in the ordinary sense of the word.

THE PROPER PLACE OF ORIENTAL LITERATURE IN INDIAN COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.

A LECTURE READ BEFORE THE BETHUNE SOCIETY,

In February, 1868.

BY THE

REV. K. M. BANERJEA.

COLLEGIATE Education at the commencement of Indian society, and on the settlement of the Aryan conquerors, appears to have been confined to the Brahmins. They alone are in the more ancient portions of the Vedas called *learned*. They alone were entitled to read and expound the sacred writings. And although the military and mercantile classes were allowed to *read*, it was not lawful for either to teach or expound the productions of the Rishis. The Brahmins were the only licensed teachers of the literature, of which they were themselves the authors.

The military and the mercantile classes were no doubt allowed to *learn*, but their occupations were not always favourable to the pursuit of letters. They had not the leisure nor the opportunities which the Brahmins possessed for the cultivation of literature. The Brahmins therefore virtually obtained a monopoly of education, which consisted in that early period of Vedic studies alone.

The study of grammar must have followed soon after.—Its elements were perhaps orally taught and committed to memory long before the composition of Panini's Sutras. Those Sutras were probably written to assist the teacher's memory rather than to facilitate the pupil's learning, for without explanatory notes and expositions, without such addenda as the Bhashyas and

Vrittis supplied, they cannot confer much knowledge on the reader. They certainly do not form an *easy* introduction to the study of grammar, if they can be called an *introduction* at all. As notes for assisting the memory of those somewhat advanced, those who have already learnt the principles of Sanscrit grammar, they are of great value, but as a guide to young learners, they can pretend to but little utility.

The Sutras of Panini may be considered as good evidence of what the Brahminical system of education was at its earliest stage. It was an exclusive system of tuition, in which a small favoured class was alone regarded, and all other classes entirely neglected. The locking up of the rules of grammar in Sutras which nobody could understand without oral explanations, was itself an index of the jealousy with which the Brahmins attempted to confine their literature within their own class.

But the candle when placed under a bushel, will sometimes give out glimmerings through chinks and holes to those from whom you wished to exclude the light, while it might also keep many in the dark whom you did not wish to exclude. Even in the palmy days of Brahminism, some there were, of castes inferior to theirs, who had distinguished themselves as scholars, while many of their own class were ignorant and illiterate, for whom it was necessary to coin a proverbial expression অষষ্ক And subsequently when foreign rulers gradually overturned the exclusive and coercive institutions of Brahminism, the bushel, under which the candle was hid was ruthlessly broken open and it was a day of which all Bengal may be proud, when the learned Vidyasagar, himself a Brahmin, burst asunder the exclusive bolts of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and freely admitted the Sudra to the study of the literature, from which he had been excluded by rule, even under the British Government.

I feel that before proceeding further, I owe an apology to the Society for the subject I have chosen this evening. The question of languages in the department of Education has, it may be said, long been set at rest. It may be asked, Why revive it now? But the question *has been* elsewhere revived. And a learned and influential Fellow of the University of Calcutta, as you may have noticed in the newspapers of last week, called upon its governing body, though without success,

to affiliate Colleges in which education should be imparted "only through the Oriental languages." (See Appendix A.) A system of exclusively Oriental education has thus been proposed, and it is a subject well worth the study of all friends of education.

The system now proposed bears, linguistically, some resemblance to the pristine efforts of the British Government for the encouragement of learning which were exclusively in the direction of the Oriental classics. The Mahomedan College of Calcutta and the Sanscrit College of Benares were founded for that purpose. The object, however, had very little of the *educational* in it. The professed intention was, to conciliate the prejudices of a newly conquered people by teaching Arabic and Sanscrit with rigid attention to the modes in which the doctors of those languages had taught their pupils from time immemorial. No improvement was attempted even philologically. Pundits and Maulavies were to teach in their own way. Sanscrit was to be taught only to Brahmins and Arabic to Mahomedans. The pupils were to be brought up in their several religious systems, just as a Rajah or a Caliph might have ordained in the days of old. For such attempts, even the originators did not claim the dignified title of education. The whole was a system of dogmatic tuition in the ancient opinions and prejudices of the people.

The idea of education or the improvement of the mind was suggested to our rulers for the first time by the Charter Act of 1813, which ordained that a lakh of Rupees should be annually spent from the public purse as, "for reviving literature in India," so also "for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories."

For some years, the ordinance remained a dead letter, but a Committee was eventually appointed for the purpose of carrying out the intentions of Parliament. The late Professor Wilson, at that time an Assistant Surgeon on the Bengal establishment, was appointed Secretary and junior member. That gentleman was himself a high Oriental scholar, and had at the same time exalted notions of general education. In this latter respect he scarcely had justice done to him during the subsequent conflict in the Committee of Public Instruction, which broke out, not

long after he had left the country, between the two extreme parties into which the Committee was split. Doubtless, after the conflict had broken out, he raised his voice in England in favour of the extreme Oriental party. But it is a mistake to suppose that he was himself an exclusive Orientalist. His acts as Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, to some of which I may venture to bear personal testimony, show, that he had high ideas of education, though certain of the means he had adopted for carrying them out, might possibly have been wrong. I am myself disposed to think that his theory was only misunderstood, and that it was not radically unsound. Had he been on the spot, when Lord Macaulay wrote his minute, both parties might possibly have slightly modified their respective notions, and all would have agreed on one common plan.

For how did that great master of Oriental and general literature carry out the intentions of Parliament with reference to Indian education? He indeed established the Calcutta Sanscrit College, but on the other hand, he liberally extended public patronage to the Hindoo College, or the same as the Presidency College under a change of name only. And when the Hindoo and Sanscrit Colleges were housed in the buildings which have ever since been the ornament of College Square, you would find in those very buildings a significant emblem of Professor Wilson's thoughts on Indian education. The Hindoo College occupied the eastern and western edifices. The Sanscrit College classes were ranged in the lower rooms of the central building, while the upper rooms were equitably divided between the two.

As I, in common with several others, was attached in a manner to both the Colleges, for while substantially pupils of the Hindoo College, we were required to join one of the Sanscrit classes for an allotted time daily, I may venture to say that Professor Wilson took still greater interest in the Hindoo than in the Sanscrit College. He decidedly spent more of his time in and upon the former than the latter. He was himself the creator of that sympathy for the Hindoo College education in men like Lord W. Bentinck and Sir E. Ryan, which led them to the very acts which were afterwards hastily supposed to be hostile to his own plans. I firmly believe that it was Professor Wilson who was the cause of that intense interest which the

Governor-General of the day, and the eminent predecessor of our honoured President,* already named, always evinced in the cause of Indian improvement. He successively brought them both to the Hindoo College within a few days of their landing in Calcutta, presented the senior classes to them, and produced in them that interest and sympathy by which many students personally benefited from their patronage in after life. It was the pupils, which the Hindoo College turned out in Professor Wilson's time, on whom the experiment was first made by Lord W. Bentinck, of entrusting natives with responsible offices, and it was the success of that experiment which has since so wonderfully improved our society.

Gentlemen, in Professor Wilson's doings, as Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction, we shall find a clue to the proper discussion of our question.

Do you wish to know the right place which Oriental literature should occupy in Indian education? Look at the buildings which grace College Square on the north. Ponder the acts of that great Orientalist. Consider the position which he himself had allotted to that literature. You have Sanscrit studies for their philological merits, for the preservation of our old poetry and philosophy, for the improvement of our mother-tongue, but all in the midst of a liberal English education in history, science and a purer philosophy. You have the literature of the East and West acknowledged and cultivated side by side. You have scholars of Europe and Asia training the youthful mind of Bengal, in the speculations of Bhaskara and Sankara, compared with those of Plato and Aristotle, and corrected by the philosophy of Bacon and the discoveries of Newton.

This and no other is the proper place of Oriental literature in the Collegiate education of British India. If left to itself without the supplement of occidental literature, without the enlarged ideas which the History and Science of Europe impart to the human mind, what would be its aggregate value? Education does not mean the mere mastering of Panini or Vopadeva, the committing to memory of the Lexicon of Amara Singha or Hem Chandra, the sole appreciation of poets and

* The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear.

philosophers of the East. All these are no doubt of great value in their own way, and must always form an important part of our instruction. They do not, however, comprise the whole or even the best part of the collegiate education of the 19th century. Education implies the communication of true knowledge of the past and present, the improvement of the human mind, the due cultivation of all its faculties, its instruction in all that God has created in nature, or communicated in ways which are above nature, in all that man has done in any part of the world, *in human preparation for the duties of life and for eternity.* That branch of my subject which borders on the supernatural and on eternity, the rules of the Society will not permit me to dwell upon. I shall therefore confine myself to education, as it prepares the mind for those duties of life which every man owes to society.

These high functions of education were neither unknown nor ignored by the late Professor Wilson, and no one practically did more than he to prepare the way for such education, and to foster in our countrymen a love both of Eastern and Western knowledge. In Calcutta, while he established the Sanscrit College, he likewise instituted in the Hindoo College lectures on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy which Sanscrit literature could not supply. He also largely encouraged the study of History and Geography, which was practicable only by means of the English language. In Benares, where a Sanscrit College had long been in existence, he established an *English* College, a great desideratum at that time in the holy city. He also proposed the establishment of an English College at Delhi, though owing to circumstances, it was not regularly organized till some time after. When he left India, a strong foundation had been already laid for that great system of Anglo-Oriental education, which is now in full operation under the auspices of the Calcutta University, and which has already taken root in all parts of Bengal, and is generally flourishing in the North-Western Provinces. In the very first reports of the Committee of Public Instruction, Professor Wilson laid great stress on English education, and alluded to its *moral* effects in destroying the prejudices of centuries and opening the native mind to consider the best interests of humanity.

The dispute which after his departure for England broke out in the Committee of Public Instruction was not *formally* for the abolition of Oriental studies, but for the discontinuance of stipends paid indiscriminately to pupils of Oriental Colleges, while pupils of English Colleges were charged for their education. The Anglicists may have anticipated the cessation of such studies on the discontinuance of the stipends, but they did not contend formally for that cessation. The dispute had also reference to the question whether funds intended for instruction should be lavishly spent upon the printing of Oriental works, not intended for class use. The points gained by the victorious party were simply the abolition of those stipends, or rather their conversion into scholarships conferred on proved merit, and the transfer to the Asiatic Society of the duty of printing Oriental books from a separate grant made for the purpose. The party that was defeated construed these measures into a declaration of war against Oriental learning, and the victorious party was partially responsible for the mistake into which their adversaries fell, because they cared not to make explanations. Certain, however it is, that although on Lord William Bentinck's adhesion to the Anglicist party, as it was then called, an eminent servant of the State, Sir Henry Shakespear, resigned his office as President of the Committee, yet Oriental learning continued to be cultivated as before, perhaps with the greater energy, because of its students not being hired pupils. The post vacated by that gentleman was taken up by Lord Macaulay, and after him by Sir Edward Ryan, who had from the commencement of his Indian career, taken the deepest interest in the education and advancement of the natives. Although the friends of Oriental literature and perhaps its adversaries too, anticipated its total extinction under the new administration of Macaulay and Ryan, yet that administration has practically done even more for it than the administration of the immediate successors of Professor Wilson. The succeeding presidents, Bird, Cameron, Bethune, and Colvile kept up the traditional policy of Macaulay and Ryan, of which the University of Calcutta has been the great fruit. Consider now the attitude which the University has taken with reference to the Oriental classics. All undergraduates are called upon to study a

classical language in addition to English, and since a person who matriculates without studying a classical language must be at a great disadvantage when appearing for the subsequent examinations, the affiliated institutions are almost all preparing their pupils to pass the Entrance examination with *Sanscrit* as their second language. I have reasons to believe that not less than 2,000 boys are this year learning, simultaneously, the languages of Kalidasa and Shakespear under the influence of the University's Rules. Sanscrit I believe was never studied anywhere by such a large number of pupils or with such promise of real success.

I cannot under such circumstances understand what those friends of education mean who, still dissatisfied with what is done, are speculating about fresh claims of Oriental literature which they hardly know how to define or express. (Appendix B.)

If, as it is not unlikely, they are only aiming at the entire *exclusion* of English from the Indian curriculum of study, I would simply ask, Why should it be excluded in any part of India? Why should an idea be broached in our day which the greatest ornament of oriental literature would himself have repudiated forty years ago?

Have those persons who really desire the welfare of the native population, and at the same time wish to teach them nothing but oriental literature, calculated the injury which the exclusion of the English language would inflict on the country? When high-minded English gentlemen propose such a measure, they seem to forget the great vocation of England in India. Japhet is not dwelling in the tents of Shem for the mere purpose of teaching what the inhabitants might have learnt without his aid. England has not got the empire of India, merely to revive or keep up effete institutions and antiquated prejudices, or, to shut out from Indians the discoveries and improvements which the human mind has made in her own part of the globe under the guidance of Divine Providence. But perhaps it will be satisfactory to you to hear what one of our own countrymen said on these points forty-five years ago. At the time of the establishment of the Sanscrit College in Calcutta, and before Professor Wilson's plans about the Hindoo College were matured and developed, the great Rammohun Roy ad-

dressed a letter to the Earl of Amherst, then Governor-General of India, which I find reprinted in extenso in Mr. Cameron's "Duties of Great Britain to India." I will with your permission read a few extracts from that letter :—

"Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude "upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain "on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence "would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. "The present rulers of India, coming from a distance of many "thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, "manners, customs, and ideas, are almost entirely new and "strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted "with their real circumstances as the natives of the country "are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross "dereliction of duty to ourselves, and afford our rulers just "ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions "of importance like the present, to supply them with such "accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt "measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus "second by our local knowledge and experience their declared "benevolent intentions for its improvement."

