The disbursements recommended may be sanctioned.—[Page 96.] 20th January, 1837.

*Professors' Duties.*—I should think that in a very few months both Dr. Wise and Mr. Sutherland would find the number of advanced pupils quite sufficient to employ them during at least 4 hours in the day. I would rather wait a little, than propose at present the arrangement which our Secretary suggests. If it should be found that, at the end of another half year, Mr. Sutherland has no more to do than at present, I shall be disposed to make some addition to his duties.—[Page 99.] 20th January, 1837.

*Offer of Rs. 30,000 for Perron's house.*—I cannot agree with Mr. Sutherland. I would give the 30,000 rupees at once, and obtain the house. If we should find that the house will do for our college, we shall save ten times 30,000 rupees, for we shall not build a new one for less than three lacs. If on the other hand, we should determine to build, we shall always be able to part with the house for a price not much smaller than that which is now asked for it; and we shall have the use of it rent-free while we are building.

This arrangement cannot be productive of loss to us. It may be productive of very great gain. I would therefore authorise Dr. Wise to offer the 30,000 rupees, and to declare that it is our last word, and that we will not give an anna more. —[Page 100.] 25th January, 1837.

*The Library.*—I quite approve of what Dr. Wise proposes. I do not think that we need be anxious about the cost. The funds of the Hooghly College will bear a much greater outlay than will be necessary for the procuring of these books. And the sooner the students have a tolerable library the better.—[Page 105.] 1st March, 1837.

*Purchase of Perron's House for Rupees 20,000.*—I quite agree with Mr. Sutherland. I would close instantly with the offer.—[Page 108.] 21st March, 1837.

*Sanction for Punkahs and Punkah Pullers.*—I approve. I would make them physically as comfortable as possible while they are studying.—[Page 112.] 6th April, 1837.

*Morning school during the hot months.*—I agree with Mr. Sutherland in disliking the shifting of hours generally. But in this climate, the health and comfort of the students may render such a course necessary. Even in England school hours are generally earlier in summer than in winter. I am inclined to agree to Dr. Wise's proposition.—[Page 113.] 6th April, 1837.

*Good salaries for Teachers essential.*—I would give the Rs. 120. It is desirable not merely to keep good masters, but to prevent

them from being always on the look out for better situations. I would try to give them such salaries that they may settle down to their employment as one which is to be the business of their lives. Otherwise we shall have nothing but change. We shall lose every master as soon as he has acquired experience and established a character; and shall have a constant succession of teachers who will themselves be learners. At some of our institutions want of means prevents us from doing all that could be wished. But at Hooghly we are quite able to do all that is necessary to make the system of instruction efficient.—[Page 116.] 24th April, 1837.

*Proposal that pupils should purchase their school-books.*—The subject is full of difficulties. Nothing can be proposed which is not open to objection; and there seems to be as little objection to Mr. Sutherland's proposal as to any other.—[Page 118.] 29th April, 1837.

*Purchase of Philosophical Apparatus.*—I approve. I wish that some of our scientific members would look at the models before we buy them.—[Page 120.] 2nd May, 1837.

*Periodicals in the College Library.*—I do not see Dr. Wise's letter. I am rather inclined to vote against the proposition as far as I at present understand it. How many boys at the Hooghly College will for a long time to come read the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews with any interest? The Principal and the Professor are probably the only persons in the Institution who would ever cut such works open. And we must never forget that we are forming libraries not for the English professors, but for the native students.—[Page 121.] 4th May, 1837.

*A Pundit for the Judge's Court at Hooghly.*—I have no objection. But the office of recommending people who are to bear a part in the administration of justice is an important one. I think that some testimonials ought to be laid before us; and that we ought not to let the matter pass as one of mere form.—[Book M. page 119.] 19th May, 1837.

*Proposal to grant a pension of Rs. 25 monthly to the family of Mahomud Soluman, late Principal of the Madrussa.*—I really feel great doubts about this matter. The salary of the Maulvie would surely have enabled him to make some provision for his family; and I am certain that, if we provide for his wife and children, no other Maulvie in the College will think of laying by anything. And I should fear that the evil would spread to other institutions. I own that I cannot satisfy myself as to the propriety of acceding to this request.—[Page 131.] 26th May, 1837.

*Family Pensions.*—I would certainly rather give a donation

than a pension. But, though it is exceedingly unpleasant to me to take the harsh side on such occasions, I really cannot see sufficient ground for what is proposed. Where are we to stop if once we begin ? And what assurance have we that the greater part of our funds may not, if once the principle be recognized, be diverted from purposes of education and expended on the wives and children of our school masters.—[Page 134.] 5th June, 1837.

*Proposal to establish ten pupil teacherships.*—I am against what is proposed. The effect of adopting the proposition would be either to stop the progress of the best students, or to provide the lower classes with bad masters. If any but the very best are selected to teach, the business of teaching will be ill-performed. If the best are selected, their education is at an end. Just imagine what would be the effect in England of selecting all the best scholars of a public school, and at the time when they would be leaving school for the university making them ushers, and condemning them to pass their time in teaching "musa, musæ," and "amo, amas, amat" to the boys of the lowest form. No system could be devised more certain to stunt the minds of boys at the very time of life at which their minds might be expected to develope themselves most rapidly.

If we were absolutely in want of funds, there might be some excuse for such a measure. But there will not be the smallest difficulty in providing additional teachers, if additional teachers are wanted. And surely it is much better to appoint such teachers, than to divert the attention of the most intelligent young men in the college from their own studies, and to employ them in the uninteresting drudgery of teaching the first elements to children.

I am a little inclined to think that this is an attempt to introduce into the college, under a disguise, that stipendiary system which the Government and the Committee have condemned, but to which Dr. Wise, like many other highly respectable persons, seems to cling with extraordinary fondness. Be this as it may, I vote against the proposition.—[Page 138.] 28th June, 1837.

*The establishment of a Branch School at Hooghly supported by Mahomed Moshin's endowment is desired by the people of Hooghly.*—Then I would have such a school. We have ample funds; and as far as I properly can, I wish to comply with the inclinations of the people of Hooghly.—[Book N. page 106.] 18th July, 1837.

*Commencement of the long discussions about the purchase of General Perron's house at Chinsurah for the college of Mahomed*

*Moshin.*—Of course we must not run any risk. But I never saw an attorney's letter which had more the look of being written in support of an idle vamped up claim. We had better ask the visitors whether they know anything about the business. In the mean time, of course, we must do nothing.—[Book L. page 139.] 2nd August, 1837.

*About the purchase of General Perron's house for the college of Mahomed Moshin.*—I am very little acquainted with these matters. I should have thought that the conveyance ought to be to the Government, which is the representative of the founder, and from whose authority ours is derived. But I submit my judgment to that of more experienced people.—[Book L. page 154.] 11th August, 1837.

*Russel's Modern Europe.*—Russel's is one of those bad books which keep their ground for want of a better. I have no objection to what Mr. Sutherland proposes. What he says of the Poetical Miscellany reminds me of a proposition respecting a Prose Miscellany which I shall take an early opportunity of submitting to the Committee.—[Page 150.] 26th August, 1837.

*Prankissen Seal's house at Chinsurah.*—Certainly against an opinion so well entitled to consideration as Mr. Sutherland's, I cannot venture to recommend the purchase. I wish that we could procure a copy of the petition, and also that we could learn when the case is likely to be disposed of by the Sudder Dewany Adawlut.—[Page 159.] 4th October, 1837.

## Minute by Mr. Macaulay.

*2d February*, 1835.

As it seems to be the opinion of some of the gentlemen who compose the Committee of Public Instruction, that the course which they have hitherto pursued was strictly prescribed by the British Parliament in 1813, and as, if that opinion be correct, a legislative act will be necessary to warrant a change, I have thought it right to refrain from taking any part in the preparation of the adverse statements which are now before us, and to reserve what I had to say on the subject till it should come before me as a member of the Council of India.

It does not appear to me that the Act of Parliament can, by any art of construction, be made to bear the meaning which has been assigned to it. It contains nothing about the particular languages or sciences which are to be studied. A sum is set apart 'for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories.' It is argued,

or rather taken for granted, that by literature, the Parliament can have meant only Arabic and Sanscrit literature, that they never would have given the honorable appellation of 'a learned native' to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the Metaphysics of Locke, and the Physics of Newton; but that they meant to designate by that name only such persons as might have studied in the sacred books of the Hindoos all the uses of cusa-grass, and all the mysteries of absorption into the Deity. This does not appear to be a very satisfactory interpretation. To take a parallel case; suppose that the Pacha of Egypt, a country once superior in knowledge to the nations of Europe, but now sunk far below them, were to appropriate a sum for the purpose of 'reviving and promoting literature, and encouraging learned natives of Egypt,' would anybody infer that he meant the youth of his pachalic to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all the doctrines disguised under the fable of Osiris, and to ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly charged with inconsistency, if, instead of employing his young subjects in deciphering obelisks, he were to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys.

The words on which the supporters of the old system rely do not bear them out, and other words follow which seem to be quite decisive on the other side. This lac of Rupees is set apart, not only for 'reviving literature in India,' the phrase on which their whole interpretation is founded, but also for 'the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories,'—words which are alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend.

If the Council agree in my construction, no legislative Act will be necessary. If they differ from me, I will prepare a short Act rescinding that clause of the Charter of 1813, from which the difficulty arises.

The argument which I have been considering, affects only the form of proceeding. But the admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument, which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system, and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanscrit, would be down-right spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from

the public purse for the encouragement of literature differed in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanatarium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanatarium there, if the result should not answer our expectation? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works, if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless? The rights of property are undoubtedly sacred. But nothing endangers those rights so much as the practice, now unhappily too common, of attributing them to things to which they do not belong. Those who would impart to abuses the sanctity of property are in truth imparting to the institution of property the unpopularity and the fragility of abuses. If the Government has given to any person a formal assurance; nay, if the Government has excited in any person's mind a reasonable expectation that he shall receive a certain income as a teacher or a learner of Sanscrit or Arabic, I would respect that person's pecuniary interests—I would rather err on the side of liberality to individuals than suffer the public faith to be called in question. But to talk of a Government pledging itself to teach certain languages and certain sciences, though those languages may become useless, though those sciences may be exploded, seems to me quite unmeaning. There is not a single word in any public instructions, from which it can be inferred that the Indian Government ever intended to give any pledge on this subject, or ever considered the destination of these funds as unalterably fixed. But had it been otherwise, I should have denied the competence of our predecessors to bind us by any pledge on such a subject. Suppose that a Government had in the last century enacted in the most solemn manner that all its subjects should, to the end of time, be inoculated for the small-pox: would that Government be bound to persist in the practice after Jenner's discovery? These promises, of which nobody claims the performance, and from which nobody can grant a release; these vested rights, which vest in nobody; this property without proprietors; this robbery, which makes nobody poorer, may be comprehended by persons of higher faculties than mine.—I consider this plea merely as a set form of words, regularly used both in England and in India, in defence of every abuse for which no other plea can be set up.

I hold this lac of rupees to be quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council, for the purpose of promoting learning in India, in any way which may be thought most advisable. I hold his Lordship to be quite as free to direct

that it shall no longer be employed in encouraging Arabic and Sanscrit, as he is to direct that the reward for killing tigers in Mysore shall be diminished, or that no more public money shall be expended on the chanting at the cathedral.

We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as Government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India, contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

What then shall that language be? One-half of the Committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing?

I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic.—But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education.

It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded, and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be

found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

How, then, stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the west. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said, that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can

patronise sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier,—Astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school,—History, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long,—and Geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

We are not without experience to guide us. History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society,—of prejudices overthrown,—of knowledge diffused,—of taste purified,—of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.

The first instance to which I refer, is the great revival of letters among the Western nations at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time almost every thing that was worth reading was contained in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted; had they neglected the language of Cicero and Tacitus; had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island; had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but Chronicles in Anglo-Saxon, and Romances in Norman-French, would England have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity. I doubt whether the Sanscrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors. In some departments,—in History, for example, I am certain that it is much less so.

Another instance may be said to be still before our eyes. Within the last hundred and twenty years, a nation which had previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the crusades, has gradually emerged from the ignorance in which it was sunk, and has taken its place among civilized communities.—I speak of Russia. There is now in that country a large educated class, abounding with persons fit to serve the state in the highest functions, and in no wise inferior to the most accomplished men who adorn the best circles of Paris and London. There is reason to hope that this vast empire, which in the time of our grandfathers was probably behind the Punjab, may, in the time of our grandchildren, be pressing close on France and Britain in the career of improvement. And how was this change effected?

Not by flattering national prejudices: not by feeding the mind of the young Muscovite with the old woman's stories which his rude fathers had believed: not by filling his head with lying legends about St. Nicholas: not by encouraging him to study the great question, whether the world was or was not created on the 13th of September: not by calling him 'a learned native,' when he has mastered all these points of knowledge: but by teaching him those foreign languages in which the greatest mass of information had been laid up, and thus putting all that information within his reach. The languages of Western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.

And what are the arguments against that course which seems to be alike recommended by theory and by experience? It is said that we ought to secure the co-operation of the native public, and that we can do this only by teaching Sanscrit and Arabic.

I can by no means admit that when a nation of high intellectual attainments undertakes to superintend the education of a nation comparatively ignorant, the learners are absolutely to prescribe the course which is to be taken by the teachers. It is not necessary, however, to say any thing on this subject. For it is proved by unanswerable evidence that we are not at present securing the co-operation of the natives. It would be bad enough to consult their intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health. But we are consulting neither,—we are withholding from them the learning for which they are craving, we are forcing on them the mock-learning which they nauseate.

This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanscrit students, while those who learn English are willing to pay us. All the declamations in the world about the love and reverence of the natives for their sacred dialects will never, in the mind of any impartial person, outweigh the undisputed fact, that we cannot find, in all our vast empire, a single student who will let us teach him those dialects unless we will pay him.

I have now before me the accounts of the Madrassa for one month,—the month of December, 1833. The Arabic students appear to have been seventy-seven in number. All receive stipends from the public. The whole amount paid to them is above 500 rupees a month. On the other side of the account stands the following item: Deduct amount realized from the out-students of English for the months of May, June and July last, 103 rupees.

I have been told that it is merely from want of local experience that I am surprised at these phenomena, and that it is not the fashion for students in India to study at their own charges. This only confirms me in my opinion. Nothing is more certain than that it never can in any part of the world be necessary to pay men for doing what they think pleasant and profitable. India is no exception to this rule. The people of India do not require to be paid for eating rice when they are hungry, or for wearing woollen cloth in the cold season. To come nearer to the case before us, the children who learn their letters and a little elementary Arithmetic from the village school-master are not paid by him. He is paid for teaching them. Why then is it necessary to pay people to learn Sanscrit and Arabic? Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanscrit and Arabic are languages, the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them. On all such subjects the state of the market is the decisive test.

