

EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA

BY

M. L. ZUTSHI, M.A.

HEAD MASTER, GOVERNMENT HIGH SCHOOL, CAWNPUR
FORMERLY LECTURER ON THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION, HIGHER GRADE
TRAINING COLLEGE, ALLAHABAD

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P R E F A C E.

IN this short sketch I have tried to give a brief outline of the main historical facts connected with the spread of modern education in India. It is based mainly upon old Government Reports, Parliamentary Papers and other kindred material, and in a few places I have not hesitated to incorporate the language of original documents in my own narrative. For reasons which need not be enumerated, I have restricted myself to the minimum of comment, leaving the readers to form their own opinion. A number of important papers bearing on the subject, which are not easily accessible to the general reader, and some of which are out of print, have been added as appendices.

I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. A. H. Mackenzie, M.A., B.Sc., Principal of the Higher Grade Training College, Allahabad, for many valuable suggestions.

M. L. Z.

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EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

1813 - 1830.

Education in British India prior to 1813. In its early days the East India Company aimed only at discharging the duties fulfilled by the previous ruling power. When the English acquired Bengal, they found a number of scattered institutions known as *tols*, devoted to Sanskrit instruction on the ancient methods, a number of Mahomedan *maktabs*, and a number of village schools of the humbler sort which gave a kind of secular and practical instruction to the lower classes. They respected the endowments made to educational institutions before their time, and the Permanent Settlement of 1793 recognised in perpetuity the rent-free grants of land enjoyed by *tols* and *maktabs*. Their own efforts were confined to the founding of two institutions. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, founded the Calcutta *Madrasa* as a Mahomedan seat of learning in 1780, and the Benares College, an institution meant for the Hindus, was founded in 1791, at the recommendation of Mr. Duncan, the then resident at Benares. Both these institutions were purely Oriental in character, and their objects were the encouragement of Oriental learning and the training of qualified law officers for Government.

The renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813 marks an epoch in the history of educational policy of the British Government in India. Section 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 says :—

The Charter of 1813.

“And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of the surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments, and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum

of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement 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 in India; and that any schools, public lectures or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid, which shall be founded at the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George of Bombay, or in any other parts of the British territories in India, in virtue of this Act, shall be governed by such regulations, as may, from time to time, be made by the said Governor-General in Council, subject nevertheless to such powers as are herein vested in the said Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, respecting colleges and seminaries, provided always that all appointments to offices in such schools, lectureships and other institutions, shall be made by or under the authority of the Governments within which the same shall be situated."

The instructions of the Directors for carrying out the policy enunciated above, were embodied in the Despatch of 1814. Despatch of 1814, the following paragraph of which deserves notice:—

"The Clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration: *First*, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of Literature; *Secondly*, the promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of that country. Neither of these subjects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges, if established under the rules, and upon a plan similar to those that have been founded at our universities, because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college: and we doubt whether it would be practicable to devise any specific plan which would promise the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration. We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindus may be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects, would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance."

Nothing however was done for nearly ten years, although Lord Hastings, the Governor-General of India, is said to have remarked in 1817: "It would be a treason to imagine that it could ever be the principle of this Government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantage over the blindness of the multitude."* But although the Government was slow to move, two other agencies were independently at work. From 1799 a number of Christian missionaries had been working in Bengal with the Danish settlement of Serampore as their head-quarters. The labours of this mission were incessant;

Missionary and Hindu Educational Effort.

* Keene's History of India, vol. II., p. 66.

it had a printing press and it edited a series of vernacular books for educational purposes, and by 1815, it had established no less than 20 schools in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, attended by about 800 children. The more advanced section of the Hindu community was also alive to the advantages of education, and in 1816 some of the Indian gentlemen of Calcutta associated together and subscribed a capital sum of over one lakh of rupees to found an institution for the instruction of the Indian youth in European and Asiatic languages and science. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the leading spirit of this movement and the institution was called the *Vidyalaya* or the Hindu College of Calcutta. That Raja Ram Mohan Roy understood the needs of the times is shown by the protest which he addressed to

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

Government on the establishment of the Sanskrit College in 1821. The Raja's main contention was that the people of India stood

more in need of English than of Oriental education, and he held that a knowledge of Western science and modes of thought was essential for the improvement of his countrymen.

The protest however was unheeded and the Sanskrit College

The Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta.

was established. A Committee of Public Instruction was established at Calcutta in 1823, ten years after the Charter of 1813,

and the sum of one lakh of rupees mentioned therein, was placed at its disposal. This Committee managed the affairs of the Government Sanskrit College, and after some time the *Vidyalaya* also came under its supervision. An Oriental College was established at Agra* in 1823 and at Delhi †two years later. The Committee commenced the printing of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a large scale and employed Oriental scholars to translate European scientific works. English classes were afterwards added to the Sanskrit Colleges at Benares and Calcutta, the Calcutta, *Madras* and the Agra College, and an English College was opened at Delhi in 1829. Still the majority of English officials in India were opposed to the education

* This college was established from the rents of certain lands bequeathed by Ganga Dhar Shastri to the East India Company for the promotion of education.

† This College received a munificent bequest from Nawab Itmad-ud-dowlah, the prime minister of the king of Oadh, in 1829.

of Indians in English, and the Committee of Public Instruction favoured Oriental learning. In 1830, however, we find the Directors addressing the Governor-General in favour of English education, and despatches laying down the same principle were also sent to the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

In this despatch the Court of Directors welcomed the indication shown by Indians in such institutions as the *Vidyalaya*, to cultivate English literature, and requested the Governor-General to foster this tendency. It urged, in no uncertain terms, the importance of promoting a thorough knowledge of English, in the conviction that the higher tone and better spirit of European literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original languages. It was argued that the higher branches of science might be more advantageously studied in the languages of Europe than in translations, and it was declared that if translations were to be made the persons best-fitted for the task were Indians who had studied profoundly in the original works. But English was not to be exclusively pursued. The Directors warned the Committee against a disposition to underrate the importance of what might be done to spread useful knowledge among the Indians through the medium of their own languages. It was pointed out that the more complete education which was to commence by a thorough study of the English language, could be placed within the reach of a very small portion of the Natives of India; but that intelligent Indians who had been thus educated, might, as teachers in Colleges and schools, or as writers and translators of useful books, contribute in an eminent degree to the more general extension among their countrymen of a portion of the acquirements which they had themselves gained, and might "communicate in some degree to the Native literature, and to the minds of the Native community, that improved spirit which it is to be hoped they will themselves have imbibed from the influence of European ideas and sentiments." The Governor-General was asked to make it generally known that every qualified Indian, who would zealously devote himself to this task would be held in high honour; that every assistance and encouragement, pecuniary or otherwise which the case might require, would be liberally afforded; and that no service

which it was in the power of an Indian to render to the British Government would be more highly acceptable. And the despatch concluded with the following paragraph :--

"In the meantime we wish you to be fully assured, not only of our anxiety that the judicial offices to which Natives are at present eligible should be properly filled, but of our earnest wish and hope to see them qualified for situations of higher importance and trust. There is no point of view in which we look with greater interest at the exertions you are now making for the instruction of the Natives, than as being calculated to raise up a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employments in the civil administration of India. As a means of bringing about this most desirable object, we rely chiefly on their becoming, through a familiarity with European literature and science, imbued with ideas and feelings of civilized Europe, on the general cultivation of their understandings, and specially on their instruction in the principles of morals and general jurisprudence. We wish you to consider this as our deliberate view of the scope and end to which all your endeavours with respect to the education of the Natives should refer. And the active spirit of benevolence, guided by judgment, which has hitherto characterized your exertions, assures us of your ready and zealous co-operation towards an end we have so deeply at heart."

At a very early period some mission schools were established in the Madras Presidency and some grants were made to these institutions by the Company. In 1822 when Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, made inquiries he found that in addition to the missionary institutions mentioned above, there were about 12,000 indigenous schools, mostly of course, of a rudimentary character. It was Sir Thomas Munro who in his minute on education written in 1826, recognised the duty of Government in the matter of education and appointed a Committee of Public Instruction on the same lines as at Calcutta. This Committee opened 100 schools in the rural districts, and a central institution for the training of teachers in Madras. The latter supplied eventually the basis for the Madras High School, but the rural schools languished, and in a few years were abolished as failures.

A number of Christian schools had been founded in the Bombay Presidency during Portugese ascendancy, but they ceased to exist after the expulsion of the Portugese by the Marathas. Missionary bodies were at work in this province from 1814 onwards and a number of institutions were founded by them in Bombay, Poona, Ahmednagar, Gujrat and Sindh. A Society called the *Society for the*

Promotion of Education was formed in Bombay in 1815. It established some schools for Indians, but finding itself unequal to the task, it determined to confine its attention exclusively to the education of Europeans and Eurasians, and left the instruction of the Indian population to the *Bombay Native School-book and School Society*, which was formed in 1823 with Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay, as its first president. This *Society* tried to organise and extend education and did some useful work by publishing books in the different vernaculars. The Government of Bombay founded a Hindu College* for Oriental learning at Poona in 1821, and English classes were added to it in 1825. In 1823 Mr. Elphinstone recorded his minute recognising education as a duty of the State. In 1827 when Mr. Elphinstone was about to retire, a movement was started with the object of establishing English professorships in honour of the retiring Governor. The fund ultimately amounted to 4½ lakhs, and out of this fund the Elphinstone College was created.

*A portion of the Dakshina Fund established by the Peshwas for the support of learned Hindus was utilized for the foundation of this College.

CHAPTER II.

1831 - 1854.

We have seen that the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta was in favour of Oriental studies, but it did something for English education by adding English classes to its Oriental Colleges. In December 1831 the Committee issued its first report, from which it appears that the total number of institutions under its control was 14 with 3,490 pupils, that the total educational receipts for the year were Rs. 2,75,047 and the total expenditure Rs. 2,63,991.* The bulk of students in Oriental Colleges received stipends, and a considerable sum was spent every year in publishing Arabic and Sanskrit books. After the receipt of the Despatch of 1830 the number of those in favour of English education began to increase, and the controversy between these two parties, the Anglicists *versus* Orientalists, as they came to be called, raged for sometime with a great deal of warmth. The following interesting account of it is given by Trevelyan in his *Education in India*.

“Meanwhile the progress of events was leading to the necessity of adopting a more decisive course. The taste for English became more and more widely disseminated. A loud call arose for the means of instruction in it, and the subject was pressed on the Committee from various quarters. English books only were in any demand: upwards of thirty-one thousand English books were sold by the School Books Society in the course of two years, while the Education Committee did not dispose of Arabic and Sanskrit volumes enough in three years to pay the expenses of keeping them for two months, to say nothing of the printing expenses. Among other signs of the times a petition was presented to the Committee by a number of young men who had been brought up at the Sanskrit College, pathetically representing that notwithstanding the long and elaborate course of study which they had gone through they had little prospect of bettering their condition; that the indifference with which they were generally regarded by their countrymen left them no hope of assistance from them, and that they, therefore, trusted that the Government, which had

* Howell's *Education in British India*, p. 21.

made them what they were, would not abandon them to distitution and neglect. The English classes which had been tacked on to this and other Oriental Colleges, had entirely failed in their object. The boys had not time to go through an English, in addition to an Oriental course, and the study which was secondary was naturally neglected. The translations into Arabic also appeared to have made as little impression upon the few who knew that language, as upon the mass of the people who were entirely unacquainted with it.

"Under these circumstances, a difference of opinion arose in the Committee. One section of it was for following out the existing system,—for continuing the Arabic translations, the profuse patronage of Arabic and Sanskrit works, and the printing operations, by all which means fresh masses would have been added to an already unsaleable and useless board. The other section of the Committee wished to dispense with this cumbrous and expensive machinery of teaching English science through the medium of Arabic language; to give no bounties, in the shape of stipends to students, for the encouragement of any particular kind of learning; to purchase or print only such Arabic and Sanskrit books as might actually be required for the use of different colleges; and to employ that portion of their annual income which would by these means be set free, in establishment of new seminaries for giving instruction in English and the vernacular languages, at the places where such institutions were most in demand.

"This fundamental difference of opinion long obstructed the business of the Committee. Almost everything which came before them was more or less involved in it. The two parties were so equally balanced as to be unable to make a forward movement in any direction. A particular point might occasionally be decided by an accidental majority of one or two, but as the decision was likely to be reversed the next time the subject came under consideration, this only added inconsistency to inefficiency. This state of things lasted for about three years, until both parties became convinced that the usefulness and respectability of their body would be utterly compromised by its longer continuance. The committee had come to a dead stop, and the government alone could set it in motion again, by giving a preponderance to one or the other of the two opposite sections. The members, therefore, took the only course which remained open to them, and laid before the Government a statement of their existing position, and of the grounds of the conflicting opinion held by them."

It was at this stage that Lord William Bentinck appointed Macaulay, the first Law member of the

Macaulay's minute. Council of Governor-General, to be the Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction, and in 1835 he wrote his famous minute, defending the Anglicist position and replying to the arguments advanced by the Orientalists. Some of the arguments of this minute are no doubt fallacious. Its assumption, for example, that Arabic and Sanskrit classics are worthless hardly deserves any serious consideration, and nobody can argue to-day as Macaulay argues in one of his paragraphs, that the learning which is not of commercial value does not

deserve special encouragements. But it is possible to agree with Macaulay's conclusion without agreeing with all his arguments, and it is now acknowledged that the policy of encouraging and extending English education, which he enunciated, was sound. He declared that the Government was not bound by the Charter Act of 1813 to any particular kind of teaching, or fettered by any pledge expressed or implied, but was at liberty to employ its funds as it thought best, and that the best way of employing them was in teaching what was best worth knowing. English, he said, was better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic, and the Indians themselves had found this out. They would, he argued, pay to learn English, but they required to be paid to be taught Sanskrit and Arabic, and then thought themselves entitled to compensation from Government for having engaged so long in so useless an acquisition. He concluded that it was quite possible and very advantageous on every ground to make the Natives of India thoroughly good English scholars, and to this end the efforts of the Committee should be directed.

Lord William Bentinck adopted Macaulay's policy as his own and on the 7th of March 1835, announced his decision in the form of a resolution, which set the question finally at rest. This is one of the most memorable documents dealing with Education in India. The promotion of Western literature and science was accepted as the object of Government policy; the printing of oriental works was stopped; the granting of any fresh stipends to give an artificial encouragement to Oriental learning was forbidden, (though all the existing professors and students were to continue to receive their stipends), and the funds thus set free were to be employed "in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language." Besides the controversy over the relative claims of English and Oriental classics, three subsidiary points deserve mention in this connection. *First*: Both parties admitted the claims of the vernacular, as will be apparent from the following remarks of the Calcutta Committee made in their report of the year.

"We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th of March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this

construction. In the discussion which preceded the order, the claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties, and the question submitted for the decision of Government, only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on one side, and the learned Eastern languages on the other."

"We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language, which is always very improving to the mind, is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of a vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English, to which many circumstances induce the natives to give the preference, and with it the knowledge of the learning of the West, is therefore daily spreading. This, as it appears to us, is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The Natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge, before they can transfer it into their own language. We trust the number of such translations will now multiply every year.*"

Secondly: though the Hindus established their own private institutions for English education, and took advantage of schools established by other agencies, and even protested against the establishment of purely oriental institutions like the Calcutta Sanskrit College, the Mahomedans as a body not only stood aloof but even expressed their displeasure against it. A memorial signed by several thousand Mahomedans was submitted to the Government, in which they went to the length of saying that the object of Government was the conversion of Indians to Christianity.†

Thirdly: Till 1835 most of the colleges were stipendiary. Lord William Bentinck abolished the system, but the instruction continued to be given free of charge. In due course this was followed by the universal payment of fees.

The policy inaugurated by Lord William Bentinck was justified by subsequent events. The Hooghly College was opened in 1836 and upwards of 1000 students were in attendance by the end of the year. The same was the case at Dacca and Agra. Four causes combined to give an impetus to education on the new basis: (1) the freedom conferred on the press in 1835, (2) the abolition of Persian as the language of the courts in 1837, (3) the wider careers and larger responsibilities accorded to Indian Judicial officers by a series of Acts from 1836 to 1843, and (4) the preference given

* Howell's *Education in British India*, pp. 26 and 27.

† Mahmud's *History of English Education in India*, pp. 53 and 54.

to English-knowing men in the public service by Lord Hardinge's resolution of 1844. Upon Lord Hardinge's resolution being communicated to the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta, that body framed certain rules for holding examinations for those who were to receive certificates of qualifications for Government Service and these rules remained in force till the foundation of the Indian Universities in 1857. While using these examinations as a means of raising the standard of education, the Council of Education, which took the place of the Committee of Public Instruction in 1843, did much to improve the character of text-books and to create a competent staff of school-masters. After twelve years of activity, it raised the number of institutions under its control from 28 in 1843 to 151 in 1855 and the number of pupils from 4,632 to 13,163.* When the Council of Education gave place to the newly constituted Department of Public Instruction in 1855 it had secured a large measure of success in creating a general sense of the value of good English education.

But, successful as it was in dealing with the education of the classes, the Council of education left no impress on the education of the masses. In 1835 Mr. Adam was deputed by Lord William Bentinck to conduct an inquiry into the existing state of popular education in Bengal. He estimated the number of village Schools and *Pathshalas* at about one lakh† and pleaded earnestly in his report for the instruction of the people. No general effort was however made to assist or improve the indigenous Schools till 1855. The Council of Education, it is true, tried to set up vernacular schools of their own between 1844 and 1848, but these schools were unable to supplant the indigenous institutions, and on the whole the experiment proved a failure.

Three High Schools were established by the Government of Madras for the teaching of English, one in Madras and the remaining two in the moufassil. In addition to these there were several Missionary Schools at which about 3,000 boys were being educated in

* Report of the Indian Education Commission, p. 17.

† *Ibid* p. 16.

1854 * Pachaiyappa's College was opened in 1842 under Indian management, the funds being derived from a charitable bequest of long standing.

A Board of education was established in Bombay in 1840 and by 1855 it had established English schools at the headquarters of all districts except one, as well as a number of vernacular schools. In 1842 an inquiry was instituted into the condition of indigenuous schools and ten years later small grants-in-aid were offered to them. A very interesting feature of the last period of Board's administration was the establishment of a number of village primary schools which were managed by the State, but half the master's salary as well as the school building and the class books were supplied by the villagers themselves.

Until 1843, the North-Western Provinces were under the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta, and three colleges had been founded, at Benares, Agra and Delhi respectively. In addition to these there was another institution at Benares founded by Jai Narayan Ghoshal in 1818, in which English as well as the vernaculars were taught. In 1854 the number of students in the three Government Colleges,—which had both Oriental and English departments, and contained school as well as college classes—was 976.† Some Anglo-vernacular schools had also sprung up in such places as Allahabad, Meerut, and Bareilly. In 1843 nine of these High schools were in existence, but in 1853 only three survived with an attendance roll of 779.‡ Missionary schools had also been established in the Province, their pupils being estimated at 4,000 in 1854.

But, perhaps, more interesting than these colleges and High schools, was the system of popular education inaugurated by Mr. Thomson, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. So far popular education had been very much neglected in India and the experiments made in Bengal and Madras had proved failures. To the North-Western Provinces (now forming a part of the United Provinces), belongs the credit

Mr Thomson's
Educational System.

* Report of the Indian Education Commission, p. 11.

† Ibid p. 18.

‡ Ibid p. 18.

of having first organised an efficient system of popular education. In 1845 the Lieutenant-Governor instituted an inquiry regarding the number and efficiency of indigenous village schools, and as a result of this inquiry it was found that "on an average, less than 5 per cent of the youths, who are of an age to attend school, obtain any instruction, and the instruction which they so receive is of the most elementary kind." This was hardly satisfactory and the Lieutenant-Governor determined to substitute a better system. The immediate motive which influenced the Lieutenant-Governor in directing his attention to popular education is thus described in the orders issued in 1850.

"It is well-known that the land is minutely divided among the people. There are few of the agricultural classes, who are not possessed of some rights of property in the soil. In order to explain and protect these rights, a system of registration has been devised, which is based on the survey made at the time of settlement, and which annually shows the state of property. It is necessary for the correctness of this register, that those whose rights it records, should be able to consult it and to ascertain the nature of the entries affecting themselves. This involves a knowledge of reading and writing, of the simple rules of Arithmetic, and of land measurement.

The means are thus afforded of setting forth before the people the practical bearing of learning on the safety of those rights in land which they most highly prize; and it is hoped that when the powers of the mind have once been excited into action, the pupils may often be induced to advance further and to persevere till they reach a higher state of intellectual cultivation."*

Any complete scheme of mass education being out of question, the following experimental plan was adopted. Eight districts were selected and Mr. H. S. Reid was appointed Visitor-General with an adequate staff of district and pargana Visitors. The work to be done was two-fold:—*first*, to institute more minute inquiries concerning existing educational agencies, to help the schools already in existence, and to encourage the establishment of others; *secondly*, to establish and maintain

a number of *tahsili* schools where a more ambitious and a more efficient course of study consisting of Reading, Writing, Accounts, mensuration, History and Geography was to be pursued. Another class of institutions called the *Halkabandi* schools originated in 1851 in an experiment made by Mr. Alexander, the collector of Muttra. His

* Calcutta Review, Vol. XXI, p. 512.

† Viz., Bareilly, Shahjehanpur, Agra, Muttra, Mainpuri, Aligarh, Barukhabad, and Etawah.

plan was to choose a pargana, to ascertain how many children of school-going age it contained, what revenue it paid, and what expense it could bear. A cluster of four or five villages was then marked out and the most central of the villages was fixed upon as the site of the school. The contributions of the zemindars were ultimately fixed at one per cent., of the revenue. The idea was quickly taken up in other districts and a considerable number of *Halkahandi* schools were established throughout the province. The total number of schools in the province in 1854 had been estimated at 3,920 with nearly 53,000 pupils.*

* Report of the Indian Education Commission, p. 20.

CHAPTER III.

1854-1882.

The preceding chapters have given an idea of the early efforts of the East India Company towards the education of the people. But admirable as these efforts were, they were uncertain and inconsiderable when compared with the requirements of this great country. It was in 1854 that the education of the people as a whole was definitely accepted as the duty of the State, and the Court of Directors laid down with fullness and precision, the principles which were to guide the Indian Government in the performance of this great task. Their Despatch of 1854 forms the Charter of education in India.

The despatch begins with a description of the motives which actuated the authorities and of the purposes which education was expected to serve.

"It is one of our most sacred duties," say the Directors, "to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the Natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connection with England. We have moreover looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust in India. Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India; this knowledge will teach the Natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce, and at the same time secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as, an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour."

The next important point is the kind of education to be given and the relative importance of its different branches. In this Despatch we find not only an emphatic reiteration of the policy of 1835, but, for the first time an adequate appreciation of the great importance of popular and vernacular education as distinct from the education of the higher classes in Oriental Classics or in English. The Despatch goes on to say :

Different kinds of Education " Before proceeding further, we must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe in short, of European knowledge. We do not wish to diminish the opportunities which are now afforded in special institutions for the study of Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian literature.....But such attempts can only be considered as auxiliaries.