"We find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit "school under Hindu pundits, to impart such knowledge as is "already current in India. This seminary (similar in character "to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) "can only be expected to load the minds of youth with gram- "matical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no "practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will "there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with "the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by "speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all "parts of India."

"Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations "as the following, which are the themes suggested by the "Vedant :—in what manner is the soul absorbed into the Deity ? "what relation does it bear to the divine essence ? Nor will "youths be fitted to be better members of society by the "vedantic doctrines, which teach them to believe that all visible "things have no real existence ; that as father, brother, &c. have

"no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, "and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the "world the better. Again, no essential benefit can be derived "by the student of the Mimangsa from knowing what it is "that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain "passages of the Vedant, and what is the real nature and oper-"ative influence of passages of the Vedas, &c."

"In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility "of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, "I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of "science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon "with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in igno-"rance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not "have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, "which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the "same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the "best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had "been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improve-"ment of the native population is the object of the Government, "it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened "system of instruction; embracing mathematics, natural philo-"sophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences, which "may be accomplished with the sum proposed, by employing a "few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe, and "providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments "and other apparatus."

I have already spoken approvingly of Professor Wilson's establishment of the Sanscrit College under the auspices of Government. I do not therefore concur entirely in the sentiments of the late eminent Rajah. The Sanscrit College, *supplemented by its English class*, has produced learned scholars whom we all respect, but as far as his estimate of *mere* Sanscrit learning is concerned, to the exclusion of English, I cannot conceive how any educated man can differ from the Rajah.

If education implies the improvement of the mind—if the proper study of mankind is man—what can be the value of such training as the Rajah has justly censured? What can be the value of "grammatical niceties" and "empty subtleties"

where the mind is kept in ignorance of real knowledge, and where nothing can be taught of history, geography, and the natural sciences—where, whatever of science is taught, is inculcated in servile submission to old sutras without independent thought, and without the correcting influences of experiment and observation.

Who would, with eyes open and with scientific practice at hand, trust himself to a quack, bound hand and foot by the dogmas of the *Susruta*? Not Dhanwantari himself, if he had lived in our days and had a sick child at home.

Who would entrust the observation of times and weather and the correction of his chronometer to the care of a mere adept in the Surya Siddhanta?

Who would employ a mere student of Brahminical sciences in the case of a post-mortem examination where death by poisoning was suspected?

Who would trust a difficult case in law to the advocacy of a pleader, whose sole knowledge of Jurisprudence was derived from Menu?

Who would trust works of engineering to an architect, whose knowledge of mathematics, of machinery, and of the properties of matter was circumscribed by the sutras of Sanscrit Darsanas?

I cannot therefore form any conception in my mind of what the promoters of exclusively oriental seminaries intend to *teach* to their students; what the substance and matter of tuition are intended to be beyond the subtleties so well described by the late Rammohun Roy; what mental improvement they expect from such training or what purposes of life it is calculated to subserve.

If the object had been to keep the natives of this country in ignorance of real knowledge, then, as Rammohun Roy remarked in his letter, the Sanscrit system would have answered that object admirably well. I could then have understood the motive, though humanity would have revolted from such policy. But the policy of Her Majesty's government—the policy of the British legislature—the anxious care which the Secretary of State for India has recently manifested for facilitating the admission of Natives to the Civil Service are all for imparting such education to the native population as would be most conducive to their improvement and welfare. (Appendix C).

There was a time, however, under the old Company's rule, now many years ago, when there may have been a few men who advocated the exclusive cultivation of oriental literature in Indian Colleges, from the selfish motive of monopolizing all higher employment in the country, by keeping the natives in intellectual darkness—and when high-minded persons like Sir Edward Ryan and his successors were secretly looked upon as so many dangerous incarnations of old Prometheus, imparting the *fiery* power of Western science and art to the natives of India. Mr. Cameron says in his work on the "Duties of Great Britain to India" :—

"Among the opponents of the change there may have been "some who looked upon the exaltation of Sanskrit and Arabic "as a convenient and unsuspected mode of putting the natives "upon a false scent in their pursuit of genuine knowledge, and "of the moral elevation which is its ultimate and general con- "sequence; and thus, of postponing indefinitely the time when "a young native gentleman, issuing from the Hindoo or the "Hooghly College, should be as undeniably fit as a young Eng- "lish gentleman fresh from Haileybury, to begin an official "career, opening to him a prospect of attaining, by probity and "diligence, the highest employments which the local govern- "ment can bestow."

And Lord Ellenborough made no secret of it. He said in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1852 :—

"You know that if these gentlemen who wish to educate the "the natives of India were to succeed to the utmost extent of "their desire, we should not remain in this country three "months.' * * * Now, those endeavours are made not only to "educate the natives, and to give them European knowledge to "which must attach power, and to give them European ideas, "but at the same time to raise them in the civil service, for it is "now proposed to give them covenanted situations, and practi- "cally hereafter to them almost the whole of the civil govern- "ment of the country; and it is proposed to do this at a time "when it is proposed to educate the native population, and at a "time when the natives are put in possession of the great civil "offices, and at a time when the press, and increasing railways

"and electric telegraphs will enable them to communicate and "co-operate; how is it then possible that we can, under our "present most defective, or indeed, under any institution, retain "our hold over that country? It is contrary to all reason. No "intelligent people would submit to our government."

I do not believe there is a single statesman in England or India who will endorse the opinions of Lord Ellenborough. It is therefore needless to discuss them. But I cannot as a person who has on the occasion of a solemn ceremony—ordination in the Church of England—deliberately taken the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, the queen of England, help repudiating as libellous, if not seditious, the sentiment that "no intelligent people" would submit to her rule. The sentiment is contradicted by facts and by reason. The Bengalis, who on Lord Ellenborough's own theory, and by the confession of all competent authorities, were the most intelligent of Her Majesty's Indian subjects in the presidency of Fort William, were the only people uncontaminated by the mutiny of 1857. The more intelligent people are, the better they understand their real interest—the better they appreciate the maxim that duty and interest are in the long run inseparable. Would any intelligent people be ever so infatuated as to weaken (to dismiss with horror more nefarious ideas) the very government that protects it from anarchy and danger? The very supposition is monstrous.

Although true policy would always repudiate the Ellenborough idiosyncrasy, yet individuals may be found, even now, ready to make a convenience of native prejudices in uneducated parts of the country, and by fondling and extolling the ancient language and institutions of the people, endeavour to clear the field of competition of native rivals, by keeping them in ignorance of that literature and science without which it would be preposterous for a man to aspire after a share in the higher offices of the state, opened to their ambition by the policy of the British legislature and the Proclamation of the Queen on assuming the government of India.

It is a significant fact, gentlemen, that those persons who are loudest in supporting an exclusively Oriental system of education are also most strenuously opposed to the generous policy of Sir Stafford Northcote regarding the more extended admission

of natives to the Civil Service. They allege that "the posts filled by some 800 English civilians are precisely those for which the Asiatic is at present unfitted by his want of training, his caste and social prejudices,"* and yet the same writers constantly dictate a system of education which obstructs good training and fosters prejudice, and they are fond of inveighing against the very education whereby the disqualifying training may be remedied, caste feeling destroyed, and loyalty ensured.

The converse of the coincidence is again as true as it is also equally significant. Those who have promoted English education along with the vernaculars, have also laboured vigorously for our material welfare. I need not remind you of a name of which Bengal can never be forgetful, so long as the grace to remember benefits continues in human nature. The great David Hare was in this respect a father to the Bengal community in the very sense in which the poet represents Dilipa to have been the father of his people.† And the same Hare was the introducer of Anglo-Vernacular education among the Bengalis.

Nor can I abstain from mentioning what two eminent men, already named in the course of this lecture, have done for us. Sir Edward Ryan and Mr. Charles Hay Cameron, both successively presidents of the Council of Education, and both ardent promoters of Anglo-vernacular education, were the *first* among Englishmen to call upon the late Court of Directors, even at the risk of being considered importunate, if not impertinent, to give effect to that clause in the Charter Act of 1833 which suggested the appointment of natives to covenanted services. They wrote a letter to the Court of Directors, from which I shall read but one extract:—

"Both of us, during the latter years of our residence in India, "were honoured by your supreme government there with the "appointment of President of the Committee of Public Ins- "truction, or Council of Education, as it has been latterly term- "ed, and with the presidency of your Medical College of

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* The Friend of India, 9th January, 1868.

† Raghu Vansa प्रजानां विनयाधानात् रक्षणाद्भरणादपि। स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः॥

"Calcutta. The deep interest, therefore, which both of us feel "in all that concerns the education and general advancement "of the Asiatic races whom Her Majesty and Parliament have "committed to your government, has, we trust, enough of official "sanction to prevent the present manifestation of it from ap- "pearing an unwarrantable intrusion. And we make our "request to your Honourable Court collectively, because the "question of conceding for the first time to a native of India "an appointment in one of your covenanted services, appears "to us one of such importance, as to be more fitly determinable "by the deliberation of your whole body, than by that indivi- "dual discretion to which the selection of presons for those "services is in ordinary circumstances intrusted."

The reply which the Directors gave was adverse to the proposal, though couched in terms of courteous diplomacy and—*assigning no reason*. Mr. Cameron remarks in the book I have several times referred to :—

"This is an answer which, half a century ago, would have "been reputed a wise one. I doubt if it will now be thought "so. We are in the thirty-eighth year of peace. That long "peace, among its other advantages, has made the nation "inquisitive, and the Government communicative. No British "statesman now thinks it dignified to wrap himself up in official "silence. He rather courts opportunities of explaining his "views and his motives. Even the ancient corporation of Eng- "lish lawyers no longer pretend that their art is a mystery "which the profane vulgar must not hope to penetrate."

It was certainly not a *wise* reply to assign no reason—nor a wise measure either. For only three years after this refusal to give a small crumb of patronage in the shape of an assistant surgeonship to a native of India, the WHOLE of the Company's patronage was confiscated by Parliament, and made a free gift of to proved merit and talent after competitive examinations. The person to whom the Court would not grant *as a favour* the appointment solicited in his behalf by a quondam Chief Justice, and a quondam member of Council, wrested it from them *as a right* after the first competitive examination held under the Act of 1853. The person I allude to is our own respected townsman, Dr. Chuckerbutty.

But, gentlemen, let us discard the consideration of mere secular advantages. Our subject is Education. Let it not be mixed up with the lower question of utility. Let us contemplate it on its own merits—ponder its intrinsic excellencies—review its effects on the mind and character. The religious part of the question, the rules of the society have compelled me to reserve, but that reserve could not have affected the present discussion—for it will not be pretended that true religion will be best promoted by the exclusive cultivation of the Oriental languages.

Can it be maintained that mere Oriental education which can teach nothing worth knowing in history or science, which has scarcely a healthy prose literature to boast of, is a better instrument for the improvement of the human mind than English education with its fund of pure literature, science and history, and with Oriental literature as an adjunct? Gentlemen, the question appears to me so simple, that it will be an insult to your good sense to attempt saying more.

Some persons, without undervaluing the importance of English education, maintain that natives, out of Bengal, are unwilling to learn English, and therefore, if they are to be taught at all, they must be taught through the Oriental languages. This assertion, however, ought to be received with caution. The records of the University of Calcutta prove that many candidates present themselves for examination in all parts of the country, and reports of schools and colleges, both missionary and secular, exhibit numerous classes learning English with diligence and success. And only last week, I saw a notice in one of our daily papers, from which it would appear that a thirst after English knowledge has penetrated the remotest valleys of the country. The *Indian Daily News* (6th February 1868) recorded that—

"The Hon'ble G. N. Taylor on his visit to the Kangra val-
"ley, inspected several schools and the works of irrigation now
"in progress there. The Hon'ble member of the Council is
"said to have recorded a minute, in which he is said to have
"observed that the native youths in the valley evince a great
"taste and predilection for a liberal education; and more so
"for English literature and science. He has suggested that
"the condition of the local schools should be improved, and

"that the salary of the head masters, who are now very poorly "paid, should be augmented from Rs. 50 to 150 a month, and "the teachers should be placed on the same footing as those in "Bengal."

I cannot therefore admit that there is no desire after English education in the North West or the Punjab. There may be many other valleys equally remote, which have not yet found a gentleman as ready as Mr. Noble Taylor to notice and report their thirst for knowledge. I believe that such education would make quite as great progress there as in Bengal, if it found men like Hare, Ryan and Cameron to promote it.

I do not mean that the Oriental classics or vernaculars are to be excluded from any system of Indian education, but I do mean that they are to be supplemented by English every where, excepting only such elementary schools for the masses as may be attended by people who cannot learn English, nor have the leisure for pursuing a course of liberal education in any language. Such schools do not come in the category of collegiate systems. Those that content themselves with a little smattering of *serrafi* Hindi would not attempt the mastering of Sanscrit, Persian or Arabic either—though in many places, as I have been credibly informed, they would gladly prolong their school life if they had the opportunity of learning English.

Much has been said on the neglect of the vernaculars by those who study English. I ask a prior question—Do those who do not study English cultivate much of the vernaculars? In the North West and the Punjab, English has not been studied so much as in Bengal. Are the vernaculars there in a better condition either as to books or scholars? How much of prose literature can be found in the Punjabi, or in Hindi either? Some very able and useful tracts have been written by men like the public spirited Baboo Sivaprasad of Benares—himself an English scholar and of an English College. Few others have, however, followed his excellent example and the language is still in a rude and uncultivated state.