Other evidence is not wanting, if other evidence were required. A petition was presented last year to the Committee by several ex-students of the Sanscrit College. The petitioners stated that they had studied in the college ten or twelve years; that they had made themselves acquainted with Hindoo literature and science; that they had received certificates of proficiency: and what is the fruit of all this! 'Notwithstanding such testimonials,' they say, 'we have but little prospect of bettering our condition without the kind assistance of your Honorable Committee, the indifference with which we are generally looked upon by our countrymen leaving no hope of encouragement and assistance from them.' They therefore beg that they may be recommended to the Governor General for places under the Government, not places of high dignity or emolument, but such as may just enable them to exist. 'We want means,' they say, 'for a decent living, and for our progressive improvement, which, however, we cannot obtain without the assistance of Government, by whom we have been educated and maintained from childhood.' They conclude by representing, very pathetically, that they are sure that it was never the intention of Government, after behaving so liberally to them during their education, to abandon them to destitution and neglect.

I have been used to see petitions to Government for compensation. All these petitions, even the most unreasonable of them, proceeded on the supposition that some loss had been sustained—that some wrong had been inflicted. These are surely the first petitioners who ever demanded compensation for having been educated gratis,—for having been supported

by the public during twelve years, and then sent forth into the world well furnished with literature and science. They represent their education as an injury which gives them a claim on the Government for redress, as an injury for which the stipends paid to them during the infliction were a very inadequate compensation. And I doubt not that they are in the right. They have wasted the best years of life in learning what procures for them neither bread nor respect. Surely we might, with advantage, have saved the cost of making these persons useless and miserable; surely, men may be brought up to be burdens to the public and objects of contempt to their neighbours at a somewhat smaller charge to the state. But such is our policy. We do not even stand neuter in the contest between truth and falsehood. We are not content to leave the natives to the influence of their own hereditary prejudices. To the natural difficulties which obstruct the progress of sound science in the East, we add fresh difficulties of our own making. Bounties and premiums, such as ought not to be given even for the propagation of truth, we lavish on false taste and false philosophy.

By acting thus we create the very evil which we fear. We are making that opposition which we do not find. What we spend on the Arabic and Sanscrit colleges is not merely a dead loss to the cause of truth; it is bounty-money paid to raise up champions of error. It goes to form a nest, not merely of helpless place-hunters, but of bigots prompted alike by passion and by interest to raise a cry against every useful scheme of education. If there should be any opposition among the natives to the change which I recommend, that opposition will be the effect of our own system. It will be headed by persons supported by our stipends and trained in our colleges. The longer we persevere in our present course, the more formidable will that opposition be. It will be every year reinforced by recruits whom we are paying. From the native society left to itself, we have no difficulties to apprehend; all the murmuring will come from that oriental interest which we have, by artificial means, called into being, and nursed into strength.

There is yet another fact, which is alone sufficient to prove that the feeling of the native public, when left to itself, is not such as the supporters of the old system represent it to be. The Committee have thought fit to lay out above a lac of rupees in printing Arabic and Sanscrit books. Those books find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is disposed of. Twenty-three thousand volumes, most of them folios and quartos, fill the libraries, or rather the lumber-rooms, of this body. The Committee contrive to get rid of some por-

tion of their vast stock of oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About twenty thousand rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste paper to a hoard which, I should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years, about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanscrit books, during those three years, has not yielded quite one thousand rupees. In the mean time the School-book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes every year, and not only pays the expenses of printing, but realises a profit of 20 per cent. on its outlay.

The fact that the Hindoo law is to be learned chiefly from Sanscrit books, and the Mahomedan law from Arabic books, has been much insisted on, but seems not to bear at all on the question. We are commanded by Parliament to ascertain and digest the laws of India. The assistance of a law Commission has been given to us for that purpose. As soon as the code is promulgated, the Shasters and the Hedaya will be useless to a Moonsiff or Sudder Ameen. I hope and trust that before the boys who are now entering at the Madrassa and the Sanscrit college have completed their studies, this great work will be finished. It would be manifestly absurd to educate the rising generation with a view to a state of things which we mean to alter before they reach manhood.

But there is yet another argument which seems even more untenable. It is said that the Sanscrit and Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are, on that account, entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant, but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcileable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confessed that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false History, false Astronomy, false Medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably and decently bribe men out of the revenues of the state to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass, or what text of the

Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat?

It is taken for granted by the advocates of Oriental learning, that no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English. They do not attempt to prove this; but they perpetually insinuate it. They designate the education which their opponents recommend as a mere spelling book education. They assume it as undeniable, that the question is between a profound knowledge of Hindoo and Arabian literature and science on the one side, and a superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other. This is not merely an assumption, but an assumption contrary to all reason and experience. We know that foreigners of all nations do learn our language sufficiently to have access to all the most abstruse knowledge which it contains, sufficiently to relish even the more delicate graces of our most idiomatic writers. There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and an intelligence which would do credit to any member of the Committee of Public Instruction. Indeed it is unusual to find, even in the literary circles of the continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindoos. Nobody, I suppose, will contend that English is so difficult to a Hindoo as Greek to an Englishman. Yet an intelligent English youth, in a much smaller number of years than our unfortunate pupils pass at the Sanscrit college, becomes able to read, to enjoy, and even to imitate, not unhappily, the compositions of the best Greek Authors. Less than half the time which enables an English youth to read Herodotus and Sophocles, ought to enable a Hindoo to read Hume and Milton.

To sum up what I have said, I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanscrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanscrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our engagement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

I would strictly respect all existing interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanscrit books, I would abolish the Madrassa and the Sanscrit college at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahmanical learning; Delhi, of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanscrit college at Benares and the Mahomedan college at Delhi, we do enough, and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and Delhi colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but that the people shall be left to make their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger encouragement to the Hindoo college at Calcutta, and to establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well and thoroughly taught.

If the decision of his Lordship in Council should be such as I anticipate, I shall enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be the opinion of the Government that the present system ought to remain unchanged, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the Committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there—I feel, also, that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a Board for wasting public money, for printing

books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology; for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an encumbrance and a blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that when they have received it they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body, which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceeding, I must consider not merely as useless, but as positively noxious.

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## ON THE RISE, PROGRESS AND OBJECTS OF THE FREE CHURCH INSTITUTION IN CALCUTTA,

BY

BABOO HARASHUNKER DUTT.

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The circumstances which gave rise to the establishment of the Institution being now buried in oblivion, the following brief statements (chiefly taken from printed records) appear desirable before entering into the main subject.

About the commencement of the 19th century, the Protestant churches which had long been reposing in the profoundest calm after the Reformation, began to awake from their lethargy. The Church of Scotland, whose philanthropy had so long been confined to the nation itself, began now to extend it abroad. The idea was gradually, without previous communication, springing up in the minds of many individuals in distant parts of the kingdom, that the Church of Scotland in her "collective corporate capacity as a national Church" ought to embark in the great cause of Missions. At length

ministers began to speak out in their official capacity in the lower Church Courts, some of these were actuated to make overtures on the subject to the General Assembly "the Supreme Ecclesiastical Judicature," when a favorable train was thus preparing in Great Britain, an energetic Memorial in December 1823 from the Rev. Dr. Bryce, then Senior Chaplain of the Church of Scotland at Fort William, attracted attention towards India "as a promising field for spiritual warfare" and in May 1824, Dr. Inglis, a man unrivalled in mental endowments stood forth in the General Assembly formally to propose that the church should organize a mission in heathen lands. All the objections raised against this proposal being refuted, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, officially recognized and recorded their solemn conviction that it was a duty which they owed to God, as well as to their fellow creatures, to engage without delay in aiding those efforts, which aimed at the universal propagation of the gospel. In order to carry out into effect the views of the Assembly, it recommended to all Ministers of parishes, churches and chapels, and to the members of the church generally, that they should use their best exertions to promote the sacred cause in which the church had resolved to engage, by subscriptions, collections, contributions, &c., in order to institute and support seminaries for education of various grades "as instruments in removing deep-rooted prejudices, in preparing the mind to comprehend the sublime discoveries of Christianity, and above all in rearing a body of qualified natives who would serve as teachers and preachers in the work of emancipating their fellow-countrymen from the yoke of spiritual thraldom." It was also resolved that a central or collegiate institution should be established for communicating a knowledge of the higher branches of literature, science and Christian theology. The views of the Assembly having been settled, it was necessary to select a man most efficient in carrying out their views with success. In 1829 the Rev. A. Duff (now Dr. Duff) the fittest man for this important task, was accordingly nominated, and deputed to India, as the first Missionary of the Church of Scotland "in its corporate national capacity." After various difficulties, disasters and losses by shipwreck, the missionary hero arrived at Calcutta about the end of May 1830. On reaching the scene of his future labour, he was received with cordiality by the Missionaries and other Christian gentlemen of all denominations, but with indifference by those whose welfare he came to seek.

The first step taken by him was to enquire into the then existing state of things, with a view to determine, where and how were his operations to be commenced? Notwithstanding the

variety of difficulties which arose against his personal inspection and inquiry from the unfriendliness of the season, and his ignorance of the country, he still resolved to make the attempt. Acquaintance of all from whom any useful information could be gleaned was sought. With this view, frequent interviews were obtained with many of the principal officials of literary, benevolent, and religious societies, much information was also received from some of the late Hon'ble East India Company's Civil and Military Servants, who had not only been long in India, but on account of public duty had been stationed successively throughout many of its widely scattered provinces. In these and other ways, and by visiting the Missionary Institutions existing at the time, the Rev. Mr. Duff had soon seen and learnt much of the opinions, habits and practices of the lower classes of the natives. From the very first too he had also courted the society of the wealthy, influential and learned classes of the natives and thus he succeeded in obtaining at a very early period a tolerable insight into their habitudes, mental and moral. The materials thus collected were highly calculated to guide him in the formation and execution of his plans, which aimed at Indian enlightenment.

The next object was to select a place for the proposed collegiate Institution though not in Calcutta, yet within such a distance from it as to admit of occasional visits by European residents of the city or its vicinity. After fruitless search in different districts around Calcutta, it was found that no place in the Mofussil entirely suited the views as expressed in the Assembly's report; either the population was found to be too scattered for concentrated effort, or not of a description to admit of being readily stimulated to the pursuit of higher branches of study without the protracted preparatory labour of years; or no premises for residence and class rooms could be had without building at a considerable expense, and after all incurring the hazard of a doubtful experiment, or lastly the most eligible situations were found to be pre-occupied by the Missionaries of other denominations.

Besides, all inquiries confirmed that Calcutta itself supplied by far the most promising field for the centre of future operations. For the advantages of the press, the ease experienced in convening assemblies for public discussions and address, and a "belief in the civic populace being free from most of all those prejudices which abound in a rural population," and for such other reasons, it was decided that Calcutta itself and not any other place in the interior ought at once to be fixed as the permanent site of the proposed Central Institution, and this decision was duly announced to, and eventually approved of by,

the Home authorities. The progress of every year has since convinced all, that the choice was the best that could be made.

The site of the Institution having been fixed, the next point to be determined was, the mode of procedure. The primary object had been to establish at once a central institution for communicating a knowledge of the higher branches of literature, science and theology. In order to be qualified to enter such an institution, a considerable amount of preliminary instruction would be indispensable. Before therefore proposing to hire, far less to buy or erect, buildings containing suitable accommodation for class and lecture rooms, it was deemed expedient to ascertain the probability of obtaining a reasonable number of pupils who had already acquired the preparatory education. The result of the inquiry was most unsatisfactory and discouraging; for none who were qualified, were willing to enter the Institution, though there were many willing but not qualified. Those trained in the Hindu College and other seminaries were not disposed to cross the threshold of an Institution where they had to "moralize and religionize as well as geometrize." These and other reasons compelled him to abandon the scheme of starting at once with a higher or Collegiate Institution.

Failing in the original scheme, it was now resolved to open one or more elementary schools to ensure the regular preparation of a sufficient number of young men who might be at once qualified and willing to enter upon a higher course. The attention having now been turned exclusively in the first instance to elementary schools, the question was of what description these should be, and on what footing established? Bengali being the vernacular dialect of the province the first idea naturally was to institute a series of Bengali schools, and with the view of accomplishing this end, the benevolent Doctor repeatedly traversed almost every street and lane of Calcutta. In the Bengali schools established by Missionaries he found there was such a rapid succession of pupils that little or no substantial knowledge of any kind could possibly be conveyed, "the greater part remaining only a few months, several a twelvemonth, the merest fraction a year and a half, scarcely any more than two years." The causes of this invariable practice are well known. The Brahmins taught their own sons and those of their Brahmin neighbours Bengali and Sanskrit, and natives of rank and wealth had their male children initiated by Brahmin tutors into the elements of the Bengali language in their own houses. Neither of these classes would be induced on any consideration to attend a common Bengali school established and superintended by a Christian Missionary. As for the mid-

dle classes they would hire an illiterate sircar as tutor to their sons. Of this description of schools originated and supported by natives themselves, it had been ascertained by the school society that there were at that time about two hundred in Calcutta.

It occurred to Dr. Duff that one of two things might be done, either patronage might be extended to a number of these indigenous schools with a view of improving them, or new schools might be established on an independent footing. The former course had been already adopted with considerable success by the school society. But it was on the principle of perfect noninterference in the subject of religion. From the very nature and constitution of those indigenous schools, it was at once apparent that a Missionary would find it next to impossible to engraft Christianity upon them, by introducing either Christian books or Christian Masters or even Christian knowledge by means of oral instruction without books. It did not therefore appear to Dr. Duff as a Christian Missionary that he was warranted to support or take charge of any such schools.

The other alternative was to establish a few independent Bengali schools taught after a Christian manner. But then the question was "Who would attend such schools, and what probable prospect did they hold out towards the accomplishment of the missionary end?" The sons of Brahmins and those of the higher and wealtheir classes of the Sudras, could not be expected to attend. In short, those who could afford to pay for instruction at their own houses would never come. Then, who would attend? Those usually came to the Mission schools who were too poor to pay the trifle in their own. They came therefore simply and solely to obtain gratuitously that which they would in preference seek for in their own, if they could afford to pay for it, and having once obtained all that they sought for, which was in general nothing more than the most meagre of acquisitions, the art of writing the alphabet and figures, the ability even to read being what very few cared for, off they went in quick succession without ceremony and without even returning thanks for the boon conferred, and were heard of no more.

The fact was the pupils of the Bengali Mission schools were children of men of a very inferior grade in society, who, from the very circumstances in which they were placed, had no desire whatever, and in whom no arguments would create the desire to cultivate any of the higher branches of knowledge.

But even if the children of the higher classes could be prevailed on to attend Bengali mission schools, what motives could be presented to them to prosecute the study of Bengali

for any length of time? Not one. Bengali was not to them the language of their own literature, science or religion, nor of Government or jurisprudence or practical law. All the written knowledge of it ever deemed necessary was intended only for the lowest and commonest intercourse and transactions of life, social and domestic. The idea of studying it for the sake of acquiring knowledge through it as a medium, was at that early period, an idea quite foreign to the natives.