Education in Oriental classics. " It is well that every opportunity should be given to those classes for the acquisition of a liberal European education, the effects of which may be expected to slowly pervade the rest of their fellow-countrymen.....We are, therefore, far from underrating the importance, or the success, of the efforts which have been made in this direction ; but the higher classes are both able and willing in many cases to bear, a considerable part, at least, of the cost of their education ; and it is abundantly evident that, in some parts of India, no artificial stimulus is any longer required in order to create a demand for such an education as is conveyed in Government Anglo-Vernacular colleges.....

English Education. " Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more specially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure."

Popular Education The means prescribed for the attainment of these objects were to be as follows :—

The means prescribed. (1) *The constitution of a separate department of Education.*—An officer with the title of the Director of Public Instruction was to be appointed for each province and he was to be assisted by a sufficient number of qualified Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors.

(2) *The institution of the Universities at the Presidency towns.*—These were to be established on the model of the London University to test and encourage a liberal course of education by conferring academical degrees in arts and sciences.

(3) *The maintenance of Government Institutions.*--The existing Government institutions were to be maintained and their number was to be increased when necessary.

(4) *Increased attention to Primary Education.*--Indigenous schools by wise encouragement were to be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people.

(5) *The establishment of training schools for teachers.*

(6) *The introduction of the system of grant-in-aid.*--This system was to be based on the principle of perfect religious neutrality, and aid was to be given to all schools imparting a good secular education, provided they were under adequate local management and were subject to Government inspection, and provided that fees, however small, were charged in them. The Despatch even anticipated the discontinuance of any general system of Government education with the gradual advance of the system of grant-in-aid.

On the publication of the Despatch of 1854, steps were taken to form an Education Department in each of the larger provinces, and before the end of 1856, the new system was fairly at work. The Mutiny caused a break in its operations, but when the country had resettled under normal conditions, the Secretary of State wrote the second great Despatch of 1859. It reviewed the progress made under the earlier despatch and reiterated and confirmed its principles, with one important exception. While the despatch recorded with satisfaction that the system of grants-in-aid had been fairly accepted by private schools, both English and Anglo-Vernacular, it noted that the Indian community had failed to co-operate with Government in promoting elementary vernacular education. It pointed out that the efforts of educational officers to obtain the necessary local support for the establishment of vernacular schools under the grant-in-aid system were likely to create prejudice against education, to render the Government unpopular, and even to compromise its dignity. The soliciting of contributions from the people was declared inexpedient, and it was suggested that vernacular primary instruction for the masses of the population should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government, on the basis of some plan for the improvement

of indigenous schools. The Secretary of State commended the expediency of laying a special rate on land for the provision of elementary education to the consideration of the Government of India. He also noted that the institution of training schools had been neglected and expressed a hope that "at a not distant period institutions may be in operation in all the Presidencies, calculated to supply masters for all classes of schools."

The first proposal to found a University originated as far back as 1845, when the Calcutta Council of Education, under the presidency of Mr. Cameron, prepared a plan for the purpose.

But the proposals were discountenanced in England and nothing was heard of them for many years. In 1854 an inquiry was held as usual by a Select Committee of Parliament before the renewal of Charter, and during the course of this inquiry Mr. Cameron presented a petition praying for the establishment of Universities in India. This time the authorities in England took a favourable view, and as we have seen, the Despatch of 1854, contained definite instructions for the constituting of the Indian Universities on the model of the London University. It was under these instructions that the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were established in 1857 and incorporated by Acts of Indian Legislature. The control of each University was vested in a senate, composed of a Chancellor, *Vicé* Chancellor and fellows, the latter being in the first instance selected from the existing Councils and Boards of Education. The function of these Universities was examination, not instruction. The latter was to be conducted by affiliated Colleges authorised to send up candidates for the University examinations. The Punjab University was established in 1882, and the University of Allahabad in 1887.

The progress made during this period (1854-1882) may be judged from the following figures. The highest total recorded for 1854 was about 50,000 schools with 9,25,000 scholars. In 1881-82, the departmental returns for all classes of institutions including British Burma, show 1,16,048 schools with 2,760,086 pupils. Accepting 15 per cent., as on the whole affording the best estimate of the number of children of school-going age, the ratio in this year which the number of boys and girls at school

**The Foundation
of Universities
(1857).**

**Progress in Edu-
cation (1854--
1882).**

bore to population of school-going age works out to 16·28 and '84 respectively. The number under instruction, was a little more than $9\frac{3}{4}$ millions for British India out of a total population of $208\frac{3}{4}$ millions.* The total expenditure on Education in 1881-82 amounted to Rs. 161,10,282 of which Rs. 91,23,882 was contributed by public funds (i.e., Provincial, Local and Municipal funds)†.

The figures given above show progress, but at the same time they show that Education had touched only a fringe of the population. About the end of this period a feeling was abroad in certain circles that the provisions of the Despatch of 1854 were not being fully carried out as regards Primary Education, and that too much was being done for Higher Education. Some people went the length of saying that the Government should transfer its institutions for Higher Education to independent public bodies, helping them of course with grants-in-aid, and concentrate all its efforts on Primary Education, and a memorial containing the following prayers was presented by a deputation from the General Council of Education in India to Lord Ripon in 1880, when he was leaving England to take up the Viceroyalty of India:—

(1) The gradual withdrawal by Government from direct teaching in colleges and schools in favour of private independent bodies.

(2) The control and encouragement of Higher Education by Government through the Universities, and by a system of grants-in-aid to affiliated colleges.

(3) The much greater extension of elementary education amongst the mass of population.‡

Lord Ripon in his reply expressed sympathy with the last of these and promised to examine the question carefully on his arrival in India. The result was the appointment of the Indian Education Commission of 1882-83, with which we will deal in our next chapter.

* Report of the Indian Education Commission, pp. 27 and 28.

† Ibid p. 570.

‡ Report of a Deputation to the Marquis of Ripon. (General Council of Education in India) 1880.

After the mutiny, the colleges at Benares, Agra and Bareilly in the North-Western Provinces, were affiliated to the Calcutta University. Oriental departments were abolished every where except at the Benares College, and boarding houses were established for students coming from a distance. The Bareilly College was abolished in 1877 (though it was re-established in 1884) and the Agra College was made over to a Committee on the grant-in-aid principle. The Canning College was opened at Lucknow in 1864, the Muir Central College at Allahabad in 1872, and the Mohamedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875. According to the evidence of Sir Seyed Ahmed Khan given before the Indian Education Commission, the main cause of the deficiency of the Mahomedans in English education was religious prejudice, and it was in order to remove this deficiency that he founded the Aligarh College. At the outset the undertaking met with great opposition but at last the perseverance of the founder was rewarded by the hearty co-operation of powerful friends. To-day the Aligarh College is the centre of much of the Mahomedan activity in India.

It has been calculated that in 1880-81 there were in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh 631 Secondary schools (Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular) and 5,577 Primary schools* With the increase of *Tahsili* and *Halqabandi* schools, the indigenous *Maktabs* and *Pathshalas* had fallen into the background and before many years the recognised system of Primary Education consisted mainly of the former two kinds of schools. The teachers in both received fixed salaries, the cost of *Tahsili* schools being borne directly by Government, and that of the *Halqabandi* schools by the one per cent. cess on the revenue, which at first voluntary, was in a few years made compulsory.

In 1866, a memorial was presented to the Local Government by the zemindars of the Aligarh district asking 'that all the money which they contribute for education at the rate of one per cent., on the *jama*, should, together with the sum which the Government grants or may grant in future in aid of the cause, be separately funded under

* Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Committee (Appendix to the Indian Education Commission Report), p. 45.

the designation of the Education Fund, and applied solely for the benefit of the people of that district alone from which the contribution is raised and to which it rightly belongs, and that a committee, consisting of Educational officers and the district landholders and gentlemen, presided over by the collector of the district or the Commissioner of the division, should be formed for the general control and supervision of the system, and for regulating the expenditure, and all matters connected with the business of education should be left to the discretion of the Committee so constituted.* The Local Government refused to concede the claim of local financial control over educational institutions advanced by the memo-

**Local Education
Committees.**

rialists but ordered the formation of local committees whose powers were limited to "purposes of inspection and check upon internal management." By the Act XVIII of 1871, the proceeds of different cesses, like the Education cess, the Road cess, etc., were carried to the credit of a general provincial fund, and the Lieutenant-Governor assigned from this fund an amount to each district. It was further enacted that a committee should be appointed in each district for the control and supervision of this amount of money. The Education Committees consequently became sub-committees of these general bodies, but neither the General Committees nor the Education Committees proved a success.

In 1880-81 the total number of educational institutions in the whole province was 6,544 with 2,23,844 pupils,† while the total expenditure on education amounted to a little above 15 lakhs.‡

* Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee (Appendix to the Indian Education Commission Report), p. 35.

† *Ibid* p. 45.

‡ *Ibid* p. 41.

CHAPTER IV.

1882—1907.

In February 1882 the Government of India appointed an Education Commission, with a view to enquire into the existing system of Public Instruction. The duty of the Commission was to enquire into the manner in which effect had been given to the Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such methods as it might think desirable, with a view to more completely carrying out the policy therein laid down. The two main points for the consideration of the Commission were (1) the spreading of Primary Education and (2) the extension of the grant-in-aid system. The Government of India believed that more advance had been made in Higher than in Primary Education, and while not in any way regretting this advance, it held that the different branches of Education should more forward together, and it therefore asked the Commission to consider "the present state of elementary education throughout the Empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved." Further, the Commission was directed to find out how far it would be possible to extend the grant-in-aid system, especially in connection with Higher Education, so that the funds thus set free might be made applicable to the education of the masses. Among the minor points to be considered by the Commission were the questions of Female Education, the Education of classes deserving special attention (*e.g.*, the Mohomedans), fees, scholarships, etc. The Universities were excluded from its investigations.

The Commission was presided over by Sir William Hunter, and among its remaining twenty members there were several well-known English and Indian gentlemen, the most distinguished of the latter being Mr. Telang of Bombay and Mr. Mahmud of Allahabad. The Commission met in Calcutta in

February 1882 and divided itself into a number of Provincial Committees. The Committees having prepared their reports the Commission re-assembled in December, and having deliberated over the materials collected and agreed upon its recommendations, concluded its sittings in March 1883.

The principal conclusions and recommendations of the Commission were as follows:—

(1) *Primary Education*.—The Commission found that there was altogether in 1881-82 only 8·29 per cent., of the population of school-going age in the Primary Schools or classes, and it came to the conclusion “that while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the state should now be directed, in a still larger measure than heretofore.” The Commission therefore recommended (a) that Primary Education be declared to be that part of the whole system of public instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on Provincial revenues and (b) that the general control over Primary school expenditure be vested in the school boards, whether Municipal or Local, which may now exist or may hereafter be created for Self-Government in each province.

(2) *Secondary Education*.—It was distinctly laid down by the Commission “that the relation of State to Secondary Education is different from its relation to Primary education, in that the means of Primary Education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of Secondary Education only where adequate local co-operation is forthcoming; and that therefore, in all ordinary cases, Secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid.”

(3) *Training Institutions*.—The Commission recommended the institution of an examination in the principle and practice of teaching, success in which was to be a condition for

employment in Secondary schools and the establishment of Normal Schools for supplying teachers to Primary Schools.

(4) *The Extension of the Grant-in-aid system.*—While anxious to encourage any natural and unforced transfer of institutions from departmental to private agency (in the case of Higher and Secondary Education), the Commission was not prepared to demand any immediate or general withdrawal of the State from this field of education. It recommended that every case should be considered on its own merits, and the transfer from the State to a body of Indian gentlemen might be effected where there was reasonable prospect that the cause of education would not suffer from such a transfer.

(5) *A Non-Literary School Final Examination.*—It was contended that the University looks upon the Entrance or Matriculation Examination not as a test of fitness for the duties of daily life, but rather as a means of ascertaining whether the candidate has acquired that amount of general information and that degree of mental discipline which would enable him to profit by a course of literary or professional instruction. Therefore the Commission recommended that in the Upper classes of High Schools there be two divisions, one leading to the Entrance Examination of the University, and the other of a more practical character intended to fit youths for commercial and non-literary pursuits.

The Government of India in its resolution of October, 1884 reviewed the report of the Indian Education Commission and expressed its agreement with most of the recommendations, and for the next twenty years the course laid down by the Commission was followed with more or less fidelity in the different provinces. On the extension of Local Self-Government by Lord Ripon in 1885, the State retired in favour of local bodies from the direct control of Primary and in a less degree of Secondary schools; and large powers with corresponding grants, in many cases from provincial revenues, were transferred to the boards for the purpose of aiding schools under private management.* The Zila Schools of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh were transferred nominally to District Committees in 1882.

Their working in
the Educational
Administration.

* *Review of Education in India, in 1886 by Sir Alfred Croft.*

and to District Boards in 1885. Of course there were exceptions but this was the general line of policy pursued. According to the Fourth Quinquennial Review of Education there were in 1902 only one-fifth of the total number of educational institutions under direct public management, the balance belonging to the various private agencies incorporated in the State system. Out of 138 colleges situated in British India, 24 were Government institutions, and out of 25½ lakhs spent on collegiate education nearly 9 lakhs was contributed by Government. Of the Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular Secondary Schools, 233 were maintained by Government out of a total of 4,582; while the total money spent on Secondary schools was 109 lakhs, of which 14½ lakhs was contributed by Government. As regards Primary education there were 92,000 Primary schools maintained at a cost of 105 lakhs, of which 13½ lakhs was contributed by Government.

An important recommendation of the Commission was concerning the institution of an School Final Examination side by side with the University Matriculation. Such examinations were instituted in almost all the provinces, the latest instance being the School Leaving Certificate Examination of the United Provinces, which has taken the place of the School Final Examination of the Allahabad University. The recommendation of the Commission about the training of teachers was also attended to. In 1886 the Madras Normal School was reorganized as a Training College and the Madras University instituted a degree of Licentiate in Teaching. Other provinces followed suit and Training Colleges were established in the Punjab, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces. In Bengal a small training class for Indian teachers was attached to the European Training College at Kurseong in 1899 but was afterwards discontinued. A Training College was opened later on in Bombay. In addition to these Training Colleges which train teachers for High or Secondary Anglo-Vernacular schools there are a number of Normal Schools in each province, where teachers for Vernacular Schools are trained.

Under Lord Curzon's Government a general inquiry was held in educational matters, beginning in 1899 and coming to maturity at the Simla Conference of 1901. The Universities

Commission which was presided over by Sir Thomas Raleigh, and had among its members two well-known Indian gentlemen, Nawab Siyed Husain Bilgrami of Hyderabad and Sir Guru Das Banerji of Calcutta, was appointed in 1902 "to inquire into the condition and prospects of the Universities established in British India." After an exhaustive inquiry the Commission submitted its report to the Government of India, and its recommendations were incorporated in the Universities Act of 1904. The senates were reconstituted, and the number of Fellows, elected as well as nominated, was fixed from 75 to 100.

The Universities' Act.

The inspection of Colleges by University inspectors to test their efficiency before affiliation was made obligatory, and the power of the University to affiliate or disaffiliate colleges was made subject to the sanction of Government. Residence of students, not living with their parents or guardians, in hostels or approved lodgings was made compulsory, and all non-collegiate students except teachers, were excluded from all University examinations above the Matriculation. According to the new regulations, the minimum age for Matriculation was fixed at 16 by the Calcutta, Bombay and Allahabad Universities, and at 15 by the Madras and the Punjab Universities.

Indian Educational Policy.

Another event of importance was the publication of a resolution on *Indian Educational Policy* by the Governor-General in Council in 1904. After giving a brief historical account of Education in British India it went on to describe its condition as it was in 1904. If 15 per cent., of the population be considered of school-going age then the number of children of school age in British India with its population of 240 millions amounted to 36 millions, while it was 45 millions for the whole of India. Of these only $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, *i. e.*, about 10 per cent., were being educated. When the numbers, again, were analysed from the standpoint of sex, it was found that three boys out of four were growing up without education, and only one girl in forty attended any kind of school. As regards the quality of the education given, there was no doubt that it had helped considerably in the spread of knowledge, had opened new avenues of employment to Indians, and had produced a marked improvement in the character of public servants. Its defects were that

it was pursued too exclusively for the sake of 'Service,' there were too many examinations in High Schools, the course of study were in many cases too literary, while the method of teaching encouraged cram and the vernaculars were neglected. Like the Indian Education Commission, the Government of Lord Curzon laid special stress on the encouragement of Primary Education, the condition of which was declared unsatisfactory. The resolution declared the extension of this branch of education as one of the most important duties of Government and it laid down that the curriculum of rural Primary schools should be modified to suit agriculturists and that half-time schools might be established for their benefit. As regards Secondary education the resolution declared that "in all provinces there is considerable eagerness among parents to afford their sons an English education," the number of Secondary schools having risen to 5,493 and of their pupils to 5,58,000. The Government of India however urged the necessity of a more searching School Leaving Test in addition to the ordinary Entrance or Matriculation Examination, and the desirability of reducing the number of school examinations. No child was to be allowed to learn English until it had received a thorough grounding in the vernacular, and even then English was not to be made the medium of instruction in other subjects too early. Discussing the subject of moral education, the resolution laid down that we should depend not on moral text-books, but on the influence of carefully trained teachers, the maintenance of a high-state of discipline, the establishment of well-managed hostels, the proper selection of text-books, and the association of teachers and pupils in the common interests of daily life.

Some of the suggestions enumerated above, were already receiving the attention of educational authorities, and efforts were made after the publication of the resolution, to act upon the remainder. Kindergarten methods and object lessons have been introduced more or less everywhere in Primary classes and the realisation of the ideal, expressed in the resolution, is being slowly brought about in the best schools. It is being recognised that *words* merely are not adequate as an instrument of education, but that the use of *things* is essential in any sound system of the training of children, though it must be confessed that in

many cases the Primary School teacher is only a *Verbal Realist*, and more often than not teaches about things merely by means of words. The modification of the curriculum of rural Primary Schools in order to adapt it better to the actual needs of rural life has been carried out. The number of examinations in High Schools has been materially reduced, and examinations alternative to the ordinary matriculation examination based on a more "Modern" and scientific curriculum, exist now in all the provinces.

The following table* gives an idea of the proportion of pupils under instruction to the population of school-going age, in the different provinces of India, in 1906-07. The population of the school-going age is taken at 15 per cent. of the whole population.

Number of pupils under public instruction (otherwise than in private institutions) per mille of population of school-going age.

Province.	Boys.	Girls.
Madras	257	51
Bombay	281	51
Bengal	278	31
United Provinces	136	10
Punjab	128	17
Burma	210	76
Eastern Bengal and Assam	269	31
Central Provinces and Berar	221	19
Coorg	219	38
North-West Frontier Province	90	9
Total	227	32

If the pupils of private institutions be included, the figures for the whole of British India are raised to 258 and 36 for boys and girls respectively. †

* Fifth Quinquennial Review, Vol. II, p. 21.

† Ibid Vol. II, p. 21.

The United Provinces, as has been casually mentioned already, shared in the general advance, and followed the new principles laid down by the Indian Education Commission and the *Indian Educational Policy*. The only event of provincial importance occurred towards the end of the period, with which we are dealing in this chapter, when in April 1907, the Local Government appointed a Committee to consider the steps which should be taken for the general improvement of Secondary Education. The committee submitted its report in June, and most of its recommendations, which were accepted by the Government, have been carried out, or, are in the course of being carried out. The most important of them were the following :—

(1) *That there should be one Government High School at the head-quarters of every district.*—“When the High Schools were transferred to District Boards in 1885,” said the report, “it produced no practical change in their administration, for though the schools were maintained by District Boards, the Government exercised, through the Education Department, complete administrative and financial control over them. But the issue of rules under the United Provinces District Boards Act of 1906 produced a complete change, for the real control passed wholly to the Boards, and the department exercised only the functions of an inspecting and advisory agency. A very short experience of the new system was sufficient to prove that it was unsuitable. First, there were grave disciplinary disadvantages in the system under which masters in High Schools are under the control of the District Boards instead of the Director of Public Instruction. *Secondly*, District Boards and their electorates are composed largely of agriculturists and landowners, who know little about English education and are not qualified to deal with such educational problems as the administration of an English High School presents.”

(2) *That local committees be established in each district to visit the schools and to criticise such matters as boarding house management, sanitation, games, religious education, etc.*

(3) *That secondary English education will not be adequately provided for until there are none but trained teachers in the schools and none but trained graduates in the higher classes.*—

To meet the ever-increasing demand for trained teachers, the Training College at Allahabad was bifurcated in 1909. A Higher Grade Training College was established at Allahabad for the training of graduates, while the Lower Grade Training College was transferred to Lucknow. The Higher Grade Training College is affiliated to the Allahabad University, and prepares students for the degree of Licentiate in Teaching of that University.

(4) That *there should be a graded service with certain prizes at the top*, which should be not materially less valuable than those to be obtained in other services, that head masters of High Schools should be eligible for occasional promotion to inspectorship.

(5) That *better arrangements for science teaching*, including separate class rooms and adequate apparatus for practical work, should be made.

(6) That *hostel accommodation* should be provided for all the boys who do not live with their guardians.

(7) That there should be *ten inspectors*,...and *four special inspectors* for Science, Drawing, and Languages.

(8) That *the School Leaving Certificate Examination be established* in order to place before the scholar a wider range of subjects to choose from, and to fit him, if he wishes it, for other aims than a University career. This examination has been established, and its chief features are thus summarised by the Director of Public Instruction in his report of 1907-08.

"It provides courses leading up to University studies and as such has been recognised by the University as a substitute for Matriculation. On the other hand for boys who have no desire to join an Arts College it supplies a variety of courses designed to fit them for various walks in life, or for entry into such institutions as the Medical School at Agra, the Thomson Engineering College, the Forest College, and the Agricultural College. It thus satisfies two educational principles now generally recognised: *first*, that education in the different stages should be relatively complete, *secondly*, that it should equip not only for life as a man and a citizen but for livelihood as well, and as such be definitely related to the future vocation and environment of the student. Nine optional courses have been drawn up with this object and can be added to if the need arises. Last, but not least, the character of the examination will, it is hoped, transform the method of teaching in schools. Mere ability to answer questions on paper will not be sufficient. The written work will be supplemented by searching oral and practical tests conducted *in situ* amid the surroundings and with the apparatus with which the candidate had become familiar. Further, the examination will take account not only of questions answered in an examination room on a particular day, but of the record of the work done in

class, extending over the whole period of preparation. The School Leaving Certificate introduces a revolutionary change in the attitude towards study at school. It puts a premium upon steady and continuous work and discourages cram."

All this shows that secondary education is emerging from the eclipse which it underwent some years back and serious attention is being paid to its improvement, specially in the United Provinces.

CHAPTER V.

Female Education.

Early efforts in Bombay. The earliest efforts, to educate Indian women on modern lines, were made in Bombay, where in 1814, the American Missionary Society opened a school for girls. Other missionary societies followed, and several girl's schools had been founded in Bombay prior to 1833. In 1840 five schools for the daughters of higher classes of the Hindus were opened by the missionaries in Poona. In 1851 Mr. Karam Chand of Ahmadabad created an endowment fund of Rs. 20,000 for the foundation of girls' schools in that city, while another gentleman, Mr. Phule of Poona, opened a private school for girls in his own town. In Bombay nine vernacular free schools for girls, attended by more than 650 pupils were maintained by the "Student's Literary and Scientific Society."