But the idea that the cultivation of English brings on a neglect of the vernaculars, is contradicted by the experience of Bengal. Those that speak so boldly from editorial chairs of the neglect of the vernaculars, before they have qualified them-

selves by the study of the vernaculars to pronounce sentence *intelligently* on the subject, place themselves evidently in false positions. They have perhaps never condescended to examine the numerous publications which the Bengali press has issued and is issuing monthly under the authorship or editorship of English educated Bengalis.

In Bengal again where English education has been extensively imparted, the vernacular has been preserved in greater philological purity as a daughter of Sanscrit than the Hindi in the North West Provinces. Take the Hindi works of Babu Sivaprasad just mentioned, and the Bengali works of Baba Bhudeb Mookerjea or Babu Rajendralala Mitra, and you will see which has preserved intact the philological purity of a daughter-language of Sanscrit.

We have also lately heard it said—Let the history and science of Europe be translated into the vernaculars, and let the people be taught in their own languages. Well, let books be translated by all means where they can be done satisfactorily as to matter and style, and let them be largely taught. But let not such education be confounded with Collegiate systems; let it be remembered that the history and science of one language cannot in a few years be so translated into another, as at once to supersede the original. And let not a man to whom it may be possible to study the history and science of England *in English* be forced to confine himself to translations. That would be to realize our old adage of digging a stagnant well beside a fountain of fresh water streams. For it is impossible to name any single book in history or science that may do duty for all. And is education to cease as soon as a single book on history or science is mastered? Is the Indian student to be debarred from further reading when he is out of College? Suppose he adopts the legal or the medical profession—is he to be excluded, by being kept in ignorance of English, from all further knowledge in his profession? That would be to force him to become a pettifogger or a quack.

Let translations or rather original works or compilations in Indian dialects be liberally encouraged, for the use of those who cannot learn English or prefer the vernaculars, in minor

schools, and for the purpose of enriching the vernaculars,—but let there be no embargo on English itself.

The proper way to enrich the vernacular is, however, not by servile or hired translations. That can be done only, as it is indeed being done to a good extent in Bengali, by means of works written under a sort of literary inspiration by men educated *both* in English and in the Orientals. But the work of enriching a vernacular, so as to dispense with the study of English, and yet to ensure the cultivation of all the branches of a liberal education, cannot be the work of a day. Even a century would be too little for such a purpose. It is full a thousand years since the University of Oxford was founded in England, and to this day the study of Latin and Greek is considered necessary in that country for the purposes of a liberal education. But suppose only fifty years, or one century, after the original institution of that University, an embargo had been placed on Latin by a successor of King Alfred, and every aspirant after knowledge been compelled to confine his attention to Anglo-Saxon, such as it then was—what would have been the position of England at this day in the republic of letters? And it must be remembered that with us it is considerably less than fifty years since *our Alfred*, Lord William Bentinck, laid down the basis of a liberal education in English, and already has that education told forcibly on the vernaculars. But men must not be in a hurry. There should be no interference with Lord William Bentinck's resolutions, because in less than four decades of years it has only done what Oxford took more than as many centuries to effect—for it will not be denied that Bengali is now richer than English was in the thirteenth century.

As to the education of the masses it is undoubtedly a question deserving the earnest attention of every educated native —and on this point I shall certainly never stand between the zemindar that is indifferent to the interests of his ryots, and the philanthropist that castigates him for such neglect.

But all zemindars are not so neglectful. I have myself known, in an estate which was under my own charge for many years in the Sunderbuns on behalf of an absent friend, a school maintained at the landlord's expense for the instruction of the

ryots. In that estate the policy was well understood that the moral, intellectual, and material improvement of the ryot redounds to the landlord's own interests by securing the estate against injuries and making collections more regular and less expensive. I know many other landholders who spend largely upon the elementary education of their ryots and dependents, of which no official reports reach the Secretariats of Government.

I must therefore say one word in the interests of such good zemindars. They occupy a delicate and a difficult position in the state. They have not only to collect for themselves but for the Government also—the biggest zemindar in Bengal. The Government demand in some cases—the Burdwan estates for example—is I believe not less than seven-tenths of the gross revenue. The average is perhaps between one-third and a half. Suppose now a general calamity takes place. It is but seldom, and under very exceptional circumstances, and after long delay, that the Government ever makes any remission of ITS demand—which may be full half the gross revenue. If the estate be worth Rs. 50,000 a year the zemindar is bound to find Rs. 25,000 for Government. Where is he to get that sum if he indiscriminately stop all collections? You can conceive his difficulties where Government does not by a speedy remission of its own demand co-operate with him in a work of unquestioned benevolence.*

Though the question of the education of the masses is not identical with collegiate education, and therefore not strictly within my subject, I must nevertheless add that our work of education commenced not more than fifty years ago with the middling classes. The wealthiest were at that time nearly as indifferent on the subject as the lowest classes are still found to be. But education once commenced began to radiate—and the radiation was both above and below. It was certainly not more powerful upward than downward. The working men in our commu-

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* This part of the Lecture had reference to an article in the *Friend of India* in which the editor condemned in strong language the zemindars of a certain district in Eastern Bengal, because they had not stopped all collections after an inundation had damaged the crops.

nity—the castes below the kayastas,—carpenters, blacksmiths, braziers, barbers, washermen, have all felt its potent influences. Even classes still lower have come within the range of literary instruction. If by a ryot you mean the cultivating classes, the Kaibartas, Tewars and Podes, I know of large numbers that have already felt the benign influence of Saraswati. But ryots as they rise by education and success, cease to be *day-labourers*, —and take up a position corresponding to that of farmers. And it is only a sort of day-labourer of the lowest type that the word ryot now signifies or suggests. Such persons have not generally yet come within the range of instruction. Even when schools are established at their very doors, they scarcely ever send their children. Perhaps their extreme poverty does not allow them to dispense with the services even of children for a few hours daily.

Far be it from men of education—far be it from any one who is not determined to be a disgrace to the human species, to throw one drop of cold water on the ardent zeal of disinterested philanthropy, longing to bring the WHOLE of our species within the circle of instruction.

It is only to moderate despondency and to ward off unmerited censures which may prove injurious to the cause itself, that I would suggest the consideration whether, unless every man were compelled by law to send his sons to school, there will not probably always be a body of day-labourer-like ryots neglecting that sacred duty.

In Parliamentary franchise, unless manhood suffrage be at once established, there will always be some below the qualifying mark, even when it includes the poorest householder. And in the radiation of literary influences, some in like manner will perhaps always be found outside its range, unless every father or guardian were compelled by law to send his children or wards to school.

This, however, is no excuse for public apathy in the further extension of vernacular education for the masses. Collegiate education should not, however, be set forth as antagonistic to such an object. Nor should the idea be entertained that the masses could not be benefited without injuring the better classes. Neither should any particular class, such as zemindars, be held

solely responsible for the welfare of the poor. Every *Dives*, be he zemindar, merchant, tradesman, fund-holder, or Government official, is equally responsible for the intellectually starving Lazarus at his door.

But, gentlemen, I have already detained you longer than I intended. I shall now resume my seat after reciting three propositions as the substance of my essay.

1. Academic education for natives must, for years to come, comprise *both* English and Oriental literature; the one for introducing, the other for naturalizing the enlightenment of Europe in Asia.

2. It should not be *exclusively* English, it must have Sanscrit or Arabic by its side—for even the subtleties of which the late Rammohun Roy spoke are worth our study with a view to arrive at an accurate knowledge of the *mind* of our ancestors. The Sanscrit language and grammar have also an intrinsic value in a philological point of view, and throw much light on the origin of the human species and human language. The purity of the vernaculars again depends in a great measue on the proper cultivation of Sanscrit. No scheme of education can be of much value that excludes the Oriental element, just as we believe that no policy in the administration of the country can be perfect if it excludes the Oriental element from its higher offices.

3. Nor should our education be exclusively Oriental either. Indian youth should not be debarred from a thorough knowledge of history, science and jurisprudence, which Oriental literature cannot supply. And why should an embargo be placed on the Queen's English in her richest possession in the East? Why should governors and the governed be perpetually barbarians to each other by rule? This certainly would not promote that mutual sympathy which is the best guarantee for peace in the Indian empire. In this respect, too, schemes of education should harmonize with the policy of the administration. No one can be so infatuated as to desire the exclusion of the European element from the administration of the country, nor ought any person to be so unmindful of the sacred interests of human education as to entrust it solely to Oriental literature. When professed *friends of India* declare that natives

are unfitted for the higher offices of the state by their Oriental training and prejudices—and at the same time contend for a system of education calculated to perpetuate the same disqualifying training and prejudices—I can only wonder at the glaring inconsistency. We desire the combination of the English and Oriental elements in the administration of our country—and we also hold that in the department of Education the proper place for Oriental literature is in combination with English education—just as Professor Wilson himself seems to have sketched the outline of our idea by housing the Sanscrit College in the building which has the Hindu school on one side and the Presidency College on the other.

LESSONS OF THE FAMINE.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BY BABU KISSORY CHAND MITTRA AT THE BETHUNE SOCIETY.

13th December, 1866.

The operations connected with the relief of the famine-stricken population having just closed, the time has come for dwelling on the salient points and drawing the lessons of the great calamity that overtook this country.

The famine has served to show first and foremost that the community of Calcutta, European and Hindu, stand second to none in the world in their deep sympathy with suffering and their enlightened liberality to mitigate it.

When the streets of our city were crowded with paupers, numbering hundreds and thousands of weavers of Jehanabad and Chunderkona, the Hindu gentlemen of Calcutta freely and liberally relieved them. They behaved nobly on the occasion, and their munificence is beyond all praise. They opened *Unnochattras* near their residences, and distributed cooked food to the paupers. Babu, now, Roy Rajendro Mullick Bahadur was the first to inaugurate this system of relief and was followed by several others among whom I am proud to recognize some of my Hindu friends. Their conduct has afforded the most triumphant refutation of the ungenerous charge so often laid at the door of the Hindus that there is *no charity in their composition*. It on the contrary conclusively proves that charity is a conspicuous trait of their national character. The following is a list of the Unnochattras and of the paupers fed in August 1866.

Statement of Paupers fed.

Locality.	By whom fed.	No. fed.
Sobha Bazar Street, ..	Unnodalal Das, ...	150
Musjidbari Street, .. .	Obhoy Churn Goho, . ..	60
Kajkishen's Street, ..	Raja Kali Kishen, .. .	150
Pathooria Ghata Street, .	Hullodhur Dass & others, ..	5,000
Do. do.	Jodoo Lal Mullick, ...	200
Nimtollah Street, ...	Mittras and Dutts of Nimtollah,	200
Pathooria Ghata Street, ..	Jotendro Mohun Tagore, ..	300
Prosonno Coomar Tagore's Street, ...	Prosonno Coomar Tagore, ..	150
Mooktoram Baboo's Street,	Rajendra Mullick, ..	1,000
Do. do. ..	Dwarkanath Mitter, and Brothers	200
Do. do.	Peary Churn Sircar, ...	800
Baranosy Ghose's Street, .	Hurro Chunder Ghose, ..	250
Panchy Dhobany's Lane, ..	Muddon Mohun Chatterjea .	70
Chitpore Road, . ..	Radha Kristo Sett, ...	75
Dwarkanath Tagore's Street,	Debendro Nath Tagore, .	100
Nemoo Mullick's Ghat, ..	Hajee Zacharia and others, ..	1,500
Rajah's Kuttree, .. .	Oomachurn Nundy and others.	1,5 0
Chunah Gully, ..	Gobind Chand Dhur and others,	500
Rutton Mistry's Lane, ..	Taruck Nath Dutt and others.	800
Mirzapore Street, ...	Ranee Surno Moie and others,..	300
Heedaram Banerjea's Lane,	Nilcomul Banerjea and others,..	450
	Grand Total,	13,755

An influential meeting of the European inhabitants of this Town was held at the Town Hall on the 13th August when Mr. Justice Phear bore his weighty testimony to the "munificent liberality" of the natives, and it was resolved to supplement it with that of the Europeans. On the 18th August, 1866, a Pauper Camp composed of neatly built long sheds was organized at Chitpore. These sheds were built of bamboo and mats, and were water proof and airy at the same time.