On a review of all the circumstances of the case, it was found by the the Rev. Doctor that in the then existing state of things, mere elementary Bengali mission schools would not at all answer the purpose of preparing a class of qualified pupils for entering the proposed Collegiate Institution, therefore the plan of establishing Bengali schools was totally abandoned. The choice was thus confined between the Sanskrit, the learned language of the country, and the English, the language of the rulers. The question was, which should hereafter be established as a language of learning in India. All arguments and authority seemed to preponderate in favour of the Sanskrit. The Supreme Government had decided in its favour, all learned orientalists, whose opinion had hitherto been uncontrolable law, were exclusively in its favour, and what was most silencing of all, the theory and practice of some of the oldest and most experienced missionaries in Bengal, were decided in its favour. Against such an array of authority, it seemed to all eyes to be impossible to give the preference to the English. Yet it was in the face of the highest authorities, in the face of Government enactments and learned dissertations, and the practice of Christian philanthropists, that the learned Doctor after the maturest consideration, took the resolution wholly to repudiate the Sanskrit and other learned languages of India as the best instruments of a superior education, and openly and fearlessly to proclaim the English to be the most effective medium of Indian enlightenment. Such a project was denounced by the great orientalists. They could tolerate, and as members of the Government Committee of Public Instruction, they did practically sanction one use of the English language, that is for qualifying a select number of natives to become translators of European books into the Sanskrit and other learned languages of India, which in their estimation were best calculated to enlighten the national mind. The reasons for which the Doctor gave preference to the English language are, that the Sanskrit language is not, like the English, susceptible of easy acquisition, nor supplies adequate materials for communicating a knowledge of the more advanced departments of literature, science and theology, and that "every term in that tongue" is insepar-

ably linked with some idea or sentiment or "deductions of Hinduism," so that in acquiring it, a native becomes indoctrinated to a system of superstition and idolatry, consequently by no means furthering the missionary end.

The English language as the best instrument of enlightening the nation having been decided, the question recurred, Did there exist among the natives, the desire combined with the ability to acquire a competent knowledge of it, or what probability was there of any number being able and willing to avail themselves of the offer to convey instruction through it as a chosen medium? In a city like Calcutta the supremacy of British power and influence in every department, political, judicial and commercial, naturally and necessarily tended to create a gradually increasing demand for a certain amount of English on the part of the natives, such an amount as might enable them to act the part of head servants, copyists and petty agents in the varied transactions of social life. Availing themselves of this fact, individual Missionaries had at times opened classes for instruction in English. But so soon as the young men had acquired the necessary smattering for their humble vocation, they invariably disappeared, without carrying away with them any solid or valuable attainment whatever to the disgust and mortification of the instructor and his final abandonment of so useless an employ. Accordingly when it was proposed to establish a new English seminary, the strongly expressed opinion of some of the best friends of Missions was, that the experiment would prove worse than useless. "In a year or two," said they, "all the pupils will run away." To this the Rev. Dr.'s reply was to this effect; that at a time when scarcely any native knew English, the merest smattering might have brought a good price. But the demand for such a class of native servants, assistants, and intermediate agents is not unlimited. Already, there appear to be so many in quest of employment that the market must be well stocked. By opening a new Institution we shall soon have the market overstocked. What then? surely when the number of these "smatterists or elementerists" is made to superabound, many amongst them will be forced to perceive that their only chance of securing a preference will be to acquire attainments superior to their fellows, to advance a step higher in the progressive or ascending series of intellectual acquirement, when that higher step shall have been surmounted by considerable numbers, many will feel the necessity of advancing higher still, and so upwards to the very pinnacle of that proficiency in sound knowledge, which it is our wish to communicate. And if only a few be once made to partake of a "free draught at

the refreshing fount of English knowledge" in its higher departments, we have no doubt that a craving will thereby be created for fresh supplies, and that the strongest guarantee for this continued attendance of pupils will be found in the perfect delight which they must experience in the vigorous prosecution of their studies; as well as the growing sense of the advantage of so doing "both for time and eternity." With such and similar arguments were the objections of many repelled at the time. The experiment was tried, and the day has arrived when these anticipations have been more than verified. Other zealous friends of Christianity looking at the Government Hindoo College and its fruits, could not help associating a superior English education with infidelity. To this representation the reply was, That the Hindoo College produced bitter fruits simply because it communicated knowledge which destroyed a false religion without supplying the true one. The very existence of a seminary like the Hindoo College, in his opinion, furnished one of the strongest arguments for the establishment of a new seminary, "its rival as an intellectual gymnasium, and its superior as the nursery of religion and morals." From the circulation of European literature and science exclusive of morality and religion, "the young alumni too wise to continue the dupes and slaves of an irrational monstrous superstition, enlist themselves in the ranks of infidelity." Here then a new power threatened soon to become more formidable than idolatry itself. It became then a question of vital importance, How was the encroachment of this new anti-idolatrous and anti-Christian power "to be resisted?" Could any plan be devised more likely to arrest its desolating progress than the founding of a superior Christian seminary, with the view of raising up another class of young men, who having their minds imbued with the spirit of modern science and regulated by the principles of true religion and sound morality, could challenge the common enemy on his own terms and "aided from on high" eventually take by storm "the strongest position of this lofty citadel?"

The resolution having now been formed, that elementary English schools were best adapted to the ultimate end contemplated, no time was lost in attempting to give effect to it. A tolerably-sized hall in an old building at Jorasanko on the Chitpore road was hired for the purpose. All the necessary preparations having been completed, the General Assembly's Institution was opened on Friday 13th July, 1830, with five pupils recommended by the late lamented Rajah Ram Mohun Roy. The generous treatment which these five men received induced others to come, and in three days the Hall, which held

about one hundred and twenty, was filled. On the 4th day upwards of two hundred new applicants, who were most clamorous in their entreaties, having unexpectedly appeared, a careful selection of two hundred and fifty pupils was made rejecting, to the deep regret of the founder, hundreds for want of accommodation. The first few days were devoted to the task of "marshalling" the classes and teachers, and of reducing the whole to order and discipline, and the business of actual tuition on a new system then commenced. The first class consisted of those who could only read words of two syllables.

New candidates for admission continually pressing forward, it was found necessary to close the lists, for the present, and as a temporary arrangement by an alternation of the junior and senior classes at different hours of the day, to teach double the number which the Hall could at once accommodate.

On the termination of the first twelve months, a public examination of the pupils was held in a central Hall in the European quarter of Calcutta, in the presence of a large and respectable audience of European ladies and gentlemen, besides several natives of high rank. Those who witnessed it were highly gratified with the result.

It must be admitted that every succeeding year the character and reputation of the system rose in the estimation of the Natives and Europeans. Elementary tuition was gradually advanced to an academical course, and the five who entered on the day of its first commencement have since swollen into a daily attendance of more than a thousand pupils of different castes, including the very highest, and of different ages from six to twenty and upwards.

In 1836, the Institution was removed to Gurranhatta and visited by the then Governor-General of India (Lord Auckland). In 1838, the Institution was transferred to the splendid building in Cornwallis Square which had been erected by funds raised in Scotland on Dr. Duff's visit in 1835. After his return in improved health in 1840, it was divided into College and School departments, and these have since been continued, consolidated and maintained.

In May, 1843, owing to the disruption of the Church of Scotland, the eminent Doctor and his Colleagues considered it their duty to dissolve their connection with the General Assembly's Institution in the Cornwallis Square and at a wonderfully immense sacrifice of personal interest, they accordingly abandoned that Institution with the house, library, apparatus, furniture, &c. which all became the property of the Established Church of Scotland.

After this almost unparalleled sacrifice on the part of the Missionaries, their position and prospects here were at once hazardous and gloomy. It was, however, soon resolved by them to make the metropolis of British India still the field of their labour. Partially prepared with the immediate requirements of an educational Institution, the Missionaries opened a new school in a spacious and commodious house of a native gentleman in the heart of the native part of Calcutta, Nimtolla Street. In this new or Free Church Institution, which is only a continuation of the old, or rather the old itself under a new name, the whole of the beneficial agencies hitherto at work, remained the same. The system of education hitherto pursued was unchanged. The Missionaries, teachers, and monitors employed were those who were the Missionaries, teachers and monitors in the Institution prior to the disruption of the Scottish Establishment while the number of pupils including those who formerly attended, was greatly increased.

Under the blessing of the Divine Ruler and Disposer of all events the Free Church Institution which was subsequently removed to the new premises erected in the same locality (Nimtolla Street) and replenished with furniture, library and philosophical apparatus, is at present in a most flourishing condition, rising in the admiration and estimation of the public, by the diffusion of liberal education of a superior standard to a larger number of students than in any free school in Calcutta.

In short the Institution has been in a continuous progressive advancement under the able superintendency and gigantic exertions of Dr. Duff and his colleagues.

One of these, Dr. D. Ewart, has very recently been removed from his laudable work after a short illness by Cholera, creating a wide gap in the Institution, as well as in the Missionary community in general. He was styled one of the props or pillars of the Institution, and was truly a good man. His death is a great calamity.

A single glance at the course of studies delineated in the undermentioned Abstract, will point out the range which it embraces. The grand object aimed at is the development of all the faculties of the mind. In order to accomplish this noble end in so far as instruction is concerned, no really useful branch of literature or science has been neglected.

There is no such thing known in the institution, as cramming for the Annual Examination, or for any other purpose. All the subjects or portions of subjects specified below, have been fairly mastered and repeatedly revised and in all of these the students are consequently liable at any time to be examined. The study of the vernacular has also been rendered increasingly effective.

The senior class in the College Department being annually dissolved to be succeeded by the one next below it; the subjects for study in each class have been substantially the same for the last twenty years. They include all that is required for the B. A. and Honor Examination of the Calcutta University.

COLLEGE DEPARTMENT.

Third and Fourth years' class, Entrance class, and preparatory Entrance class.

*Bible.*—Old and new Testament.
*Theology.*—Butler's Anology, Paley's Evidences, &c.
*Literature.*—Shakespeare, Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Milton's Paradise Lost and Regained, Samson Agonistes and Lycidas, Bacon's Essays, Grammar, English Composition, &c. &c.
*History.*—Elphinstone's, and Murray's India, Goldsmith's England, Brief Survey, 1st and 2nd part.
*Mental or Moral Science.*—Abercrombie and Wayland, Payne, Hamilton, Brown, &c.
*Physical Science.*—Animal Physiology, Chemistry.
*Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.*—Solid Geometry, Plane Trigonometry, Conic sections, Euclid six Books, Algebra, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Arithmetic.
*Geography.*—Anderson's.
*Bengallee.*—Mahabharut, Grammar, Translation, &c. &c.

SCHOOL DEPARTMENT.

From 1st to 6th class.

*Bible.*—New Testament.
*History.*—Murray's India, McCullock's Course of Reading, Physical and Chemical Sciences, Poetical Instructor, Brief Survey, part 1st and 2nd.
*Geography.*—Ewart's.
*Arithmetic.*—
*Grammar.*—Compositions.
*Bengallee.*—Translation, Grammar, Sukuntolla, &c.

From 7th to 16th or last class.

History of Bengal, Geography, Grammar, Instructors, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.
Dictation, and Bengallee.

The boys of the last seven lower classes meet every day one hour in the Gallery for general instruction, moral training and active discipline.

A suitable number of prizes for general eminence is given in every class, as well as one in each class, for regular attendance and good conduct: besides these, special prizes have invariably been proposed and competed for. Medals and Scholarships have also been awarded.

The undermentioned are some of the subjects of essays written and contended for by general competition for prizes awarded to the most successful students.

1st.—On the causes which led to the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

2nd.—On the ancient civilization of the Hindoos as indicated by their Civil and Criminal Laws.

3rd.—On the similies in the 1st Book of Milton's Paradise Lost, with a view to point out their aptitudes and characteristic beauties.

4th.—On the fulfilment of scripture prophecies indicated in the History of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors.

5th.—On the evils of popular ignorance in Bengal.

6th.—For the best dissertation on the celebrated saying from nothing nothing comes.

7th.—Whether the savage state be the original and natural state of man or not.

8th.—What is meant by conscience, how does it operate, how may it be injured and how improved?

9th.—Can we by induction alone from the present state of human nature, arrive at a proficient standard of morals?

10th.—On the causes of opposition to Christianity in India.

11th.—On the up-bringing of Hindoo youth from their earliest infancy to the period of leaving the Patshala or Bengalee School.

12th.—On the present state and prevailing character of the educated Hindoos.

13th.—On the chief obstacles in the way of a general system of Female education in India and the best method of removing them.

14th.—The best means of promoting the improvement of educated youths after they have left School or College.

15th.—On the system and tenets of the Kurtabhojahs.

16th.—On the political and religious effects of the Reformation in Britain.

The ordinary disbursement of the Institution are the salaries of the Missionaries and Catechists paid by subscriptions raised in Scotland. The salaries of the native teachers, pundits,

servants and contingencies are paid by subscriptions raised in this country. A small and almost nominal schooling fee of 4 annas per student has lately been imposed and collected from the students, and the amount thus realized is spent in defraying the expenses incurred for the maintenance of the Establishment. The cost of the new building occupied by the Institution at present was paid from a fund obtained by the energetic and indefatigable exertions of the Reverend Doctor Duff from the people of Scotland and America to whom he had applied for that purpose during his temporary sojourn in those countries. The library attached to it contains numerous valuable works presented by the friends of native education in this country, in Scotland and America.

The Branch schools connected with the Free Church Mission in Bengal are as follows :—

The Chinsurah Institution, the Bansbariah Free Church Schools, the Culna Free Church Institution, the Mahomed Anglo-vernacular school, the Female Boarding School, Mrs. Edwart's Female School, Dr. Duff's Female School, Calcutta, with other female schools in Chinsurah, Bansbariah, Culna and Mahomed.

The history of this valuable Institution is intimately connected with the progress of the native mind, emancipating it from the trammels of ignorance.

The scheme of education inaugurated in this seminary has produced most momentous results, when viewed in connection with the previous state of things. It has achieved wonders, considering the dense mass of superstition to be dealt with.

The Free Church, originally the General Assembly's Institution, was the first Missionary school in Calcutta, which gave a thorough liberal English education to the natives. It is true that there had existed other Missionary schools previous to its foundation, but the education which was given in them was confined to a mere elementary course, the sole object being the conversion of the pupils to Christianity. These schools were therefore asylums for the children of the lowest and poorest classes of the natives, as they had no inducement to attract those of the higher and aristocratic orders.

How successfully this Institution founded by Dr. Duff has demolished the "bugbear of alleged impracticability" as regards the attendance of respectable natives for a series of years in a Christian seminary! The interest manifested by him in the progress and welfare of his pupils, induced them to remain in his academy, animated them in all their exertions for the acquisition of the English language, and taught them to esteem and love him as a great benefactor.

The Free Church Institution has coped with the Hindu College for many years. Its established reputation has immortalized the name of the founder. The Bengal Medical College and the Calcutta University bear testimony to its wonderful success. Are not some of the most meritorious Assistant Surgeons and Sub-Assistant Surgeons the ex-students of this Institution? Are not its pupils valuable and useful officers and assistants in all the departments of the Public Service, Revenue, Judicial, Financial, Educational and General?