In Madras. In Madras boarding schools attended by Christian girls were maintained from an early period by missionary societies, but the first direct effort at educating Hindu girls of the higher castes was made in 1841 by the missionaries of the Scottish Church. In 1854 there were probably 7,000 girls at schools conducted by the missionaries, and although the bulk of these were Indian Christians, there was among them a certain proportion of Hindu girls.

In Bengal. In Bengal there had been established 288 girls' schools prior to 1854, including the Bethune College which was founded in 1849.

The Despatch of 1854. The Despatch of 1854 gave expression to the pleasure felt by the Directors at the evidence of the spread of Female Education in India, and declared that grants-in-aid might be given to girls' schools. The despatch of 1859 affirmed this policy of sympathy and support. Helped by the Government in this way,

and supported by the missionaries and the enlightened section of the Indian community and the movement continued to make slow but steady progress. The Indian Education Commission made the following recommendations in connection with Female Education.

The Indian Education Commission.

(1) That Female Education be treated as a legitimate charge alike on Local or Municipal and Provincial funds, and receive special encouragement.

(2) That the standards of instruction for primary girls' schools be simpler than those for boys' schools, and be drawn up with special reference to the requirements of home life, and to the occupations open to women.

(3) That liberal aid be offered for the establishment in suitable localities of girls' schools in which English should be taught in addition to the vernacular.

(4) That liberal inducements be offered to the wives of schoolmasters to qualify as teachers, and that in suitable cases widows be trained as school mistresses.

(5) That a female inspecting agency be regarded as essential to the full development of Female Education, and more largely employed than hitherto.

This sympathetic attitude was re-affirmed by Lord Curzon, in his resolution on *Indian Educational Policy* in 1904, in which he urged the establishment of primary model schools, more training schools for female teachers and the employment of more inspectresses. The fifth Quinquennial Review shows that in 1907 there were about 6½ lakhs of female scholars in the whole country. Among the larger provinces the percentage of girls to population of school-going age is highest in Burma, and lowest in the United Provinces.

Indian Educational Policy.

Female Education in 1907.

In the North-Western Provinces, now called the United Provinces, the earliest effort of which we have any knowledge, was made by Moonshi Gopal Singh, the Deputy-Inspector of Schools of the Agra district in 1855*. The expense

N.-W. P. and Oudh (The United Provinces).

* The General Educational Despatch of 1859.

was, in the first instance, defrayed entirely from public funds, and the number of girls' schools in the the district rose to 288 in 1857 with an attendance of about 5000. Then came the mutiny of 1857. It undid all that had been done, so that the work had to be begun anew in 1859. But two difficulties have handicapped the authorities from the very first, the dearth of female teachers and the *Purdah* System, which is much more rigid in this part of the country than in Madras or Bombay. By 1870 the number of girls' schools in the province reached 640,* but there was a considerable reduction during the next decade owing to the financial difficulties of the Local Government, and in 1882 there were only 323† schools in existence. From 1882 the progress has been steady though very slow and in 1907 the number of girls' schools stood at 1,067 and that of their pupils at 40,111.‡ The best known institutions for the education of women in these provinces are the Isabella Thoburn College of Lucknow, the Crosthwaite girls' school at Allahabad, and the *Kanya Pathshala* of Dehra Dun. There is also a Normal School at Lucknow for training women teachers.

The Government of the United Provinces appointed an influential Committee of Indian gentlemen in 1904, to advise the Government as to what methods were best practicable under existing conditions for advancing Female Education. The Committee submitted its report in 1905, but owing to financial difficulties effect could not be given to many of its recommendations. A Chief Inspectress of the Indian Educational Service was however appointed and the class room accommodation at the Lucknow Normal School for girls was extended. The latest resolution of the Local Government on this subject was issued in 1908, in which it was proposed to spend an additional lakh of rupees on Female education and to carry out the following measures for its improvement :—

- (1) The formation of local Committees of influential Indian gentlemen.
- (2) To make provision for the training of women teachers at Crosthwaite Girls' School, Allahabad, and in Government model schools.

* Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Education Committee (Appendix to the Education Commission Report) p. 67.

† *Ibid* p. 104.

‡ Fifth Quinquennial Review, Vol. I., p. 253.

(3) To increase the number of Government model schools for girls, till there is at least one at the headquarters of each district and to strengthen the staff of existing model schools.

(4) To encourage the system of "visiting governesses."

(5) To make provision on a liberal scale for scholarships and prizes.

(6) To gradually increase the number of inspectresses till there is one for every educational division.

And it is on these lines that work is being done in the United Provinces.

APPENDIX A.

Chief Landmarks in the History of Education in British India.

- I. **1813.**—Education was recognised as a duty of the State, and provision was made for it from public funds, in the Charter Act of 1813.
- II. **1835.**—Macaulay wrote his famous minute, and English was officially recognised as the medium of higher education.
- III. **1854.**—The Despatch of 1854 reaffirmed the principles of 1813 and 1835, and recognised the extension of popular education as a duty of the State.
- IV. **1882-83.**—The Indian Education Commission made very exhaustive inquiries and laid down certain principles for the guidance of educational authorities.
- V. **1904.**—The Indian Universities Act was passed and the resolution on Indian Educational Policy was published.

APPENDIX B.

Extracts from the Despatch of 1814.

“In our Letter of the 6th September last, in the Public Department, we directed your attention generally to the 43rd Clause in the Act of the 53rd of the King, by which our Governor General in Council is empowered to direct that a sum of not less than one lac of rupees out of any surplus revenues that may remain shall be annually applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India. We purpose in this Despatch to convey to you our sentiments as to the mode in which it will be advisable you should proceed, and the measures it may be proper, you should adopt with reference to that subject.

“In the consideration of it, we have kept in view those peculiar circumstances of our political relation with India which, having necessarily transferred all power and pre-eminence from native to European agency, have rendered it incumbent upon us from motives of policy as well as from a principle of justice, to consult the feelings, and even to yield to the prejudices, of the natives, whenever it can be done with safety to our dominions.

“The Clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration; first the encouragement of the learned natives of India and the revival and improvement of literature; secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country.

“Niether of these objects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges, if established under the rules, and upon a plan similar to those that have been founded at our universities, because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college; and we doubt whether it would be practicable to devise any specific plan which would promise the successful accomplishment of the objects under consideration.

“We are inclined to think that the mode by which the learned Hindoos might be disposed to concur with us in prosecuting those objects would be by our leaving them to the practice of an usage, long established amongst them, of giving instruction at their own

houses, and by our encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents, by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinction, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance.

“In a political point of view, considerable advantages might, we conceive, be made to flow from the measure proposed, if it should be conducted with due attention to the usages and habits of the natives. They are known to attach a notion of sanctity to the soil, the buildings and other objects of devout resort, and particularly to that at Benares, which is regarded as the central point of their religious worship, and as the great repository of their learning. The possession of this venerated city, to which every class and rank of the Hindoos is occasionally attracted, has placed in the hands of the British Government a powerful instrument of connexion and conciliation, especially with the Mahrattas, who are more strongly attached than any other to the supposed sanctity of Benares.

“Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we desire that your attention may be directed in an especial manner to Benares and that you call upon your public representatives there to report to you what ancient establishments are still existing for the diffusion of knowledge in that city; what branches of science and literature are taught there; by what means the professors and teachers are supported; and in what way their present establishments might be improved to most advantage.

* * * *

“We refer with particular satisfaction upon this occasion to that distinguished feature of internal polity which prevails in some parts of India, and by which the instruction of the people is provided for by a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of the village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community.

“The mode of instruction that from time immemorial has been practised under these masters has received the highest tribute of praise by its adoption in this country, under the direction of the Reverend Dr. Bell, formerly chaplain at Madras; and it is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction.

“This venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindoos is represented to have withstood the shock of revolutions, and to its operation is ascribed the general intelligence of the natives as scribes and accountants. We are so strongly persuaded of its great utility that we are desirous you should take early measures to inform yourselves of its present state, and that you will report to us the result of your inquiries, affording, in the meantime, the protection of Government to the village teachers in all their just

Rights and immunities, and marking by some favourable distinction any individual amongst them who may be recommended by superior merit or acquirement; for, humble as their situation may appear, if judged by a comparison with any corresponding character in this country, we understand those village teachers are held in great veneration throughout India.

“We are informed that there are in the Sanskrit language many excellent systems of Ethics, with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties relating to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the Judicial Department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit we are told on the virtues of plants and drugs, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to the European practitioner, and there are treatises on Astronomy and Mathematics, including Geometry and Algebra, which though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the Observatory and to the department of engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in those and other sciences.

“With a view to these several objects we have determined that due encouragement should be given to such of our servants in any of these departments as may be disposed to apply themselves to the study of the Sanscrit language.

“We encourage ourselves to hope, that a foundation may in this way be laid for giving full effect in the course of time to the liberal intentions of the Legislature; and we shall consider the money that may be allotted to this service as beneficially employed, if it should prove the means by an improved intercourse of the European with the natives, to produce those reciprocal feelings of regard and respect which are essential to the permanent interests of the British Empire in India.”

APPENDIX C.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Letter on English Education.

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

The establishment of a new Sanskrit School in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the natives of India by education,—a blessing for which they must ever be grateful, and every well-wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow in the most useful channels.

When this seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talent and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge, thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude, we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous

and enlightened nations of the West with the glorious ambition of planting in Asia the arts and sciences of Modern Europe.

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

The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its acquisition, is well-known to have been for ages a lamentable check to the diffusion of knowledge, and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil, is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sanskrit College; for there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sanskrit in the different parts of the country engaged in teaching this language, as well as the other branches of literature which are to be the object of the new seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable, would be effectually promoted, by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to their most eminent professors, who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and would by such reward be stimulated to still greater exertion.

From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government in England for the improvement of its Indian-subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed, since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen years of the most valuable period of their lives, in acquiring the niceties of Vyakaran or Sanskrit Grammar, for instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following: *khada*, signifying to eat, *khaduti* he or she or it eats, query, whether does *khaduti* taken as a whole convey the meaning he, she or it eats, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinctions of the words, as if in the English language it were asked how much meaning is there in the *eat* and how much in the *s*, and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by these two portions of it distinctly or by them taken jointly?

Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following which are the themes suggested by the Vedanta,—in what manner is the soul absorbed in the Deity? What relation does it bear to the Divine Essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe, that all visible things have no real existence, that as father, brother, &c., have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better.

Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the *Mimamsa* from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless by pronouncing certain passages of the Vedanta and what is the real nature and operative influence of passages of the Vedas, &c.

The student of the *Nyaya Sastra* cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the universe are divided and what speculative relation, the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, &c.

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

If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and providing a College furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus.

In presenting this subject to your Lordship, I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen, and also to that enlightened sovereign and legislature which have extended their benevolent care to this distant land, actuated by a desire to improve the inhabitants, and therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship,

APPENDIX D.

MACAULAY'S MINUTE.

"2nd 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 that 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 Sanskrit literature, that they never would have given the honourable 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 Hindus 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 authorize 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 Sanskrit would be downright 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 sanitarium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanitarium 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 no body 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 no body 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 Sanskrit, 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 Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing?

“I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit 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 instances 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 everything 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 nowise 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 anything 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 Sanskrit 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 schoolmaster 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 Honourable 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 Sanskrit college 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 Sanskrit 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 portion 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 Sanskrit 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 realizes a profit of 20 per cent. on its outlay.

“The fact that the Hindoo law is to be learned chiefly from Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit 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 reconcilable 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 Sanskrit 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 Sanskrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of the religion has the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement; 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 which 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 Sanskrit books; I would abolish the Madrassa and the Sanskrit college at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahmanical learning; Delhi, of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanskrit 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.”

APPENDIX E.

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL DESPATCH OF 1854.

From the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—(No. 49, dated 19th July, 1854).

1. It appears to us that the present time, when by an Act of the Imperial Legislature the responsible trust of the Government of India has again been placed in our hands, is peculiarly suitable for the review of the progress which has already been made, the supply of existing deficiencies, and the adoption of such improvements as may be best calculated to secure the ultimate benefit of the people committed to our charge.

2. Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England. For, although British influence has already, in many remarkable instances, been applied with great energy and success to uproot demoralising practices and even crimes of a deeper dye, which for ages had prevailed among the natives of India, the good results of those efforts must, in order to be permanent, possess the further sanction of a general sympathy in the native mind which the advance of education alone can secure.

3. We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated "not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust" in India, where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the State.

4. Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her

Public letter to Bengal,
5th September 1827.

material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India; this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us a larger and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour.

5. We have from time to time given careful attention and encouragement to the efforts which have hitherto been made for the spread of education, and we have watched with deep interest the practical results of the various systems by which those efforts have been directed. The periodical reports of the different Councils and Boards of Education, together with other official communications upon the same subject, have put us in possession of full information as to those educational establishments which are under the direct control of Government; while the evidence taken before the Committees of both Houses of Parliament upon Indian affairs has given us the advantage of similar information with respect to exertions made for this purpose by persons unconnected with Government, and has also enabled us to profit by a knowledge of the views of those who are best able to arrive at sound conclusions upon the question of education generally.

6. Aided, therefore, by ample experience of the past, and the most competent advice for the future, we are now in a position to decide on the mode in which the assistance of Government should be afforded to the more extended and systematic promotion of general education in India, and on the measures which should at once be adopted to that end.

7. Before proceeding further, we must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short, of European knowledge.

8. The systems of science and philosophy which form the learning of the East abound with grave errors, and Eastern literature is at best very deficient as regards all modern discovery and improvements; Asiatic learning, therefore, however widely diffused, would but little advance our object. We do not wish to diminish the opportunities which are now afforded in special institutions for the study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian literature, or for the cultivation of those languages which may be called the

classical languages of India. An acquaintance with the works contained in them is valuable for historical and antiquarian purposes, and a knowledge of the languages themselves is required in the study of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and is also of great importance for the critical cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages of India.

9. We are not unaware of the success of many distinguished oriental scholars in their praiseworthy endeavours to ingraft upon portions of Hindoo philosophy the germs of sounder morals and of more advanced science; and we are far from under-rating the good effect which has thus been produced upon the learned classes of India, who pay hereditary veneration to those ancient languages, and whose assistance in the spread of education is so valuable, from the honorable and influential position which they occupy among their fellow-countrymen. But such attempts, although they may usefully co-operate, can only be considered as auxiliaries, and would be a very inadequate foundation for any general scheme of Indian education.

10. We have also received most satisfactory evidence of the high attainments in English literature and European science which have been acquired of late years by some of the natives of India. But this success has been confined to but a small number of persons; and we are desirous of extending far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge of a less high order, but of such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life. To attain this end it is necessary, for the reasons which we have given above, that they should be made familiar with the works of European authors, and with the results of the thought and labor of Europeans on the subjects of every description upon which knowledge is to be imparted to them; and to extend the means of imparting this knowledge must be the *object* of any general system of education.

11. We have next to consider the manner in which our object is to be effected; and this leads us to the question of the *medium* through which knowledge is to be conveyed to the people of India. It has hitherto been necessary, owing to the want of translations or adaptations of European works in the vernacular languages of India, and to the very imperfect shape in which European knowledge is to be found in any works in the learned languages of the East, for those who desired to obtain a liberal education, to begin by the mastery of the English language as a key to the literature of Europe, and a knowledge of English will always be essential to those natives of India who aspire to a high order of education.

12. In some parts of India, more especially, in the immediate vicinity of the presidency towns, where persons who possess a

knowledge of English are preferred to others in many employments, public as well as private, a very moderate proficiency in the English language is often looked upon by those who attend school instruction, as the end and object of their education, rather than as a necessary step to the improvement of their general knowledge. We do not deny the value in many respects of the mere faculty of speaking and writing English, but we fear that a tendency has been created in these districts unduly to neglect the study of the vernacular languages.

13. It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. These languages, and not English, have been put by us in the place of Persian in the administration of justice and in the intercourse between the officers of Government and the people. It is indispensable, therefore, that, in any general system of education, the study of them should be assiduously attended to, and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people - whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a high order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language - can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages.

14. In any general system of education, the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language; and while the English language continues to be made use of, as by far the most perfect *medium* for the education of those persons who have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction *through* it, the vernacular languages must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with English. This can only be done effectually through the instrumentality of masters and professors, who may, by themselves, knowing English, and thus having full access to the latest improvements in knowledge of every kind, impart to their fellow-countrymen, through the medium of their mother tongue, the information which they have thus obtained. At the same time, and as the importance of the vernacular languages becomes more appreciated, the vernacular literatures of India will be gradually enriched by translations of European books or by the original compositions of men whose minds have been imbued with the spirit of European advancement, so that European knowledge may

gradually be placed in this manner within the reach of all classes of the people. We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the *media* for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of a sufficiently high class to maintain a school-master possessing the requisite qualifications.

15. We proceed now to the machinery which we propose to establish for the superintendence and direction of education. This has hitherto been exercised in our presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay by Boards and Councils of Education, composed of European and Native gentlemen, who have devoted themselves to this duty with no other remuneration than the consciousness of assisting the progress of learning and civilization, and, at the same time, with an earnestness and ability which must command the gratitude of the people of India, and which will entitle some honored names amongst them to a high place among the benefactors of India and of the human race.

16. The Lieutenant-Governor of Agra has, since the separation of the educational institutions of the North-Western Provinces from those of Bengal, taken upon himself the task of their management; and we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without the observation that, in this, as in all other branches of his administration, Mr. Thomas displayed that accurate knowledge of the condition and requirements of the people under his charge, and that clear and ready perception of the practical measures best suited for their welfare, which make his death a loss to India, which we deplore the more deeply as we fear that his unremitting exertions tended to shorten his career of usefulness.

17. We desire to express to the present Boards and Councils of Education our sincere thanks for the manner in which they have exercised their functions, and we still hope to have the assistance of the gentlemen composing them in furtherance of a most important part of our present plan; but, having determined upon a very considerable extension of the general scope of our efforts, involving the simultaneous employment of different agencies, some of which are now wholly neglected, and others but imperfectly taken advantage of by Government, we are of opinion that it is advisable to place the superintendence and direction of education upon a more systematic footing, and we have, therefore, determined to create an Educational Department as a portion of the machinery of our Governments in the several presidencies of India. We accordingly propose that an officer shall be appointed for each presidency and lieutenant-governorship, who shall be specially charged with the management of the business connected

with education, and be immediately responsible to Government for its conduct.

18. An adequate system of inspection will also, for the future, become an essential part of our educational system; and we desire that a sufficient number of qualified inspectors be appointed, who will periodically report upon the state of those colleges and schools which are now supported and managed by Government, as well as of such as will hereafter be brought under Government inspection by the measures that we propose to adopt. They will conduct, or assist at, the examination of the scholars at these institutions, and generally, by their advice, aid the managers and school-masters in conducting colleges and schools of every description throughout the country. They will necessarily be of different classes, and may possess different degrees of acquirement, according to the higher or lower character of the institutions which they will be employed to visit; but we need hardly say that, even for the proper inspection of the lower schools, and with a view to their effectual improvement, the greatest care will be necessary to select persons of high character and fitting judgment for such employment. A proper staff of clerks and other officers will moreover, be required for the Educational Departments.

19. Reports of the proceedings of the inspectors should be made periodically, and these, again, should be embodied in the annual reports of the heads of the Educational Departments, which should be transmitted to us, together with statistical returns (to be drawn up in similar forms in all parts of India), and other information of a general character relating to education.

20. We shall send copies of this despatch to the Governments of Fort St. George and of Bombay, and direct them at once to make provisional arrangements for the superintendence and inspection of education in their respective presidencies. Such arrangements as they may make will be reported to you for sanction. You will take similar measures in communication with the Lieutenant Governors of Bengal and of Agra, and you will also provide in such manner as may seem advisable for the wants of the non-regulation provinces in this respect. We desire that your proceedings in this matter may be reported to us with as little delay as possible, and we are prepared to approve of such an expenditure as you may deem necessary for this purpose.

21. In the selection of the heads of the Educational Departments, the inspectors and other officers, it will be of the greatest importance to secure the services of persons who are not only best able, from their character, position and acquirements, to carry our objects into effect, but who may command the confidence of the natives of India. It may, perhaps, be advisable that the first,

heads of the Educational Department, as well as some of the inspectors, should be members of our Civil Service, as such appointments in the first instance would tend to raise the estimation in which these offices will be held, and to show the importance we attach to the subject of education, and also, as amongst them you will probably find the persons best qualified for the performance of the duty. But we desire that neither these offices, nor any others connected with education, shall be considered as necessarily to be filled by members of that service, to the exclusion of others, Europeans or Natives, who may be better fitted for them; and that, in any case, the scale of their remuneration shall be so fixed as publicly to recognise the important duties they will have to perform.

22. We now proceed to sketch out the general scheme of the measures which we propose to adopt. We have endeavoured to avail ourselves of the knowledge which has been gained from the various experiments which have been made in different parts of India for the encouragement of education; and we hope, by the more general adoption of those plans which have been carried into successful execution in particular districts, as well as by the introduction of other measures which appear to be wanting, to establish such a system as will prove generally applicable throughout India, and thus to impart to the educational efforts of our different presidencies a greater degree of uniformity and method than at present exists.

23. We are fully aware that no general scheme would be applicable in all its details to the present condition of all portions of our Indian territories, differing, so widely as they do, one from another, in many important particulars. It is difficult, moreover, for those who do not possess a recent and practical acquaintance with particular districts, to appreciate the importance which should be attached to the feelings and influences which prevail in each; and we have, therefore, preferred confining ourselves to describing generally what we wish to see done, leaving to you, in communication with the several local Governments, to modify particular measures so far as may be required, in order to adapt them to different parts of India.

24. Some years ago, we declined to accede to a proposal made by the Council of Education, and transmitted to us with the recommendation of your Government, for the institution of an University in Calcutta. The rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India since that time, the high attainments shown by the native candidates for Government scholarships, and by native students in private institutions, the success of the medical colleges, and the requirements of an increasing European

and Anglo-Indian population, have led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of universities in India, which may encourage a regular and liberal course of education by conferring academical degrees as evidences of attainments in the different branches of art and science, and by adding marks of honor for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction.

25. The Council of Education, in the proposal to which we have alluded, took the London University as their model; and we agree with them that the form, government and functions of that University (copies of whose charters and regulations we enclose for your reference) are the best adapted to the wants of India, and may be followed with advantage, although some variation will be necessary in points of detail.

26. The universities in India will accordingly consist of a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Fellows, who will constitute a Senate. The Senates will have the management of the funds of the universities, and frame regulations for your approval, under which periodical examinations may be held in the different branches of art and science by examiners selected from their own body, or nominated by them.

27. The function of the universities will be to confer degrees upon such persons as having been entered as candidates according to the rules which may be fixed in this respect, and having produced from any of the "affiliated institutions" which will be enumerated on the foundation of the universities, or be from time to time added to them by Government, certificates of conduct, and of having pursued a regular course of study for a given time, shall have also passed at the universities such an examination as may be required of them. It may be advisable to dispense with the attendance required at the London University for the matriculation examination, and to substitute some mode of entrance examination which may secure a certain amount of knowledge in the candidates for degrees, without making their attendance at the universities necessary, previous to the final examination.