They were so arranged as to accommodate a double row of paupers. The sexes were separated at night, the men sleeping in sheds on the left side, and women on the right of the road leading to the Ghat. They were all provided with mats on which to lie. Beyond the sheds on the right was the kitchen, where the rice was cleansed, and processes, connected with the preparation of food, were carried on. The number of paupers fed at the camp at first amounted to 5,000 but it be-

gan to diminish to 2,500. On the 7th September, the Committee of the Famine Relief Fund appointed by the meeting of the 13th August, resolved to remove the paupers out of Calcutta to the camp at Chitpore. In consequence of this resolution, the private *Unnochattras* were closed, and paupers heretofore fed there, were concentrated at Chitpore. The total number of paupers fed at the Camp from its opening to its close on the 15th November amounted to 3,48,600, three hundred and forty eight thousand and six hundred. This number included the working paupers, who were counted twice because they were fed twice. The feeding took place four times during the day. The first at 10½ A.M. for the working paupers, the second at 12½ P.M. for all the ticket holders, or persons stopping at the camp during the night. The third at 2½ P.M., for all outsiders who, chose to take their meal at the camp; and the fourth at 4½ P.M. for the working party again. The diet of the paupers consisted of cooked rice of best sort, mixed dâl kollye and arhar and two kinds of vegetable curries. The vegetables supplied consisted of edible greens and plantains but no potatoes. Fish was supplied every Sunday. The order and quiet reigning throughout the camp, and the cook-room was admirable. At first there were irregularities in the arrangements of this asylum, which gave rise to complaints, but they were all rectified by a Sub-Committee of Hindu gentlemen, which was entrusted with the feeding departments. When the paupers got strong and healthy, they were forwarded to their own districts, either by boat, or by rail, in charge of Police Officers, from the camp. Every man and woman proceeding to the Jehanabad Sub-division, was provided on his or her departure with a brass lota, brass *thallee*, a piece of cloth, one rupee in cash and three seers of *choorah* and *moorkee*. In this way, the paupers were relieved and sent home, till the Famine Camp was gradually vacated and finally closed on the 15th of November. In connection with the camp, hospitals were established at Chitpore, Belgatchea, and Manicktollah, and placed in charge of qualified Sub-Assistant surgeons. The inmates of these institutions suffering from fever, cholera, diarrhœa, and other diseases born of the famine exhibited a sad spectacle. The rate of mortality was very high and the cures were comparatively few. This is not

to be wondered at when we recollect that the majority of the patients were moribund and brought at the last stage. After the close of the camp, the famine-stricken sick were concentrated in Chitpore.

On the 10th October, Mr. Hogg, the Chairman of the Famine Relief Committee telegraphed straight to the Viceroy at Simla and to the Secretary of State for India for the purpose of moving the Lord Mayor of London to convene a public meeting to raise subscriptions for the relief of the famine stricken population of India. But the stream of the charity of England which had flowed so freely in India in 1863, was in this case shut up by a representation that money was not wanted. But Lord Cranbourne to his eternal honour, telegraphed back to authorise the local Government to "expend freely" from the public funds for such relief, thus recognising the duty of the state to save its subjects from perishing by starvation. Of the wisdom of this policy there can be no doubt. The voluntary principle which works miracles in England must be supplemented here by the action of the Government.

In the middle of November, the Government of Bengal appointed Mr. H. L. Dampier as a special commissioner to report on the famine. But the Government of India in accordance with the spirit of a dispatch received from the Secretary of State deemed a change in the constitution of the Commission of Enquiry necessary. His Excellency in Council accordingly appointed on the 4th December a Commission composed of three officers named below and with the following instructions.

PRESIDENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Campbell.

MEMBERS.

Colonel Morton, Royal Engineers.

Mr. H. L. Dampier, Civil Service.

Briefly, the duty of the Commission was enjoined to enquire carefully and to report clearly its opinion on the following points:—Firstly, What were the causes which led to the scarcity and famine. Secondly, whether timely and sufficient measures were taken to meet the evil, and to relieve the distressed, and if not, whether valid reasons exist to account for the absence of such measures: and thirdly, in what way, if

any, action may be taken by the Government to prevent the recurrence of a similar visitation, or to mitigate its effects, should it recur. On a review of the whole subject the Commissioners expressed their opinion that the delays and deficiencies which have occurred in regard to the adoption of effectual measures to meet the great calamity which has afflicted the country must be assigned in part to each of the following causes :— I. Inevitable circumstances. II. Peculiarities of the system of administration in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. III. Certain errors and short-comings on the part of different individual officers, none of which were alone sufficient to cause the greatest degree of evil, but which, coming together in an unfortunate combination, did greatly retard measures of relief.

In the meantime, the Relief Committee that the destitution that stalked into our streets had called into existence continued to work with unabated energy and unflagging zeal. By clearing the city of those hordes of animated skeletons who had been driven from their homes by the cravings of hunger, they saved it from a calamity second only to that of the famine. The success which had attended the independent and unfettered action of the Committee attracted the attention of the Government of Bengal and induced it to request that body to extend their operations from Calcutta to the Mofussil. The Committee relying upon the sympathy and support of the public cheerfully acceded to this proposal, and accordingly changed their denomination into the "Bengal and Orissa Famine Relief Committee." In the prosecution of the measures for transferring to the Committee the future management of the Relief operations in the distressed districts, a Member of the Board of Revenue, Mr. Schalch, was instructed by the Government to place himself in direct communication with the Committee. Mr. Schalch accordingly attended their first meeting after the Doorgapooja holidays, and explained to them the Lieutenant Governor's views in regard to the joint operations of the Board of Revenue and the Relief Committee. The Committee had, however in anticipation of the action of Government, issued a telegram to the Collectors of the Districts of Cuttack, Midnapore, Pooree, Balasore and Luncoorah to send in their future

reports to the Committee. This measure was disapproved by the Lieutenant Governor as tending to create confusion. His Honor was of opinion that the channel of communication with the Local Authorities should be through the Board of Revenue, who would continue to exercise over the Local Authorities the same control as hitherto, in matters connected with relief operations, looking to the Committee for their co-operation, and for funds to meet the wants of the Mofussil Districts. To this arrangement, the Committee refused their assent. They had no idea of being hampered by the intervention of the Board of Revenue. The aspect of affairs intermediately changed.

The Secretary of State for India having directed the unrestricted advance of the public money to meet the requirements of the famine-stricken districts, the Governments was no longer in need of the aid of the Committee and simply wished them to be the responsible almoners of its bounty. But the Committee refused to have their freedom of action thus restricted. The Government having informed the Committee that there was no further need for pecuniary aid, that body declared itself dissolved on the 12th December after having nobly fulfilled its mission. Lord Cranbourne in a dispatch to the Governor-General dated 28th February 1866, thus recorded his appreciation of the services of the Committee. "I observe from the papers forwarded with your dispatch under reply that the Committee of the Bengal, and Orissa Famine Relief Fund consider that the active portion of their duties has now been brought to a close. The subscriptions that have been collected under the auspices of the Committee, amounting to so large a sum as Rs. 5,22,439-1-3, reflect the utmost credit, as well on the zeal and energy of its members as on the benevolence of the contributors, and the admirable and judicious distribution of the funds entrusted to the care of the Committee, merits the warmest thanks of Her Majesty's Government. I request, therefore, that you will express to Mr. Stuart Hogg, the Chairman, and through him, to the Honorary Secretaries, the Doctors, Executive Committee, and native gentlemen who have been so devoted and liberal of their active services in this time of extreme distress, the sense entertained of their services by myself in common with every member of my Council. The distribution

which it is proposed to make of the surplus of the funds shows as discriminating a regard for the welfare of the surviving sufferers from the Famine as has been evinced in the distribution of the remainder of the Funds."

At a meeting of the Legislative Council of Bengal held on the twenty-first January 1867, the Lieutenant-Governor made a statement on the Famine. His Honor described the measures adopted by the Government to arrest the progress of the famine, and suggested that a public meeting be convened to raise funds for the relief of the orphans of the famine stricken districts. Mr. Peterson made a claptrap speech, which far from telling on, disgusted his colleagues, albeit accustomed to his platitudes. He completely acquitted the authorities of all share of blame during the crisis. He deprecated the administration of relief as calculated to convert the labouring classes into paupers, and advocated the enactment of poor laws forgetting that they are not wanted in a country where charity is abundant but indiscriminate. The Council however generally ageed with his Honor as to the necessity of convening a public meeting. Accordingly a public meeting was held at the Town-Hall on the 12th February at 9 P.M. It was a most influential gathering, and was presided over by the Viceroy. The representatives of the European and Hindu communities took an active part in the meeting expressing their cordial sympathy with its object and calling upon the public to render their aid in support of it.

With reference to a dispatch of Lord Cranbourne on the famine which arrived here in the beginning of January last, the Lieut.-

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NOTE.—We may mention here that in October 1866, a Famine Relief Fund was raised by the East Indian Railway Company, and Rs. 14,353 collected. After expending Rs. 6,100 on relief operations, including donations of Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 1,000 to the Calcutta and Howrah Relief Committees, they intimated that out of the balance they would give further donations of Rs. 1,000 each to the Calcutta and Howrah Committees, and retain the remainder to meet applications for relief from districts along the line of Railway still suffering from scarcity. The Railway Company also reduced by one-half the fares for paupers returning to their homes, and made a similar reduction for the carriage of grain for *bonâ-fide* relief purposes. The thanks and commendation of Government were communicated to the Board of Agency for the liberality displayed by the Company and its employés.

Governor put forth a minute on the subject of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal in connection with the famine in Orissa and other parts of the Bengal Presidency. It is an elaborate precis of a mass of official correspondence bearing on the famine and is meant by its author as a personal justification of his own proceedings and a defence of his conduct against the charges brought against him by the press of England and India. As a defence, it is not effective—far less triumphant. After a careful and impartial consideration which I have bestowed on it, I am compelled to endorse the verdict which has been pronounced on it by the public, viz.—that it is plausible but unsatisfactory. While a portion of my countrymen have not joined in the cry against Sir C. Beadon for not having extinguished the famine, for they believed that no human Government can arrest climatic disturbances, there are others who take him to blame because he failed to appreciate the magnitude of the crisis and was consequently unable to grapple with it as manfully and successfully as could be wished. Sir Cecil Beadon admits this when he says in his minute that he "relied too much both on the resources of Orissa and on the ability of private enterprise to supply a possible deficiency from other quarters," and that he believed that in Orissa as in Bengal and Behar the question was one of money rather than of food. This belief has proved to be fallacious and establishes our charge against him, viz. his failing to see the imminency of the danger of starvation which was in proportion to the paucity of available food to supply the wants of the population. Again; referring to the suggestion made to his Honor by Mr. Scott Moncrief that he should import grain into the famine-stricken districts from the ports of British Burmah, he says "On the best consideration I could give to this most vital and important question, it appeared to me that if the Government were once to begin to undertake the supply of rice for the consumption of the people of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, or even of any part of these provinces, it must be prepared to supersede the operations of private trade altogether, since no merchant would engage in a business in which he would have to compete with Government, that it was impossible for the Government to foresee what quantity of food might be necessary and that the magnitude of the

danger was not nearly so great as to warrant the Government in attempting such a violent interference with the true course of trade." The opinion of Mr. John Stuart Mill, quoted by Sir Cecil Beadon, instead of vindicating his policy of "Masterly inaction" tells against it. That opinion is to the effect that direct measures at the cost of the state, to procure food from a distance are expedient only when, from peculiar reasons, the thing is not likely to be done by private speculators. The famine was just such a crisis as to override the laws of political economy. These laws cannot freely operate in a country which is semi-civilized and destitute of means of intercommunication.

The plea put forth by Sir Cecil Beadon for not visiting the famine sticken districts, is not adequate, and not even justified by his conduct. "It has been charged against me," he says, "that I did not personally visit the distressed districts, and my conduct in this respect has been contrasted with that of the Governor of Madras, who visited Ganjam during the famine, and has described the result of his visit in his minute of the 5th of October. On this it may be said that, whilst in Madras operations for the relief of distress were confined to portions of a single district, in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, they were spread over some fifteen districts, extending through seven degrees of latitude and five of longitude." The area of pauperism in Bengal was doubtless more extensive than in Madras, but this is an additional argument for his personal inspection. The state of things necessitated the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor on the spot. Sir Cecil Beadon is after all obliged to admit that the information on which he acted was insufficient. This would never have been the case, if he had repaired to the scene of distress, and seen every thing there with his own eyes, and heard every thing with his own ears.

Every calamity teaches us lessons and those taught by the present famine are of grave import. They indicate the imperative necessity of adopting a policy of progress and material improvement. Among the remedial measures suggested by the famine the extension of irrigation appears to be the principal. The want of means of transit is one of the chief causes of famine. There is famine in one district while there is abundance of food grain in another within fifty koss of it. Nothing but

water in such a country can convey the quantity of food required. Its regulation is therefore of infinite importance to her vast population. In Bengal as well as in Orissa water is the first necessity of agriculture. There are several districts in this province where the means and appliances of irrigation are not wanting to any serious extent, the rivers admitting of navigation throughout the year. Rajshahye and Rungpore, Bogra and Backergunge, are intersected by a perfect network of streams. Dinagepore and Rungpore are the nurseries of Mogee rice. Backergunge is the granary of Eastern Bengal. But there are other parts of this province which stand sadly in want of a well administered system of irrigation. Burdwan and Midnapore and Hooghly, three metropolitan districts, come under this category. There is an interesting abstract in a report made in 1858 by Mr. W. Smith, Civil Engineer, on a case of irrigation which has been successfully carried out by Mr. Grose, Putnedar of Jeypore in Burdwan, and published in the Selections of the Records of Government which well show how the tract of country adverted to above, may be benefited by irrigation.