Among the unparalleled results produced by this Institution may be reckoned the destruction of ignorance and prejudice, idolatry and superstition, and the substitution of the principles of true literature and science.

In this Institution from the first, the truths of God's words are habitually inculcated, the Bible itself is gradually read, the external and internal evidences are systematically unfolded, the principles of true literature and science as well as moral philosophy are carefully impressed on the minds of the pupils. With these weapons, the march of civilization has been irresistible, carrying devastation through ignorance, the foundation of superstition, idolatry and caste, and though idolatry and superstition are "like the stones and brick of a huge fabric, and caste is the cement which closely binds the whole," yet when once the common foundation is undermined, the whole fabric must ere long crumble into fragments. The manners, customs and habits of those who are most enlightened, have already undergone total renovation. Hinduism has been tottering in her foundation. Atheism has disappeared or rather been nipped in the bud. Besides, hundreds who have left the Institution with substantial or solid acquirements are anything but Hindus, they are really Christians in their hearts.

To the results already enumerated so far as intellectual improvements and external reformation are concerned, I may presume finally to add real conversions in immediate connection with the Institution. Individuals have been led openly to renounce their idols and to embrace "Jesus Christ" as their Saviour, under circumstances vindicating the sincerity of this small band of converts. Several have prematurely been cut off by the cold hand of death to the deep regret of all, and of those who are spared, some have chosen honorable professions and the rest are catechists and ordained ministers, with the exception of a few who are still in the Institution conducting their studies with vigour. They have all borne excellent and exemplary characters.

In conclusion, I cannot pass over this opportunity without the warmest though inadequate (adequate being impracticable)

acknowledgment of the deep debt of gratitude due by this country, and particularly by those who have been brought up in their Institution to the philanthropic people of Scotland for the greatest of all obligations, intellectual blessings, conferred upon them by this valuable seminary.

*Calcutta, 5th November*, 1860.

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## A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION PURSUED IN ENGLAND,

BY

BABOO GOPAL CHUNDER BANERJEE.

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[The writer of this essay, which was too long to print *in extenso*, has kindly furnished the following synopsis of it.—H. W.]

This essay begins with general remarks on Education, dwelling upon its vast importance and extensive usefulness, and upon its progress from an empirical art to a profound science, and naming the great men who have by their works contributed to introduce new and improved methods of education into schools. A brief account is then given of the progress of education in England from the earliest times when Christianity was introduced into it to the latest period. At the end of this account a list in chronological order is given of the various societies, chiefly religious, which were or have been established for the diffusion of education in England.

The main subject of the essay 'The Systems of Education pursued in England,' is then introduced and a notice is given of each of the principal systems in the following order.

I.—Pestalozzian system.
II.—The Infant School system.
III.—The Training system.
IV.—The Tripartite system.
V.—The Monitorial system.
VI.—The Pupil Teacher system.

The notice of the Pestalozzian system commences with a brief account of the life of Pestalozzi and prefaces a description of the main futures of that system with the following observations.

As the result of his investigations, Pestalozzi assumed as a fundamental principle, that education, in order to fit a man for his destination, must proceed according to the laws of nature. It should assist the course of natural development instead of doing it violence. It should watch and follow its progress, instead of attempting to cut out a path agreeably to a preconceived system.

He adapted the term intuition to designate the mode of instruction by the senses. The child is first led to observe, to examine, to name, and to describe common objects, beginning with simple facts chiefly relating to their external appearance, according to the age of the child, or his talent for observation. From these he is led onwards by a gradual process, during which he becomes conscious of the means afforded by his own powers when properly acted upon, for the acquisition of knowledge. The child's impressions are derived from his own positive acquaintance with things, and not from the mere dictum of his teachers, and consequently they are likely to be more permanent, more to engage his thoughts, than if mere words were communicated to him. The application of the intuitive principle to every branch of a boy's studies would facilitate and render pleasant his progress, and the wide extent to which it is applicable is well known to those instructors who acknowledge it as a guide and employ it as an auxiliary in their labours.

Next after mentioning the various principles of the system, its defects are pointed out. In this system of education, simplicity was carried too far and continued too long. The study of Mathematics was commenced too early and occupied so much time, that little space was left to other studies; and consequently a harmonious development of the faculties was not properly secured. From the prevalence of mathematical studies, boys became habituated to place greater reliance on demonstrative evidence than on historical or religious truths. Historical evidence was altogether disregarded. Pestalozzi himself used to say that history was but a "tissue of lies," though he opposed the abuse of the Socratic method made in some schools, he himself could not avoid committing the same error in treating of moral and religious subjects, in which he endeavoured to draw forth from the pupils more than what had been previously communicated to them.

Whatever may be the defects of his system, it cannot be denied that Pestalozzi was a devoted enthusiast in the cause of popular education, and that he has successfully combated by his example and works to remove that prejudice against popular education which was founded upon the wrong and absurd notion that obedience and allegiance are the true fruits

of ignorance. "He denounced the ancient partial instruction of the child. A child is not all ear and tongue; to listen and to commit to memory, merely for the sake of repeating, is one of the most debasing tasks to which a human being can be subjected. He moreover strongly urged upon sovereigns and parents the solemn duties imposed upon them by the Creator of bringing up the youth committed to their charge. He thus aroused princes to a sense of their duty. Kings soon began to provide for the education of the people, and to recognize it as one of the most important functions of their office."

The following sentences are extracted from the brief notice of the Infant school system. In the Infant school system, instruction is never to be separated from amusement and pleasure. The great object of an Infant teacher should be to cultivate the infant faculties by gratifying virtuous instincts. In an infant school, the instruction should have a constant regard to health, physical development, and amusement. Children are happy little creatures, they have no regret for the past, no care for the present, and no fear for the future; the present is to them all enjoyment, and hope brightens their future, they know no disappointment.

'Alas! regardless of their doom
The little victims play;
No sense have they of ills to come
No care beyond to day.'

To their tender age, constraint and severity are unnecessary and prejudicial. The habit of study and undivided attention must be acquired slowly. Long continuous lessons to them are therefore useless and injurious; exercise must be followed by repose, to prevent fatigue and to sustain interest and vigour in the exercise. The extreme susceptibility of their tender mind to receive impressions from without, requires from their teachers, the greatest care and attention to secure their mind from evil influences, and to instil into it virtuous principles; for

If virtue we plant not, vice will fill the place
As rankest weeds the richest soils deface.

The difficulty of the teacher's profession is inversely to the age of his pupils. Infants and young children therefore ought never to be committed to the charge of incompetent teachers. Little or no attention appears to be given to this important point in all the schools (Government or private) in this country. The first or entrance class is invariably left to the charge of novices or worthless teachers. And in no country is the want of good infant schools and of efficient infant teachers more felt than in this, where mothers, the real educators of infants,

are, through their utter ignorance, quite incompetent to discharge so important and high a duty.

The school must be agreeable to the children, and to this end all arrangements ought to be directed. Instruction is to be given by means of pictures, maps, objects, diagrams and models, in order to make it pleasing to the pupils. Indeed, children should be made cheerful and happy in the school so that they may not feel their absence from home. And nothing is more conducive to this end, than a love in children for their school, their teacher, their lessons, and their associates. Order, neatness, love, between the teacher and pupil, and between the pupils themselves should prevail in the school.

They (infants) ought never to be alone, but always in company with those of their age. Their sympathies are then awakened, and their selfishness is restrained. It is in the infant school, that by judicious management all the noxious weeds may be eradicated before they gain any strength of growth, while every good propensity may be fostered and nourished by the kindly warmth of affection and sympathy.

The following are the remarks with which the notice of this system concludes. No argument is at present needed to establish the utility of infant schools. Their utility is sufficiently attested by their number and extensive popularity in Europe and America. In Germany there is a class of schools called Kribben or Cradle and Garden Schools, where infant children are taken care of and instructed. But unfortunately for India, for British India, her infants are little thought of, no special care is taken for their growth, physical, intellectual or moral. With the exception of a very few solitary infant schools, instituted and conducted by the benevolent body of Missionaries, the great, real friends and zealous, disinterested promoters of education, the country can boast of no rightly constituted infant school. One school for infants was established by Government in February 1839 at Hooghly which was most ably and efficiently conducted by its head-master, the late Mr. Gomess, a man of extremely amiable and engaging manners. Those who witnessed his mode of teaching and managing the infant mind, cannot but feel deep regret for the loss of his valuable services and for the abolition of the school itself in 1851 after his death. The vivid impression which Mr. Gomess's mode of training infants has left in our minds often excites in us great indignation against the *Gurus* of our indigenous schools, and against our ignorant countrymen who, without a feeling of grudge engage them to train their dearest pledges. These *Gurus*, most of whom the want of rain or the failure of a rice crop has driven from the cares of the field and

the plough to the trade of a teacher, bring with them no other recommendation than that of utter ignorance, accompanied with fierceness and roughness of manner, and great humility of expectation which in certain cases never rises beyond food and clothing.

The notice of the training system begins with an account of its commencement by David Stow in 1826, and then dwells upon 'Sympathy of numbers,' 'Picturing out Ellipses' and 'Simultaneous teaching and answering,' as the main principles of the system, and concludes with a few remarks on the Gallery and the Playground, the two absolutely necessary appendages to a training school.

The notice of the Monitorial system begins with an account of its origin, its introduction into England, and its extensive adoption in different countries. The objections raised against the system by David Stow are then stated, and the advantages to be derived from it are thus described. "Monitors in some respects prove better teachers than adults, they sympathise more readily with the boys they teach, they are more patient in imparting instruction, and they are fertile in expedients for explaining and illustrating what they know, they communicate with greater facility, and learn while they teach; they often willingly undertake the labour of teaching and adhere more closely than adults to the plans and directions of the superintendent, and thus secure unity of system and action which is so essential to success in schools. The intermediate position which monitors occupy between the teacher and the pupil is also profitable to both. The teacher freed from the labour of giving instruction in the mechanical parts, can devote greater attention to the higher branches, and the boys not being allowed to grow listless and inattentive through want of work, are unitedly and agreeably engaged in their own improvement, in increasing the happiness of their teacher, and in promoting the usefulness of the school. The moral advantages of this system are also many. It engenders in the boys a habit of industry which is favourable to the cultivation of other virtues, from the interchanges of benefits which it requires, the benevolent affections are cherished and called into exercise, the use and importance of reducing our knowledge to practice are also appreciated and the extensive responsibility of monitors, which gives them an opportunity for the manifestation of good and evil principles, is highly useful as a means for the discovery of character and developing the moral faculties."

The notice of the Pupil Teacher system shews its advantages, the term of the apprenticeship, the rules regarding Pupil teachers and the rates of allowance they receive.

The account of Normal Schools describes their number, constitution and the great good which they have wrought by creating in some degree a standard of efficiency towards which nearly all the public schools in England are now tending. The essay then shows how popular education has been steadily advancing during the last fifty years, notwithstanding the religious nature of the schools, and the numerous religious sects into which the nation is divided. In speaking of the system of school inspection and the grant-in-aid system the defects of the latter are thus pointed out. By the system of grants-in-aid, poor and friendless places are not at all benefited. The distribution of funds supplied by all, being made to depend upon local contributions, tends to establish by the aid of the state an educational monopoly, to render help just where it is superfluous, and to make the tax least fruitful to the places and persons most in need of aid. Moreover, while the social circumstances of the multitude remain unfriendly to their intellectual and moral progress, success in these economic attempts to elevate the masses of population by mere elementary education, must be slow and doubtful. Thousands of children enter schools, and leave them at a very early age for want of means to prosecute their studies any longer or for the opportunities that offer for employing their early labours. Thousands of parents for want of social, moral and intellectual elevation, are quite unable to appreciate the advantages of a high education. And many may very reasonably ask, What delight can education give to those who, leaving school where taste has been created and appetite excited, find that the treasures and sweets of literature are far beyond their reach? "However carefully," says Horace Mann, "the tree of knowledge may be planted, and however diligently tended, it can never grow to fruitfulness or beauty in an uncongenial soil; concurrently with all direct attempts to cultivate the popular intelligence there needs be a vigorous endeavour to alleviate if not remove that social wretchedness which blights all educational promise, and to shed around the growing popular mind an affluence of wholesome light on which the half-developed plant may feed and thrive." The following sentences are extracted from the general remarks with which the essay concludes.

Popular education, it appears, is an idea of very recent origin. The ancients had and the moderns, previous to the present century, may be said to have had, no idea of popular education. From the time of Pestalozzi a foundation was laid for the education of the people, and princes began to provide for a general diffusion of education and its blessings. The monitorial and the

pupil teacher system also served in a greater measure to overcome the difficulties arising from want of funds to provide assistant teachers. It was perceived too that the first step towards any improvement in popular education was the preparing of trained teachers for elementary schools in Colleges instituted for that especial purpose. Thus was recognized the important principle that the art of teaching like other arts can only be acquired by practice and an early attention to the best methods of communicating knowledge. Universities may produce scholars, divines, and philosophers, but they cannot train schoolmasters. It is the peculiar province of the professors of a training College to effect this, by explaining the principles of education with regard to the methods of teaching, by showing the usefulness of these methods in the actual management of a school, and by communicating such knowledge as will make the teachers useful in their profession.

Were the English Government disposed to receive at once under her care and protection all the poor and helpless children of the soil, and were she to establish free schools for their education; how many geniuses, doomed for want of proper culture to live and die in insignificance would then rush forth into notice, make themselves illustrious and add new glory and renown to their mother-country. Then and then only would the high and noble wishes of the poet Wordsworth, expressed in the following lines, be fully crowned with success.

'O! for the coming of that glorious time
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this Imperial Realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation on her part to teach
Them who are born to serve her and obey;
Binding herself by statute to secure,
For all the children whom her soil maintains,
The rudiments of letters, and inform
The mind with moral and religious truth,
Both understood and practised, so that none,
However destitute, be left to droop
By timely culture unsustained or run
Into a wild disorder, or be forced
To drudge through weary life without the help
Of intellectual implements and tools,
A savage horde among the civilized,
A servile band among the lordly free.'

# REPORT

OF

# THE SECTION OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY,

BY

E. B. COWELL, ESQ.

*January 10th*, 1861.

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When our esteemed President first introduced his plan of establishing sections for encouraging private industry and research, we all felt that it was an experiment, which only the future could prove. We all saw how important it was that such a scheme should succeed, but we could not tell what unfortunate circumstances might spring up to interfere with our anticipated results. The whole plan was *new*, and it depended for its success on the co-operation of others, who might not at first realise all the advantages to be derived from it. Most of our members too had but little leisure, and it could hardly perhaps be expected that they should come forward to devote that little to a plan which might after all prove a failure.