28. The examinations for degrees will not include any subjects connected with religious belief; and affiliated institutions will be under the management of persons of every variety of religious persuasion. As in England, various institutions in immediate connexion with the Church of England, the Presbyterian College at Cœrmarthen, the Roman Catholic College at Oscott, the Wesleyan College at Sheffield, the Baptist College at Bristol, and the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Cheshunt, are among the institutions from which the London University is empowered to receive certificates for degrees: so in India, institutions conducted

by all denominations of Christians, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsees, Sikhs, Bhuddists, Jains, or any other religious persuasions, may be affiliated to the universities, if they are found to afford the requisite course of study, and can be depended upon for the certificate of conduct which will be required.

29. The detailed regulations for the examination for degrees should be framed with a due regard for all classes of the affiliated institutions; and we will only observe upon this subject, that the standard for common degrees will require to be fixed with very great judgment. There are many persons who well deserve the distinction of an academical degree, as the recognition of a liberal education, who could not hope to obtain it if the examination was as difficult as that for the senior Government scholarships; and the standard required should be such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students, which would be a great obstacle to the success of the universities. In the competitions for honors, which, as in the London University, will follow the examinations for degrees, care should be taken to maintain such a standard as will afford a guarantee for high ability and valuable attainments,—the subjects for examination being so selected as to include the best portions of the different schemes of study pursued at the affiliated institutions.

30. It will be advisable to institute, in connection with the universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India. Law is the most important of these subjects; and it will be for you to consider whether, as was proposed in the plan of the Council of Education to which we have before referred, the attendance upon certain lectures, and the attainment of a degree in law, may not, for the future, be made a qualification for vakeels and munsiffs, instead of, or in addition to, the present system of examination, which must however, be continued in places not within easy reach of university.

31. Civil Engineering is another subject of importance, the advantages of which, as a profession, are gradually becoming known to the natives of India; and while we are inclined to believe that instructions of a practical nature, such as is given at the Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee, is far more useful than any lectures could possibly be, professorships of Civil Engineering might, perhaps, be attached to the universities, and degrees in Civil Engineering be included in their general scheme.

32. Other branches of useful learning may suggest themselves to you, in which it might be advisable that lectures should be read, and special degrees given; and it would greatly encourage the

cultivation of the vernacular languages of India that professorships should be founded for those languages, and perhaps, also, for Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. A knowledge of the Sanskrit language, the root of the vernaculars of the greater part of India, is more especially necessary to those who are engaged in the work of composition in those languages; while Arabic, through Persian, is one of the component parts of the Urdu language, which extends over so large a part of Hindoostan, and is, we are informed, capable of considerable development. The grammar of these languages, and their application to the improvement of the spoken languages of the country, are the points to which the attention of these professors should be mainly directed; and there will be an ample field for their labours unconnected with any instruction in the tenets of the Hindoo or Mahomedan religions. We should refuse to sanction any such teaching, as directly, opposed to the principles of religious neutrality to which we have always adhered.

33. We desire that you take into your consideration the institution of universities at Calcutta and Bombay, upon the general principles which we have now explained to you, and report to us upon the best method of procedure, with a view to their incorporation by Acts of the Legislative Council of India. The offices of Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor will naturally be filled by persons of high station, who have shown an interest in the cause of education; and it is in connexion with the universities that we propose to avail ourselves of the services of the existing Council of Education at Calcutta and Board of Education at Bombay. We wish to place these gentlemen in a position which will not only mark our sense of the exertions which they have made in furtherance of education, but will give it the benefit of their past experience of the subject. We propose, therefore, that the Council of Education at Calcutta and the Board of Education at Bombay, with some additional members to be named by the Government, shall constitute the Senate of the University at each of those presidencies.

34. The additional members should be so selected as to give to all those who represent the different systems of education which will be carried on in the affiliated institutions—including natives of India of all religious persuasions, who possess the confidence of the native communities—a fair voice in the Senates. We are led to make these remarks, as we observe that the plan of the Council of Education, in 1845, for the constitution of the Senate of the proposed Calcutta University, was not sufficiently comprehensive.

35. We shall be ready to sanction the creation of an university

at Madras or in any other part of India, where a sufficient number of institutions exist, from which properly qualified candidates for degrees could be supplied; it being in our opinion advisable that the great centres of European government and civilization in India should possess universities similar in character to those which will now be founded as soon as the extension of a liberal education shows that their establishment would be of advantage to the native communities.

36. Having provided for the general superintendence of education, and for the institution of universities, not so much to be in themselves places of instruction, as to test the value of the education obtained elsewhere, we proceed to consider, *first*, the different classes of colleges and schools, which should be maintained in simultaneous operation, in order to place within the reach of all classes of the natives of India the means of obtaining improved knowledge suited to their several conditions of life; and *secondly*, the manner in which the most effectual aid may be rendered by Government to each class of educational institutions.

37. The candidates for university degrees will, as we have already explained, be supplied by colleges affiliated to the universities. These will comprise all such institutions as are capable of supplying a sufficiently high order of instruction in the different branches of art and science in which university degrees will be accorded. The Hindoo, Hooghly, Dacca, Kishnaghur and Berhampore Government Anglo-Vernacular Colleges, the Sanskrit College, the Mahomean Madrissas, and the Medical College, in Bengal; the Elphinstone Institution, the Poonah College, and the Grant Medical College, in Bombay; the Delhi, Agra, Benares, Bareilly and Thomason Colleges in the North-Western Provinces; Seminaries, such as the Oriental Seminary in Calcutta, which have been established by highly educated natives, a class of places of instruction which we are glad to learn is daily increasing in number and efficiency; those, which, like the Parental Academy, are conducted by East Indians; Bishop's College, the General Assembly's Institution, Dr. Duff's College, the Baptist College at Serampore, and other institutions under the superintendence of different religious bodies and Missionary Societies, will, at once, supply a considerable number of educational establishments, worthy of being affiliated to the universities, and of occupying the highest place in the scale of general instruction.

38. The affiliated institutions will be periodically visited by Government inspectors; and a spirit of honorable rivalry, tending to preserve their efficiency, will be promoted by this, as well as by the competition of their most distinguished students for university honors. Scholarships should be attached to them, to

be held by the best students of lower schools; and their scheme of education should provide, in the anglo-vernacular colleges, for a careful cultivation of the vernacular languages; and, in the oriental colleges, for sufficient instruction in the English and vernacular languages, so as to render the studies of each most available for that general diffusion of European knowledge which is the main object of education in India.

39. It is to this class of institutions that the attention of Government has hitherto been principally directed, and they absorb the greater part of the public funds which are now applied to educational purposes. The wise abandonment of the early views with respect to native education, which erroneously pointed to the classical languages of the East as the *media* for imparting European knowledge, together with the small amount of pecuniary aid which, in the then financial condition of India, was at your command, has led, we think, to too exclusive a direction of the efforts of Government towards providing the means of acquiring a very high degree of education for a small number of natives of India, drawn, for the most part, from what we should here call the higher classes.

40. It is well that every opportunity should have been given to those classes for the acquisition of a liberal European education, the effects of which may be expected slowly to pervade the rest of their fellow-countrymen, and to raise, in the end, the educational tone of the whole country. We are, therefore, far from under-rating the importance, or the success, of the efforts which have been made in this direction; but the higher classes are both able and willing in many cases to bear a considerable part at least of the cost of their education; and it is abundantly evident that, in some parts of India, no artificial stimulus is any longer required in order to create a demand for such an education as is conveyed in the Government anglo-vernacular colleges. We have, by the establishment and support of these colleges, pointed out the manner in which a liberal education is to be obtained, and assisted them to a very considerable extent from the public funds. In addition to this, we are now prepared to give, by sanctioning the establishment of universities, full development to the highest course of education to which the natives of India, or of any other country, can aspire; and besides, by the division of university degrees and distinctions into different branches, the exertions of highly educated men will be directed to the studies which are necessary to success in the various active professions of life. We shall, therefore, have done as much as a Government can do to place the benefits of education plainly and practically before the higher classes in India.

41. Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure.

42. Schools—whose object should be not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life should exist in every district in India. These schools should be subject to constant and careful inspection; and their pupils might be encouraged by scholarships being instituted at other institutions which would be tenable as rewards for merit by the best of their number.

43. We include in this class of institutions those which, like the zillah schools of Bengal, the district Government anglo-vernacular schools of Bombay, and such as have been established by the Rajah of Burdwan and other native gentlemen in different parts of India, use the English language as the chief medium of instruction; as well as others of an inferior order, such as the tehseelee schools in the North-Western Provinces, and the Government vernacular schools in the Bombay presidency, whose object is, however imperfectly it has been as yet carried out, to convey the highest class of instruction which can now be taught through the medium of the vernacular languages.

44. We include these anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between schools in which the *media* for imparting instruction differ. The knowledge conveyed is, no doubt, at the present time, much higher in the anglo-vernacular than in the vernacular schools; but the difference will become less marked, and the latter more efficient, as the gradual enrichment of the vernacular languages in works of education allows their schemes of study to be enlarged, and as a more numerous class of school-masters is raised up, able to impart a superior education.

45. It is indispensable, in order fully and efficiently to carry out our views as to these schools, that their masters should possess a knowledge of English in order to acquire, and of the vernaculars so as readily to convey, useful knowledge to their pupils; but we

are aware that it is impossible to obtain at present the services of a sufficient number of persons so qualified, and that such a class must be gradually collected and trained in the manner to which we shall hereafter allude. In the meantime, you must make the best use which is possible of such instruments as are now at your command.

46. Lastly, what have been termed indigenous schools should, by wise encouragement, such as has been given under the system organized by Mr. Thomason in the North-Western Provinces, and which has been carried out in eight districts under the able direction of Mr. H. S. Reid in an eminently practical manner, and with great promise of satisfactory results, be made capable of imparting correct elementary knowledge to the great mass of the people. The most promising pupils of these schools might be rewarded by scholarships in places of education of a superior order.

47. Such a system as this, placed in all its degrees under efficient inspection, beginning with the humblest elementary instruction, and ending with the university test of a liberal education, the best students in each class of schools being encouraged by the aid afforded them towards obtaining a superior education as the reward of merit, by means of such a system of scholarships as we shall have to describe, would, we firmly believe, impart life and energy to education in India, and lead to a gradual, but steady extension of its benefits to all classes of the people.

48. When we consider the vast population of British India, and the sums which are now expended upon educational efforts, which, however successful in themselves, have reached but an insignificant number of those who are of a proper age to receive school instruction, we cannot but be impressed with the almost insuperable difficulties which would attend such an extension of the present system of education by means of colleges and schools entirely supported at the cost of Government as might be hoped to supply, in any reasonable time, so gigantic a deficiency and to provide adequate means for setting on foot such a system as we have described and desire to see established.

49. Nor is it necessary that we should depend entirely upon the direct efforts of Government. We are glad to recognise an increased desire on the part of the native population not only in the neighbourhood of the great centres of European civilisation, but also, in remoter districts, for the means of obtaining a better education; and we have evidence in many instances of their readiness to give a practical proof of their anxiety in this respect by coming forward with liberal pecuniary contributions. Throughout all ages, learned Hindus and Mahomedans have devoted

themselves to teaching with little other remuneration than a bare subsistence; and munificent bequests have not unfrequently been made for the permanent endowment of educational institutions.

50. At the same time, in so far as the noble exertion of societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the natives of India in the way of religious truth, and to instruct uncivilised races, such as those found in Assam, in the Cossya, Garrow and Rajmehal Hills, and in various districts of Central and Southern India (who are in the lowest condition of ignorance, and are either wholly without a religion, or are the slaves of a degrading and barbarous superstition), have been accompanied, in their educational establishments, by the diffusion of improved knowledge, they have largely contributed to the spread of that education which it is our object to promote.

51. The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the State, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India and of other benevolent persons.

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

53. The system of grants-in-aid, which we propose to establish in India, will be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the school assisted. Aid will be given (so far as the requirements of each particular district, as compared with others, and the funds at the disposal of Government, may render it possible) to all schools which impart a good secular education, provided that they are under adequate local management (by the term "local management" we understand one or more persons, such as private patrons, voluntary subscribers, or the trustees of endowments, who will undertake the general superintendence of the school, and be answerable for its permanence for some given time); and provided also that their managers

consent that the schools shall be subject to Government inspection, and agree to any conditions which may be laid down for the regulation of such grants.

54. It has been found by experience, in this and in other countries, that not only is an entirely gratuitous education valued far less by those who receive it than one for which some payment, however small, is made, but that the payment induces a more regular attendance and greater exertion on the part of the pupils; and, for this reason, as well as because school fees themselves, insignificant as they may be in each individual instance, will in the aggregate, when applied to the support of a better class of masters, become of very considerable importance, we desire that grants-in-aid shall, as a general principle, be made to such schools only (with the exception of normal schools) as require some fee, however small, from their scholars.

55. Careful considerations will be required in framing rules for the administration of the grants; and the same course should be adopted in India which has been pursued with obvious advantage by the Committee of Council here, namely, to appropriate the grants to *specific objects*, and not (except, perhaps, in the case of normal schools) to apply them in the form of simple contributions in aid of the general expenses of a school. The augmentation of the salaries of the head teachers, and the supply of junior teachers, will probably be found in India, as with us, to be the most important objects to which the grants can ordinarily be appropriated. The foundation, or assistance in the foundation, of scholarships for candidates from lower schools, will also be a proper object for the application of grants-in-aid. In some cases, again, assistance towards erecting or repairing a school, or the provision of an adequate supply of school-books, may be required; but the appropriation of the grant in each particular instance should be regulated by the peculiar circumstances of each school and district.

56. The amount and continuance of the assistance given will depend upon the periodical reports of inspectors, who will be selected with special reference to their possessing the confidence of the native communities. In their periodical inspections, *no notice whatsoever* should be taken by them of the religious doctrines which may be taught in any school; and their duty should be strictly confined to ascertaining whether the secular knowledge conveyed is such as to entitle it to consideration in the distribution of the sum which will be applied to grants-in-aid. They should also assist in the establishment of schools by their advice, wherever they may have opportunities of doing so.

57. We confide the practical adaptation of the general principles we have laid down as to grants-in-aid to your discretion,

aided by the educational departments of the different presidencies. In carrying into effect our views, which apply alike to all schools and institutions, whether male or female, anglo-vernacular or vernacular, it is of the greatest importance that the conditions under which schools will be assisted should be clearly and publicly placed before the natives of India. For this purpose Government notifications should be drawn up and promulgated in the different vernacular languages. It may be advisable distinctly to assert in them the principle of perfect religious neutrality on which the grants will be awarded; and care should be taken to avoid holding out expectations which from any cause may be liable to disappointment.

58. There will be little difficulty in the application of this system of grants-in-aid to the higher order of places of instruction in India in which English is at present the medium of education.

59. Grants-in-aid will also at once give assistance to all such anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools as impart a good elementary education; but we fear that the number of this class of schools is at present inconsiderable, and that such as are in existence require great improvement.

60. A more minute and constant local supervision than would accompany the general system of grants-in-aid will be necessary in order to raise the character of the "indigenous schools," which are, at present, not only very inefficient in quality, but of exceedingly precarious duration, as is amply shown by the statistics collected by Mr. Adam in Bengal and Behar, and from the very important information we have received of late years from the North-Western Provinces. In organising such a system, we cannot do better than to refer you to the manner in which the operations of Mr. Reid have been conducted in the North-Western Provinces, and to the instructions given by him to the zillah and pergannah visitors and contained in the appendix to his first report.

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

62. We look forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State. But it is far from our wish to check the spread of education in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay; and we therefore entirely confide in your discretion, and in that of the different local authorities, while keeping this object steadily in view, to act with caution, and to be guided by special reference to the particular circumstances which affect the demand for education in different parts of India.

63. The system of free and stipendiary scholarships, to which we have already more than once referred as a connecting link between the different grades of educational institutions, will require some revision and extension in carrying out our enlarged educational plans. We wish to see the object

Minute, November, 24th,
1839, paras. 32 and 33.

proposed by Lord Auckland, in 1839, "of connecting the zillah schools with the central colleges by attaching to the latter scholarships to which the best scholars of the former might be eligible," more fully carried out; and also, as the measures we now propose assume an organised form, that the same system may be adopted with regard to schools of a lower description, and that the best pupils of the inferior schools shall be provided for by means of scholarships in schools of a higher order, so that superior talent in every class may receive that encouragement and development which it deserves. The amount of the stipendiary scholarships should be fixed at such a sum as may be considered sufficient for the maintenance of the holders of them at the colleges or schools to which they are attached, and which may often be at a distance from the home of the students. We think it desirable that this system of scholarships should be carried out, not only in connexion with those places of education which are under the immediate superintendence of the State, but in all educational institutions which will now be brought into our general system.

61. We are, at the same time, of opinion that the expenditure upon existing Government scholarships, other than those to which we have referred, which amounts to a considerable sum, should be gradually reduced, with the requisite regard for the claims of the present holders of them. The encouragement of youngmen of ability, but of slender means, to pursue their studies, is no doubt both useful and benevolent, and we have no wish to interfere with the private endowments which have been devoted to so laudable

an object, or to withdraw the additions which may have been made by us to any such endowments. But the funds at the disposal of Government are limited, and we doubt the expediency of applying them to the encouragement of the acquisition of learning by means of stipends which not only far exceed the cost of the maintenance of the student, but in many cases are above what he could reasonably expect to gain on entering the public service, or any of the active professions of life.

65. We shall, however, offer encouragement to education which will tend to more practical results than those scholarships. By giving to persons who possess an aptness for teaching, as well as the requisite standard of acquirements, and who are willing to devote themselves to the profession of school-master, moderate monthly allowances for their support during the time which it may be requisite for them to pass in normal schools, or classes, in order to acquire the necessary training, we shall assist many deserving students to qualify themselves for a career of practical usefulness, and one which will secure them an honorable competence through life. We are also of opinion that admission to places of instruction, which, like the Medical and Engineering Colleges, are maintained by the State for the purpose of educating persons for special employment under Government, might be made the rewards of industry and ability, and thus supply a practical encouragement to general education, similar to that which will be afforded by the educational service.

66. The establishment of universities will offer considerable further inducements for the attainment of high proficiency, and thus supply the place of the present senior scholarships, with this additional advantage, that a greater number of subjects, in which distinction can be gained, will be offered to the choice of students than can be comprised in one uniform examination for a scholarship, and that their studies will thus be practically directed into channels which will aid them in the different professions of life which they may afterwards adopt.

67. In England, when systematic attempts began to be made for the improvement of education, one of the chief defects was found to be the insufficient number of qualified school-masters and the imperfect method of teaching which prevailed. This led to the foundation of normal and model schools for the training of masters, and the exemplification of the best methods for the organisation, discipline and instruction of elementary schools. This deficiency has been the more palpably felt in India, as the difficulty of finding persons properly educated for the work of tuition is greater; and we desire to see the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of training schools and classes for masters

in each presidency in India. It will probably be found that some of the existing institutions may be adapted, wholly or partially, to this purpose, with less difficulty than would attend the establishment of entirely new schools.

68. We cannot do better than refer you to the plan which has been adopted in Great Britain for this object, and which appears to us to be capable of easy adaptation to India. It mainly consists, as you will perceive on reference to the minutes of the Committee of Council; copies of which we enclose, in the selection and stipend of pupil-teachers (awarding a small payment to the masters of the schools in which they are employed for their instruction out of school hours); their ultimate removal, if they prove worthy, to normal schools; the issue to them of certificates on the completion of their training in those normal schools; and in securing to them a sufficient salary when they are afterwards employed as school-masters. This system should be carried out in India, both in the Government colleges and schools, and, by means of grants-in-aid, in all institutions which are brought under Government inspection. The amount of the stipends to pupil-teachers and students at normal schools should be fixed with great care. The former should receive moderate allowances rather above the sums which they would earn if they left school, and the stipends to the latter should be regulated by the same principle which we have laid down with respect to scholarships.

69. You will be called upon, in carrying these measures into effect, to take into consideration the position and prospects of the numerous classes of natives of India who are ready to undertake the important duty of educating their fellow-countrymen. The late extension of the pension regulations of 1831 to the educational service may require to be adapted to the revised regulations in this respect; and our wish is that the profession of school-master may, for the future, afford inducements to the natives of India such as are held out in other branches of the public service. The provision of such a class of school-masters as we wish to see must be a work of time; and, in encouraging the "indigenous schools," our present aim should be to improve the teachers whom we find in possession, and to take care not to provoke the hostility of this class of persons, whose influence is so great over the minds of the lower classes, by superseding them where it is possible to avoid it. They should, moreover, be encouraged to attend the normal schools and classes which may hereafter be instituted for this class of teachers.

70. Equal in importance to the training of school-masters is the provision of vernacular school-books, which shall provide European information to be the object of study in the lower classes of schools. Something has, no doubt, been done of late years towards

this end, but more still remains to be done; and we believe that deficiencies might be readily and speedily supplied by the adoption of a course recommended by Mr. M. Elphinstone in 1825, namely—“That the best translations of particular books, or the best elementary treatises in specified languages, should be advertised for and liberally rewarded.”

71. The aim should be, in compilations and original compositions (to quote from one of Mr. Adam's valuable reports upon the state of education in Bengal), “not to translate European works into the words and idioms of the native languages, but so to combine the substance of European knowledge with native forms of thought and sentiment as to render the school-books useful and attractive.”

Report 1850-51 paras
298-303.

We also refer with pleasure upon this point to some valuable observations by Mr. Reid, in his report which we have quoted before, more especially as regards instruction in geography. It is obvious that the local peculiarities of different parts of India render it necessary that the class-books in each should be especially adapted to the feelings, sympathies and history of the people; and we will only further remark upon this subject that the Oriental Colleges, besides generally tending, as we have before observed, to the enrichment of the vernacular languages, may, we think, be made of great use in the translation of scientific works into those languages, as has already been done to some extent in the Delhi, Benares and Poonah Colleges.

72. We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government; and on the other hand, we believe that the numerous vacancies of different kinds which have constantly to be filled up, may afford a great stimulus to education. The first object must be to select persons properly qualified to fill these situations; secondary to this is the consideration how far they may be so distributed as to encourage popular education.

73. The resolution of our Governor-General in Council of the 10th of October 1844 gave a general preference to well-educated over uneducated men in the admissions to the public service. We perceive with much satisfaction from returns which we have recently received of the persons appointed since that year in the Revenue Department of Bengal, as well as from the educational reports from different parts of India, that a very considerable number of educated men have been employed under Government of late years; and we understand that it is often not so much the want of Government employment as the want of

properly qualified persons to be employed by Government, which is felt at the present time, in many parts of India.

74. We shall not enter upon the causes which, as we foresaw have led to the failure of that part of the resolutions which provided for the annual submission to Government of lists of meritorious students. It is sufficient for our present purpose to observe that no more than 46 persons have been gazetted in Bengal up to this time,

Letter of 6th April
1852, with returns in
Revenue Department,
Bengal.

all of whom were students in the Government colleges. In the last year for which we have returns (1852), only two persons were so distinguished; and we can readily believe, with the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in Bengal, that young men, who have passed a difficult examination in the highest branches of philosophy and mathematics, are naturally disinclined to accept such employment as persons who intend to make the public service their profession must necessarily commence with.