At Rajbulhat, just below where the Bancoorah and Calcutta road crosses the Damoodah, that section of the river recedes in a very narrow channel after the rains. Its dry weather discharge flowing at a rate of about one mile per hour, is about 750 cubic feet per second. Here a bund was thrown across the river from bank to bank, 1210 feet in length, and of an average height of about 8 feet, consisting chiefly of sand taken from the river bed, but mixed in some places with alluvial earth, and also strengthened in those parts where strength was most required, by many bundles of straw and by bamboos driven into the ground. The total cost of this was Rs. 2,000 The top of the bund was irregular in both its height and breadth. Under the right bank, where the deepest water of 7½ feet was, after bunding it half, was 12 feet high. Under the left bank, where there was another water channel 4' 8" deep, it was 9 feet high; and in the centre where there was a sand bank dry under ordinary circumstances, it was 4 feet. When the water was at its full height, above the dam on the up stream side, the bund topped the water level by 4 feet at both ends, and 2 feet

in the middle. At the right bank again where the chief pressure of water was, the dam was made 15 feet thick, at the left bank 10, and in the middle 8 feet broad. Just above this dam on the right bank, was the irrigation channel or outlet, which it was desired to supply with water. This is a natural channel of the Damudah of considerable dimensions, filled during floods. Its beds had been deepened by cutting at the mouth to assist the entrance of the water, and was thus reduced to 5 feet above the bed of the Damudah itself; and the water in the river having at the same time been raised by the dam, from about 2 feet to a height or depth of 7½ feet, it followed that a stream of water 2½ feet in depth was thrown into the side channel for irrigation purposes. The surface of this water was 5½ feet below the level of the country, and as before stated 4 feet below the top of the dam. The width of the irrigation channel was about 200 feet; depth 2½. The velocity of the water in it about 15 feet per second. Its discharge therefore was 750 feet per second. This amount of water was found to irrigate 17,500 beeghas, or say 6,000 acres, thus giving about 8 acres to the cubic foot of water discharge, a far lower amount than that usually taken by canal authorities, which is as much as 120 to 200 acres to the cubic foot in the North Western Provinces. The water was not, however, of course, run on to the lands; being some distance below the surface, it had to be baled up wherever required. There was very little leakage in the dam and no accident is reported to have occurred to it. The pecuniary value of such a supply of water might be expected to be 750 cubic feet which would water (at the rate of 120 acres of mixed cultivation to the cubic foot) 90,000 acres, if of rice, 30,000. The Rent return at one Rupee per acre, would be equal to Rs. 90,000, (Rs. 30,000) Thirty thousand rupees.

Glancing at the map of Bengal we perceive that the famine area might be divided in reference to irrigation into four circles, namely: the Midnapore districts, the Birbhum districts, the districts situated on the south of the Ganges and the Behar districts. Midnapore is however included in the scheme of the East Indian Irrigation and Canal company and may soon reap the benefits of it. Referring to the Burdwan

and the Hugly districts, the plan submitted by Colonel Short for a Canal from the River Damudah to the River Hooghly above Chandernagore appears to be a very feasible one and its execution would prove an inestimable boon both in a commercial and a sanitary point of view. It would impart a great impetus to the coal trade and prove a remunerative undertaking. The districts of Bahar are not in my opinion well adapted to canalisation. The Idehras or Wells must be the chief source of irrigation. The *Soane* project devised by Colonel Dickens, if judiciously and promptly executed will prove a powerful agent for the cultivation of an immense tract of country. But the extension of well-irrigation must for the present at least be looked upon as the principal means for increasing the breadth of cultivation.

Believing as I do that irrigation is indispensable to the promotion and improvement of agriculture we rejoice to find that a new Irrigation Department has been organised in connection with the Public Works Department. Colonel Strachey who has been placed at the head of this department is the right man in the right place. His knowledge of the engineering wants and difficulties of the country eminently qualifies him for the post. He will be able we trust to commence the canals projected by Colonel Dickens. We trust the negotiation of the Colonel for the purchase of the East Indian Irrigation works in Orissa will be soon brought to a close and that those works which have been hitherto retarded for want of capital will be vigorously prosecuted.

While irrigation is indispensable, it will not prevent famines recurring in other parts of the country unless means of transport by land are provided. To complete the remedy, and give full effect to a system of irrigation, light lines of Railway as suggested by Sir Macdonald Stephenson, should be simultaneously laid down throughout the country. The average cost of these light lines of the 5 feet 6 inches or standard gauge of the country would not according to that high authority exceed Rs. 50,000, or Rs. 80,000, per mile.

While we freely admit that private enterprise and capital must be relied on for the development of the resources of this country, we believe that where the state is the great landlord,

and derives half its revenue from land it is obviously its duty to collect and disseminate the best and fullest information on Agricultural Statistics. Government has the best opportunities for the collection of such information. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of such information in assisting the people in providing against famine. I am persuaded that this work cannot be efficiently discharged by existing official agency either in the Presidency or Mofussil. The district officer and the Board are not able to do it, or can find time for it, a separate agency appears to be necessary. In connection with the proposed remedial measures, I would therefore suggest the establishment of *a Department of Agriculture* to be superintended by a Director or Commissioner. Such a department exists in France, and I see no reason why it should not exist in India which is essentially an agricultural country. The Commissioner should be required to visit the districts periodically, to place himself in direct communication with Zemindars and police officers, and other intelligent parties and receive their suggestions, and also to communicate to them his own views. The Commissioner may be assisted by a couple of by Deputy Collectors. They need not go to every village and Khet, but by moving in different directions and taking a general survey can arrive at an approximately right estimate of the probable yield of the crops. The publication of these returns and price currents will enable the merchants and mahajuns to regulate the Market.

The Commissioner by visiting the districts may also be able to ascertain the wants of districts in respect to roads and other means of intercommunication. Some districts may be in crying need of canals and not of roads and *vice versa*. Branch Railway feeders may be required by some important towns and depôts and emporia. If the site of these could be judicially selected a great advantage will have been gained.

The famine has shown in a way not to be forgotten, the defective constitution of the Government of Bengal and its consequent incapacity to grapple with a great crisis. It is strange that the oldest, the richest, and the most enlightened province —the centre of a great trade and the seat of a large and independent European population should be regulated by a more imperfect machinery of Government than the minor

Presidencies. Bengal has no executive Council and a most heterogenously constituted Legislative Council. Her affairs are administered by a Lieutenant-Governor nominated by the Viceroy and selected from among the most able and experienced civilians. He is hampered by an amount of interference on the part of the Governor-General in Council which does not exist elsewhere. The Lieutenant-Governorship which was created by an Act of Parliament in 1853, proved but an inadequate instalment of reform.

The range of questions coming before the consideration the Lieutenant-Governor is too numerous, and too complicate, requiring a varied knowledge and experience, which one man, however able, well-informed and energetic, could not fairly be expected to supply. The administration of Bengal during the last fourteen years has not therefore been attended with the desired success. The obvious remedy in my judgment is to place Bengal as regards the constitution of its Government on an equal footing with the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, to replace the present Lieutenant-Governor by a Governor in Council, to give it the same administrative independence which the other Presidencies enjoy and thus to recognise the importance which its boundless resources and intellectual and moral advancement demand. Councils are not in my opinion clogs but aids to good Government. The operations of the Indian Council, whether advising the Presidency Government or the Governor-General, or the Secretary of State for India, show that they have been in the highest degree useful and beneficial. These Councils, as the Right Hon'ble Sir Stafford Northcote says, are "eyes to the blind and feet to the lame." The local knowledge, varied mind and independent judgment which the Councillors bring are calculated to lead to a thorough sifting of questions and by placing at the disposal of the responsible chief the many-sided views which his advisors with especial training may be fairly expected to offer, to help him to arrive at impartial and sound conclusions. While we urge the necessity of appointing a Council to assist the Governor, we would not diminish by an iota the personal responsibility of the head of the Government. In this country, an impersonal Government means bad Government, what is wanted is indivi-

duality in the Governor. He must make his will felt by the whole country. The famine has also shown that the district officers however energetic and conscientious are not so intimately acquainted with the condition of the people whose destinies are intrusted to their keeping as could be reasonably wished. Their ignorance in this respect misled the Government and aggravated the evils of the famine. The Famine Commissioners justly observe, "It may be said that the country is adminstered judicially and not by the executive powers. The executive reigns but does not govern. It has little executive machinery, and it may be said that it, on principle avoids interference with the affairs of the mass of the people." To obviate this evil the Collector, Magistrates should be divested of their multifarious and often conflicting duties and enjoined to live among the people and study their wants and wishes. Looking to the collapse of the Governmental machinery, I am not surprised at the animated debate which it looked in Parliament. I trust the bill for the re-organization of the Government which may be introduced in that Assembly will satisfy the just and reasonable expectations of the public.

THE EDUCATED NATIVES OF BENGAL.

THEIR POSITION AND RESPONSIBILITY.

READ BY

BABU GOPAL CHANDRA DUT,

The 18th February 1869.

The present state of public feeling on the position of the educated class of the natives of this country; their claims to notice as a class distinct from the ignorant masses of their countrymen, make it desirable to review the ground of those claims, and their title to notice.

The class to whom it is the fashion to apply the epithet "*educated*" is usually that which comprises persons brought up in the schools where knowledge is imparted through the medium of the English language. It does not include oriental scholars, or those versed in the languages, literature, and philosophy of our country. It does not form any part of my object here to question the accuracy of the classification, but merely to state what appears to me to be the current acceptation of them. To my thinking a Sanskrit or an Arabic Scholar is as much an educated man, as one versed in the English language and the arts and sciencee of which that language is the medium. It is altogether a different question whether the English or the oriental system of education has superior advantages or is more effective in its results.

My remarks, then, which follow, apply only to such portion of my countrymen as have been anglicised by European learning and who are by common consent considered *the educated*.

Though a patriot, amongst my countrymen, might mourn over the decline of the language and literature of his own country, and the general neglect with which they meet at the hands of his countrymen, he cannot regret the circumstances

and necessities which have brought within his reach unknown sources of intellectual enjoyment, and opened out to his view, new fields of thought and inquiry. If there be anything to regret, it is our inability to avail ourselves to the fullest extent, of the advantages, which a knowledge of the European arts and sciences affords. We observe, it is true, a growing taste amongst our countrymen for Western learning, and an appreciable measure of the fruits of its indulgence. I must confess, with regret, that our national tendency to mere speculative habits, makes it of little practical value. The majority of our countrymen, I mean the unsophisticated class, bred up under the old system, look to the perceptible result as a test of the benefits of education. Though their view of that result is something low and grovelling, with which we may not sympathise; though they hold that education, or more properly a knowledge of reading and writing, is of no value unless it brings to its possessor an appreciable quantity of the resources which lead to the enjoyments of life, still we cannot but admit that more book-learning without an attempt at practical application is a kind of busy idleness. Real knowledge must make itself apparent, as much by a right appreciation of what is noble in thought as by what is useful in action. Philosophy and science must be made subservient to the actual wants of man equally with more elevated pleasures of the heart and intellect. The characteristic feature of all European learning is their practical tendency, and they become valuable in proportion as that tendency makes itself manifest in our thoughts and actions. The learned amongst the Hindus ignored the external world and excluded from their contemplations all thoughts of man as he is and his real wants. European learning on the contrary makes the objects of the external world the ground work of all its enquiries; and aims at improving man's physical and moral condition. European learning is therefore required to act as a corrective and antagonist principle to the Oriental; to destroy or rectify that bias to dreaming speculations and unmeaning abstractions, for which we seem to have a natural fondness.

Though fruitless speculation is the effect of oriental scholarship, it has never met with popular sympathy, and the feeling

of contempt which the people in general entertain towards such learning is mercilessly caricatured in humorous stories, one of which I will relate, as much to illustrate my meaning as to shew the keen perception of the national mind for the trivial and ridiculous traits of our character :—

There lived a Brahman and his wife, so runs the story, the Brahman was a philosopher deeply skilled in the knowledge of the four *Veds* and the *Darshans* he had at his finger's ends. His whole life was one of perpetual dreaming, and he spent his days in poring intently over the disquisitions of the sages of old—over logic and metaphysics and the more subtle questions of the soul, its nature and aspirations. He never bestowed a thought upon the grosser cares of life—how to live, wherewith to live and how to make the partner of his life comfortable and happy. It was a sad life the poor woman his wife led. For while her lord pored over his books, regardless of their daily wants, the care of supporting their family devolved upan her. Every morning she had to think where to turn for help and whom to apply to for relief. As may be imagined she had no better resource than charity, and being a Brahman's wife she was seldom disappointed. One day she was unusually late in the arrangements for their day's meal. While the pot was boiling, the Brahman was poring over his *puthis*. Turning to her husband, the woman said, "Now I "beg of you, for once be of some use ; lay aside all that rubbish, "and keep your eye upon the pot that is boiling there, while I "fetch some water ; see that it does not overflow." The philosopher nodded assent, and the wife taking up her *kalsi* went out. Within a few minutes the liqid usurged up—the pundit left his seat to put it down. He blew into it over and over but it foamed up and rose higher and higher. Not knowing what to do, he pulled down one after another all the *puthis* from the hanging shelves, to see if they would help him to put down a storm in a boiling pot. The fear of madam's appearance and the imminent danger before him quite unsettled the pundit. He once rose and came back again and fumbled into the *puthis* and again went and blew into the pot. But nothing helped him. The pot swelled up and up, and at last overflowed. All was lost—he sat mute—an image of perfect despair.

bathed in sweat, his apparel out of order, the manuscript books lying open and strewed all over the room, while the boiling water from the pot was rolling down like molten lava. In the meantime madam returned and showed how matters stood. Taking a handful of water from the *Kalsi* on her waist, she threw it into the boiling pot and instantly it sank. Casting a look of scorn and pity on her bewildered husband, she exclaimed.—"And so you have managed to spoil my day's work? "I wish I could shove you into the fire and make fuel of you "and your *puthis*. You worthless imbecile." The Brahmin heeded not the rebuke but thought of the feat he had witnessed. Casting himself at his wife's feet he said, "Madam thou must be "some goddess from heaven, come to hallow my wretched home. "Thou art wiser than the *Rishis* here who have been the "solace of my life."