And yet in one sense a failure it could not be, if the attempt were but made with the earnest heart of the true student. Knowledge is worth pursuing for its own sake, as well as for its ulterior results, and in this point of view it can never disappoint its true-hearted votary. And it was to carry out this idea, that we instituted the plan of sections from the first. We saw a large and ever-growing amount of native talent, which lay round us like a wide region of soil newly cleared and ready for cultivation, but which we feared might be left untilled or only partially sown, and thus yield no due produce to its owner. It was our aim to stimulate a process of self-culture in the members of our various sections, by which each might carry on for himself the work of self-education—a work which properly then first begins, when the student has bid farewell to the lecture-room and henceforth follows his own path by himself. It is then that our sections are to take him up—not as the passive recipient of lectures, but as himself the

living agent to carry out their plans,—the members are to act as the Society's eyes and hands and feet, in carrying on the diverging researches which our various sections embrace.

None can deny that such a system (whether it be connected with this Society or not is of inferior moment)—none, I say, can deny that some such system is essential to the healthy development of the educated natives of Bengal. We know that the primeval sentence has doomed mankind only after labour to reap; and it is by the division of labour alone that we can hope to reap the fruits of the fields of knowledge. It is so in every department of human knowledge,—the solitary student may initiate, but it is only by the combined efforts of many that any permanent results can be won. Life is too short and our powers too limited for much individual success—and it is only by uniting our efforts that we can really grapple with our difficulties, and then we do not *add* but *multiply*.

Now *originality* is the great lack in the present state of the Bengali mind. I have a very high opinion of the native intellect, and I am confident that the future will see it achieve great results; but at present it seems to me to be in a far from healthy state. It has hitherto lain as it were passive in our hands, imbibing and perhaps assimilating the nutriment given it, but giving few signs of living energy and original vigour. We have had in consequence many admirable translations,—first-rate adaptations of already existing materials, but beyond this there is a *blank*. If I look for some books which shall be the bonâ fide utterance of the Bengali educated mind, I can hardly name a volume which has any claim to such a title. But, if our English education is to be really useful, it must lead to some such result as that—if it does not bring out Bengali originality, our education is only a failure after all. The friends of native education have no desire to see the Hindu anglicised,—by all means let the educated Hindu keep himself true to his country; but let him seek to raise that country from the torpor in which centuries, aye millennia, have sunk it. This is not to be done by blindly imitating the past,—India has tried her own field and has exhausted it, and the simple imitation of the past is not what India wants to renovate her. The old Hindu thinkers were giants for their day,—but like the giants of Greece and Rome, their day is over,—and modern India, like modern Europe, has need of a firmer hand, to guide her in her present path. Nor must she simply follow the West, as it seems to me too many Hindus are contented to do, as if a denationalised Hindu were the true result to which our education were to tend. But this is not the result which will really benefit India. What India wants is that the oriental

should remain the oriental—with an occidental training beneath him.

Let it not be said that England or Englishmen are indifferent to Hindu originality—only last year we saw a signal proof to the contrary. I was reading but the other day a work on Maxima and Minima by a Hindu of the North-Western Provinces—which has the merit of announcing a new and simpler method of solving a well known class of problems which have hitherto been considered as belonging to the higher analysis. Ram Chandra's problem was not of great moment,—it was no discovery like old Napier's in his tower of Merchistoun, or Newton's in his fellow's rooms at Trinity, but it was a genuine discovery after all, and that book has been published in England at the expense of the Government, and one of the first of English mathematicians, De Morgan, has written an introduction to explain the merits of the work.

Now why is Ram Chandra of Delhi a solitary instance in India? how is it that our education has called up no similar efforts here?

We are not confined to mathematics,—the old Hindu proverb says that time is boundless and the world is wide,—* and as far back as history or monuments allow us to trace the one, and as wide as science and discovery allow us to map out the other,—so far and so wide are the bounds of our possible researches. Still, however, for obvious reasons, the proper field for our sections is *Asia*, and in Asia of course its more immediate province is India. Our researches are not likely to be successful in European subjects,—these of course can be far better pursued in Europe, and we are not likely to discover at a distance things which have escaped the observation of those on the spot. But in India our members are at *home*, and I shall be greatly disappointed, if in future years, our sections do not here produce important results. In every department of Indian inquiry, we find a boundless field open. In my own section I am sure that the subjects of interest are infinite, and every member, if he does but bring a hearty *will* to the work, will find ample materials upon which to spend his labour and time. And it is this which we want in India—and we are entitled to expect it from the educated Hindus. They are bound to use their talents and acquirements for the improvement of their native land—and every attempt made to advance the bounds of our knowledge in whatever direction, is an immediate as well as a prospective gain. It is *immediate*, because every item of truth is valuable,—every new fact discovered is an onward step in the wide expanse of the unknown

* Málatí-Mádhava.

which surrounds us. It is also a *prospective* gain, for every fact has innumerable relations to other facts, and we can never tell beforehand in what unexpected ways it may throw light on what seemed at first quite unconnected with it. Thus for instance the geometrical researches of Plato's school into the properties of the conic sections were at first purely theoretical—there was hardly a practical consequence deduced from them; and for nearly two thousand years, the inquiry remained a curious speculation for the intellect, but apparently unconnected with human life and barren. But when once Kepler had discovered that, to use Whewell's fine phrase, "the stars in their courses obey the laws of the conic sections," these theorems which for ages had belonged to the region of abstract speculation, were at once transferred to that of the intensely practical; and every truth which Plato's school had discovered, lured on only by the disinterested love of science, became a secure basis for the researches of the astronomer, and, through astronomy, became linked with those mighty practical interests which depend upon it.

And beside these immediate and prospective gains to science, there is the still more important intellectual and moral gain to the members themselves,—the habit formed of self-discipline and patient toil, when removed from the more immediate stimulants of emulation and collegiate distinction;—the love of knowledge for its own sake, apart from the honours or rewards which it may bring with it,—and the desire to raise one's fellow countrymen by honestly taking up the burden which falls to one's own share, and manfully performing one's own allotted task in the general plan. In this way we shall be turning our education to its proper use,—not merely confining it to the period of youth, but letting it stretch on year by year, throughout our whole lives. And in this way, the educated Hindus will tell on their countrymen, and our education produce real results. To use the illustration of Prof. Wilson, it has hitherto been as the churning of the ocean in old Hindu legend; there has been movement and change and disturbance, but we have a right to look for still further results, and it is now high time to expect that our efforts shall at last bring to the surface, the gems of original fancy and the amrita of independent thought.

I will now proceed to give a little account of the proceedings of the Philosophy and Literature Section. Early in the year, a meeting was held at which different members undertook to prepare papers on a variety of subjects, but I am sorry to say that only two have been sufficiently completed to be presented to the Society this evening, but I may add that both these

essays are highly creditable to their authors, and are just the sort of productions which we wish our Section to produce. These are, the one by Baboo Grish Chunder Ghose on the present state of dramatic representations* among the natives of Bengal, the other by Baboo Taraprosad Chatterjea, B. A. on the rise, progress and doctrine of Chaitanya, a remarkable Hindu reformer who rose up nearly four hundred years ago (contemporary with Luther in Europe) and propagated his tenets with remarkable energy and success over many and far distant provinces of India. Before I proceed to read extracts from these two essays, however, I would beg leave to make a few suggestions as to future subjects for the Section.

I have noted down a few topics which occurred to me as offering subjects for inquiry, and perhaps at some future time some one may take them up. Many of them will require Sanscrit, but they will also require English, and above all, the habits of study which are given by an English education. We want that our members should combine, according to the principle of the division of labour, and let each contribute his own part towards the joint result. I wish we could see many literary partnerships in our Sections,—Hindu Beaumonts and Fletchers,—to carry on united researches on one common plan. In this way, we should not merely double our powers but increase them tenfold. Thus for instance, if one could contribute the knowledge of Sanscrit and another that of English, the two combined would find that their union was indeed strength.

1. Few books of the kind have been more extensively read than Professor Wilson's Sects of the Hindus, and it is chiefly based on two old Hindu works, the *Sarvadars'ana Sangraha* by Mádhaváchárya, the great Hindu Statesman of Bijayanagar in the 14th century, and the *Sankaradigvijaya* of S'ankara Áchárya by his disciple Anantánanda Giri. Besides these, there is a third work, another *Digvijaya* of S'ankara, in verse by Mádhaváchárya, the author of the first work. One of these, the first, has been printed in Sanscrit, and the Professor of Philosophy in the Sanscrit College has lately published a Bengali translation of it,—the others at present exist only in MS. Now we want translations or analyses of all these works. The first describes the various systems of Hindu philosophy current in the 14th century, and its author should be especially reverenced by Hindus, as it was under his auspices, as the prime minister of Bijayanagar, that the great Hindu movement in

* As the author has promised to add a second part, giving some further information on this interesting subject, the publication of the present part has been deferred, in order that it may be all presented together.

the Deccan took place, which led to the establishment about 1340 of the independent kingdom of Carnata and gave such an impulse in every direction to the revival of Hindu learning in the Deccan.

2. The other two works give the legendary history of one of the most remarkable men that India ever produced,—S'ankara Áchárya who flourished in the 8th century; and though they are full of exaggerated accounts, yet they undoubtedly contain abundant materials which, if carefully analysed and critically examined, would throw much light upon the state of India in the 8th and 9th centuries,—a period now utterly dark.

3. A comparison between Hindu and European Rhetoric would be found full of interest. I need only mention one little fact which seems to me peculiarly suggestive, the wide difference between the European and Indian meaning of the term *Rhetoric*. This difference at once suggests the diverging nature of their respective histories,—in the one country the word has risen into oratory and become connected with the names of the greatest statesmen and the highest political interests, in the other it has languished in the region of taste and become more and more cut off from all contact with daily life and its realities.

4. A similar comparison might be instituted between certain parts of European and Indian logic. The great interest attaching to the latter is its originality,—it is the only logic in the world which has arisen unconnected with Aristotle; and hence however its method may be superseded by Whately or Mill, it will always have a value to the student of the history of the human mind; and a comparison of these two independent systems will always be interesting.

5. A careful research into the local traditions and antiquities of the different zillahs of Bengal, the result being embodied in the form of such histories as have been written of Delhi, Jaunpore, and Dacca.

6. Philological researches into Bengali, Uriya and Hindi, especially a mutual comparison; and a comparative grammar for the modern dialects of northern India derived from the Sanscrit, similar in plan to Bopp's grand work on the six ancient Indo-Germanic languages, or like the later works which have been written on the romance languages of modern Europe.

Nor are there wanting subjects to interest our Musalmán members. I have only noticed four, but it would be easy to add to their number.

7. An analysis of the Akhláki Násiri, a celebrated Muham-

madan work on Ethics written in the 12th century by Násir ud Din of Tús in Bokhara.

8. Indian history presents many interesting episodes which have never been thoroughly examined. Thus I might mention the history of Masáúd, the son of Mahmud of Ghazni, written by his Secretary Baihaki, which is now being printed by the Asiatic Society, and an analysis of which would be very valuable.

9. Similarly there are many materials for Akber's reign which have never been examined. I would only name one,—the poems of *Ghazzáli*, of which Dr. Sprenger says "His poems would throw much light upon the philosophy of the time of Akber, and it is therefore very desirable that they should be collected and preserved."

10. Lastly, there is Jehangir's autobiography, of which it has been said, "This autobiography is undoubtedly one of the most curious and interesting works in the whole range of the Muhammadan literature of India, presenting as it does, a complete picture of the private life of one of the most powerful and despotic monarchs of the world, of his own views, moral and political, of the manners of his court and of the chief events of his reign." Major Price's translation, published in London in 1829, was made from a spurious edition of the original, and gives only a garbled account of the first two years of his reign. The authentic edition goes down to the seventeenth or eighteenth year.

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## ESSAY ON CHAITANYA,

BY

BABOO TARAPROSAD CHATTERJEA, B. A.

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Was the Hindu mind never roused from the state of dogmatic slumber in which it seems to have been reposing for centuries? Let the life of Chaitanya answer this question.

Chaitanya was born at Nuddea in the year, 1484. Prodigies, it is said, announced the advent of the wondrous child. As soon as he saw the light, the whole world, his biographers relate, set up a shout of "Haribole." His father Jaggannatha Misra was an emigrant from Sylhet. The Misras are a branch

of the Brahman clan of 'Vaidics'* who, though not sprung from the five venerable worthies invited by Adisoor—the progenitors of the majority of the high caste Brahmans of Bengal,—claim co-ordinate lineage and honours with these Brahmans, The Vaidics of Bhátparah opposite Chinsurah are the spiritual guides of some of the noblest Brahman families in Bengal. It is necessary to be explicit on this head, as many of the enemies of Chaitanya represent the schism of which he was the author, as a fanatical outbreak of the lowest populace headed by one sprung from its dregs.

Numerous anecdotes are related of the precocious wisdom of the child. One day his mother finding him engaged in eating earth scolded him sternly. "Why, mother," said the boy, "the best sweetmeat is but a modification of earth." On another occasion when he was particularly naughty, she ran after him to drub him into duty. He took refuge in a spot full of castaway kitchen pots, and when she commanded him to go to the river and purify himself by ablution, he replied that the cast-off vessels were not unclean, and that 'what defileth a man is in the man.'

These anecdotes rest indeed on a slender foundation; but are nevertheless interesting as having sprung out of a contemplation of the subsequent career of Chaitanya. Throughout his life he maintained what one greater than he had maintained before that "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth this defileth a man." In early childhood he was remarkable for some of those little mischievous pranks which lend such a strange interest to the same period of Krishna's life. The girls of Nuddea, like Hindu girls of the present day in other parts, used to go at the usual hour of bathing to the banks of the river with fruits, flowers and sweetmeat to be offered to Shiva. Chaitanya used often to present himself before them saying *he* was their god, and when the offerings were unusually tempting to transfer the contents of their little neat baskets to his own mouth. One of these girls Lackshmi afterwards became his consort. Under the tuition of Pundit Gangá Dása, he made a considerable progress in learning. The eulogy of his biographer and disciple Brindabun Dása, after making every allowance for the Boswellism natural to a person in his circumstances, does not appear to be wholly unmerited. His favourite study was the Sreemad bhágavata—the book which coloured his future destiny so deeply. In the Nyaya philosophy, hte forte of his native town, he was so proficient that he is

* Literally those who hold the Vedas to be the Revelation.

reputed to have composed a commentary on the Gautama Sutras now lost.* However that be, he never made a parade of his learning. On several occasions when the discourse turned on religion and philosophy, his disciples displayed considerable erudition. Chaitanya, however, generally contented himself with the passive part of a listener, now and then signifying his assent with a nod or an "aye," and when particularly moved, rising and giving the speaker a hearty embrace, often indeed would a verse or two from the Sreemad bhágavata drop from his lips. But the only occasion on which we find him citing tenets of the higher philosophy is the occasion of the conversion of Sárba Bhauma Bhattácharya, when he quotes two pantheistic passages from the Bhagavadgita.

Lackshmi having died of a snake-bite, he married another amiable girl of the name of Vishnupriá. That the above incident might not be without its romance, the *absence* of Chaitanya, it is said, took the form of a snake and caused the death. About this time took place a great revolution in his life.