75. The necessity for any such lists will be done away with by the establishment of universities, as the acquisition of a degree, and still more the attainment of university distinctions, will bring highly educated young men under the notice of Government. The resolutions in question will, therefore, require revisions so as to adapt them practically to carry out our views upon this subject. What we desire is that, where the other qualifications of the candidates for appointments under Government are equal, a person who has received a good education irrespective of the place or manner in which it may have been acquired, should be preferred to one who has not; and that even in lower situations, a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot, if he is equally eligible in other respects.

76. We also approve of the institution of examinations where practicable, to be simply and entirely tests of the fitness of candidates for the special duties of the various departments in which they are seeking employment, as has been the case in the Bombay presidency. We confidently commit the encouragement of educated, in preference to uneducated men to the different officers who are responsible for their selection; and we cannot interfere by any further regulations to fetter their free choice in a matter of which they bear the sole responsibility.

77. We are sanguine enough to believe that some effect has already been produced by the improved education of the public service of India. The ability and integrity of a large and increasing number of the native judges, to whom the greater part of the civil jurisdiction in India is now committed, and the high estimation in which many among them are held by their fellow-countrymen, is, in our opinion, much to be attributed to the progress of

education among these officers, and to their adoption along with it of that high moral tone which pervades the general literature of Europe. Nor is it among the higher officers alone that we have direct evidence of the advantage which the public derives from the employment of educated men. We quote from the last report of the Dacca College

Report on Public Instruction, Bengal 1851-52, page 72.

with particular satisfaction, as we are aware that much of the happiness of the people of India depends upon the honesty of the officers of Police:—
 “The best possible evidence has been furnished,” say the local committee, “that some of the ex-students of the College of Dacca have completely succeeded in the arduous office of darogah.” Krishna Chunder Dutt, employed as a darogah under the Magistrate of Howrah, in particular is recommended for promotion, as having gained the respect and applause of all classes, who, though they may not practise, yet know how to admire, réul honesty and integrity of purpose.

78. But however large the number of appointments under Government may be, the views of the natives of India should be directed to the far wider and more important sphere of usefulness and advantage which a liberal education lays open to them; and such practical benefits arising from improved knowledge should be constantly impressed upon them by those who know their feelings and have influence or authority to advice or direct their efforts. We refer, as an example in this respect, with mingled pleasure and regret, to the eloquent addresses delivered by the late Mr. Bethune, when President of the Council of Education, to the students of the Kishnaghur and Dacca Colleges.

79. There are some other points connected with the general subject of education in India upon which we will now briefly remark. We have always regarded with special interest those educational institutions which have been directed towards training up the natives of India to particular professions, both with a view to their useful employment in the public service, and to enable them to pursue active and profitable occupations in life. The medical colleges in different parts of India have proved that, in despite of difficulties which appeared at first sight to be insurmountable, the highest attainments in medicine and surgery are within the reach of educated natives of India: we shall be ready to aid in the establishment and support of such places of instruction as the medical colleges of Calcutta and Bombay in other parts of India. We have already alluded to the manner in which students should be supplied to these colleges, as well as those for the training of Civil Engineers.

80. The success of the Thomason College of Civil Engineering at Roorkee has shown that, for the purpose of training up persons capable of carrying out the great works which are in progress

under Government throughout India, and to qualify the natives of India for the exercise of a profession which, now that the system of railways and public works is being rapidly extended, will afford an opening for a very large number of persons, it is expedient that similar places for practical instruction in civil engineering should be established in other parts of India, and especially in the presidency of Madras, where works of irrigation are so essential, not only to the prosperity of the country, but to the very existence of the people in times of drought and scarcity. The subject has been prominently brought under your notice in the recent reports of the Public Works Commissioners for the different presidencies, and we trust that immediate measures will be taken to supply a deficiency which is, at present, but too apparent.

81. We may notice, in connexion with these two classes of institutions of an essentially practical character, the schools of industry and design, which have been set on foot from time to time in different parts of India. We have lately received a very encouraging report of that established by Dr. Hunter in Madras, and we have also been informed that Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, with his accustomed munificence, has offered to lay out a very considerable sum upon a like school in Bombay. Such institutions as these will, in the end, be self-supporting; but we are ready to assist in their establishment by grants-in-aid for the supply of models, and other assistance which they may advantageously derive from the increased attention which has been paid of late years to such subjects in this country. We enclose you the copy of a report which we have received from Mr. Redgrave upon the progress of the Madras school, which may prove of great value in guiding the efforts of the promoters of any similar institutions which may hereafter be established in India. We have also perceived with satisfaction that the attention of the Council of Education in Calcutta has been lately directed to the subject of attaching to each zillah school the means of teaching practical agriculture; for there is, as Dr. Mouat most truly observes, "no single advantage that could be afforded to the vast rural population of India that would equal the introduction of an improved system of agriculture."

Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, 1851-52, Appendix page clxxi.

82. The increasing desire of the Mahomedan population to acquire European knowledge has given us much satisfaction. We perceive that the Council of Education of Bengal has this subject under consideration, and we shall receive with favor any proposition which may appear to you to be likely to supply the wants of so large a portion of the natives of India.

83. The importance of female education in India cannot be over-rated; and we have observed with pleasure the evidence

which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor General in Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the Government ought to give to native female education in India its frank and cordial support; in this we heartily concur, and we especially approve of the bestowal of marks of honor upon such native gentlemen as Rao Bahadur Magaubhai Karamchand, who devoted Rs. 20,000 to the foundation of two native female schools in Ahmedabad, as by such means our desire for the extension of female education becomes generally known.

84. Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India; and, in order to effect their object, it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular. The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools, and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be; and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent, or discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from the masters upon the subject of the Christian religion, provided that such information be given out of school hours. Such instruction being entirely voluntary on both sides, it is necessary, in order to prevent the slightest suspicion of an intention on our part to make use of the influence of Government for the purpose of proselytism, that no notice shall be taken of it by the inspectors in their periodical visits.

85. Having now finished the sketch that we proposed to give of the scheme for the encouragement of education in India, which we desire to see gradually brought into operation, we proceed to make some observations upon the state of education in the several presidencies, and to point out the parts of our general plan which are most deficient in each.

86. In Bengal, education, through the medium of the English language, has arrived at a higher point than in any other part of India. We are glad to receive constant evidence of an increasing demand for such an education, and of the readiness of the natives

of different districts to exert themselves for the sake of obtaining it. There are now five Government anglo-vernacular colleges; and zillah schools have been established in nearly every district. We confidently expect that the introduction of the system of grants-in-aid will very largely increase the number of schools of a superior order; and we hope that, before long, sufficient provision may be found to exist in many parts of the country for the education of the middle and higher classes, independent of the Government institutions, which may then be closed, as has been already the case in Burdwan, in consequence of the enlightened conduct of the Rajah of Burdwan, or they may be transferred to local management.

87. Very little has, however, been hereto done in Bengal for the education of the mass of the people, especially for their instruction through the medium of the vernacular languages. A few vernacular schools were founded by Government in 1844, of which only 33 now remain, with 1,400 pupils, and, upon their transfer in April 1852, from the charge of the Board of Revenue to that of the Council of Education, it appeared that "they were in a languishing state and had not fulfilled the expectations formed on their establishment."

88. We have perused, with considerable interest, the report of Mr. Robinson, Inspector of the Assam schools, of which there appear to be 74, with upwards of 3,000 pupils. Mr. Robinson's suggestions for the improvement of the system under which they are managed appear to us to be worthy of consideration, and to approach very nearly to the principle upon which vernacular education has been encouraged in the North-Western Provinces. We shall be prepared to sanction such measures as you may approve of to carry out Mr. Robinson's views.

89. But the attention of the Government of Bengal should be seriously directed to the consideration of some plan for the encouragement of indigenous schools and for the education of the lower classes, which, like that of Mr. Thomason in the North-Western Provinces, may bring the benefits of education practically before them, and assist and direct their efforts. We are aware that the object held out by the Government of Agra to induce the agricultural classes to improve their education does not exist in Bengal; but we cannot doubt that there may be found other similar solid advantages attending elementary knowledge, which can be plainly and practically made apparent to the understandings and interests of the lower classes of Bengal.

90. We perceive that the scheme of study pursued in the Oriental Colleges of Bengal is under the consideration of the Council of Education, and it appears that they are in an unsatisfactory

condition. We have already sufficiently indicated our views as to those colleges, and we should be glad to see them placed upon such a footing as may make them of greater practical utility. The points which you have referred to us, in your letter of the 5th of May, relative to the establishment of a Presidency College in Calcutta, will form the subject of a separate communication.

91. In the North-Western Provinces the demand for education is so limited by circumstances fully detailed by the Lieutenant Governor in one of his early reports, that it will probably be long before private efforts will become energetic enough to supply the place of the establishment, support and management by Government, of places of instruction of the highest grade, where there may be a sufficient reason for their institution.

92. At the same time, the system for the promotion of general education throughout the country, by means of the inspection and encouragement of indigenous schools, has laid the foundation of a great advancement in the education of the lower classes. Mr. Thomason ascertained, from statistical information, the lamentable state of ignorance in which the people were sunk, while the registration of land, which is necessary under the revenue settlement of the North-Western Provinces, appeared to him to offer the stimulus of a direct interest for the acquisition of so much knowledge, at least of reading and writing, of the simple rules of arithmetic, and of land measurement, as would enable each man to look after his own rights.

93. He, therefore, organised a system of encouragement of indigenous schools, by means of a constant inspection by zillah and pergunnah visitors, under the superintendence of a visitor-general; while, at the head quarters of each tahsildar, a school was established for the purpose of teaching "reading and writing the vernacular languages, both Urdu and Hindi accounts, and the mensuration of land." A school house is provided by Government, and the masters of the tehsili schools receive a small salary, and are further entitled to the tuition fees paid by the pupils, of whom none are educated gratuitously, except "on recommendation given by village schoolmasters who may be on the visitor's list." A certain sum is annually allotted to each zillah for the reward of deserving teachers and scholars; and the attention of the visitor-general was expressly directed to the preparation of elementary school books in the vernacular language, which are sold through the agency of the zillah and the pergunnah visitors. We shall be prepared to sanction the gradual extension of some such system as this to the other districts of the Agra presidency, and we have already referred to it as the model by which the efforts of other presidencies for the same object should be guided,

94. In the presidency of Bombay the character of the education conveyed in the Anglo-vernacular colleges is almost, if not quite, equal to that in Bengal: and the Elphinstone Institution is an instance of a college conducted in the main upon the principle of grant-in-aid, which we desire to see more extensively carried out. Considerable attention has also been paid in Bombay to education through the medium of the vernacular languages. It appears that 216 vernacular schools are under the management of the Board of Education, and that the number of pupils attending them is more than 12,000. There are three inspectors of the district schools, one of whom (Mahadeo Govind Shastri) is a native of India. The schools are reported to be improving, and masters trained in the Government colleges have been recently appointed to some of them with the happiest effects. These results are very creditable to the presidency of Bombay; and we trust that each Government school will now be made a centre from which the indigenous schools of the adjacent districts may be inspected and encouraged.

95. As the new revenue settlement is intended in the Bombay presidency, there will, we apprehend, be found an inducement precisely similar to that which has been taken advantage of by Mr. Thomason, to make it the interest of the agricultural classes to acquire so much knowledge as will enable them to check the returns of the village accountants. We have learnt with satisfaction that the subject of gradually making some educational qualification necessary to the confirmation these hereditary officers is under the consideration of the Government of Bombay, and that a practical educational test is now insisted upon for persons employed in many offices under Government.

96. In Madras, where little has yet been done by Government to promote the education of the mass of the people, we can only remark with satisfaction that the educational efforts of Christian missionaries have been more successful among the Tamil population than in any other part of India; and that the presidency of Madras offers a fair field for the adoption of our scheme of education in its integrity, by founding Government anglo-vernacular institutions only where no such places of instruction at present exist, which might, by grants-in-aid and other assistance, adequately supply the educational wants of the people. We also perceive with satisfaction that Mr. Daniel Elliott, in a recent and most able minute upon the subject of education, has stated that Mr. Thomason's plan for the encouragement of indigenous schools might readily be introduced into the Madras presidency, where the riotwari settlement offers a similar practical inducement to the people for the acquisition of elementary knowledge.

97. We have now concluded the observations which we think it is necessary to address to you upon the subject of the education of the natives of India. We have declared that our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction, and by that of the vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people. We have directed such a system of general superintendence and inspection by Government to be established as will, if properly carried out, give efficiency and uniformity to your efforts. We propose by the institution of universities to provide the highest test and encouragement of a liberal education. By sanctioning grants-in-aid of private efforts, we hope to call to the assistance of Government private exertions and private liberality. The higher classes will now be gradually called upon to depend more upon themselves; and your attention has been more especially directed to the education of the middle and lower classes, both by the establishment of fitting schools for this purpose, and by means of a careful encouragement of the native schools which exist, and have existed from time immemorial, in every village, and none of which perhaps cannot, in some degree, be made available to the end we have in view. We have noticed some particular points connected with education, and we have reviewed the condition of the different presidencies in this respect, with a desire to point out what should be imitated, and what is wanting, in each.

98. We have only to add, in conclusion, that we commit this subject to you with a sincere belief that you will cordially cooperate with us in endeavouring to effect the great object we have in hand, and that we desire it should be authoritatively communicated to the principal officers of every district in India, that henceforth they are to consider it to be an important part of their duty, not only in that social intercourse with the natives of India, which we always learn with pleasure that they maintain, but also with all the influence of their high position, to aid in the extension of education, and to support the inspectors of schools by every means in their power.

99. We believe that the measures we have determined upon are calculated to extend the benefits of education throughout India; but, at the same time, we must add that we are not sanguine enough to expect any sudden, or even speedy, results to follow from their adoption. To imbue a vast and ignorant population with a general desire for knowledge, and to take advantage of that desire when excited to improve the means for diffusing education amongst them, must be a work of many years; which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, may largely conduce to the

moral and intellectual improvement of the mass of the natives of India.

100. As a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people; and aid them wherever they appear to require most assistance. The result depends more upon them than upon us; and although we are fully aware that the measures we have now adopted will involve in the end a much larger expenditure upon education from the revenues of India, or, in other words, from the taxation of the people of India than is at present so applied, we are convinced, with Sir Thomas Munro, in words used many years since, that any expense which may be incurred for this object "will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparably followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people."

APPENDIX F.

GENERAL EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1859.

From the Secretary of State for India, to the Government of India,—(No. 4, dated 7th April, 1859.)

1. The time seems to have arrived when some examination may be instituted into the operation of the orders despatched from this country in 1854, for the prosecution of measures on a more extended scale for promoting education in India. Such an examination seems more especially required, since the measures, and particularly the more recent measures, of Government for the promotion of education have been alleged to be among the causes which have brought about the recent outbreak in the army of Bengal, and the disquietude and apprehension which are believed to have prevailed in some portions of Her Majesty's Indian territories.

2. I have caused the records of the Department of Education to be examined, in order to trace the operation of the measures prescribed by the orders of the Home Authorities of July 1854, and to ascertain whether any grounds can be discovered for the allegation and impression referred to ; and I now proceed to state the results of the examination thus instituted, as the basis of the remarks which I shall have to offer on the subject, and of the further inquiries which appear necessary before Her Majesty's Government can arrive at a conclusive opinion on some of the question involved in it.

3. The improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and vernacular, having been the general objects of the despatch of 1854, the means prescribed for the accomplishment of those objects were the constitution of a separate department of the administration for the work of education ; the institution of universities at the several presidency towns ; the establishment of training institutions for raising up teachers for the various classes of schools ; the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and schools of a high order, and the increase of their number when necessary ; establishment of additional zillah or middle schools ; increased attention to vernacular schools for elementary education, including the indigenous schools already existing throughout the

country ; and finally, the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid under which the efforts of private individuals and of local communities would be stimulated and encouraged by pecuniary grants from Government in consideration of a good secular education being afforded in the aided schools.

4. The first step taken in execution of the Court's instructions

Formation of an Educational Department. was the formation of the establishments by means of which the desired extension was to be given to the work of education. An officer with the title of Director of Public Instruction was accordingly appointed to each

		<i>Authorized establishments.</i>	
Bengal ...	...	Ra.	13,711 per mensem.
N.-W. Provinces ...	...	"	81,15 "
Punjab ...	...	"	5,335 "
Madras ...	...	"	8,821 "
Bombay, including Sind. ...	...	"	8,926 "
		Ra.	44,908
		or Ra.	5,33,896 per annum.

of the presidencies and lieutenant-governorships, and to the Punjab, to whom the superintendence of the work of education was entrusted ; and under these officers a staff of inspectors and sub-inspectors was organised, who were in

effect to act in their several spheres as the local representatives of the Director. The annual cost of these controlling establishments is approximately shown in the margin.

5. As regards the persons by whom appointments in the Department of Education are to be held, it was thought by the Court of Directors that the first heads of the department, as well as some of the inspectors, should be members of the civil service, both to show the importance attached to the subject of education, and the estimation in which it was desired that the officers of the department should be held, and because among the members of that service the best qualified persons would be most likely to be met with. But at the same time it was directed that none of the appointments should be reserved for members of the covenanted service, to the exclusion of others, either Europeans or natives, who might be better qualified to fill them ; and the great importance was pointed out of selecting persons not only qualified for the duties of the department, but calculated also to command the confidence of the natives. The spirit of the instructions of the Court of Directors, with regards to the classes from whom the officers of the department were to be selected, appears to have been duly observed. In Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, Madras and Bombay, members of the civil service were, in the first instance, appointed Directors of Public Instruction, and the several appointments of inspectors were filled indiscriminately by civil servants, military and medical officers, and individuals unconnected with any of those services. In the Punjab, the office of Director has, from the first, been held by a gentleman who was at the time of

his nomination in the military service, but who retired from the army immediately on appointment. In Bombay, the first Director, Mr. Erskine, has been succeeded by a gentleman who was previously a practising barrister, and among the present inspectors, it is believed that there are not in all the presidencies more than two or three members of the civil service.

6. The universities have been constituted, as desired by the Court, on the general plan of the University of London: the scheme provides for an entrance examination for the training of the passed candidates at affiliated institution; for the grant of degrees in arts, medicine, law and civil engineering; and for the examination for honors of those who have obtained the degree of bachelor of arts, the passing of which will carry with it the higher degree of master of arts.

7. At the first entrance examination to the Calcutta University, held in March 1857, 162 candidates successfully passed the test for admission, of whom 113 were pupils from Government colleges and schools, and 45 from institutions supported by individuals or associations, the remaining 4 being masters in Government schools. At the examination for degrees in April 1858, two degrees of bachelor of arts were conferred, there having been 13 candidates. At the entrance examination held about the same time, 111 candidates out of 464 were admitted into the University. These results led the faculty of arts to propose some changes in the subjects and standards of the several examinations, the object being to reduce the severity of the tests to be passed. The alterations were proposed, and were apparently sanctioned by Government, on the ground that the tests for degrees, as originally fixed, were too high to be compatible with the object of the University entrance and degree examinations, which was to pass every student of ordinary ability who had fairly profited by the curriculum of school and college study which he has passed through. The constitution of the Universities of Madras and Bombay has only recently been completed, and no report of admissions into those institutions has yet been received by me.

8. Apart from colleges for special branches of study, such as medicine and civil engineering, there were the following Government colleges in Bengal, when the orders of 1854 were brought into operation, *viz.*, the Presidency College, which has just been remodelled and placed on a footing of great efficiency, the Sanskrit or Hindoo College, and the Madrissa or Mahomedan College, at Calcutta; and colleges at Berhampore, Dacca, Hooghly and Kishnaghur. The Sanskrit College and the Madrissa are specially, and in the first instance were exclusively, intended for the cultivation of Oriental

learning; the other colleges are designed for the promotion and advancement of general education through the medium of the English language. In the North-Western Provinces, Government colleges existed at Agra, Delhi, Benares and Bareilly, all of which were constituted to afford education of a high order through the medium of the English language; the study of Sanskrit being cultivated, however, with great success at Benares, and the study of the vernacular forming part of the course at all the colleges. In the Madras presidency, the only Government institution at which education of an advanced character was afforded was the "University," or, as it might more properly have been designated, the High School at Madras. At Bombay, the Elphinstone Institution at the presidency, and the college at Poona, were institutions where the means of education had been provided on a liberal scale by means of English professors of high qualifications.

9. At the Anglo-vernacular college in the two divisions of the Bengal presidency, the education may, on the whole, be considered to have been very efficient; the studies pursued take a high range, and the success of the students at the examinations for college distinction shows that a fair proportion had benefited by the opportunities they had enjoyed, and had attained to a considerable degree of proficiency in the various branches of study. The recent substitution of independent examiners for the professors or other officers attached to the colleges by whom the examinations were formerly conducted, has not been found to alter the character of the reports, which are still very favorable. No change in the constitution of the Government colleges in Bengal was called for by the Court's orders of 1854, nor, as far as can be ascertained, is there any material difference between the numbers attending the colleges in the Lower Provinces in 1854-55, and those in 1856-57, the latest period for which returns have been received. No reports respecting education in the North-Western Provinces have been received for a later period than the year 1854-55.

10. In Madras, the High School has been remodelled and formed into an institution somewhat resembling the Presidency College at Calcutta; but in consequence of the less advanced state of education throughout the presidency generally, Madras College does not take so high a range and partakes less of a collegiate character. In the provinces, four provincial schools have been established, which, it is hoped, will eventually be formed into provincial colleges, and which will give an education qualifying for admission into the higher institution at Madras.

11. In Bombay, where provision, as above remarked, was made for imparting an education of high order in the two

Government or quasi-Government collegiate institutions, the favorable impressions which formerly prevailed, founded on the reports of the annual examinations as to the results of the course of instruction pursued in them, have recently been much diminished. The students trained in the institutions in question, on being subjected to the test of an examination conducted by individuals unconnected with the colleges, have been found to fail in so many of the most ordinary and essential qualities of well-trained scholars, that it can only be supposed that the reports of former years had led to a very erroneous estimate of the acquirements of the students who had then passed the examination. The disappointment arising from this discovery was felt not only by those who had interested themselves in the promotion of general education but also by all those classes from which the students of the colleges in question have been heretofore supplied; and the result has been a great falling off in the attendance at both the Elphinstone Institution and the Poona College. Efforts have been made to remove this feeling, as well as to improve the course of instruction in the colleges, and it is understood that the number of students is now gradually increasing. It may be remarked that the failures thus brought to light resulted from a course of instruction arranged long before Government assumed the direct control of educational operations at Bombay, and that the exposure of the delusive system pursued was in fact brought about by the more close attention paid to the subject, in consequence of the organization of the Department of Education.

12. It was provided by the scheme of 1851, that below the colleges there should be classes of schools in regular gradation, which should be placed in connection with the colleges, and with each other by means of scholarships, to be held in the superior institutions by pupils gaining them at the schools immediately below them.

13. The Government schools next in order to the colleges, and from which the supply of pupils for these institutions would naturally come, are not in all the presidencies formed precisely on the same plan, nor do they in all localities bear the same designation, being denominated respectively provincial schools, collegiate schools, high schools, zillah schools, or merely Government anglo-vernacular schools. In Bengal, the expense of these schools, is for the most part, defrayed wholly from the public revenues, except so far as it may be met by the payments of the pupils, and other small sources of income which arise at some of the schools. In the North-Western Provinces few schools of this class are maintained; the question of the best mode of supplying the large

towns generally with schools not having been determined by Government when the recent disturbances broke out. Of the existing schools, the greater number are supported by missionaries, to a few of which grants-in-aid had been made previously to the outbreak of the mutiny. In Madras, four provincial schools and a few zillah schools have been constituted, but education of the character which these classes of schools are designed to afford, is provided to a considerable extent by missionary societies, whose schools, since the grant-in-aid system has been in operation, have been extended and improved by means of grants from Government. In Bombay there are four schools which might perhaps rank with the Madras provincial schools, and which are fitted to prepare pupils for entrance into the colleges; and there are besides, Government English or anglo-vernacular schools in many of the districts, corresponding in their general aim and scope with the zillah schools of Bengal.