The philosopher in the story is the type of a scholar of our day—but only so far as his thirst of knowledge and his conception of its use and application was concerned. To swallow what comes in the way, regardless of the end, is the besetting vice of almost all who pass current as the educated class of our community. It may argue one of two things—incapacity, or misapprehension of the objects of intellectual pursuit. The first supposition is opposed to our experience of facts;—the second would be an admission of an argument which would go to prove as if a desire for knowledge is thwarted by mistake. The truth appears to be, a motive of economy and despatch in attainment of a particular end; and that end is to qualify for official or professional employment as soon as practicable. There is more of a mercenary spirit in our pursuits of knowledge than one of the lofty aspirations for noble purposes. We learn English because it is the only road to preferment, and if along with the knowledge of the language a superficial knowledge of the arts is acquired it is because that is an unavoidable evil. I say this in sheer vexation of spirit, for up to this day not one instance has come to notice in which the knowledge of the European arts and sciences has made itself manifest by the appreciable after effects of its possession. Whether the language or the treasures embodied in it are conceived—all are learned in a perfunctory manner, merely to serve an occasion. And as soon as that

occasion is passed, they are laid aside, perhaps never to be resumed. It is necessary, for instance, for entering into the business of life to obtain a reputation for learning; and the passport of that reputation being the possession of academic testimonials of proficiency, no efforts are spared to secure those testimonials. And when they are gained, the whole object of education is considered as gained;—the rest of life is spent either in challenging admiration for the feats performed at school or in regrets for neglected worth. Instead of evincing a sincere and earnest desire for acquiring a stock of useful knowledge and raising the foundation of what has been laid in College, leaving the reputation for learning, if any reputation is desired, to follow as the natural consequence of conspicuous merit, it is often observed that there is a growing inclination to make the greatest possible noise with the least possible claims to notice. This tendency may argue a sense of self-sufficiency but not a conscious esteem for intrinsic worth. It may sound strange that while the country is ringing with the praise of our college graduates, there should be a breath or whisper against their fair fame. I am proud, every one of my countrymen has good reason to be proud of the college career of our country youth; but I would put it to them to consider whether what is food for a child can be aliment for a full-grown man. The achievement in colleges may be an earnest of future glory, which the success of after life must fulfill:—but no amount of academic distinction redeems a life of inglorious ease, there is a proverb that you cannot see your own face, and our scholars do not seem to be aware that they not unfrequently present the spectacle of an empty phial with an illuminated label,—the essence of which has evaporated, but the marks remain of the original quantity and value.

It would seem that those entrusted with the immediate work of education; men of great learning themselves and conversant with the practices of the most celebrated seats of learning cannot wholly escape the blame of countenancing or rather upholding the habit which we condemn. The scholars, or their guardians want that their words should be qualified to a certain standard in order that they may secure an academical recognition of merit and the professors seem to content themslves with barely

drilling them up to that standard to enable them to undergo the trial previous to that recognition. It is even doubtful whether the result of the examinations is always the test of the teacher's merit. For the stimulus of academical distinction is so great that the result perhaps does not much depend upon the teachers' exertions. I may go the length of maintaining, that if all the colleges were shut up and the present system of examinations continued there will not be much perceptible difference in the results. There must be in the teacher a feeling of enthusiasm for the subject of his instruction, instead of that dull impassionate manner of performing a task work. It is not a matter of wonder that where this feeling of indifference or want of sympathy on the part of the teacher is the rule, there should be a want of animation in the pupil. The small-per-centage of the favoured of nature may help themselves, but the fate of the plodding majority is determined by the inspiriting exertions of the teacher. Sometimes the love of a science or an art was known to have been infused into the most apathetic minds by the winning and impressive manner of the instructor; the effect of which has lasted through a life-time. It is not my object to institute invidious comparisons, neither have I the partiality of a pupil, but here I cannot help recalling to mind the services of the late D. L. R. as a teacher. English language and literature was his *forte;* he was not a scholar, nor pretended to any high scholarship; but so effective was his teaching in his own department, that for once he succeeded in making my countrymen cast off their mercenary spirit and seek knowledge for its own sake. Most of the distinguished native students of the pre-university period were of his training. For their knowledge of the language and its literature, they owed all to him and little to themselves. I may emphatically declare that almost every one of his pupils had, according to their merits and capacities, a fare share of the knowledge of English;—which is more than can be said of the students of the present time. If some amongst his pupils had the literary vice of doggrel making, it was Satan's ambition to rival his Maker. D. L. R. himself was somewhat of a verse-maker or perhaps a poet, but he never encouraged his pupils to imitate his knack.

My remarks, I fear, will not be well relished by a class who, it may be have many virtues, but do not claim modesty as one of them. They are however not made with a view to expose those, with whose interests mine are identified, but to invite attention to a state of things which, it is not desirable, should continue. It is my firm conviction that the access we have to European learning is an inestimable incident of our political condition, and that we are not making a right use of the advantage. It would be a positive gain if we can make this learning a portion of the intellectual treasures of the country, so as to retain it under all change of fortune. It does not deserve to meet with the fate of the Persian language and literature. But for this we have no regret;—it would be a palpable loss if the arts and sciences of the West were to sink into similar oblivion. As matters now stand I am almost certain that not a vestige of the learning which has been introduced will remain under a change of circumstances.

As a proof that our motive for learning English and the incidental knowledge which it imparts, is purely mercenary, I refer to the fact that those alone who mean to make that knowledge as their stock in trade for earning their livelihood devote the full period of their pupilage to its acquisition :—the classes who have an independent source of living almost systematically slur it over. Refer to the University Calendars for the last ten years or to any previous reports of the Bengal Colleges, you will not find the children of many in independent circumstances of life in the lists of passed candidates for degrees and honors or any similar marks of college distinction. But the rich of our country as a class despise the drudgery of reading and writing. They do not much care for it themselves nor value it in others except to make buffoons and court-jesters of them.

It is the habit of the working classes then, with which we are chiefly concerned; and I shall step aside a little to take a view of some of our social institution, for there we meet with some explanation of the effects and tendencies which we deprecate.

It was once remarked by a European writer of eminence, whose long residence in this country and an extended intercourse with the native made him familiar with their habits and

peculiarities that "Bengalees are clever boys but dull men." The truth of the remark has been accepted by a tacit consent without a protest against the implied insinuation of natural incapacity involved in it. The remark is strictly true so far as it concerns the bare representation of a fact, but it does not justify my inference as to the duration of mental vigor being limited by age.

The system under which we live has been framed with the express design as it were to curb and subdue the spirit and check every aspiration higher than the grovelling cares of life. The wonder is not that we sink in intellect as we advance in years; but that we exhibit any degree of intellectual vitality at any age of life. For this result, little as it is, is against all possibility. I do not keep in view those exceptional cases of men born with fortunes, who form an inconsiderable section in every community, but of that great bulk in all grades of fortune—the hewers of wood and drawers of water who constitute the main strength of a country. These it may be have no right to complain for not receiving the gift of life with a gift of fortune, but they have every reason to curse and complain when society withholds from them the peaceful enjoyment of the free gifts of nature; when it acts slyly and insidiously to undermine the ground over which they shall travel, I speak on their behalf and ask, that if they have a stout heart with a stout body, will it not be the wisest of policies to let them alone to buffet the waves and battle with the storms of life? Will you instead of helping them, tie a stone to their feet to drag them down as they strive upwards? I do not know in what words to condemn the wretched system of early improvident marriages —the great curse of Bengali society. I will not object to it on the ground of religion and morality, for this is not easily understood and appreciated :—but I will appeal to the worldly sense of worldly men and shew that in an economical point of view, you cannont devise an expedient more obstructive to the prosperity of a community and more ruinous to the well being of an individual. Take the case of a child who is born with no advantages of birth and fortune ;—who is destined to work out his way in life by his own unassisted exertions. Suppose that before he has learned to think, his father has very considerately

saddled him with a wife; and before he has any idea of the world and its difficulties he has himself become a father. Can you think it possible that this child will have any time to form deliberate plans of his future career; to prepare himself for any profession or employment; to acquire the necessary qualification that will lay the foundation of future greatness? Certainly not. Before he has left school, cares have already thickened upon him, and he must lay hold of any support that falls in his way without any thought or consideration: and thus, beginning life with a mere makeshift, burdened with responsibilities before he has acquired the capacity of fulfilling them, his whole life is one of perpetual struggle with difficulties for which he is not prepared. Can you suppose that this condition of life is favorable to intellectual development? Can you imagine it possible that this youth will retain any of those feelings which inspired him in his school days? Can he, I ask you, can he have more noble or aspiring thoughts in such circumstances than those of a dull routine common-place life? And yet this is the lot of 85 per cent of the young men of Bengal. If a noble path of ambition is pointed out to a Bengali, he dares not seek it, for his spirit is broken. If he is persecuted and trampled under foot, he meekly bears his lot, for early cares have made him timid and present cares have taught him to value caution and personal safety more than honor and self-respect. Almost every description of misery and suffering that you witness in the lower and middling ranks of life, you will trace it to large families and insufficient means as the in-separable concomitants of early and improvident marriages.

Though I have said that I will leave out the moral and religious view of the question I cannot refrain from noticing two arguments which are usually advanced in support of the usage. First, that early marriage promotes chastity; second, that it is a religious injunction. If it could be proved that all unmarried men are scamps and married men invariably chaste and steady, I would attach great weight to the argument. But, if the scope of the subject permitted me, I could have shewn that much of the laxity of after-life observable in the present state of Hindu Society is chiefly owing to the prevalence of the practice under notice. As for the religious excuse, thus

much I would say that Bengallee idea of Hinduism is ridiculously vague and defective, and that what is respected as *shastar-law* in Bengal is scarcely recognized by men from whom the wisest of Bengallee pundits may learn the very elements of his religion. The truth appears to be that it is a purely secular custom which has gained currency through the combined influence of vanity and frivolous habits. We can bear any reproach or odium but not that of poverty; and to keep a male child unmarried above a certain age is considered a sure indication of straitened means. So strong is the opinion of society on this point, that an unmarried youth becomes a victim of scorn amongst his friends and an object of notice amongst his neighbours. Women pity him and men associate his wretched fortune with the worldly circumstances of his parents.

To begin life with encumbrances when the fitness for grappling with its difficulties is uncertain; to be fettered by a dead weight which hampers all preliminary arrangements requiring cool deliberation and a leisurely survey of the ground before you, is of itself a grievous hardship incidental to early and improvident marriages. But when with this is associated the companion evil of joint family system, it becomes like the last drop wanting to overflow the cup of woe and suffering. It is no use winking at the evil by glossing it over with fancied beauties which scarcely veil its deformities. We all feel that it has none of the motives of disinterested love and attachment for its basis. It is the unavoidable consequence of the pernicious custom of marrying and begetting children without any visible or sufficient means of maintaining them. The system of many depending upon the labors of few is as much the immediate cause of early marriage as it is its necessary effect. It is like one iniquity supporting another. No father would marry his child often a minor and not unfrequently an imbecile—on the certain prospect of his fitness for the duties of life, if he had not the assurance that whether his child proves himself capable or not, he and his family will not suffer because he cannot earn; and when one marries or gets married, and is harassed with demands which he has not the power to meet he must of necessity be a burden upon some one whom custom

and social opinion marks for a victim. The evil acts like a double edged saw—the aggrieved in his turn invariably becomes the oppressor. If I am fleeced and made short of my resources, those who have a natural and lawful demand upon me for help are necessarily left destitute; and they have no alternative but to depend upon some one amongst them who may be made to bear their burdens. Again one who has been brought up and maintained at another's expense must of necessity be the progenitor of life-long dependents, unless an accident delivers them from their abject position.

The children of a native father in an ordinary situation of life, are under the present constitution of native society, something like his live stock. He only calculates the day when they will bear his burdens, but never troubles himself with a thought how they are to do it. It is not given to him to think of the responsibilities which devolve upon a parent of qualifying his children for the duties of life. The system under which he has been brought up leaves no room for such considerations. He calculates only upon the objections of filial duty. It never occurs to him that the duty is mutual. It is enough that he has given birth to children—which is perhaps the only duty which most fathers perform themselves. Thus we begin life like an heir coming to the possession of an encumbered estate —always discharging liabilities, never enjoying the profits.

The ground of complaint is not so much that the system entails unreasonable encumbrances but that by fostering a habit of perpetual dependence, it cripples and depresses the earning and efficient members of families. To help the aged and infirm is a duty which admits of no calculation, to support the nearest of my kith and kin in their infancy and early age, and to educate and qualify them for the duties of life is a work of love and humanity which must be performed at all hazards and under every inconvenience. But when children grow up to men and still they fasten upon me for help; when educating and bringing them up is not considered a discharge of obligation, but I am called upon to marry them and settle them in life in order that they as well as their offsprings may suck my life's blood; when not merely necessaries alone but I must find them luxuries and all indulgences, then it is that my

blood boils with rage and I wince under the yoke. The system itself is revolting under any circumstance of life, but when the demands trench upon insufficient resources to sink a struggling victim, it then becomes a source of grinding oppression.