His birth place is one of the most remarkable places in India. The capital of Bengal before Bakhtyar Khilji planted the crescent on its walls, it still retains its preeminence as the intellectual dictator of a great part of Eastern India. Raghu Nandana of Nuddea is the lawgiver of Bengal, and his commentaries—we might say his Institutes—are more frequently referred to here than the Institutes of Manu or the Institutes of Yagnavalka. The auspicious days and hours fixed by the astrologers and almanac makers of Nuddea regulate festivals, journeys and ceremonies throughout Bengal. A'gama Bágisha of Nuddea instituted the Kali Poojah festival, and the first worshipper of the goddess Jaggaddhátri, was the celebrated raja Krishna Chandra of Nuddea.† Raghunatha Siromani, the subtlety of whose dialectics awed the greatest pundits of Benares and Mithilá into admiration and silence, and who has left a commentary on the Gautama Sutras at once the subtlest and the most profound, was a native of Nuddea. Tantras ascribed to Shiva have been proved to be forgeries concocted by Nuddea pundits. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that

* A tradition at Nuddea ascribes the loss to Chaitanya's generosity. One day while crossing the river in a ferry boat he happened to have for his fellow passenger a Brahman, whose sole hope of advancement in the world was a similar commentary that had cost him the unceasing toil of years, and who apprehensive that Chaitanya's work might eclipse and supersede his own, earnestly besought his patronage. Chaitanya, who understood his meaning, instantly cast into the river a copy of his own work that happened to be with him. The story is improbable.

† Tattwabodhini Pattrika.

Nuddea has for good and evil exercised and is still exercising an immense influence. Such a spot as this nurtured the young mind of Chaitanya. About the time he was to set out in life, the worship of the Shakti had reached its last stage of corruption. It was celebrated with orgies that might well put the votaries of the Bacchanalia and Dionysia, of the Moabite Chemosh and the Phœnician Astarte, to the blush. It seems to have, if not originated, at least very considerably improved, in Nuddea, whence it was very likely to spread abroad with fearful rapidity. The reforms of Chaitanya were due to a reaction against this degenerate worship of the Shakti. Vaishnavism, early instilled into his mind by the Sreemad bhágavata, was to be remodelled and presented to the world in its purity, and the obscene rites of Bhabáni would die a natural death. For a year he could do nothing but hold nocturnal meetings with a few congenial spirits in the house of his friend Sreebása, and sing Kirtuns* in honour of Krishna. The votaries of Bhabáni tried constantly to interrupt their devotions by yells and howls outside. Gopála Chápál, one of the worst of this mischievous crew, stole one night into the house, and put in the front hall pieces of plantain leaf, a number of China roses (জবাপুষ্প,) turmeric, red lead, red sandal wood, an earthen bottle full of spirit and other requisites for the worship of Bhabáni. Next morning Sreebása called a sweeper to cast away the articles intended for the celebration of impure rites. And the third night after Gopála had insulted the majesty of the god of Brindában, he was, says Krishna Dása, a leper. Struck with remorse Gopála went to Chaitanya and standing before him in an abject posture with the palms joined, humbly craved for mercy. The offence of the penitent was forgiven him, and Gopála became whole and a convert. Some of the sayings of Chaitanya on this occasion, are characteristic. Seducing any one into the worship of Bhabáni, says he, is an offence punishable with the torments of the hell called Rauvava for ten millions of generations, and his mission is to exterminate impiety and establish the true faith. (Chaitanya Charitamrita, B. I. ch. 17).

A year passed away. Chaitanya and his friends acquired greater boldness, betook themselves to preaching in the streets and even parading through them with bands of Kirtunneers. They carried with them the sympathies of a large

* Kirtuns : songs in praise of some god or hero. The instrumental music accompanying them is that of (1) one or more pairs of cymbals (2) and the Mridanga, a drum of the shape of two cones united at their bases with their apices cut off.

portion of the population; but a strong minority was opposed to them. Some of these latter concluded very wisely that the Kirtuns were meant to subvert Hinduism; for, argued they, there were Kirtuns in honor of Mangal Chandee, there were Kirtuns in honor of Manasa; but no such thing as a Kirtun in honor of Krishna was ever heard of; such an innovation, therefore, could have no other end than the utter subversion of their venerable faith.*

Thus reasoned many a fellow townsman of the archlogician Siromani and these by no means the least intelligent of the community. One day while Chaitanya and his band were traversing the market-place singing the praises of Hari, two brothers Jagai and Mádhai, inflamed with deadly hatred against the obtrusive innovations, mustered a strong body of the adversaries of the sect and began a scuffle which resulted in many a broken head and broken mridanga.† Short, however, was their triumph. The fury of an evil conscience tormented them into repentance and from deadly enemies they became devoted followers of Chaitanya. A collision, scarcely less serious, took place soon after between the Cazee of Nuddea and the reformers. But victory, as before, was with Chaitanya. One night the Cazee dreamed a dream that a lion was breaking his head with his paw even as he had broken the mridangas of the Vaishnavas. This frightened him into toleration. In a conversation held with Chaitanya sometime after, he besought the great Vaishnava to forgive him for the sake of Nilámvara Chakravarti, Chaitanya's maternal grandfather, whom the Cazee by way of compliment called "chacha" and really regarded as uncle. Chaitanya exposed the falsity of the Koran and dwelt on the absolute necessity of faith in Hari for the salvation of mankind. The Cazee felt convinced of the absurdity of his own creed, and like Agrippa of old was almost persuaded to be a convert.

Thus passed away the first twenty-four years of the life of Chaitanya. In 1509, shortly after his return from a pilgrimage to Gaya he went to Culna and turned Sanyasi. The event affected his family very deeply. He was the only hope of his aged mother. Of the eight daughters she had borne all had

* আসি কহে হিন্দু ধর্ম্ম ভাঙ্গিল নিমাই।
যে কীর্ত্তন প্রবৃত্ত হইল কভু শুনি নাই॥
মঙ্গলচণ্ডী বিষহরী করি জাগরণ।
তাতে নৃত্য গীত বাদ্য যজ্ঞ আচরণ॥ &c. Chait. Charit. I. 17.

† Every Sraddh of note in Bengal is celebrated with Kirtuns which commemorate this incident. হরি বোল, হরি বোল বোলে কে যায় মোদের বাজার দিয়ে। ওরে জগাই মাধাই তোরা খেয়ে আয় &c.

died in infancy. His elder brother Vishwarupa had become a Sanyasi some years before, and a child becoming a wandering monk is a child dead to all intents and purposes. It is said that Shachi had an ominous presentiment of the calamity that was to befall her, that for some days she would never suffer her child to be out of her sight, that the night before he went to Culna, she had kept him as close to her bosom as if he were her infant babe. All her precautions, however, were of no avail. At the dead of the night as soon as he heard a whistling sound, the signal he had concerted with his friends, he stole away from her side and was in full speed towards Culna. Shachi wept bitterly and her lament is the theme of many a popular ballad, the touching burden of one of which is, "কোথা গেলিরে নিমাই, আয় বাছা কোড়ে করি আয়" "Where art thou gone, my Nemie ?* come back to my knees, my child." And to this day, in Bengal, no Hindu female with one child would take a morsel of rice or a drop of water before dawn after she hears a whistling sound in the night.

Chaitanya, as will be seen hereafter, was devotedly attached to his mother. But a voice higher than her's called him to renounce the world, and he obeyed the call. We shall soon see how far he subsequently relaxed from the rigour of the code which enjoins a Sanyasi to forget his past life as completely as if his soul had trasmigrated into another body.

Now took place one of the most memorable events in his life, an event which promised to inaugurate a new era of Hinduism. On his coming to the village of Ram Calee near Gour, such multitudes flocked to hear him preach as to attract the attention of Government, which, however, finding on inquiry that it was but a hermit who caused all this bustle, took no further notice of the matter. Among the minds in which the seed took root, were those of two Mahomedan brothers Dabir and Khash. At midnight they went to his quarters with the tokens of the most abject submission on them—straw between their teeth, cloths round their necks and tears in their eyes, and addressed him thus: "Purifier of the fallen (পতিত পাবন,) low in descent and occupation, we are afraid of speaking our minds to thee. Saviour of Jágai and Mádhai, have mercy on us. Of Mlech'ha descent, these sinners are incomparably more odious than those lordly Brahmans of Nuddea. Our race has sinned greatly against cows and Brahmans. We are dwarfs standing on tip toe to catch the moon. Stoop to mercy towards us." Chaitanya rose and embraced them. "You are my good old servants," said he, "Vishnu will save

* His first name changed into Sree Kishna Chaitanya on his becoming a Sanyasi.

you; henceforth you shall be known to the world under the names of Rupa and Sanátan."

The act was one of great boldness. Syud Hossien Shah, a descendant of the prophet, was reigning in Gour. The brothers were high in the employ of Government.* And the Mahomedan law punished with death all concerned actively or passively in such conversions. It was plain that the act was one calculated to make Chaitanya the object of the most intense hatred to the whole Mahomedan population. It was also plain that it would make him equally odious to the great body of the Hindu population too. It was an act hitherto unparalleled in the history of India. Kabir and Nanak had indeed taken converts from Moslemdom; but Kabir and Nanak were heresiarchs. Here was a conversion of the lowest Mlech'has to orthodox Hinduism.

From Gour he proceeded to Santipore. During his sojourn there in the house of his disciple Adwaita Achárya, he had an affecting interview with his mother, brought there at his request by Nityananda, afterwards the renowned apostle of Bengal. For a time both mother and child could do nothing but weep. Shachi seated him on her lap and wept again to think that the beautiful curls her maternal vanity had so fondly cherished were no more. "Behave not, my Nemie, my darling, even as your brother Vishwarupa behaves. Forget not the child in the Sanyasi." Chaitanya replied, "Ten millions of generations may elapse, and yet I shall be unable to pay off what I owe you. The body you have tended is your own. At all times I will be ready to do whatever you may command me to do. As a Sanyasi my heart may be weaned from every thing in this world. It never can be weaned from my mother."

Jaggannatha as the Avatar immediately succeeding Krishna was naturally the object of Chaitanya's adoration. Towards his shrine at Nilachala, (Pooree,) therefore, he bent his steps. On his way he gained one of the most distinguished of his proselytes. Accident brought him into contact with Sarbabhouma Bhattachárya, a profound scholar. That enthusiasm, that fascination of manner, that hearty embrace, those love-bespeaking eyes and smiles which succeeded so well with the common people, and even subdued the hearts of men intelligent and learned like Adwaita Achárya, failed to make any impression on the great pundit. The mysticism of the Bhagavadgitá was pressed into his service, and it succeeded remarkably well. Chaitanya began by premising that such learning as Sarbabhouma possessed, was of little use in enabling him to know things divine, and that the one great requisite for the attain-

* The popular story makes them Viziers.

ing of such knowledge was *faith*.* This, so far as it went, was well said. Chaitanya then launched out into a field of downright pantheism,† and ended by expatiating on the infinite love of Hari. By conclusive arguments like these he succeeded in convincing the Pundit that Vishnu was not merely one of the threefold energies of the Supreme Brahm, as was the popular belief, but the Supreme Brahm himself, and as such the sole object of our worship. What a weapon mysticism is, when one has to deal with adversaries bewildered in the maze of schools!

After a short sojourn at Niláchala, he set out on a long course of pilgrimage throughout the Dekkan. He visited the Dandakáranya and other scenes which the poetry of Valmiki has embalmed in the memory of every Hindu. Srirangputtan (Seringapatam) charmed him much; nor did he feel less delighted with bathing in the holy waters of the Cauvery. He continued travelling southward, till he reached Rámeshwara, the Indian terminus of the great bridge by which the Simiæan host of Ráma is said to have gone over to Ceylon. Many proselytes were gained, among whom were a number of Buddhists. In a conference at which many followers of the Sánkya, Vedanta and Pátanjala systems of philosophy were present, Bauddhachárya the chief of the Buddhists received a signal discomfiture from the dialectics of Chaitanya. His conversion, however, was due rather to the miraculous discovery and overthrow of a conspiracy he had formed against Chaitanya than to the logic of the great Vaishnava.

Princes and potentates solicited the favour of his company and were welcome when they sought it personally. He objected, however, strongly to any proposal for his visiting them in

* মনুষ্যাণাং সহস্রেষু কশ্চিদ্যততি সিদ্ধয়ে। যততামপি সিদ্ধানাং কশ্চিন্মাং বেত্তি তত্ত্বতঃ॥

Bhagavatgita, Ch. 7, ver. 3.

Translation of Sridharashwámis' explanatory comment on the above passage.

Without faith in me, it is impossible to know me. Among the innumerable living beings that people the earth, man only possesses the higher faculties. Among men, there are but few, who, by the efficacy of virtues treasured up in past transmigrations can *try* to attain self-knowledge. Of these, few succeed in knowing what their souls are, and of those few who succeed, still fewer can attain through my favour to the knowledge of the universal soul.

† ভূমিরাপোঽনলো বায়ুঃ খং মনো বুদ্ধিরেব চ। অহঙ্কার ইতীয়ং মে ভিন্না প্রকৃতিরষ্টধা।

Bhagavatgita, Ch. 7. ver. 4.

Earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, and intelligence and consciousness are but the eight modifications of my nature.

their courts. When Sarbabhouma brought a proposal like this from Rájá Pratápa Rudra, a devout worshipper of Jaggannátha by the bye, he said,

"The meek man who has set his heart on things divine and who strives to gain the other shore of the sea of Bhaba (the world) should shun women and the worldly-minded as something worse than poison."*

Again.

"The very appearance of women and the worldly is to be dreaded."†

One of his most famous miracles, the curing of the leper Básudeva was performed in the course of this journey. Returning to Niláchala, he found a great number of his disciples ready to accord to him the most enthusiastic reception.

As Sreebása was on the eve of going back to Nuddea, he called him aside one day and said, "My dear Sreebása, present this piece of cloth and this Prasada‡ of Juggannátha's to my mother. Implore her for my sake to forgive me my sin in turning Sanyási, and not having stayed at home to serve her. I have acted foolishly. A foolish child has every right to the forgiveness of his mother." (Chaitanya Charitámrita, B. II. Ch. 15.)

To strengthen the faith of his followers by his presence and exhortations he undertook a journey to Bengal. Near Cuttack he converted a drunken and debauched Mahomedan zemindar whom he is said to have succeeded in reclaiming completely from the paths of vice. Returning to Orissa and spending there a short time, he started for Brindában with a single companion Balabhadra Bhattácharya. He left the beaten track and took an obscure way through the forest to elude his followers, who, he knew, would never part with him. The savage denizens of the wilderness gave way before him. Peacocks attended his journey warbling Hari.

At Jhareekhanda N. West of Orissa, he converted a Mlech'ha tribe of Bheels. On his arrival at Benares, Vedantists, Idealists, and Mahratta Brahmans flocked to see the great Vaishnava of whom the fame went rife in the great metropolis of Hinduism. In a conference with a Vedantist he tried to expose the blindness and inconsistency of the man who, with Brahm, soul, and wisdom constantly on his lips, failed to per-

* নিষ্কিঞ্চনস্য ভগবদ্ভজনোন্মুখস্য পারং পরং জিগমিষোর্ভবসাগরস্য। সন্দর্শনং বিষয়িনামথ যোষিতাঞ্চ হা হন্ত হন্ত বিষভক্ষণতোঽপ্যসাধু॥ Chaitanya Chandroya Nataka, Act VIII. ver. 25.