14. Few additions, except in the Madras presidency, have as yet been made to the number of Government English and Anglo-vernacular schools since 1854. The schools, however, are believed to be generally popular, and the numbers attending them show perhaps as great an increase as could have been expected; on the whole, it may be assumed, with respect to this class of schools, that though there is a considerable difference in the efficiency of the schools which it comprises, and though the line which separates it from the class of schools next below it may not be very clearly marked, it nevertheless, so far as the influence of the schools extends, constitutes an effective link in that chain of educational institutions which was the desire of the Court of Directors to render general throughout India.

15. Measures for the extension and improvement of vernacular education had been sometime in progress with more or less activity, in different parts of India, when the Home Authorities of 1854 declared their wishes for the prosecution of the object in a more systematic manner, and placed the subject on a level in point of importance with that of the instruction to be afforded through the medium of the English language.

Vernacular Schools.

16. In the North-Western Provinces active measures had been taken by the Lieutenant-Governor, the late lamented Mr. Thomson, for the accomplishment of the object. A system had been framed by that gentleman, and brought into active operation, with the full approval of the Court of Directors, which provided for the establishment of a model school at the head-quarters of each tahsildar, for the encouragement of the masters of indigenous schools to improve themselves and to adopt improved methods of

teaching, and for the regular inspection of the whole machinery by visitors of different grades, superintended by a visitor-general, an office to which a highly qualified civil servant was appointed. This system had not been extended to all the districts previously to 1854, but it had been attended with such an amount of success that authority was given in 1855-56 for bringing it into operation throughout the whole of the North-Western Provinces. In Bengal, a number of vernacular schools, had been established several years previously, but whether from the low qualifications of the master, or from the want of responsible superintendence, they had failed to obtain popularity, and were in gradual course of abandonment. In Madras, in the same manner, some vernacular schools, which had been formed during the administration of Sir Thomas Monro, had died out for want of pupils, and the deficiency had not been supplied up to 1854, although a scheme of education had just previously been framed by the Madras Government, very much resembling in its leading features the plan then prescribed by the Court for general adoption. In Bombay, the late Board of Education had succeeded, with limited means, in establishing many new vernacular schools throughout the presidency, as well as in raising to some extent, the character of the education imparted in some of the indigenous schools.

17. If it must be admitted that previously to 1854 the subject of vernacular education had not received in every part of India the full amount of attention which it merited, there can be no doubt that, since the wishes of the Home Authorities have been so plainly declared, the officers of the Department of Education, acting under the orders of the several Governments, have spared no pains to bring into operation, throughout the districts entrusted to their superintendence, such measures as appear most likely to place within reach of the general population the means of obtaining an education suited to their circumstances in life.

18. The modes of action which have been adopted in the several presidencies exhibit, however, considerable diversity.

19. In the North-Western Provinces it was found that, although the schools established at the tehseel stations had been very successful, so far as regarded the attendance of the children in those towns, the inhabitants of the surrounding districts had not shared in the advantages of them to any considerable extent. A system of hulkabundee, or circle schools, had been accordingly devised previously to 1854 for the special purpose of meeting the wants of the agricultural population. Under this system, several villages conveniently situated for the purpose are grouped together, and in a central situation a school is established, which is not to be more than two miles distant from any of the villages

forming the circle. For the support of these schools, the consent of the landowners was to be obtained to the appropriation of a small percentage on the amount of the Government revenue, one per cent., being the amount paid, of which half was to be contributed by the landowners and half by the Government. The voluntary consent of the landowners was prescribed as an indispensable condition of the establishment of the system in any locality; and at the time of the outbreak in the North-Western Provinces in 1857, the requisite assent had been given to the scheme in many of the districts, and the sanction of the Home Authorities had been accorded (in 1856) to the proposal of the local Government, that in the re-settlement of the land revenue, the new plan should be universally introduced, and one per cent., on the Government demand should be set apart in all the districts for the support of this hulkabundee system. It was calculated that when all the districts should have been re-settled (which should not have been till 1874), Rs. 4,00,000, or £40,000 per annum, would be available, one-half of which, or Rs. 2,00,000, would be borne by Government.

20. These measures have necessarily been deranged by recent occurrences, and to what extent the machinery may have been brought into renewed action in the districts where order has been re-established, no information has been afforded.

21. In the Lower Provinces of Bengal, several plans for promoting vernacular education have been simultaneously introduced. In some of the districts, Mr. Thomason's plan, founded on the encouragement of indigenous schools by periodical inspection and by rewards, was brought into operation. In others, it was attempted to accomplish the object under the grant-in-aid rules, and in those districts a considerable number of schools have been established on that principle. Great difficulties, however, were encountered in obtaining local assistance and support; and the conclusion arrived at, after the experience of two or three years, by Mr. Pratt, the Inspector, who most perseveringly followed this course of proceeding, was that it was vain to hope to base any general scheme of popular education, at least in the greater part of Bengal, on the grant-in-aid system under the prescribed rules. The Inspector of the Eastern Education Division, Mr. Woodrow, had, *a priori*, arrived at a similar conclusion, and had struck out an altogether different course, to which he had obtained the sanction of Government. The principle of his plan was to make use of the existing indigenous schools, and he proceeded by forming these schools into circles of three, four, or five, and attaching to each circle a well qualified teacher, to be paid by Government, whose duty it would be to go from school to school, instructing village

school masters in their duties, and imparting instruction in the higher subjects to the more advanced pupils; encouragement being given to both masters and pupils by the prospect of small pecuniary rewards. This plan has so far been found very successful, and it is proposed to extend it to others of the educational divisions.

22. In Bombay, the education officers have continued to prosecute the plan previously in force of forming vernacular schools on a partially self-supporting plan; it being intended, however, to introduce gradually the plan of "circle" schools of a somewhat superior class. One peculiarity of the system pursued at Bombay is, that the schools maintained at the joint expense of Government and of the local community are constituted as Government schools, instead of remaining, like those under the grant-in-aid rules, private schools receiving a grant from Government. The question of a change in this respect has been raised by the Government of India, and is still undetermined. In Madras, a plan of popular education was brought into operation in some of the talooks of the Rajahmundry district, resembling very much the hulkabundee system of the North-Western Provinces; but it is admitted that even if the plan could be maintained in Rajahmundry, and in districts similarly situated, it is inapplicable to districts under the revenue system prevailing generally in the Madras presidency. A system has accordingly been lately sanctioned, as an experiment, in some of the Madras districts, based like the plan of Mr. Woodrow in Bengal, on the improvement of existing village schools, and on the encouragement of the school-masters to self-improvement, by the promise of a reward to be given in books or in money at the discretion of the Director.

23. From the time that measures have been taken for promoting the progress of education in India, great difficulty has been experienced from the want of efficient masters for the various classes of schools; masters have from time to time been sent out from England, not only for the higher appointments, but for the charge of middle schools; but it was evident to those engaged in the work of education, that even for this last class of schools it would be impossible, except at an inordinate cost, to supply the requisite number from this country; while, for the vernacular schools, a local supply was manifestly indispensable. A normal class had accordingly been commenced at Bombay, and one had been included in the proposed arrangements at Madras, when the Court's orders of 1854, reached India, enjoining the establishment of normal schools in each presidency, and promising to send out on application trained masters from this country to conduct them.

24. The normal schools which have since been established have been confined almost exclusively to those for vernacular teachers; of these four have been established in Bengal, attended in all by 258 pupils. In the North-Western Provinces, a normal class has been in operation at Benares, at which the masters of vernacular schools in that division attended for instruction and for practice; and sanction had been given, previously to the outbreak, to the establishment of training schools for vernacular masters at Agra, and at two other places within the provinces. The normal school at Madras, has been constituted to furnish masters both for Anglo-vernacular and for vernacular schools. It has been placed on an efficient footing, having a model school and a practising school attached to it, and there is every prospect that it will turn out teachers well qualified to give instruction to the several classes of schools which it is designed to supply. No separate training institution has yet been established at Bombay, but normal classes have been formed in connection with the colleges and principal English schools within the presidency, most of which are intended to supply teachers for anglo-vernacular, as well as for vernacular schools.

25. It is well known that, even including the results of missionary exertions, little progress has as yet been made with female education in India.

Female Education.

The late Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, then President of the Council of Education, established at his own expense a school at Calcutta, for Hindoo female children of the higher classes, in 1850; the school was taken up and supported by the Marquis of Dalhousie, after Mr. Bethune's death, and on his Lordship's leaving India, it was assumed by Government, and is now supported at the public expense; it was at first attended by about 34 girls, but it did not afterwards show any great signs of vitality. It was placed in 1856 under a special committee of Hindoo gentlemen, presided over by Mr. Cecil Beadon, one of the Secretaries to the Government of India, but no report has been received of the result of this arrangement.

26. The Court of Directors, when sanctioning the assumption by Government of the charge of Mr. Bethune's school, gave their cordial approval to the order of the Government of India, that female education should be considered to be as much within the province of the Council of Education as any other branch of education; and the Court's interest in the subject was further expressed in their despatch of July, 1854, in which it was moreover declared that schools for females were to be included in those to which grants-in-aid might be given. Female schools have since been established by the local community at Dacca

and at Howrah, for which grants-in-aid have been sanctioned; and girls have been reported to be in attendance at a few of the vernacular schools in the eastern educational division of Bengal, where the Inspector, Mr. Woodrow, has extended to the girls the rewards, on attaining a certain proficiency in the subjects taught in the schools, which are enjoyed by the boys. At one school, Mr. Woodrow, stated there were "19 Brahminee girls, all of good parentage," and he added that he had in his indigenous schools more girls than there were in the Bethune and Central Schools together. But though he was sanguine that the number would shortly be greatly increased, he remarked that it would be necessary that the means of instruction for girls should be provided by Government, as the people are opposed to the elevation of females from their present degraded position.

27. A movement in furtherance of female education in the Agra district was commenced by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Gopal Singh, in 1855. The expense was, in the first instance, defrayed entirely from the public funds; "the agricultural classes, though quite willing and ready to make use of the schools, were not then prepared to go further, and to pay the teacher." The schools were attended by scholars of all classes of Hindoos, including a considerable proportion of Brahmins; and of the girls, the age of some exceeded 20 years, the remainder being from 6 years old to 20. The masters were selected by the parents of the scholars, and committees of respectable native gentlemen were formed to exercise a general supervision over the schools, and to arrange for their visitation. The number of schools in the Agra district had risen in January, 1857, to 288, and the attendance of the girls was estimated at 4,927. It being desired at that time to carry out the experiment of female education in a more efficient manner, sanction was sought, and obtained, to the assignment of Rs. 8,000 as a direct grant from Government for female schools in the district, to meet an estimated expenditure on 200 girls' schools of Rs. 13,200 per annum, the balance being provided from the hulkabundee cess and from other sources.

28. The movement in the Agra district had, in the meantime, extended to the districts of Muttra and Mainpuri, though the number of schools was in these districts limited. At a female school in the city of Mainpuri, there was an attendance of no fewer than 32 Mahomedan girls of respectable parentage.

29. A few girls' schools have been established in the Bombay presidency. A native gentleman has founded two such schools, on a munificent scale, at Ahmedabad. At Poona, an association of native young men has established three female schools, and one such school has been set on foot by a native gentleman residing at

Dharwar. It was the opinion of the Acting Educational Inspector of the Deccan Division, Captain Lester, that "the prejudices against female education were fast disappearing," and that "there will be no more difficulty found in establishing female schools than there is in those for boys."

30. Although the special interest of the Home Authorities and of the several Governments in India, in the work of female education, has been plainly declared, and though there is no reason to doubt that the officers of the department have availed themselves of such opportunities as offered to promote the object, it would not appear that, except in the case of the Agra, and neighbouring districts, any active measures have been taken by the Department of Education for the establishment of female schools.

31. The following statement of the numbers attending the several classes of Government colleges and schools, excluding female schools and institutions for special education, has been compiled from the most recent reports:—

Number of pupils in the Government colleges and schools.

	Colleges.	Superior Schools	Inferior Sch ools.
Bengal	654	6,071	7,097
N.-W. Provinces	1,370	550	6,588
Madras	290	1,331	1,759
Bombay	559	1,215	23,846

But the statement, from the want of adequate information and from defective classification and arrangement, is extremely unsatisfactory. The last report on education in the North-Western Provinces is that for 1854-55; that for Bombay for 1855-56; and those for Bengal and Madras for 1856-57 only. In the returns for the North-Western Provinces, the pupils attending the schools attached to the colleges are included in the numbers attending the colleges themselves; and the same is the case in respect to the Poona College under the Government of Bombay, where even the pupils in the normal classes are included among the numbers attending the college. And again, the pupils in the elementary grant-in-aid schools in Bengal and those in the hulka-bundee schools in the North-Western Provinces are excluded from the returns, while, as regards Bombay, the numbers of scholars in the inferior schools are brought into the statement on account of the practice, which has already been noticed, of constituting all schools in that presidency receiving aid from the State as Government schools," instead of leaving them as elsewhere to

local management. The statement is, in fact, for all practical purposes, entirely useless.

32. In addition to the means provided directly by Government for affording education to the different classes

Grant-in-aid system

of the community, colleges and schools have for many years been maintained with the same object by individuals, associations, or local communities, to some of which allusion has already been made. The liberality shown by the natives, in some instances, in the maintenance of educational institutions, and the benefits which had resulted from the educational efforts of Christian associations, received recognition in the 49th and 50th paragraphs of the education despatch of July, 1853, and in the same despatch sanction was given to the principle of grants-in-aid as the best and most effectual mode of calling out private efforts in aid of education to a still greater extent.

33. The introduction of this system was authorized from a regard to "the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India," and it was expected that the plan of "thus drawing support from local sources, in addition to contributions from the State," would result "in a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by the Government, while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions, and combination for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance."

34. The system, as authorized for India, was to be "based on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the schools assisted," and was to be given (within certain limits) "to all schools which

* NOTE.—"This was explained to mean 'one or more' persons such as private patrons, voluntary subscribers, or the trustees of endowments who will undertake the general superintendence of the school and be answerable for its permanence for some given time."

impart a good secular education, provided they are under adequate local management,* are duly open to Government inspection, and are subjected to any other rules which may be prescribed by the Government notifications.

In accordance with these views it was suggested that notifications should be promulgated announcing the terms on which grants-in-aid would be made; and that in such notifications the principle of perfect religious neutrality, on which the grants were to be awarded should be distinctly asserted.

35. The injunctions of the Court of Directors, as to the principles on which the grant-in-aid system was to be brought into operation, seem to have been carefully attended to in drafting the rules, in accordance with which the grants were to be made; and every endeavour appears to have been used to carry out in

practice the principle of perfect religious neutrality on which the system was declared to be based.

36. The system has been applied in somewhat differing ways in

NOTE.—Amount of grants-in-aid sanctioned up to 30th April 1857.

IN BENGAL.		
Missionary Schools.	Other Schools.	Total.
Rs. 9,828	Rs. 68,604	Rs. 78,482
<i>per annum.</i>		
IN MADRAS.		
Rs. 28,597	Rs. 5,615	Rs. 34,210
<i>per annum.</i>		

No statements received from the North-Western Provinces and Bombay. In Bengal, the grants-in-aid have been further arranged in a tabular form as follows:—

	Rs.
English Schools ...	35,916
Anglo-Vernacular Schools ...	19,850
Vernacular Schools ...	23,616

Provinces, the assistance of Government was afforded to vernacular education under special regulations and the "grant-in-aid" system, technically so-called, had, up to the time of the mutiny, been applied only to a few schools affording a superior education. In Madras, the grants under the grant-in-aid rules have been, for the most part, made to schools of a higher class; the expenses of such vernacular schools as have yet been provided being met in another way. In Bombay, the information as to the actual carrying out of the system is insufficient to show the classes of schools which have benefited by it.

37. The private institutions for education of a higher order are throughout India, as a general rule, under European management. In the case of many of these institutions the grant-in-aid system has been made use of for the extension and improvement of the means of instruction. The conductors of such schools, both English and Anglo-vernacular, have, generally speaking, shown no indisposition to avail themselves of Government assistance on the prescribed terms; and the efficiency and consequent usefulness of the aided schools has by means of the grants been greatly promoted. The higher English schools which have received grants are, for the most part, maintained in connection with missionary bodies, for the obvious reason, that there are few other private schools existing in India at which a liberal English education is afforded. Assistance for the establishment or improvement of Anglo-vernacular schools has on the other hand, been obtained, to a great extent, by natives, either individually, or in association; and in some cases proposals have been made by natives with a view to the formation of higher or collegiate schools, where

the several presidencies and divisions of territory in India. In some of the educational districts in Bengal, as already stated, it has been extensively brought into operation in connection with vernacular schools, in which cases it has been the native promoters of the school who have sought the grants from Government. In the North-Western

the instruction was to be conveyed by means of English, though from different causes no such institutions have yet been formed. But while the European managers of schools have freely accepted grants-in-aid from Government, and equal readiness has been shown by the native community to seek assistance in the formation of schools where instruction in English may be afforded, no great alacrity appears to have been shown by the natives in making the necessary local efforts for securing the aid of Government under the grant-in-aid rules for the promotion of vernacular education. It was attempted, as already observed, by Mr. Pratt, in the Southern Bengal Division, to secure the requisite local co-operation, and by dint of great exertion, a considerable number of schools was established. But little value was attached by the general population, in all the Bengal districts, to any education which was not likely, in the opinion of the people, to lead to a Government appointment, and in many of the districts to any education whatever: and Mr. Pratt was in consequence forced to the conclusion that the grant-in-aid system, as carried out under the existing rules, could not be made the basis of any extended system of popular education, these rules being regarded by him as "out of place in a country where the value of education is utterly unfelt by the mass of the people, based as they are on the supposition that the people of this country are so desirous of an improved description of instruction that they will actually pay not only schooling-fees, but contributions from their private resources." The following remarks of Mr. Woodrow are sufficient to show the concurrence of that gentleman in Mr. Pratt's conclusions: "The poorest classes do not want schools at all, because they are too poor to pay schooling-fees and subscriptions, and because the labour of the children is required to enable them to live. The middle and upper classes will make no sort of sacrifice for the establishment of any but English schools. Yet the rules in force presume the highest appreciation of education, because based on the supposition that the people everywhere pay not only schooling-fees, but subscriptions for schools. In fact, we expect the peasantry and shop-keepers of Bengal to make sacrifices for education which the same classes in England often refuse to make." The opinion of the Bengal officers, whose remarks have just been quoted entirely corresponds with that formed by Mr. T. C. Hope, of the Bombay Civil Service, the active and intelligent Educational Inspector of the Guzerat division. That officer has described in strong terms the discouragement and loss of time sustained by him, in his attempts to secure the voluntary consent of the people to the establishment of schools under the grant-in-aid system, and the disappointment which frequently ensues on finding that, when the requisite consent

has, with difficulty, been obtained, persons who have acquiesced in the measure have drawn back from their engagements on being called on for payment of their subscriptions.

38. It would appear from the Education Report of Bengal for 1857-58, which has just reached me in an imperfect shape through an unofficial channel, that the Lieutenant-Governor concurs in the doubts expressed by the officers of the department as to the success of the grant-in-aid system in respect to elementary education. "It has been found," he remarks, "that the great mass of the people is not likely to be reached by the present system, the rules apparently presuming greater general interest in the advancement of their inferiors than really exists among the wealthy classes of natives, and larger contributions to the schools than can be afforded by the masses themselves, or are likely to be given for them by their more competent countrymen." At the same time, Mr. Halliday seems to agree in the opinion of Mr. Gordon Young, the Director of Public Instruction for Bengal, that by certain relaxations of the rules, the grant-in-aid system might be made applicable to classes now practically excluded from the benefit of it; but the modifications proposed by Mr. Gordon Young are of such a nature that, if adopted, they would in effect do away with the distinctive characteristics of the system.

39. I now proceed to offer some observations on the facts which have been brought out in the preceding review, and in doing so I shall, as far as possible, follow the order in which the several branches of the subject are placed in the third paragraph of this despatch.

40. The Educational Department seems to have been framed

Constitution of the new
Department of Education.

in general accordance with the instructions of the Court of Directors. The cost of the new establishments for managing the department

is no doubt large, as compared with the expenditure on the direct work of instruction; and though Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to pronounce it excessive, nevertheless they are

Actual expenditure on education out of the Government Treasury in 1856-57 ...

£233,890

Authorised amount of controlling establishments, which is probably in excess of the sum actually disbursed ...

£53,890

desirous that you should review the existing establishments, and carefully consider whether the cost of the controlling establishments bears more than a fair proportion to the expenditure of Government on direct measures for instruction, and whether such cost is properly susceptible of reduction. In considering this question, it must be borne in mind that the duty of the controlling officers is not merely to superintend the institutions directly supported by Government; but that it is the

business of the department to exercise a close scrutiny into all the agencies in operation throughout the country for the instruction of the people; to point out deficiencies wherever they exist; to suggest remedies to Government; and bring the advantages of education before the minds of the various classes of the community; to act as the channel of communication on the subject between Government and the community at large; and generally to stimulate and promote, under the prescribed rules, all measures having for their object the secular education of the people. It is evident that a very inadequate opinion would be formed of the value of the agency responsible for these varied duties, from a mere comparison of its cost with that of the existing educational institutions of Government, especially when it is considered that it has been necessary to constitute the controlling establishments at once on a complete footing, while the establishments for direct instruction are naturally of slower growth.

41. After a full consideration of the grounds on which the Court of Directors formerly gave their sanction, as a temporary arrangement, to the employment of covenanted civil servants in the Department of Education, Her Majesty's Government are, on the whole, of opinion that, as a general rule, all appointments in the Department of Education should be filled by individuals unconnected with the service of Government, either civil or military. It is not their wish that officers now in the department should be disturbed for the sole purpose of carrying out this rule, and they are aware that difficulty might at present be experienced in finding well qualified persons, unconnected with the regular services, to fill vacant offices in the department. But it is their desire that the rule now prescribed be kept steadily in view, and that every encouragement be given to persons of education to enter the educational service, even in the lower grades, by making it known that in the nominations to the higher offices in the department, a preference will hereafter be given to those who may so enter it, if competent to discharge the duties.

42. The establishment of universities was not a measure calculated *per se* to excite apprehensions in the native mind. It did not in fact bring any new principle into operation, being little more than an expansion of the arrangements which had for many years been in operation for testing the powers and attainments of the young men educated in the colleges and more advanced schools. No teaching of any sort was proposed to be given in connection with the universities, and on the only point in connection with examinations for degrees, in respect to which any difficulty might have arisen, *viz.*, that of reckoning the marks obtained by those

Establishment of Universities.

candidates for honors who might voluntarily submit themselves to examination in Paley's Evidences of Christianity and Butler's Analogy of Revealed Religion, the Home Authorities determined that such computation should not be allowed, and thus removed all possible ground of misapprehension.