I wholly overlook the economic consideration that community can never thrive where one man digs and delves and four fatten upon his labors. But I insist upon the view that it inflicts a lasting injury upon those who are the objects of our love and affection by relaxing in them that principle of self-reliance so essential to success in life. It is not a virtue to be learned by study but by experience; and the best school for that experience is the great school of the world. Feed and maintain a youth; give him, to the best of your means the necessary qualifications for the business of life; help him up if you can, but always impress upon him the necessity of self-dependence. Remember that the greatest men who have adorned the world were those who were left to their own resources. In our own country you will find some of the conspicuous examples of men who have risen to wealth, honor and distinction were those who had to fight their own way in the world. A Ramdulal and a Mutty Lall were not nurtured in the lap of doating fathers and anxious brothers. The greatst chemist of our age, who has earned an imperishable renown in the world of science was a book-binder's apprentice and a mere solicitor's clerk wielded the sceptre of an empire. But these are not the principles which enter into consideration in the management of our families. Most glaring cases, illustrating the effects of the usage, daily come under notice; but our habits of thought and sympathies for old institutions will not allow us to open our eyes.

Though the circumstances and condition of life above described are not favorable to protracted intellectual or other manly pursuits, they do not stand much in the way of occupations often pursued from a mistaken idea of duty and a short-sighted policy of self-interest. And if the conditions of life under consideration be admitted to be great social evils, it is not desirable that they should be tolerated from generation to generation. It may not be possible for the present generation, who are the immediate sufferers, to improve their own cases,

but it will be always in their power to provide against the evils proving a source of annoyance to their descendants. In carrying out measures of social reform, great discretion and judgment must be used as much to prevent encroachments upon existing interests as to guard against violent breaches of natural duty. This warning would have been unnecessary were it not for the tendency to commit errors in practice from a mistaken idea of the usages of European society. For sons to cast off their parents is as indefensible on any principle as for husbands to abandon their wives.

In the early part of this paper I have dwelt on the necessity of making our knowledge practical and difficulty subservient to our physical as well as moral wants. I shall now proceed to explain my views more at length on this point.

The operative classes of this country in their pursuit of the various occupations of life, in the practice of the handi-craft arts for example have gone on working clumsily and slovenly from time out of mind, and will not depart an inch from their practice until some one take them by the hand and shew them the way to the right path—that is how to do the same work in less time and with lesser trouble. This can be done only by those whose acquired knowledge of scientific theories has been ripened by the knowledge of the practices of nations more advanced in the arts of life. Many of you know perhaps how Bengali weavers do their professional work: one process of that work consists in stretching dressed twist, for yarn before weaving. This part of the work they perform in the open air by walking to and fro with two wheels in two hands, which carry one line each at a time. Laying but two threads at each journey they must perform half as many journeys as there will be yarns in a piece of a given breadth. This they have been doing from generation to generation without an idea, that the work which they perform in two or more days in a manner which sickens the sight, may be done in one-fourth the time and at a considerably less trouble. These things are often considered as beneath the notice of an educated man and we leave the workmen to their own ways without a suggestion or a word of advice. And yet a European Missionary who was an accidental observer of the process

described, did not think it an unworthy application of intelligence to suggest a simple contrivance by which instead of one, they draw out and stretch more or less 50 threads at a journey. The contrivance alluded to is the invention of cages with handles, the wires or sticks of which hold spools of thread to the number of 40 to 50, all which turn on the wires as the weaver walks forward with the cages in each hand.

2nd. The last agricultural exhibition at Alipur and the enterprising spirit of Messrs. Thomson of the city brought to the notice of the Indian public some exquisitely ingenious implements of agriculture and husbandry. Many of us witnessed the working of the instruments and could appreciate their utility in economising time, labor and expenditure. But they were looked at as curiosities and have long since been forgotten. It may be doubtful whether the means of a Bengali cultivator will ever enable him to provide himself with costly and expensive engines for agricultural purposes; but for harrowing, hoeing and weeding and similar ordinary works, a small outlay will place within their reach a set of tools which to value, they have only to use. But who are to bring them to the knowledge of the ignorant peasantry, and who are to teach them their use? Not the class who hold that orthodoxy in religion consists in a rigid adherence to usages and practices which obtained in the days of Bhoj Raja.

3rd. Chemistry has been one of the prescribed branches of study pursued in this college from its foundation. We know that it is working wonders in Europe in the inventive and ornamental arts or by the more useful applications of the science to the growth of food and the improvement of agriculture. Hundreds of medical students have learned the science here under the ablest masters and yet not one of them has regarded it in a better light than an aid to his professional studies.

4th. The periodical press under native agency affords a striking illustration of the foibles under comment. It has, I own, done at times excellent service, but the same weakness which tempts us to pursue a shadow, makes us overlook fitness and adaptability of means to ends. When the cattle plague was raging in England, the English press from one end of the

kingdom to the other kept up an unceasing clamour, inviting enquiries, suggesting remedies, until some abatement of the evil was secured. When some of the noblest villages on the Hugly were being depopulated by the ravages of one of the most inveterate scourges which ever visited this country, the native press was coolly discussing the philosophy of Comte and the theology of Newman. If English education strengthens our national bias to speculation, it fails in one of its important aims and purposes. From Calcutta to Krishnagar on the left bank of the Hugly and from Howrah to Goopteeparah on the right, every town and village has at least one-eighth of its male population, who are tolerably well imbued with English ideas and English notions, a number sufficiently strong to persuade, direct, and influence their otherwise ignorant countrymen in their conduct in this emergency. Though nothing has been done up to this date to determine the causes of this visitation, we cannot say that all human means have been tried and found ineffectual. Our orthodox countrymen, from their habits of thought, have been taught to believe that these are divine visitations and must be borne with patience. Patience certainly is a virtue under all trials. But those who pretend to more enlightened views of things are expected to know that mere patience without action often argues a phlegmatic indifference to public calamities. They ought to place within the reach of the scientific enquirer every available information pertaining to the topography of the places and the social and physical condition of the people. We know that the sanitary condition of almost all these villages is most execrable. Dammed up pools,—stagnant Bhils, imperfect and incomplete drains and rank vegetation at every stage of decomposition meet you at every step. No weight can be attached to the popular belief that the railway embankments have done all the mischief until the more palpable local causes have been removed. The act providing for municipal institutions cannot be applied to those villages, but they can help themselves by the exercise of a little fore-thought and economy in the management of their local affairs. Want of means is always urged as an excuse for evading duty, but they raise by annual subscriptions from Rs. 600, to Rs. 1,000, for the celebration of *Baruary Pujas*. If

this sum be directed to local sanitary improvements, for some years at least, they will have rendered a service to their country which posterity will remember with gratitude. It is the educated portions of the people who should take the initiative in organizing combined action. But to do this with effect they must study a more conciliating policy in dealing with the unanglicised classes. The existing feeling of jealousy and suspicion, which separates fellow countrymen, can be removed only by concessions on the part of those whose intolerable and overbearing conduct has caused the breach.

I have already, I fear, wearied your patience with platitudes on mere common place topics, and I am naturally afraid to crave further indulgence. I can now barely allude to the part taken by my educated countrymen in the cause of social and religious reform, but only to say that their attempts have proved all but abortive for want of tact in securing popular sympathy; for the lack of that latent and combined action, so essential to the success of great undertakings. The fact seems to be forgotton that introducing reforms in a country is not like sowing in a ready made field, where the seed has to be scattered in order to grow, but like reclaiming a jungly waste and making it fit for cultivation. Throughout Bengal the popular mind is imbued with the notion that all secular customs and usages are based on religious ordinances. And yet there is not a Hindu in Bengal, who knows his faith and the ordinances upon which it rests. Bengali Hinduism is not the Hinduism of upper and southern India,—of Punjab, Rajputana and Oude; though all Hindus owe allegiance in the main to the same code. The truth is, a universal supineness of the people in matters which promise no perceptible earthly advantage has led to the introduction, of so much, that is apocryphal as altogether to give a new phase to the character of Hinduism in Bengal. The Bengali Calendar is loaded with festivals and ceremonies which are not known or recognized in any province of Hindustan out of Bengal, and the best service which a true patriot can render to this country is to agitate for the revision of the ritual. The fact of an enlightened few, not considering it binding does not exonerate them from the obligation. For no measure of reform, whether it be the preven-

tion of early marriage, the removal of disabilities of widows, the education of the female or the improvement of her social and domestic position generally, will operate with effect until the people are induced to sympathize with the movements. And the only way to remove popular prejudice would be to disabuse their minds of the traditional impressions of religious obligations.

The great fault of the class who form the subject of these remarks is their anti-national feeling. That is a trait by which they have made themselves unpopular and diminished their capacity for influencing the masses. Though the spirit of a thoroughpaced Young-Bengal is much on the decline, enough of it remains to make the class objects of suspicion to the native, and of contempt, to the European. That bad taste they exhibit in imitating the European in his dress and manners has gone a great way towards lessening their influence amongst their countrymen. If to adapt our external appearance to altered circumstances of life be considered a necessity, the first thing I would suggest to them would be to fix upon some uniform national costume. Now there are as many varieties of costume as there are persons in an assembly looking like characters in a masquerade or a fancy ball. And whatever the choice may be as to fashion, let not the fitness and proportion of things be forgotten in adopting the European.

The hour warns me, that here I must conclude. I have stated in brief my impressions of the literary acquirements of my educated countrymen; I have dwelt on the obstacles which obstruct their career of honour and usefulness and have also alluded to the speculative tendency of all our learning. My views, as to how the knowledge, we acquire is to be made practical are given as also the obstacles which stand in the way of measures, of social reform pointed out. If I have said nothing about the claims of educated class to superior consideration; if I have been sparing in compliments, it has been more from design than omission; I should much prefer their merits being emblazoned by persons more disinterested than, I am likely to be. But one thing, I must urge on their consideration at parting. As a nation we hold perhaps an obscure position, but much will depend upon them to elevate us in the

scale. If past circumstances have not been favourable, that is no reason why advantage should not be taken of the present. For all things considered, and comparing well the present with the past, divesting ourselves of all private feelings and prejudices, it must be admitted that as a subject nation we enjoy blessings the country had not known for centuries past, I am fully aware that there are many short-comings and many grounds of complaint; many acts of omission and commission which may be laid at the door of those who are responsible for the good government of this country; but taking all things, and many more which the most inveterate grumbler may urge, I am of opinion, that the sum total of advantages far outweigh the evils. Personal liberty and freedom of opinion are, the two things essentially necessary to the moral and intellectual development of a nation: of both we have the fullest measure, as much as is compatible with the peace and good government of the realm. In this respect we enjoy advantages denied to France, and in many respects we are decidedly happier than the subjects of the Czar and the Sultan. If appointment to places of emolument and honor in the public service be an encouraging stimulus, an earnest of that stimulus has been already given, and you may further depend upon the assurance given by Her Majesty's late Secretary of State, for these provinces, that in all cases educated natives shall have a preferential claim to appointments in public service. But whatever the distinctions we earn, and whatever success may attend our career in life, one thought, under all circumstances, should be uppermost in our minds, that a nation to be great must possess some of the elements of greatness, and they are, energy of character, rectitude of principle, and a general righteousness of feeling pervading all their actions.

SOCRATES AND THE CLOUDS.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE BETHUNE SOCIETY, IN THE HALL OF THE MEDICAL COLLEGE,

On Thursday, the 14th April 1864.

BY

THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF CALLUTTA.

[At the time that this lecture was delivered, some complaints were made that its object and intentions were not sufficiently marked. Doubtless the writer thought it inconsistent with propriety, that the parallel which he meant to draw between the state of religious opinion at Athens, in the fifth century before Christ, and that which prevails at Calcutta in the present day, should in a lecture address to Bengalis, be rather hinted at and lightly sketched, than broadly stated and exhibited in the full blaze of bright colouring. But that he erred too much on the side of reticence is probable, since one of the speakers, who afterwards commented on the lecture, said, that the Bengalis had lately had their Socrates among them in the person of Dr. Duff. This was not the view taken in the lecture, but rather that the Athenians never received the message which Dr. Duff delivered to the Bengalis, till the proclamation was made on Mars. Hill, that "God will judge the world in righteousness, by that Man whom He hath ordained whereof, He hath given assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead." If therefore the lecturer is required to state distinctly the moral of his story, it is this, that Aristophanes and his brother conservatives typify the present orthodox Hindus, that the Athenian youths who eagerly accepted and abused the new intellectual training are the forerunners of "Young-Bengal," and that the Brahmo Somaj and other votaries of a deistical creed are trying to take up the position of the Socratic School. And the prediction hazarded in the lecture is that, as Socrates failed because no supernatural revelation was granted to him, much more must the Brahmos fail, who refuse to listen to a revelation which has been given.]

SOME months ago there was a debate in the Senate of our University on the question, whether a knowledge of Greek history should be required from candidates for degrees. I had resolved at first to vote against it, feeling that we are in dan-

ger of burdening the memories of our students with a mass of facts and ill-digested cram, but when I found that it was generally desired by my native colleagues in the Senate, I withdrew my opposition. The reason why, if there was to be any diminution of our historical subjects, I should have selected the history of Greece for omission is this, that the permanent influence of Greece, upon mankind has been chiefly exercised through its literature. Doubtless Alexander's conquests had a very great effect on the world's history, but even their effect was mainly intellectual, for the special link, which the Greeks seem to have added to the chain of God's providential purposes, was the union of nearly all the civilized world by the tie of a common language and education. And thus this apparent exception is not a real one: the Macedonian conqueror is chiefly memorable, as far as his effects upon history are concerned, for extending in the East, the language and civilization of the West, whence in due time they were rolled back upon Europe, and brought with them a blessing of which Alexander never dreamed. Now this essentially literary character of Greek history makes it comparatively un-important in a scheme of education, unless it is accompanied by the study of the Greek language, and those master-works of thought and imagination which have found in that language, a worthy instrument for their expression. But the peculiarity which in some degree diminishes its value for systematic study fits it for a popular lecture: since the character of an epoch in Greek history, does not depend on campaigns and political struggles, which ought to be minutely described, rather than lightly sketched, but can be illustrated by notices of its intellectual aspect, and by passages from contemporary literature which, however much they suffer in a translation, at least shew in what direction, the tide of speculation was flowing, and what impression the selected period left on the progress of the nation.