† আকারাদপি ভেতব্যং স্ত্রীনাং বিষয়ি নামপি। Ditto ditto ver. 26.

‡ Something offered to an idol, the leavings of the dish of some venerable man.

ceive their obvious connection with Hari. It is unnecessary to add that he signally failed.

At Allahabad he was joined by his Mahomedan disciple Rupa. Ever since their conversion, the two brothers were constantly trying to retire from court and spend their lives in devotion. They found royal favour a bar to their spiritual advancement. Rupa made a shift to escape. Sanátan feigned sickness. The king* sent a physician to see him, who reported that he was in good health. He was summoned and asked what he meant by shamming. Sanátan avowed his apostacy from Islam, which he had hitherto been prevented from doing, not from any fear of the consequences that might befal himself, but from anxiety not to wound the feelings of a kind master. In respectful terms, equally remote from the insolent nonchalance of some victims of intolerance and the cringing dishonesty of others, he declared his readiness to submit to any penalty the law might inflict. He was thrown into prison. The royal heart soon, however, relented towards the faithful minister. Freedom was offered him, if he agreed to accompany the king in an expedition against Orissa. He declined the favour, saying that he could not with a safe conscience be accessory to the desecration of a land that contained the shrine of one of the most celebrated incarnations of Vishnu. The king made the incarceration more painful. In the meantime Sanátan had received from his brother a letter urging him not to lose a moment in joining the Mahápravu (as Chaitanya is called by his followers) at Brindában. The letter touched a responsive chord in Sanátan's bosom. With a conscience not altogether Socratic he bribed the jailor with Rs. 7,000 and escaped in disguise. Chaitanya embraced him and repeated the verses.

ন মে ভক্তশ্চতুর্ব্বেদী মদ্ভক্তঃ শ্বপচঃ প্রিয়ঃ।
তস্মৈ দেয়ং ততো গ্রাহ্যং স চ পূজ্যো যথা হ্যহং॥

"Dearer to me is the believing Chandala than the unbeliever versed in the 4 Vedas.
To him we should give, his we should take, he should be venerated even as I am."

He then proceeded to expound to the two brothers the fundamental articles of the Vaishnava creed.

* No where is the name of this king mentioned. The Chaitanya Charitamrita gives but a chronological clue, and states that he was independent. "সনাতন কহে তুমি স্বতন্ত্র গৌড়েশ্বর।" "And Sanatan said, You, the independent lord of Gour." B. II. P. 159.
It must be Syad Hussien Shah who reigned about this time in Gour and did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Lodis.

"Some happy being in the course of his travels through the universe, found out the seed of the creeper of faith. He sowed it. It sprouted. He tended it as a gardener and watered it with streams of Kirtuns. It waxes strong, rises to the empyrean, to Golakadhâma, the paradise of Krishna, and clasps the Kalpabriksha* of his feet."

"There are five stages of faith. The first and lowest is simply *contemplative* (শান্ত) like that of the Rishis Sanaka and Yogendro. The second is *servile* (দাস্য) like that of men generally. The third is *friendly* (সাখ্য) like the feeling with which Sreedâma and the Pándavas regarded Krishna. The fourth is *maternal, paternal* or *filial* (বাৎসল্য) like that of Yashodá, Devaki, &c. The fifth and highest is *amorous* or *loving* (মধুর) like that of Rádhá."

The most orthodox interpretation of the first passage is, that Chaitanya was the gardener who planted the creeper of faith (ভক্তিলতা) and that Gurus have succeeded him in his office of tending the plant. Thus, according to this version, every man to be saved must have the spiritual guidance of a Guru. But the heretical Vaishnava sect of the Spashtabadis scout the idea of the necessity of the spiritual guidance of men of contemptible morals as Gurus too often are, for the salvation of mankind. They are, however, far out-numbered by their opponents. And it cannot be denied that Guru worship is one of the worst features of Vaishnavism as it is. In the second passage, the proper relation between God and man is likened in bold language to the relation between man and wife, the carnal element being left out.

A good Vaishnava is defined to be

"One who is meeker than grass, is as patient as a tree, and always sings the praises of Hari."†

A *good sort* of Vaishnava is

"He who loves God, is a friend to the godly, pities the ignorant and contemns men hardened in impiety."‡

Faith of love (1); is held more than equivalent to good works (2); worship (3); wisdom, (4); ascetic self-denial, (5); abstract contemplation (6); and gifts (7.)

The doctrine of salvation by faith alone is nowhere explicitly, everywhere implicitly, taught.

* A tree that yields whatever fruit is asked of it.

1 প্রেমভক্তি 2 কর্ম্ম 3 তপস্যা 4 জ্ঞান 5 বৈরাগ্য 6 যোগ 7 দান।

† তৃণাদপি সুনীচেন, তরোরিব সহিষ্ণুনা, অমানিনা মানদেন, কীর্ত্তনীয়ঃ সদা হরিঃ Chaitanya Charitamrita.

‡ ঈশ্বরে তদধীনেষু বালিশেষু চ দিষৎসুচ। প্রেম মৈত্রী কৃপাপেক্ষা যঃ করোতি স মধ্যমঃ। Chaitanya Bhagabata.

The philosophy is pantheistic. Salvation or rather redemption (মুক্তি) follows as soon as a man loses the consciousness of his own existence as an individual, and comes to regard the universal soul as the sole entity, and individual souls as nonentities, the creations of Máyá.

But this knowledge is attained not through a process of pure contemplation, of pure intellection as the Vedánta maintains; but through emotion, through love. The higher philosophy does indeed regard the emotions as not wholly useless at the outset; but they are to be discarded as disturbing elements as soon as a man has advanced a certain stage. In the system of Chaitanya, however, love is all in all.

The creed is a system of asceticism. Some of the sayings of Chaitanya already quoted, establish this beyond all doubt. Chaitanya himself and almost all the most devout of his followers, Haridasa, Raghunátha, Rámánanda were all rigid ascetics.* Indeed all Vaishnavas who pretend to extraordinary sanctity call themselves Vairágis (ascetics), though it must be acknowledged that the morals of a large proportion of these men are shamelessly loose, a kind of left hand marriage or rather concubinage being but too common among them.

There can be no doubt that Chaitanya was a kind of sufeist, in whose view the connexion between Krishna and Rádhá was something like the mystical union between Christ and the Church. There are grave Mahomedan doctors who believe that the Anacreonitics of Hafiz and Roumi are the effusions of the sincerest piety, that their apparent carnality is owing to the anxiety of the poets to adapt them to vulgar comprehension by 'likening things immortal to things mortal.' Similar seems to have been Chaitanya's view of the amatory legends in the Sreemadbhágavata. The accomplished priest of Adwaita at Nuddea, whose sincerity I have no reason to question, told me that he was a sufeist, as were all the more intelligent among his brethren. One of his arguments was, that if the connexion between Krishna and Rádhá had been carnal, they would have left some issue to testify to such connexion, which however they have not; that, by presenting the union as at once carnal and fruitless, the Sreemadbhágavata would make its hero impotent, which he says is blasphemous. All this, however well it may speak for the sentiments of the man, speaks

* Of Raghunátha it is said that he never tasted anything sweet and never wore anything but rags.

আজন্ম সে না দিল জিহ্বায় রসের স্পর্শন।
ছিঁড়া কান্থা কাঁথি বিনা না পরে বসন॥

Chait. Char. B. 3.

very little for his penetration; for admitting that an allegorical meaning could be attached to the connexion, what was the use of those gross details in the chapter on Rása Lilá, so revolting to all feelings of delicacy?

From the doctrines of Chaitanya, we turn to his life. In a field near Brindában he converted five Patans. A hymn to Krishna had so affected his nervous system, as to bring on a fit of epilepsy. While prostrate on the ground he was foaming at his mouth, curiosity brought five Patans to the spot to see what was the matter with him. They were observed by ten sowars who were riding at full speed across the field. Pretending to believe that the Patans had poisoned the traveller with the narcotic juice of the solana dhatura, and hoping to extort something from them, they fell to pinioning and torturing the hapless wayfarers.

Krishna Dasa, the Rajput neophyte, who was weeping by the side of his master, interceded strongly on their behalf, and as Chaitanya soon came back to his senses succeeded in effecting their release. A conversation ensued between Chaitanya and the Patans, which resulted in the conversion of the latter to Vaishnavism. Chaitanya exposed the inconsistencies of the Koran by many an argumentum ad hominem,* admitted that it contained one great truth, viz. that there is but one God, and proved to their satisfaction, that this God was none other than the black Krishna of Brindában.

In the course of this discussion, Chaitanya had occasion to speak of the attributes of the deity, and this he does in a strain which leaves no room for doubt, that his Krishna is a very different being from the rosy man of pleasure, the popular legends make him. These arguments had their desired effect, and Chaitanya was throughout Upper India nicknamed the "Patan Gosain."†

There have been men like Mahomed who beginning as impostors have ended as sincere believers in their own mission. There have been men like many a catholic priest of the middle ages, who (strange human nature!) from a sincere desire to promote religion have not scrupled to resort to 'pious' frauds. It appears from a calm review of his life, that Chaitanya was not one of these men. On the contrary, the impression left by a study of his sayings and deeds is, that he was as sincere an enthusiast as ever breathed. The only charge that can be brought against his sincerity is that, when a youth just emerging from boyhood, he once deceived his

* "অরি শাস্ত্রের যুক্তে প্রভু করিল খণ্ডন"

† পাঠান গোসাঞি বলি খ্যাতি তার হইল।

mother by saying that he was going to a neighbouring town to spend two or three days with a friend, whereas he meant a much longer sojourn in a distant town, where he fancied he could advance his worldly prospects. This, however, was long before he began his mission, and though it is true that the child is the father of the man, and that a single lapse often determines a man's character, it is not true that this lapse had anything to do with the character Chaitanya afterwards bore. It is morally impossible therefore that when Chaitanya was discoursing on the attributes of the deity with the Patans, he was playing on them, for their nominal conversion, a trick similar to that by means of which the Jesuit missionaries in southern India succeeded in making people believe that the Hindu and Christian Trinities were the same, and thus gained a number of pseudo-converts.

In this manner were spent the first six years of the devoteelife of Chaitanya. During the remaining eighteen years, he lived constantly at Niláchala, praying, weeping, singing hymns to Hari, exhorting his followers, and often behaving in a manner that makes us believe that his enthusiasm frequently carried him beyond the bounds of sanity. Nityananda was chosen apostle of Bengal. Sánátan and Rupa were sent to the great Vaishnava shrine of Brindában to weed out the tares of corruption that were well nigh choking the 'creeper of true faith' in that holy city. The interview with Sanátan at Niláchala was under circumstances too characteristic to be passed over.

Sanátan had been attacked with a loathsome cutaneous disease, which made him ill at ease with himself as he approached Chaitanya. Chaitanya, however, flew eagerly to embrace him. Sanátan shrunk back a few paces. The Nuddea saint would take no denial and ceased not running till his great Mahomedan disciple was in his arms. On being asked how it was that he could embrace what repelled the least fastidious among his disciples, he smiled and said that to a Sanyasi sandal-wood and dirt were the same thing. "Rather say," exclaimed Haridása, "that to a mother nothing in her child is repulsive."

(Chaitanya Charitamrita, B. iii. p. 36.)

One of the consequences of Chaitanya's long stay at Niláchala was an immense accession to the annual pilgrimage to Jaggunnátha. Every year, hosts of his followers came from Bengal to see him and spend with him about four months. In company with them, came others who, though not members of his flock, held a pilgrimage to that holy spot an act of the very highest merit. The disregard of caste which characterises this shrine is due partly to his influence, partly to the influence

of the Buddhists,* who had been the guardians of the temple before. During their sojourn at Niláchala, Brahmans of the greatest sanctity scruple not to eat anything offered to them by the lowest Chandála.

One of his most favourite companions at Niláchala was his disciple Haridása. One day the conversation turning on the salvation of unbelievers, Chaitanya felt puzzled as to how Mahomedans could be saved. Haridása gave a ready solution, saying that as the Mahomedans had frequent occasions to use the word 'hárám,' and as the repetition of the word 'Rám' involved in Hárám was of the most potent efficacy, Mussulmans must be saved. Chaitanya was satisfied with this absurd but well meant answer, his charity making him forget the fundamental article of his creed, that salvation was impossible without *faith* in Vishnu.

This Haridása was like his master a man of exemplary character. While yet in the prime of manly vigour and beauty, he had caused a hut to be built in the forest of Bannápole, and repaired there to spend a few days in prayer. Ram Chunder Khán,† the zemindar of the neighbouring village, laughed at his austerities and sent a beautiful female of ill-fame to tempt him. All her wiles and blandishments were of no avail. Haridása continued counting his beads regardless of her presence. At length she begged the favour of his exchanging a word with her. He told her, he would do so as soon as he had finished his three hundred thousand Harinámas. Hours after hours elapsed, the morning dawned; still Haridása was at his devotions. At the dawn of day the woman returned home hoping to gain her object in the ensuing night. Two successive nights she repeated her visit and with the same success. Overcome at length by such holiness, she fell at his feet, begged his pardon, abjured her sinful career and became a devout Vaishnava. And thus Vaishnavism so much censured (not without reason) for its licentious tendency had the honour of *reclaiming a Magdalene.*

It would have been fortunate for Bengal, if all the followers of Chaitanya had imitated this noble example. But Nityananda, the apostle of Bengal, was, if we may judge from a saying popularly ascribed to him, a man of pleasure. Why he should have

* "In the 4th and 7th centuries A. D. the Princes of Orissa were Buddhists. Houen Thsang, a Chinese traveller, passed through it in the 7th century and saw several topes of Asoca. Turner states that Jagganatha is held in veneration by the Thibetans who are Buddhists. At his festival there is a blending of all castes, as if fragmentary remains of a period when caste did not exist." Calcutta Review, Vol. 6. Article Indian Buddhism.

† At Moorshedabad there are Hindus whose ancestors received from the Nawab the title of Khán.

been of all others chosen to conduct this important mission is to us a mystery. The fact seems to be, that Chaitanya was, of all men, the one most likely to be imposed upon by hypocritical rant, and that Nityananda's well acted enthusiasm gave him a complete ascendancy over his master.

Every revolution, nay every great movement, finds a class of men ready to act the part of base instruments for the sake of rioting in license with impunity. The pious leaders of the crusades stooped to ally themselves with men, miscalled soldiers of the cross, who, on the taking of Constantinople, desecrated the Cathedral of St. Sophia by trampling the Madonna and the saints under foot, and seating a prostitute on the altar. Men of the unbending integrity of Carnot did not disdain to employ the agency of the mob of Faubourg St. Antoine. It was not to be expected therefore that a man like Nityananda would scruple to enlist such men in his spiritual militia. The immorality of the lowest class of "Vairagis"* is partly to be traced to this source. A co-efficient cause doubtless is the facility with which divorces can be obtained by them.