43. No special instructions on the subject of the Universities seem at present to be called for.

44. The institution of training schools does not seem to have been carried out to the extent contemplated by the Court of Directors. Her Majesty's Government agree in the remarks contained in the despatch of July 1854, as to the necessity of such institutions for Anglo-vernacular as well as for vernacular schools. All reports concur as to the want of trained masters in the schools in which English is taught, and as to the frequent inefficiency of the English teaching from the want of masters well acquainted with the language. It seems to be very seldom found practicable to secure in India the services of competent men, and the engagement of persons in this country appears, at present the only available means of supplying the deficiency. This is evidently an expensive mode of proceeding, and it may be hoped that at no distant period institutions may be in operation at all the presidencies, calculated to supply masters for all classes of schools, and thus in time greatly to limit, if not altogether to obviate, the necessity of recruiting the educational service by means of engagements made in this country. I request that a definite statement may be furnished of the measures which you may propose to take for this purpose.

45. The Government Anglo-vernacular colleges appear, on the whole, to be in a satisfactory state; and in those cases where defects have been found to exist, measures are in progress for placing the institutions on a better footing.

46. The Government English and Anglo-vernacular schools seem to be generally in a satisfactory state, and to be not unpopular with the native community. By the order of 1854, the extension of a graduated system of these schools throughout the provinces of India was proposed to be accomplished by the establishment of a limited number of Government institutions of different grades, or preferentially, by the encouragement of schools on the grant-in-aid plan; it being hoped that private schools, aided by Government would eventually take the place universally of the several classes of Government institutions. I see no reason to make any change in the orders applicable to the class of schools which comes under this heading.

47. It appears that both the difficulties and the importance of female education are adequately appreciated by the officers of the Department of Education, and no present orders respecting it seem, therefore, to be required. But Her Majesty's Government are desirous of being made acquainted with the opinion which you may be led to form as to the genuineness of the change of feeling which appears in some localities to have taken place regarding it, and as to the nature and degree of the influence which may safely and properly be exerted by the officers of the Department of Education to promote the extension of schools for females.

48. With regard to vernacular education, it appears that, with the exception of the North-Western Provinces, where provision had been made for the gradual extension of schools over the entire country, by the combined operation of Mr. Thomason's scheme of tehseele schools and the hulkabundee system, no general plan had been decided on in any of the presidencies. It is obvious that no general scheme of popular education could be framed which would be suitable for all parts of India. But in accordance with the course followed in the North-Western Provinces by Mr. Thomason, and in some of the Bengal districts by Mr. Woodrow, it is most important to make the greatest possible use of existing schools and of the masters to whom, however inefficient as teachers, the people have been accustomed to look up with respect.

49. The difficulties experienced by the officers of the Department of Education in establishing a general system of popular schools on the basis of the existing rules for the administration of grants-in-aid, has been already referred to. But apart from the difficulty, and in many cases the impossibility, of obtaining the local support required for the establishment of a school under the grant-in-aid system, it cannot be denied that the mere requisitions made for the purpose by the officers of the Education Department may have a tendency not only to create a prejudice against education, but also to render the Government itself unpopular. And besides the unpopularity likely to arise from the demands on the poorer members of the community, made in the way either of persuasion, or of authority, there can be no doubt that the dignity of the Government is compromised by its officers appearing in the light of importunate, and often unsuccessful, applicants for pecuniary contributions for objects which the Government is confessedly very anxious to promote.

50. On the whole, Her Majesty's Government can entertain little doubt that the grant-in-aid system, as hitherto in force, is

unsuited to the supply of vernacular education to the masses of the population : and it appears to them, so far as they have been able to form an opinion, that the means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government, according to some one of the plans in operation in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, or by such modification of those schemes as may commend itself to the several local Governments as best suited to the circumstances of different localities. Assuming that the task of providing the means of elementary vernacular education for those who are unable to procure it for themselves is to be undertaken by the State, they are strongly of opinion that the officers of the Department of Education should be relieved from the onerous and invidious task of soliciting contributions for the support of these schools from classes whose means, for the most part, are extremely limited, and whose appreciation of the advantages of education does not dispose them to make sacrifices for obtaining it.

51. As regards the source from which the funds for elementary education should be obtained, it has been, on different occasions, proposed by officers connected with education that, in order to avoid the difficulties experienced in obtaining voluntary local support, an education rate should be imposed, from which the cost of all schools throughout the country should be defrayed. And other officers, who have considered India to be as yet unprepared for such a measure, have regarded other arrangements as merely temporary and palliative, and the levy of a compulsory rate as the only really effective step to be taken for permanently supplying the deficiency.

52. The appropriation of a fixed proportion of the annual value of the land to the purpose of providing such means of education for the population immediately connected with the land, seems *per se* unobjectionable, and the application of a percentage for the construction and maintenance of roads appears to afford a suitable precedent for such an impost. In the North-Western Provinces the principle has already been acted on, though the plan has there been subjected to the important modification that the Government shares the burden with the landholder, and that the consent of the latter shall be a necessary condition to the introduction of the arrangement in any locality. The several existing inspectors of schools in Bengal are of opinion that an education rate might without difficulty be introduced into that presidency, and it seems not improbable that the levy of such a rate, under the direct authority of the Government, would be acquiesced in with far more readiness and with less dislike than a nominally voluntary rate proposed by the local officers.

53. I am desirous that after due communication with the several local Governments, you should carefully consider the subjects just discussed, and should furnish me with your opinion as to the necessity of relinquishing the existing grants-in-aid system as a means of providing popular vernacular schools throughout the country, and as to the expediency of imposing a special rate to defray the expense of schools for the rural population.

54. The peculiar objections which have been shown to attach to the grants-in-aid system, when applied to vernacular education, do not appear to extend to it in connection with English and Anglo-vernacular schools. The conductors of existing schools of these kinds are generally anxious to obtain grants, and the Government and its officers are, therefore, not placed in the unbecoming position of unsuccessful applicants for pecuniary contribution towards a public object which the Government is known to be desirous to promote, but which its influence is seen to be unable to secure.

55. On the other hand, the comparatively small number of scholars in the Government colleges and schools sufficiently shows what ample scope there is for every agency which can be brought into the field of educational labour, and the expediency of making use of, and fostering, all such agency as is likely to engage in the work with earnestness and efficiency. There can be no doubt of the great advantage of promoting in the native community a spirit of self-reliance, in opposition to the habit of depending on Government and its officers for supply of local wants; and if Government shall have undertaken the responsibility of placing within reach of the general population the means of a simple elementary education, those individuals or classes who require more than this, may, as a general rule, be left to exert themselves to procure it with or without the assistance of Government.

56. You are aware that, besides the other advantages of the plan of grants-in-aid, the authority of the despatch of 1854 regarded the system as carrying out in the most effectual manner the principle of perfect religious neutrality, and as solving, in the best practicable way, various difficult questions connected with education arising out of the peculiar position of the British Government in India. If, on the one hand, by the natural operation of the system, grants have been made to missionary societies, assistance has, on the other, been extended to schools under the management of natives, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan. The principles of perfect neutrality in matters of religion, on which the system has been brought into operation in India, have been laid down and promulgated with unmistakable distinctness in the published rules. The amount contributed to missionary institutions bears

but a small proportion to the general expenditure on education, and besides the numerous native schools established under the grants-in-aid system in the Mofussil, the Sanskrit College and the Madressa are maintained in their integrity at Calcutta, for the exclusive benefit of the members of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities respectively.

57. But as it has been alleged that, notwithstanding these precautions, jealousy has been excited by the assistance indirectly extended, through the medium of grants-in-aid, to missionary teaching, I am anxious to learn your opinion as to the manner in which, on the whole, the grants-in-aid system operates, as to the necessity of making any, or what, alterations in the existing rules; and as to the feeling with which, in your opinion, it is regarded by the native community in those districts in which it has been brought into operation.

58. The several branches into which the subject divided itself, with reference to the despatch of 1854, have now been examined, and, as far as possible under the circumstances disposed of; but in referring to you, for consideration and report, the subject of the state and prospects of education in India, I cannot leave unnoticed the question of religious teaching, and more particularly that of the reading of the Holy Scriptures, in the Government schools.

59. From the earliest period at which the British Government in India directed its attention to the subject of education, all its measures, in consistency with the policy which regulated its proceedings in other departments of the State, have been based on the principle of perfect religious neutrality, in other words, on an abstinence from all interference with the religious feelings and practices of the natives, and on the exclusion of religious teaching from the Government schools. As a necessary part of this policy, the Holy Scriptures have been excluded from the course of teaching, but the Bible has a place in school libraries, and the pupils are at liberty to study it, and to obtain instruction from their masters as to its facts and doctrines out of school hours, if they expressly desire it. This provision is displeasing to many of those who have interested themselves in the education of the people of India; and some of the missionaries especially are much dissatisfied with it, and are desirous that direct instruction in the Bible should be afforded in the Government schools as a part of the regular course of teaching. Some of the greatest friends of native education, however, who are warmly interested in missionary operations, declared themselves, before the Parliamentary Committees of 1853, to be averse to any change in the established policy of Government in this respect. The main argument of

these gentlemen rested on the alarm and distrust which would probably be excited by the introduction of religious teaching into the Government schools, even if attendance on the Bible classes were declared to be voluntary. But it was further observed, that it would not be honest to accept the consent of the people themselves to attend the classes, and that it was not probable that the assent of the parents would be given; and it was pointed out that most of the masters in the Government institutions are natives, and that instruction in the facts and doctrines of the Bible, given by heathen teachers, would not be likely to prove of much advantage.

60. It would certainly appear that the formation of a class for instruction in the Bible, even though attendance on it might be voluntary, would at any time be a measure of considerable hazard, and at best of doubtful countervailing advantage; more especially at the present time the introduction of change in this respect might be found peculiarly embarrassing. The proclamation of Her Majesty, on assuming the direct control of the Government of India, plainly declared that no interference with the religion of the people, or with their habits and usages, was to take place. Now, though in this country there might seem but a slight difference between the liberty enjoyed by the pupils to consult their teachers out of school hours with regard to the teaching of the Bible, and the formation of a class for affording such instruction in school hours to such as might choose to attend it, it is to be feared that the change would seem by no means a slight one to the natives of India, and that the proposed measure might, in a political point of view, be objectionable and dangerous, as tending to shake the confidence of the native community in the assurances of a strict adherence to past policy in respect to religious neutrality, which Her Majesty has been pleased to put forth.

61. The free resort of pupils of all classes to Government schools, even at times when unusual alarm has been excited in the minds of the natives, is a sufficient proof of the confidence which is felt in the promises of Government, that no interference with religious belief will be allowed in their schools, and this confidence Her Majesty's Government would be very reluctant to disturb by any change of system which might give occasion to misapprehension. They are unable, therefore, to sanction any modification of the rule of strict religious neutrality as it has hitherto been enforced in the Government schools, and it accordingly remains that, the Holy Scriptures being kept in the library, and being open to all the pupils who may wish to study them, and the teachers being at liberty to afford instruction and explanations regarding them to all who may voluntarily seek it, the course

of study in all the Government institutions be, as heretofore, confined to secular subjects.

62. It is my intention, in this despatch, to confine my remarks to the subject of general education, and I, therefore, abstain from noticing the means of instruction in the special subjects of medicine, law, and civil engineering, which are afforded in Government colleges at the different presidencies. I will merely remark that, through those institutions, a course of honorable occupation is opened out to those young men who, having obtained a certain amount of general education, apply themselves to any one of the special subjects of study and go through the prescribed examination. Some of the institutions have been in operation for many years, and a large number of the native youth who have passed through them are engaged in the public service, and others are prosecuting the practice of their profession on their own account.

63. I am happy to add that inducements to self-improvement are not confined to such special employments. It has long been the object of the several Governments to raise the qualifications of the public servants even in the lowest appointments, and, by recent orders, no person can, without a special report from the appointing officer, be admitted into the service of Government on a salary exceeding Rs. 6 per mensem, who is destitute of elementary education; and elaborate rules have been framed, by which a gradually ascending scale of scholastic qualification is required in those entering the higher ranks of the service. It may be anticipated that many years will elapse before a sufficient number of educated young men are raised up in India to supply the various subordinate offices in the administration in the manner contemplated by the new rules.

64. It is the desire of Her Majesty's Government that your report shall not be confined to those points which have been specially referred to in this despatch, but shall embrace the whole subject of general education. They will expect to receive, among other things, full statistical information as to the number of schools established since 1854, whether by Government, or with the aid of Government; the number of pupils on the books, and the condition of the attendance; the cost of the several schools; and the whole expense incurred by the Government under the various heads of controlling establishments, instructive establishments and grants-in-aid; and also, as far as practicable, the number and character of schools unconnected with Government aid or control. The impressions which they have received, and the views which they have expressed, are necessarily, from the want of sufficient information, stated with some reservation, and they will expect to receive from you the means of judging of the correctness of their conclusions, together with a full and deliberate

expression of your opinion as to the operation of the existing scheme of education in all its parts.

65. In conclusion, I have to call your attention to the question referred to at the commencement of this despatch, *viz.*, that of the connection between the recent disturbances in India and the measures in progress for the prosecution of education. It is only in the reports of a few of the officers of the Bengal Government that any official information is afforded on this point, and in them the evidence amounts but to little, and is confined to Behar. In that province, previously to the outbreak, it was reported that some jealousy had been raised by the part taken by Government in the work of education; but it would appear that this jealousy had originated rather from a general indisposition to Government interference, and from a vague feeling that the spread of knowledge itself is inconsistent with the maintenance of the native religions, than from special objection to any part of the Government scheme. In the reports from Behar since the commencement of the mutinies, the continued existence of such feelings is not mentioned, and the disposition of the people towards education is spoken of in less discouraging terms, and it is satisfactory to find that in few cases had any schools been given up in consequence of the disturbances, though some schools had been suspended for a time by the presence of rebels in the village.

66. It is impossible to found any conclusions on information so manifestly insufficient as that which Her Majesty's Government possess, and they have, therefore, to commend this most important question to your careful consideration. It is obvious that measures, however good in themselves, must fail, if unsuited to those for whose benefit they are intended; and it seems important, therefore, to learn whether any of the measures taken by Government in recent years to promote the education of the natives of India have been such as to afford just ground of suspicion or alarm; whether, notwithstanding the absence of any just ground of alarm, there has, in fact, existed a misunderstanding of the intentions of Government with regard to their measures which excited apprehensions, however unfounded; and whether any, and what, alterations of existing arrangements can be devised, by which, without drawing back from the great duty so deliberately affirmed in the despatch of the 10th July 1854, of raising the moral, intellectual, and physical condition of Her Majesty's subjects in India, by means of improved and extended facilities of education, the risk of misapprehension may be lessened, and the minds of the people may be set at rest.

67. I rely on your immediate attention being given to the subject, and I shall hope to receive your report at the earliest practicable period.

APPENDIX G.

*The Memorial of the General Council of Education in India.**

TO THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF
RIPON, K.G., D.C.L., &c.

Appointed Her Majesty's Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The Memorial of the GENERAL COUNCIL ON EDUCATION IN INDIA, consisting of Official Members of fourteen Religious Societies labouring for the Intellectual, Moral, and Religious well-being of India, and others in sympathy with their objects:

“MY LORD MARQUIS,—

“Your memorialists, approving as they do of the principles of the *Despatch on Education in India* of 1854, confirmed by that of 1859, and desiring no change in its principles or aims, beg most respectfully to call your lordship's attention to certain particulars in which its important provisions have not been fully carried out, of which the following are examples:—

“1. It appears to your memorialists that, while it is of great importance to encourage the higher education in India, it is the primary duty of the Government, as it was the main design of the despatch of 1854, to promote the elementary instruction of the masses of the people.

“But making full allowance for what has been done in this direction, it appears unreasonable that of the entire sum set apart from the Imperial revenue for education, about one-fourth part is expended on Government colleges and higher schools, attended chiefly by the richer classes, and only one-twelfth part on the primary education of the great mass of the poor, of whom not one in ten of school age is under instruction. By last return only nine in 1,000 of the population was at school, on the average, over all India.

“This is the more unreasonable as so large a part of the Indian revenue is derived from the poorer class, and as an additional tax is imposed, specially for the lower education, and falling on the same class.

* Report of a deputation to the Marquis of Ripon on his appointment as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. 1880.

"2. Approving of the rules laid down in the despatch in reference to the transference of Government colleges and schools to local management, or their withdrawal in favour of institutions supported by benevolent enterprise, we have no desire to lessen the opportunities for the highest culture of those capable of profiting by it, and feel the necessity of applying these rules by slow degrees, and with a due regard for the feelings of the people.

"But after a quarter of a century has elapsed, and although the higher education had been in operation a generation before these rules came into force, we can discover no record of any colleges having been given up or transferred as directed. Colleges, it is true, have been and are now being abandoned for want of success. This, however necessary, is no part of the Government plan. It was when they had raised a demand for education, and were most successful, that they were to be given up or transferred.

"On the other hand, we find that fifteen new colleges have been added to those previously in existence, of which several were independent colleges, formerly supported by native and European patrons of learning, now transformed into Government colleges; some, of the same class, have been abandoned, and others are now struggling with almost insuperable difficulties, and under reduced grants. And now, within these few months, a demand has been publicly made to have those clauses of the despatch which require such 'withdrawal' or 'transference' interpreted by authority, so as to justify the past and present violation or neglect of them, and the continuance of the same policy in the future.

"3. The grants-in-aid system has never been carried out to the extent contemplated in the despatch, and required for the economizing of State funds, for the avoiding of official interference with the religions of the country, and for the encouragement of private enterprise and beneficence. Of the entire sum of 738,000*l.* set apart for education, only 130,000*l.* is given for this economical and effective system.

"Your memorialists beg it to be distinctly understood that they do not ask for any special favour or support for Christian institutions, but desire that native institutions be equally encouraged and aided by the Government in a liberal spirit. While they openly proclaim their wish that all India may be brought under the beneficent influence of Christian instruction, they would deprecate any attempt by Government at proselytism, or interference with the religious beliefs of the people, and they have no desire for, or confidence in, any conversions which do not proceed from intelligent conviction and a free choice.

"In conclusion, your memorialists would most respectfully and urgently press upon your Lordship, for the future welfare of that

great empire entrusted to your care, the importance of carrying out fully the principles and provisions of the Education Despatch of 1854, especially in the following particulars:—

“1. The encouragement and control of the higher education by Government, through the Universities, and by the system of grants-in-aid to affiliated colleges, as provided for in paragraphs 24, 25, 28, and 40 of the despatch.

“2. The gradual withdrawal by Government from direct teaching in colleges and high schools, wherever the desire for the higher education is so far developed as to give a reasonable guarantee that it will be maintained, with the assistance of grants-in-aid, including payment by results, and the independent efforts of the natives and others interested in their welfare, as laid down in paragraphs 52, 61, 62, and 86.

“3. The much greater extension of elementary education among the poorer classes, which was the grand design of the despatch, as expressed in a ‘return’ laid before Parliament in 1870:—‘The main object of the despatch of 1854 is to divert the efforts of the Government from the education of the higher classes, upon whom up to that date they had been too exclusively directed, and to turn them to the wider diffusion of education among all classes of the people, and especially to the provision of primary instruction among the masses.’ Also paragraphs 6, 10, and 39 of the despatch.”

APPENDIX H.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE EDUCATION COMMISSION.

(1).--*Recommendations on Indigenous Education.*

1. That an indigenous school be defined as one established or conducted by natives of India on native methods.
2. That all indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognised and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education whatsoever.
3. That the best practicable method of encouraging indigenous schools of a high order, and desiring recognition, be ascertained by the Education Departments in communication with Pandits, Maulvis, and others interested in the subject.
4. That preference be given to that system which regulates the aid given mainly according to the results of examinations.
5. That special encouragement be afforded to indigenous schoolmasters to undergo training, and to bring their relatives and probable successors under regular training.
6. That a steady and gradual improvement in indigenous schools be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with their *personnel* or curriculum as possible.
7. That the standards of examination be arranged to suit each Province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous systems, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction.
8. That indigenous schools receiving aid be inspected *in situ*, and, as far as possible, the examinations for their grants-in-aid be conducted *in situ*.
9. That aided indigenous schools, not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all classes and castes of the community, special aid being, if necessary, assignable on account of low-caste pupils.
10. That such a proportion between special and other elementary indigenous schools be maintained in each town and District, as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all classes.
11. That where Municipal and Local boards exist, the registration, supervision, and encouragement of indigenous elementary

schools, whether aided or unaided, be entrusted to such boards; provided that boards shall not interfere, in any way, with such schools as do not desire to receive aid, or to be subject to the supervision of the boards.

12. That the aid given to elementary indigenous schools be a charge against the funds at the disposal of Local and Municipal boards where such exist; and every indigenous school, which is registered for aid, receive from such boards the aid to which it is entitled under the rules.

13. That such boards be required to give elementary indigenous schools free play and development, and to establish fresh schools of their own only where the preferable alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted.

14. That the local inspecting officers be *ex-officio* members of Municipal or District school boards.

15. That the officers of the Education Department keep lists of all elementary indigenous schools, and assist the boards in selecting schools to be registered for aid, and in securing a proportionate provision of education for all classes of the community.

(2).—*Recommendations on Primary Education.*

1. That primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University.

2. That the upper primary and lower primary examinations be not made compulsory in any Province.

3. That while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.

4. That an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for, and extension of, primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each Province.

5. That where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be recognised as an important means of extending elementary education.

6. That examinations by inspecting officers be conducted as far as possible *in situ*, and all primary schools receiving aid be invariably inspected *in situ*.

7. That, as a general rule, aid to primary schools be regulated to a large extent according to the results of examination; but an

exception may be made in the case of schools established in backward Districts or under peculiar circumstances, which may be aided under special rules.

8. That school-houses and furniture be of the simplest and most economical kind.

9. That the standards of primary examinations in each Province be revised with a view to simplification, and to the larger introduction of practical subjects, such as native methods of arithmetic, accounts and mensuration, the elements of natural and physical science, and their application to agriculture, health, and the industrial arts; but that no attempt be made to secure general uniformity throughout India.

10. That care be taken not to interfere with the freedom of managers of aided schools in the choice of text-books.

11. That promotion from class to class be not necessarily made to depend on the results of one fixed standard of examinations uniform throughout the Province.

12. That physical development be promoted by the encouragement of native games, gymnastics, school-drill, and other exercises suited to the circumstances of each class of school.

13. That all inspecting officers and teachers be directed to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of the children, and that, for the guidance of the masters, a special manual be prepared.

14. That the existing rules, as to religious teaching in Government schools, be applied to all primary schools wholly maintained by Municipal or Local Fund boards.

15. That the supply of Normal schools, whether Government or aided, be so localised as to provide for the local requirements of all primary schools, whether Government or aided, within the Division under each Inspector.

16. That the first charges on Provincial Funds assigned for primary education be the cost of its direction and inspection, and the provision of adequate Normal schools.

17. That pupils in Municipal or Local board-schools be not entirely exempted from payment of fees, merely on the ground that they are the children of rate-payers.

18. That in all board-schools, a certain proportion of pupils be admissible as free students on the ground of poverty; and in the case of special schools, established for the benefit of poorer classes, a general or larger exemption from payment of fees be allowed under proper authority for special reasons.