No one who possesses the most trifling acquaintance with Greek history is ignorant of the marvellous burst of intellectual light which broke upon Athens in the days of Pericles, which continued in full brilliancy beyond the end of the Peloponnesian war, and shone with a feebler ray even after Greece was absorbed in the universal dominion of Rome. In Cicero's

time Athens, though shorn of all political greatness, may still be called the chief University of the empire; the Apostle Paul addresses the Athenians with careful and polished oratory as a highly intellectual people, and the sun of learning, though dimmed by earthly vapours, did not absolutely sink into night till the schools of Athens were closed by the Emperor Justinian.* The epoch of the Peloponnesian war was the noontide of that brilliant day: no part of European history can be compared with it in mental splendour, except perhaps the most flourishing period of the Italian republics, and the age of Elizabeth in England, and we are forced to confess that even these modern epochs were surpassed, in some respects by the period, which I am attempting to describe. One obvious point of inferiority is the less general diffusion of intellectual culture. There never was a time, in which so large a portion of the population was capable of appreciating literary excellence as the golden age of Athens. Of the dramas, which entranced the citizens from the morning, till the evening of an Athenian holiday, some have no attraction, but the grandeur and dignified simplicity of their thoughts, and language. Even the most laughable comedies, did not depend for success merely on wit and humour, still less on the buffoonery, which was occasionally, (though generally under protest) introduced into the action, but it was necessary to adorn, and vary them by beautiful odes and other brilliant flashes of imaginative poetry. So too the taste in other arts, sculpture, architecture, and painting, was such as could only tolerate, the most refined beauty both of form and colour. When we contrast all this with the gross absurdities, which are thought sufficient for the amusement of our great modern capitals, whether in Asia or Europe, our screaming farces, and negro melodies, and tight rope performances, and again with the deformity which has hitherto marked most of our public buildings, and the gaudy gimcracks of coloured glass, and tinsel which often glitter in our private houses, we must allow that England, and educated Bengal in this age of boasted modern enlightenment, are alike inferior in literary, and artistic taste to the Athens of twenty-two centuries ago.

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* Gibbon, ch. xl.

It is impossible for me fully to describe this wonderful period, and therefore, I shall chiefly confine myself to sketching one specimen only of literary power, and I select one which, more perhaps than any other, illustrates the different currents of thought and feeling which the Athenians were following, exhibits prominently the moral tendencies of the epoch, and teaches us grave and solemn lessons, which may be applied to all periods of history, and very distinctly to our own. I purpose then to describe the plot, and read some translated passages of the famous comedy of Aristophanes called the *Clouds*, and to sketch its connection with the state of Athens in the latter part of the fifth century, before the Christian era.

First, however, in addressing an audience whose classical culture is properly based, not on Greek and Latin, but on Sanskrit and English, it may be well to premise a short explanation of the Athenian drama. A Greek play was in many respects, unlike those with which you have become familiar from reading either Shakspere, or your own Kálidása. In Greece the national drama was a part of the national religion, not only in its rude origin, which was the case in many other countries, India for example, but in its noblest development. Tragedy, properly the song of the *tragos*, that is, the satyr or goat-eared attendant of Bacchus, god of wine and revelry, was originally a tumultuous chorus sung in honour of that noisy divinity. To this wild revel were added in succession, (1), a metrical monologue, (2), a dialogue between two actors, and (3), a regular play with the three actors, and the chorus itself introduced into the plot, though the latter rather resembled a group of spectators watching it, and commenting on it, than of *dramatis personæ* actually influencing its progress. Its subjects were almost always taken from the legends of divine, or heroic beings, who lived before the age of regular history,* and its object according to Aristotle was to "effect by means of terror and pity the purification of such passions."† The origin of Comedy was not dissimilar. The meaning of the word is the song of the the *comus* or revelling party, a band of drunken worshippers of Bacchus,

* Thirlwall, *on the Irony of Sophocles*, in the Cambrdge Philological Museum.
† Poet. vi.

whose faces were smeared with wine-lees, and who went about in procession uttering coarse pasquinades, and scoffs against any person whom they chanced to meet or any eminent public character. And thus when the comic chorus was expanded into a regular play, it developed in an opposite direction to that which tragedy had taken: instead of confining itself to gods and heroes, it dealt with contemporary persons and subjects, mentioning men and women under their real names, and treating them with scornful ridicule. Aristotle defines comedy,* to be an imitation of characters who are bad, not with respect to every sort of vice, but to the ridiculous only. These two classes of compositions, even after they had been elaborated into their perfect form by Sophocles and Aristophanes, were still, as I have said, exclusively employed to increase the attractions of religious festivals. At the Dionysia, or feasts of Bacchus, either three or four times a year, theatrical exhibitions took place at Athens in an enormous stone theatre, of great architectural beauty, and capable of holding, no less than 30,000 spectators. This theatre was in fact the temple of the god, whose altar stood in front of the stage. Round this altar of Bacchus, in a level space called the orchestra, twelve feet beneath the lowest range of seats which rose in vast semicircular tiers to the top of the theatre, the chorus sang their graceful odes in the intervals of the stately declamation or pungent sarcasms, which the actors delivered from the stage. At each festival rival dramas were produced by the poets, and a board of judges, five in number, to whom the magistrate had administered an oath to decide impartially, sat in a conspicuous part of the theatre, to adjudge the prize to the best play, or rather in the case of the tragic contest, to the best series of plays by the same poet produced at the festival. So pure was the Greek love of literary fame, that this prize, though it consisted only of a garland of ivy, was as eagerly coveted as wealth or political power. The performances went on from morning to night during the days of the festival, but the number of pieces represented in one day is not precisely known. The eagerness to enjoy these beautiful compositions was so intense that ex-

* Poet. v.

clusion from them through inequality of condition was held to be inconsistent with the principles of democracy, and hence, as some citizens were too poor to pay for their places in the theatre, the price of a ticket was given from the public treasury to any one who chose to receive it. Doubtless this disbursement may be partly accounted for by the religious character of theatrical representations, for large assemblies were considered essential to the due honour of Bacchus. But apart from this, there cannot be a stronger proof of the taste and intelligence of the Athenians, than their power of appreciating performances so simple, so dignified, so purely poetical, so free from claptrap and sensation incidents, as a tragedy of Æschylus or Sophocles. Doubtless with comedy the case is a little different; in this, as we shall see, there were elements which we should regard as more attractive to the multitude, and moreover, as you will of course not see from any part of the play, which I shall read to you, but as you must carefully remember in judging of the moral condition of Athens in this period of intellectual vigour, there was unhappily a great deal of positive grossness and indecency. Still even in comedy much of the wit and all the light poetical pieces occasionally introduced are distinguished for a richness of illustration, and felicity of diction, which give us the strongest impression of the taste and culture of a people, who so enthusiastically admired them.

Of the numerous compositions of Attic comedy, only eleven plays of Aristophanes have reached us. Now I suppose that among other specimens of Western genius, the fame of the Englishman's honoured friend and tutor *Punch* has reached the capital of India, or rather not merely his fame, but *Punch* himself with his weekly caricature, in which some allegorical personage, Britannia with her helmet, the British lion with his mane, John Bull with his topboots and protuberant stomach, or some conspicuous character of the day, Lord Palmerston or Lord Russell, Mr. Bright or Mr. Gladstone, the Emperor Napoleon or President Lincoln, appears in some position implying triumph or humiliation, praise or censure. Now if you can imagine the thought of this caricature, and some of the accompanying letterpress, expanded into a drama containing about 1,500 verses in various metres, and relieved by some spirited

digressions on passing events, and a few beautiful odes in praise of some god or recounting some mythological tale, you have a very fair conception of a comedy of Aristophanes. The dress and masks of the actors were designed to represent the statesmen or other conspicuous characters, whom the poet selected for his satire, just as we recognize Lord Palmerston in *Punch* by the sprig in his mouth, Louis Napoleon by his large nose, Mr. Bright by his broad brimmed hat and Quaker's coat. No mercy is shewn to the personal peculiarities of the persons ridiculed, or to any weakness in their antecedents and domestic concerns. The tragic poet Euripides is never introduced without some allusion to the unlucky fact that his mother had sold vegetables. Alcibiades is constantly attacked for a lisping pronunciation by which he sounded *r* like *l*, just as some of our modern men of fashion turn the same unfortunate letter into *w*. The popular leader Cleon had practised the trade of a tanner before he engaged in politics, so whatever he does or says is distorted into an allusion to leather. Thus one speaker addressing Cleon, describes a vision in which the guardian goddess of Athens was seen pouring gifts from her treasures on the citizens of her beloved republic:

> And I had my visions and dreams of the night,
> Our lady and owl stood confest to my sight,
> From her heavenly goblet choice blessings she threw,
> Ambrosia on Demus, tan-pickle on you.*

Of these comedies undoubtedly the most important, I think the most amusing, and also I am sorry to say the most reprehensible for its prejudice and injustice, is the *Clouds*, which was written for the purpose of holding up to contempt the religious and philosophical speculations, then current at Athens. There existed in the city a class of persons called Sophists, a word originally equivalent to "professional teachers." A Sophist in the genuine sense of the term, only means a wise or clever man, and the title is applied to Solon, to Plato, and to Aristotle.† The Sophists at Athens were persons who received money for training young men either in philosophical speculations, or in rhetoric and politics, so as to fit them for

* Knights, 1068. Slightly altered from Mitchell's translation.

† See Grote's *History of Greece*, ch. lxvii.

an active share in the public concerns of the great democracy. In many of their lessons the morality was unimpeachable: thus the famous allegory in which Hercules is described as hesitating for a time between the rival influences of two women representing Vice and Virtue, and finally following the latter, is the work of an eminent Sophist named Prodicus.* But their speculations were often opposed to prevalent opinions in religion, and to national customs and prejudices, and were sometimes on moral grounds deserving of grave censure. Protagoras is reputed to have said that he neither knew whether the gods existed, nor what were their attributes, and that such knowledge was impossible from the obscurity of the subject and shortness of life.† Callicles, who however was not strictly a Sophist, because he was not a paid teacher, maintained that according to natural justice the strong ought to govern the weak as they please, and that what we call justice is a fictitious system built up by the many for their own protection. So again Thrasymachus is represented as defining justice to be that rule which in every society the dominant power prescribes for its own advantage.‡ Through such doctrines as these the whole class had become extremely unpopular in a large section of Athenian Society, and were represented as subverters of morality, so that the word *sophist* gradually acquired the bad meaning, in which we generally use it, and which it shares with the cognate words *sophistry*, *sophism*, *sophistical*. This meaning was finally fixed upon it by Aristotle, who defines a sophist to be "a deceitful pretender to knowledge, a man who employs what he knows to be fallacy for the purpose of cheating and getting money." But in the time of which we are treating it had scarcely acquired this discreditable meaning; and it is important for us to remember, as has been pointed out by our great historian, Mr. Grote,§ that the sophists were not a school or a sect, but a profession by no means agreeing among themselves in the doctrines which they held, or even in the subjects on which they lectured, but undertaking for a money payment to train young men "to think, speak, and act" in all the departments of practical life.

* Xen. *Mem.* ii.

† Diog. Laert. ix, 51.

‡ Plat. *Rep.* i.

§ Vol. viii p. 505.

Such were the men on whom the comic poet Aristophanes, a conservative to the back bone, a hater of novelty, a retrograde politician who was always looking back to a supposed golden age, when philosophy was unknown, and Athenians were content to man the fleet and shout *Yoho*, resolved to make a violent onslaught with very weapen which unscrupulous coarseness, bitter personality, poignant satire, and exuberant fancy could supply. But first it was necessary to choose a victim, to find a representative of the class whom he was preparing to demolish. In fixing on Socrates, he could not have chosen more happily, but certainly not more unjustly. The choice was felicitous, for no man in Athens presented so many outward pecularities as Socrates, but it was most unfair, for, except in the mere external caricature, there was scarcely a point of truth in the venomous attack which Aristophanes made on the best and greatest man whose name classical history records.

At the time that the *Clouds* was acted, B. C. 423, Socrates was forty-six years of age. By profession a sculptor, he had abandoned this occupation, in which he seems to have attained considerable proficiency, for the work of teaching the young. But in undertaking this task, his mode of life, his method of instruction, and the doctrine which he taught, were all equally unique, and original. In one respect the practice of the regular sophists was uniform : they invariably received money for their instructions. But Socrates held that this was a degradation to philosophy, and spent a life of contented poverty devoted to no object except teaching. Moreover his instructions were given not by systematic lectures, but by his peculiar dialectics, by talking, by question and answer, by suggesting enquiry rather than imparting knowledge. For this purpose he frequented the public schools, gardens, gymnasia, and market places : talking with any one, old or young, rich or poor, learned or ignorant, who was willing to listen and to answer. And besides this novelty of life and method, the subjects to which he directed the attention of his disciples were also new. Many of his predecessors or contemporaries had given themselves up to subtle speculations on physical science, not conducted on that method of induction which in modern times has achieved such splendid triumphs, but merely evolved, like the German