Facilities of divorce have operated detrimentally in Revolutionary France, and in one or two of the petty German States, Franconia, for instance; and the illustrious German reformer's apparent connivance at the divorce of the Landgravine of Hesse Cassel is said to have tended powerfully to demoralise Wittemberg.

"The chaste Lucretia" says Rousseau "worshipped the unchaste Venus," and indeed there seems to be something in human nature which makes men better than bad speculative doctrines would tend to make them. In our own country, the small sect of the Bámachari Shâktas (worshippers of Bhabáni) would to a man become besotted debauchees, did they not find an expedient which raises them above the dogmas they hold. The Shymá Rahasya Tantra enjoins them to use wine as their ordinary drink, and to sprinkle wine on everything they eat. They have, however, found out a substitute for wine in cocoa-nut water poured into a vessel of white brass. And the consequence is, that a large proportion of the Bámácharis can boast of being as sober as any Rechabite or teetotaller in the world. In like manner it is but bare justice to the more respectable classes of Vaishnavas to state in the most emphatic terms that, in spite of the example of the god they almost exclusively venerate and adore, the standard of chastity among them is as high as among their neighbours. It would, however, be going too far to assert that an example like this, can be perfectly innocuous—especially when brought so constantly and so prominently forward.

* See Appendix B.

And it is to be feared that in the case of the lower order of Chaitanya's followers at least not a few ignorant, unsophisticated Vaishnavas, strangers to the mystical meaning attached by their more philosophic brethren to the legends concerning Krishna and the milkmaids of Brindában, allow their conduct to be in a great measure influenced by the example of the object of their exclusive adoration, forgetting that their master Chaitanya enjoined the strictest purity of life by precept and example.

On the same footing with the lowest Vairágis in point of morality stand the great Gosains of towns. Some idea of the character of these men (honourable exceptions being of course made), may best be conveyed by likening them to those fat, sleek, sensual, jolly Norman-priests of whom the Prior Aymer in "Ivanhoe" was the true type. Besides good living and idleness, that which chiefly tends to corrupt their morals is the circumstance of their taking the spiritual guidance of women of bad note. The writer of this little essay had once the opportunity of representing to a distant Gosain relation of his, the impropriety of such a course. The answer he received was very like the sophism of the Jesuit Pére Bauny, so eloquently assailed by Pascal.*

We have said the worst that could be said of thousands who pretend to belong to the flock of Chaitanya; for no admiration of the man should betray us into an admiration of the practical working of the system, corrupted as it has been by the sale of indulgences, which, for the purposes of nominal conversion, Nityananda and his successors preached. It must be observed, however, that the Gosains are no more the guardians of Chaitanyaism in its purity than the Jesuits were of the religion of Jesus.

In the last stage of his life, the enthusiasm of Chaitanya seems to have amounted to a morbid frenzy. His habit of falling down insensible on the earth in fits of ecstatic devotion, seems to have gained upon him with his advancing years. In the course of one of his nocturnal peregrinations he came to the beach. It was a beautiful night in spring. The moon, says Krishna Dása, was shining resplendently on the dark waves of the Chilka Lake, turning it into a rippling mass of molten gold. To the crazed imagination of Chaitanya, it was but the golden waters of the holy Jumna with Krishna

* "It is lawful to expose ourselves to circumstances which may prove to us the occasion of sin, when it is for the purpose of promoting the spiritual or temporal welfare of ourselves or of our neighbours. For instance, it is lawful for any one to repair to places of public resort for the purpose of converting abandoned females from their sins, although he may consider it probable that he may fall into sin from having often before been led into temptation on such occasions."—Provincial Letters, XV.

sporting on the surface. He rushed into the water to embrace the phantom conjured up by his heat-oppressed brain and was drowned. Some fishermen who had cast in their nets near the shore, hauled up the fragile frame on which ascetic mortification had half-accomplished the work which water finished. According to the popular account there were some signs of animation in his countenance when brought to land, and it is added that the name of Hari restored him completely to life, and that after spending some days with his disciples, he disappeared mysteriously. But the truth seems to be that this was the last scene of his life.

Thus perished in the forty-eighth year of his age the most remarkable man that Bengal ever produced. His chief glory consists, not in his having asserted "Dearer to me is the believing Chandala than the unbeliever versed in the four Vedas," but in his having practically carried out the idea. One of the most amiable traits in his character was his extreme humanity towards the inferior animals. His biographers do not think it beneath their dignity to notice the great tenderness with which he treated a dog of his disciple Shivanunda's, one of the most unclean of animals, by the bye, according to Hindu notions. On the whole, this we may say of him, that had he been as intelligent as he was loving, believing, and sincere, and above all, had his veneration been properly directed, he would have ranked high among the benefactors of his species.

Chaitanya has received divine honors. One of the fundamental articles of the Vaishnava creed in Bengal is, that he was the "Gouránga-Avatar,"—the incarnation of the incorporate essence of the sable Krishna and the fair Rádhá.

No ruins now mark the spot that ushered Chaitanya into the world. The ravages of the stream have swept away every vestige of his paternal abode. Indeed, the sites of old Nuddea and new Nuddea are as distinct as those of old Tyre and new Tyre, or of old Delhi and new Delhi. New Nuddea is on the right bank of the river, old Nuddea was on the left. Besides aquatic encroachments, old Nuddea seems to have suffered from a more terrible geological catastrophe—a general submergence of its level. During the rains, nothing is to be seen of the city of Bullál Sen, but a vast sheet of water with the Bullál mound peeping out of it, and feebly attesting the byegone grandeur of the place, the awful silence of desolation being only broken by the chirping of a heron or the shrill note of a kingfisher. New Nuddea now is the Nuddea of Chaitanya. Here he has a temple managed by the family of his unhappy wife Vishnupria, and an image to which the statuary had ideality enough

to give a benevolent expression. In a corner sits a hale old man of sixty, reading, smiling, weeping, muttering pious ejaculations, and singing in a plaintive strain "কবে আমি গৌর পাব, কবে গৌরাঙ্গিনী হব"

"When shall I have Gouranya, when shall I become his consort." Scandal, so foul-mouthed about the immorality of the great Gosains, has never been able to espy the slightest taint of carnality in the character of the austere monk. Glorify Hari, utter a sentiment that chimes in with his—he will rise and embrace you. Strong faith he has; truth in one sense (and that not the very highest of course) he has; and when there is nothing to call forth his bigotry, he seems to be a man who loves his fellowmen. But of that exalted charity which when united with these noble attributes, elevates a man above ordinary humanity, he does not seem to possess any large share. Such is Chaitanya Dása Bábáji—the model Vaishnava—the living impersonation of all the best and all the worst features of Chaitanyaism.

"What after all," it may be asked, "has Chaitanya done?" He has done one great thing. He has proved that the Hindu mind has not been stereotyped. His history is the history of the progress of a great idea in Hindustan. In the 6th century before the Christian era, Buddha Sakya Muni had preached that of all monopolies which the human race had ever been cursed with, the worst was that of religion.* This protest against the exclusivism of the dominant faith, was continued with more or less success by a host of subsequent reformers. About the end of the fourteenth century, Rámánanda founded a sect into which he admitted men of all castes. Rai Dása, one of his favourite disciples was a shoe-maker, a caste not superior in social status to the lowest Chandála. Kabir, the most energetic of Rámánanda's followers, founded a new sect and carried out the liberal principles of his master, with so much boldness and yet with such moderation, and made such approaches towards a pure monotheistic creed, that, at his death, it is said there occurred a dispute between the Hindus and Mahomedans as to whether his body should be burned or buried.

Nának, who might be called the spiritual son of Kabir, founded in the beginning of the 16th century, the world-renowned

* In order to overthrow one of the oldest religions of the world, it was sufficient that one man should challenge the authority of the Brahmans the gods of the earth (Bhûdeva) and preach among the scorned and degraded creatures of God, the simple truth that salvation was possible without the mediation of priests and without a belief in books to which these very priests had given the title of revelation. This was Buddha Sakya Muni.—Dr. Max Müller.

Khálsa, thus carrying out the spirit of innovation still further. Chaitanya, his contemporary in Bengal, did not indeed try to effect reforms so radical. But he too preached a crusade against caste. The theological works most esteemed by his followers are the works of his great Mahomedan disciples Rupa and Sanátan.* Nor is the anti-caste movement yet idle. Scarcely more than half a century has elapsed since there arose at Ghoshpará near Hooghly, the sect of the Kartábhajás which bids fair soon to number a million of members.

These anti-caste movements are, be it remembered, very unlike the lip movements so common in and about Calcutta. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Behar, Allahabad and Agra are Rámánandas. Tulsi Dása whose Hindi version of the Ramayan exercises a more extensive influence on the popular mind in India than any other literary work whatever, was a Rámánanda.

The Kabirpanthis have innumerable ramifications throughout the whole of the North-West Provinces; and though, for avoiding persecution, they profess outward conformity, the spirit of their founder does not seem to be wholly extinct among them.†

The Khálsa, though fallen, is as glorious as ever. A third of the population of Bengal is composed of the followers of Chaitanya. And if we exclude half a million of fat, temporising Gosains, we shall find the rest nearly true to the spirit of the Nuddea saint, in one respect at least. All these facts tend to show that the Hindu mind is not so hopelessly wedded to prejudice and antiquity, that there is no chance of its regeneration. Even from the errors of Chaitanyaism, we may draw one consoling inference.

"The Romanist produces repose by means of stupefaction. The Protestant encourages activity, though he knows that where there is much activity, there will be some aberration. And just as we may from the great number of rogues in a town infer, that much honest gain is made there, so may we often from the quantity of error in a community, draw a cheering inference as to the degree in which the public mind is turned to those inquiries which alone can lead to rational convictions of truth."—*Lord Macaulay.*

*Beerbhoom, Dec. 2nd,* 1860.

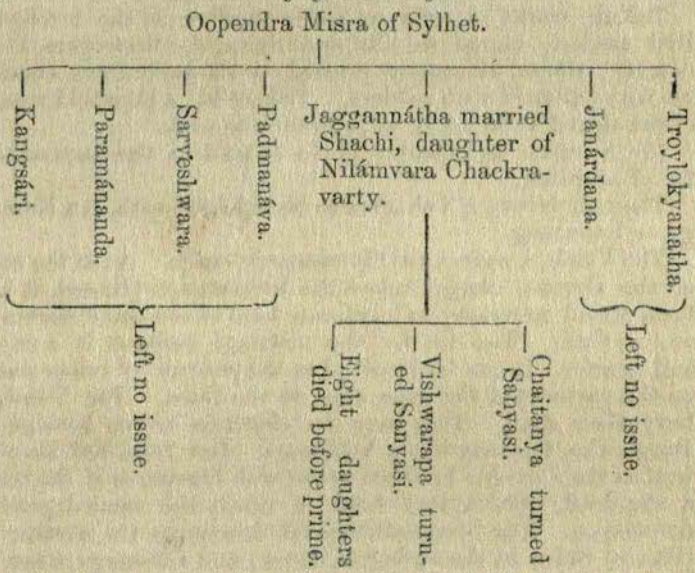
* The Bidagdha Madhaba and Lalita Madhaba of Rupa. The Haribhakti Vilasa and Rásamrita Sindhu of Sanátan.

† Wilson on Hindu Sects—Tattwabodhinee Pattrica.

# APPENDIX.

## A.

*Family of Chaitanya.*




With Chaitanya perished the great Vaidic family of Sámvedi Bháradwájas. (Sámvedi those who profess to be guided by the Sámveda specially.) Almost all Rahree Brahmans, the majority of the Brahmans in and about Calcutta, are Sámvedis. Among the Vaidics Rigvedis and Yajurvedis are comparatively numerous. Bháradwajas, descendants of the great Rishi Bháradwája. All the Mookerjeas who are Rahree Brahmans are Sámvedi Bháradwájas.

Among the Vaidic Brahmans, though there are numerous Bháradwájas and numerous Sámvedis, Sámvedi Bháradwájas are extinct.

## B.

*The Bengal Vaishnavas.*

The Bengal Vaishnavas are divided into two great classes, the secular Vaishnavas and the Vairágis or ascetics. Initiation into the Vairágya Asrama is attended with (1), the shaving of the head save a small tuft on the crown; (2), bathing; (3),

putting on the Dore, Kaupin, Bahirvása, Teeluk, Mûdrá and Trikant'hi. Dore, a girdle. Kaupin, a narrow strip of cloth put on longitudinally and attached at the extremities to the Dore, the only covering which gymnosophists have modesty enough to wear. It is emblematic of the absence of passion. Bahirvása—a covering descending from the girdle to the knee.

Teeluk, marks of ochre or white sanders on the forehead. Red sanders, sacred to Káli and Shiva, the destroyers, they detest. Mûdra, Harinámas printed on the body from wooden blocks moistened with sanders. Trikant'hi, a threefold rosary of the sacred Tulsi wood, worn round the neck.

(4) A rupee and quarter is to be paid to the Guru as the fee of initiation.

The only *luxury* a Vairágí is to be indulged with, is a Karanga or brass mug.

The Vairágis were a strictly monastic order. As in the case of the German clergy before the Reformation (Hume), it has been found necessary to legalise a kind of left-hand marriage among them. The fee for the marriage contract is a rupee and quarter. It can be dissolved at the pleasure of either party on the payment of the same sum to the Guru. The Vairágis bury their dead. They have no objection to pay homage to Durga who, they say was a Vaishnavi. But from Káli they as well as their secular brethren recoil with horror, as if she were a she-devil. Shiva they hold in nearly the same degree of detestation. The Sreemadbhágavat denounces the worship of (Bhava) Shiva in the strongest terms; and Chaitanya when at Benares did not visit the famous shrine of Vishewshwara. They hate the Tamogûna, the destroying principle, of which Shiva and his wife Káli are the impersonations. Bloody sacrifices all Vaishnavas are enjoined to abhor, nor are they permitted to eat the flesh of a goat sacrificed or otherwise killed. Indeed, the more orthodox among them have carried their abhorrence of blood so far as to erase the word 'cut' from their vocabulary. "Prepare this brinjal for the kitchen," said a Gosain relation of mine to a cousin of his. He would never use the word "cut," the ordinary expression. Strange as this scruple may appear, there are few Hindus who have not had opportunities of marking it.

A Vairágí may be of any caste, and all Vairágis are on a level. The Gosains, however, have entirely lost the spirit of their master. They enjoin a high caste convert and a low caste convert to eat with each other, and connect their families by intermarriage; but they seldom have the moral courage to practise these things themselves. They have not moral courage enough to convert a Mahomedan. When the precedent of

Chaitanya in the case of Rupa and Sanátan is urged, the reply that the Mahápravu is the almighty Krishna himself, and can do anything, and that Rupa and Sánatan never ate anything unclean before their conversion, which is a fib.

The Vaishnava disciple, the organization of the hierarchy, &c. are almost wholly due to Nityananda and his successors. Chaitanya troubled himself very little with these things.