19. That, subject to the exemption of a certain proportion of free students on account of poverty, fees, whether in money or

kind, be levied in all aided schools; but the proceeds be left entirely at the disposal of the school managers.

20. That the principle laid down in Lord Hardinge's Resolution, dated 11th October 1814, be re-affirmed, *i. e.*, that in selecting persons to fill the lowest offices under Government, preference be always given to candidates who can read and write.

21. That the Local Governments, especially those of Bombay and of the North-Western Provinces, be invited to consider the advisability of carrying out the suggestion contained in paragraph 96 of the Despatch of 1854, namely, of making some educational qualification necessary to the confirmation of hereditary village officers, such as Patels and Lambardars.

22. That night-schools be encouraged wherever practicable.

23. That as much elasticity as possible be permitted both as regards the hours of the day and the seasons of the year during which the attendance of scholars is required, especially in agricultural villages and in backward Districts.

24. That primary education be extended in backward Districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal races, by the instrumentality of the Department pending the creation of school-boards, or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools.

25. That all primary schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school-boards, and all primary schools that are aided from the same fund and are not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all castes and classes of the community.

26. That such a proportion between special and other primary schools be maintained in each school-district as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all castes.

27. That assistance be given to schools and orphanages in which poor children are taught reading, writing, and counting, with or without manual work.

28. That primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of Public Instruction, which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues.

29. That both Municipal and Local Boards keep a separate school-fund.

30. That the Municipal school-fund consist of—

- (a) a fair proportion of Municipal revenues, to be fixed in each case by the Local Government;
- (b) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the Municipal school-fund;
- (c) any assignment that may be made to the Municipal school-fund from the Local Fund;

- (d) any assignment from Provincial Funds ;
- (e) any other funds that may be entrusted to the Municipalities for the promotion of education ;
- (f) any unexpended balance of the school-fund from previous years.

31. That the Local board's school-fund consist of—

- (a) a distinct share of the general Local Fund, which share shall not be less than a minimum proportion to be prescribed for each Province ;
- (b) the fees levied in schools wholly maintained at the cost of the school-fund ;
- (c) any contribution that may be assigned by Municipal Boards ;
- (d) any assignment made from Provincial Funds ;
- (e) any other funds that may be entrusted to the Local Boards for the promotion of education ;
- (f) any unexpended balance of the school-fund from previous years.

32. That the general control over primary school-expenditure be vested in the school-boards, whether Municipal or Local, which may now exist or may hereafter be created for self-government in each Province.

33. That the first appointment of schoolmasters in Municipal or Local board-schools be left to the town or District boards, with the proviso that the masters be certified or approved by the Department, and their subsequent promotion or removal be regulated by the boards, subject to the approval of the Department.

34. That the cost of maintaining or aiding primary schools in each school-district, and the construction and repair of board school-houses, be charged against the Municipal or Local Board school-fund so created.

35. That the vernacular, in which instruction shall be imparted in any primary school, maintained by any Municipal or Local Board, be determined by the school committee of management, subject to revision by the Municipal or Local Board : provided that if there be any dissenting minority in the community, who represent a number of pupils sufficient to form one or more separate classes or schools, it shall be incumbent on the Department to provide for the establishment of such classes or schools, and it shall be incumbent on such Municipal or Local Board to assign to such classes or schools a fair proportion of the whole assignable funds.

36. That Municipal and Local boards administering funds in aid of primary schools adopt the rules prescribed by the Department

for aiding such schools, and introduce no change therein without the sanction of the Department.

(3).—*Recommendation on Secondary Education.*

1. That in the upper classes of high schools there be two divisions,—one leading to the Entrance examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits.

2. That when the proposed bifurcation in secondary schools is carried out, the certificate of having passed by the final standard, or if necessary, by any lower standard, of either of the proposed alternative courses, be accepted as a sufficient general test of fitness for the public service.

3. That high and middle schools be united in the returns under the single term "secondary schools;" and that the classification of students in secondary schools be provided for in a separate Table, showing the stage of instruction, whether primary, middle, or upper, of pupils in all schools of primary and secondary education.

4. That a small annual grant be made for the formation and maintenance of libraries in all high schools.

5. That the Grant-in-aid Code of each Province include provision for giving help to school managers in the renewal, and, if necessary, the increase, of their furniture and apparatus of instruction after stated intervals.

6. That an examination in the principles and practice of teaching be instituted, success in which should hereafter be a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, Government or aided.

7. That graduates wishing to attend a course of instruction in a Normal school in the principles and practice of teaching be required to undergo a shorter course of training than others.

8. That the claims of efficient and successful teachers in aided schools be considered in making appointments to posts in the service of Government, and that in cases duly certified by the Education Department the 25 years' rule be relaxed.

9. That the Director of Public Instruction, in consultation with the managers of schools receiving aid from Government, determine the scale of fees to be charged and the proportion of pupils to be exempted from payment therein.

10. That, in order to encourage the establishment of aided schools, the managers be not required to charge fees as high as those of a neighbouring Government school of the same class.

11. That scholarship-holders as such be not exempted from payment of the ordinary fees.

12. That in all Provinces the system of scholarships be so arranged that, as suggested in the Despatch of 1854, they may form connecting links between the different grades of institutions.

13. That scholarships payable from public funds, including educational endowments not attached to a particular institution, be awarded after public competition, without restriction, except in special cases, to students from any particular class of schools.

14. That scholarships gained in open competition be tenable, under proper safeguards to ensure the progress of the scholarship-holder, at any approved institution for general or special instruction.

15. That the attention of the Government of Bombay be invited to the fact that, while the despatch of 1854 provides for the creation of both free and stipendiary scholarships tenable in Government and private schools alike, almost exclusive stress is now laid in that Presidency upon free studentships, and that stipendiary scholarships are confined to students of Government schools.

16. That the Government of Madras be invited to consider the necessity of revising the system of scholarships in secondary schools in that Presidency, with a view to bringing it into harmony with the provisions of the Despatch of 1854.

17. That in the conduct of all departmental examinations, managers and teachers of the various non-Government schools be associated, as far as possible, with the officers of the department.

18. That, in order to secure the efficiency of departmental examinations, examiners, whether officials or non-officials, be remunerated from the fees levied from candidates, increased, when necessary, by a grant from Government.

19. That the importance of requiring inspecting officers to see that the teaching and discipline of every school are such as to exert a right influence on the manners, the conduct, and the character of pupils be re-affirmed.

20. That continuous instruction in school without a break do not extend, as a rule, beyond three hours.

21. That in the Punjab the course in Persian of High schools do not extend beyond the standard of the Entrance examination.

22. That promotion from class to class be left entirely to the discretion of the school authorities.

23. That it be distinctly laid down that the relation of the State to secondary is different from its relation to primary education, in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of secondary education only where adequate local co-operation is forthcoming; and that

therefore, in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid.

(4).—*Recommendations on Collegiate Education.*

1. That the attention of the Local Governments be invited to the recommendations made in the several Provincial Reports with regard to providing or extending the means of collegiate education in the Province of Sindh and at Ahmedabad in Bombay, at Bhagalpur in Bengal, and at Jabalpur in the Central Provinces; and also to the question of the establishment of an aided college at Delhi under native management.

2. That the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution, and the wants of the locality.

3. The provision be made for special grants to aided colleges, whenever necessary, for the supply and renewal of buildings, furniture, libraries, and other apparatus of instruction.

4. That in order to secure a due succession of competent officers in the Education Department, the period of necessary service qualifying for pension should be reduced, and that a graduated scale of pensions based on length of service, and obtainable without medical certificate, should be introduced.

5. That Indian graduates, especially those who have also graduated in European Universities, be more largely employed than they have hitherto been in the colleges maintained by Government.

6. That in order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable, in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the Universities.

7. That the discretionary power of Principals of colleges, to admit to certain courses of lectures in special cases students who have not passed the examinations required by the Universities, be affirmed.

8. That an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges.

9. That the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government and aided college deliver to each of the college classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen.

10. That while it is desirable to affirm the principle that fees at the highest rate consistent with the undiminished spread of

education should be levied in every college aided by the State no aided college should be required to levy fees at the same rate as that charged in a neighbouring Government college.

11. That no college, Government or aided, be allowed to receive more than a certain proportion of free students; the proportion to be fixed by the Department, in communication, where necessary, with the managers.

12. That to secure regularity of attendance at colleges, the principle be affirmed that fees, though levied monthly for the convenience of students, are to be regarded as payments for a term, and that a student has no right to a certificate from his college for any term until the whole fee for that term is paid.

13. That as the fees in the Presidency College of Madras are considerably lower than those which it is found practicable to levy in the Presidency Colleges of Calcutta and Bombay the Government of Madras be invited to consider the advisability of enhancing the rate of fees in that college.

14. That the Local Governments and Administrations be invited to consider whether it is necessary to assign for scholarships tenable in Arts colleges a larger proportion of the provincial grant for education than 2 per cent.

15. That scholarship-holders as such be not exempted from payment of the ordinary fees.

16. That the Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of appropriating, where necessary, a certain sum for the establishment for scholarships tenable by graduates reading for the M.A. degree.

17. That the Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of establishing scholarships for distinguished graduates to enable them to proceed to Europe for the purpose of practically studying some branch of *mechanical industry*.

18. That in place of the system existing in Madras, according to which the first twenty students at the University Entrance and F.A. examinations are allowed to read free in any Government college, liberal provision be made for a system of scholarships open to general competition and tenable in any college.

19. That the Government of Bombay be requested to consider whether all or some of the scholarships now restricted to the Elphinstone and Deccan Colleges may, with the regard to the circumstances under which they were originally founded, be made tenable at any affiliated college; and that if these scholarships cannot fairly be opened to general competition, they be awarded as far as possible to poor students who, but for the stipends, would be unable to continue their studies at college.

(5).--*Recommendations on the Internal Administration of the Education Department.*

1. That when an educational officer enters the higher graded service of the Education Department, his promotion should not involve any loss of pay.

2. That conferences (1) of officers of the Education Department and (2) of such officers with managers of aided and unaided schools, be held from time to time for the discussion of questions affecting education, the Director of Public Instruction being in each case *ex-officio* President of the conference. Also that Deputy Inspectors occasionally hold local meetings of the school-masters subordinate to them for the discussion of questions of school management.

3. That a general educational library and museum be formed at some suitable locality in each Province, and that encouragement be given to school papers or magazines conducted in the vernacular.

4. That managers of schools in competition be invited by the Department to agree to rules providing, as far as the circumstances of the locality allow, (1) that, except at specified times, a pupil of one school be not admitted to another without a certificate from his previous school; (2) that any fees due to that school have been paid; and (3) that he do not obtain promotion into a higher class by changing his school.

5. That it be an instruction to the Department in the various Provinces to aim at raising fees gradually, cautiously, and with due regard to necessary exemptions, up to the highest amount that will not check the spread of education, especially in colleges, secondary schools, and primary schools in towns where the value of education is understood.

6. That the Education Department in each Province limit its calls for returns, (1) to such as the Government may require, and (2) such others as are indispensable for information and control.

7. That all schools managed by the Department, or by Committees exercising statutory powers, and all other schools that are regularly aided are inspected, or that regularly send pupils to the examinations of the University or of the Department (other than examinations which are conducted by the Department for admission to the public service), be classed as public schools, and sub-divided into departmental, aided, and unaided; (2) that all other schools furnishing returns to the Department be classed as private schools; and (3) that all other details of classification be referred to the Statistical Committee appointed by the Government of India.

8. That no attempt be made to furnish financial returns for private schools.

9. That native and other local energy be relied upon to foster and manage all education as far as possible, but that the results must be tested by departmental agency, and that therefore the inspecting staff be increased so as to be adequate to the requirements of each Province.

10. That the remuneration of subordinate inspecting officers be reconsidered in each Province with due regard to their enhanced duties and responsibilities.

11. That, as a general rule, transfers of officers from Professorships of colleges to Inspectorships of schools, and *vice versa*, be not made.

12. That it be distinctly laid down that native gentlemen of approved qualifications be eligible for the post of Inspector of Schools, and that they be employed in that capacity more commonly than has been the case hitherto.

13. The Inspectresses be employed where necessary for the general supervision of Government, aided, and other girls' schools desiring inspection.

14. That in every Province a Code be drawn up for the guidance of Inspecting Officers.

15. That it be recognised as the duty of the Revenue Officers to visit the schools within their jurisdiction, communicating to the Executive Officers or Board to which each school is subordinate recommendations which they may desire to make.

16. That voluntary inspection by officers of Government and private persons be encouraged, in addition to the regular inspection of departmental and Revenue Officers.

17. That the detailed examination of scholars in primary schools be chiefly entrusted to the Deputy Inspectors and their assistants, and that the main duty of the Inspectors in connection with such schools be to visit them, to examine into the way in which they are conducted, and to endeavour to secure the cordial support of the people in the promotion of primary education.

18. That the general upper and lower primary school examinations be not compulsory, but that the annual reports show the number of scholars in each stage of education.

19. That in every Province in which examinations for the public service are held, they be so arranged as to give encouragement to vernacular education.

20. That the Committees appointed to conduct the public service examinations and other examinations of a similar kind include representatives of non-Government schools as well as departmental officers.

21. That Normal schools, Government or aided, for teachers of secondary schools be encouraged.

22. That the Text-book Committees in the several Provinces include qualified persons of different sections of the community not connected with the Department, and that to these Committees should be submitted all text-books, both English and vernacular, that it is proposed to introduce into schools, and all text-books now in use that may seem to need revision.

23. That the Text-book Committees of the several Provinces act, as far as possible, in concert, and that they communicate to each other lists of English text-books, and, in the case of those Provinces which have any common language, lists of vernacular text-books, which are satisfactory, and of books which they consider to be wanting or inadequate.

24. That the operations of the existing Government depôts be confined, as soon as may be practicable, to the supply and distribution of vernacular text-books.

25. That care be taken to avoid, as far as possible, the introduction of text-books which are of an aggressive character, or are likely to give unnecessary offence to any section of the community.

26. That in the printing of text-books, especially vernacular text-books, attention be paid to clearness of typography.

(6.)—*Recommendations on the External Relations of the Department.*

1. That teachers in non-Government institutions be allowed to present themselves for examination for any grade of certificate required by the grant-in-aid rules without being compelled to attend a Normal school.

2. That in any statement of expenditure required by the grant-in-aid rules from colleges whose Professors are prevented from receiving fixed salaries by the constitution of the religious societies to which they belong, the expenditure on the maintenance of such colleges be calculated at the rates current in aided institutions of the same general character.

3. That in schools aided on the result-system, variety in the course of instruction be encouraged by grants for special subjects.

4. That greater latitude be given to the managers of aided schools in fixing the course of instruction and the medium through which it is conveyed.

5. That the payment-by-results system be not applied to colleges.

6. That every application for a grant-in-aid receive an official reply, and in case of refusal that the reasons for such refusal be given.

7. That the proximity of a Government or of an aided school be not regarded as of itself a sufficient reason for refusing aid to a non-Government school.

8. That with the object of rendering assistance to schools in the form best suited to the circumstances of each Province and thus to call forth the largest amount of local co-operation, the grants-in-aid rules be revised by the Local Governments in concert with the managers of schools.

9. That, in the revision, the rules be so defined as to avoid any ambiguity as to the amount and duration of the aid to which an institution may be entitled, the conditions of grants for buildings, apparatus, and furniture being clearly stated; and that special reference be had to the complaints that have been made against existing systems, particularly the complaints dwelt upon in this Report.

10. That whilst existing State institutions of the higher order should be maintained in complete efficiency wherever they are necessary, the improvement and extension of institutions under private management be the principal care of the Department.

11. That, in ordinary circumstances, the further extension of secondary education in any District be left to the operation of the grant-in-aid system, as soon as that District is provided with an efficient high school, Government or other, along with its necessary feeders.

12. That it be a general principle that the grant-in-aid should depend—

- (a) on locality, *i.e.*, that larger proportionate grants be given to schools in backward Districts;
- (b) on the class of institutions, *i.e.*, that greater proportionate aid be given to those in which a large amount of self-support cannot be expected, *e.g.*, girls' schools and schools for lower castes and backward races.

13. That the following be adopted as general principles to regulate the amount of grants-in-aid except in cases in which Recommendations for special aid have been made:—

- (a) That no grant be given to an institution which has become self-supporting by means of fees, and which needs no further development to meet the wants of the locality.
- (b) That the amount of State aid (exclusive of scholarships from public funds) do not exceed one-half of the entire expenditure on an institution.
- (c) That, as a general rule, this maximum rate of aid be given only to girls' schools, primary schools, and Normal schools.

14. That with a view to secure the co-operation of Government and non-Government institutions, the managers of the latter be consulted on matters of general educational interest, and that their students be admitted on equal terms to competition for certificates, scholarships, and other public distinctions.

15. That the Government of Bombay be invited to consider the propriety of converting the Dakshina fellowships into University fellowships with definite duties attached to them, to be tenable for a term of years and open to all candidates irrespective of the college in which they have been trained.

16. That in Bengal the payment from the Mohsin Fund of two-thirds of the fees of Muhammadan students, now confined to Government schools, be extended to Muhammadan students of non-Government schools approved by the Department.

17. That grants be paid without delay when they become due according to the rules.

18. That care be taken lest public examinations become the means of practically imposing the same text-books or curriculum on all schools.

19. That the revised rules for grants-in-aid and any subsequent alterations made in them be not merely published in the official gazettes, but translated into the vernacular, and communicated to the press, to the managers of aided and private institutions, and to all who are likely to help in any way in the spread of education.

20. That the further extension of female education be preferentially promoted by affording liberal aid and encouragement to managers who show their personal interest in the work, and only when such agency is not available by the establishment of schools under the management of the Department or of Local or Municipal Boards.

21. That a periodically increasing provision be made in the educational budget of each Province for the expansion of aided institutions.

22. That when any school or class of schools under departmental management is transferred to a Local or Municipal Board the functions of such board be clearly defined, and that, as a general rule, its powers include (a) the appointment of teachers qualified under the rules of the Department, (b) the reduction or dismissal of such teachers, subject to the approval of the Department, (c) the selection of the standard and course of instruction subject to the control of the Department, and (d) the determination of rates of fees and of the proportion of free students, subject to the general rules in force.

23. That if in any Province the management of Government schools of secondary instruction be transferred either to

Municipalities or to Local Boards, or to Committees appointed by those bodies, encouragement be given to the subsequent transfer of the schools concerned to the management of associations of private persons combining locally with that object, provided they are able to afford adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.

24. That when Local and Municipal Boards have the charge of aiding schools, (1) their powers and duties be clearly defined; that it be declared to be an important part of their duty to make provision for the primary education of the children of the poor; (3) that precautions be taken to secure that any assignment to them from public funds for purposes of education be impartially administered; (4) that an appeal against any refusal of aid lie to the Department.

25. That the system of grants-in-aid be based as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the Despatch of 1854, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted: provided that when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution.

26. That a parent be understood to consent to his child's passing through the full curriculum of the school, unless his intention to withdraw him from religious instruction be intimated at a time of the child's first entering the school, or at the beginning of a subsequent term.

27. That in order to evoke and stimulate local co-operation in the transfer to private management of Government institutions for collegiate or secondary instruction, aid at especially liberal rates be offered for a term of years, wherever necessary, to any local body willing to undertake the management of any such institution under adequate guarantees of permanence and efficiency.

28. That in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, provision be also made for the legal transfer to the new managers of all educational endowments, buildings and other property belonging to such institutions in the hands of Government.

29. That in the event of any Government school or college being transferred to local management, the incumbents of offices under Government be secured in the enjoyment of all their existing rights and privileges.

30. That all Directors of Public Instruction aim at the gradual transfer to local native management of Government schools of

secondary instruction (including schools attached to first or second grade colleges), in every case in which the transfer can be effected without lowering the standard, or diminishing the supply, of education, and without endangering the permanence of the institution transferred.

31. That the fact that any school raises more than 60 per cent, of its entire expenditure from fees be taken as affording a presumption that the transfer of such school to local management can be safely effected.

32. That in dealing with the question of the withdrawal of Government from the management of existing colleges, these colleges be regarded as divided into three classes, viz. :—

- (1.) Those from which it is premature for Government to consider the propriety of withdrawal: on the ground that they are, and will long continue to be, the institutions on which the higher education of the country mainly depends.
- (2.) Those that might be transferred with advantage, as a measure promising useful political results, to bodies of native gentlemen, provided the new managers give satisfactory guarantees that the college will be maintained (1) permanently, (2) in full efficiency, (3) in such a way as to make it adequate for all the wants of the locality.
- (3.) Those which have been shown to be unsuccessful, or of which the cost is out of proportion to the utility, and from which Government might advantageously withdraw even with less stringent guarantees for permanent efficiency. Such colleges should be closed if, after due notice, no local body be formed to carry them on with such a grant-in-aid as the rules provide.

33. That the Government of Madras be requested to consider the propriety of dealing with the second grade Government colleges of that Province on the principles applicable to the second or third class as may be deemed advisable in each case, in the light of the recommendations made by the Madras Provincial Committee.

34. That the Government of Bombay be requested to consider the propriety of raising the Ahmedabad College to one teaching up to the B.A. standard, and of securing its full efficiency for a term of years, on the condition that after that period it be treated on the principles applicable to the second class.

35. That the Government of Bengal be requested to consider the propriety of dealing with the Rajshahye and Krishnagari

Government Colleges on the principles applicable to the second class, and with the Colleges at Berhampur, Midnapur, and Chittagong on the principles applicable to the third class, as suggested by the Bengal Provincial Committee.

36. That the bestowal of patronage in Government appointments be so ordered as to offer greater encouragement to high education.

(7).—*Recommendations regarding classes requiring special treatment.*

a.—The sons of Native Chiefs and Noblemen.

1. That Local Governments be invited to consider the question of establishing special colleges or schools for the sons and relations of Native Chiefs and noblemen, where such institutions do not now exist.

2. That Local Governments be invited to consider the advisability of entrusting the education of Wards of Court to the joint supervision of the district authorities and the Educational Inspectors.

b.—Muhammadans.

1. That the special encouragement of Muhammadan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on Local, on Municipal, and on Provincial Funds.

2. That indigenous Muhammadan schools be liberally encouraged to add purely secular subjects to their curriculum of instruction.

3. That special standards for Muhammadan primary schools be prescribed.

4. That Hindustani be the principal medium for imparting instruction to Muhammadans in primary and middle schools, except in localities where the Muhammadan community desire that some other language be adopted.

5. That the official vernacular, in places where it is not Hindustani, be added, as a voluntary subject, to the curriculum of primary and middle schools for Muhammadans maintained from public funds; and that arithmetic and accounts be taught through the medium of that vernacular.

6. That, in localities where Muhammadans form a fair proportion of the population, provision be made in middle and high schools maintained from public funds for imparting instruction in the Hindustani and Persian languages.

7. That higher English education for Muhammadans, being the kind of education in which that community needs special help, be liberally encouraged.

8. That, where necessary, a graduated system of special scholarships for Muhammadans be established,—to be awarded,—

(a) in primary schools, and tenable in middle schools,

(b) in middle schools, and tenable in high schools ;

(c) on the results of the Matriculation and First Arts examinations, and tenable in colleges.

9. That, in all classes of schools maintained from public funds, a certain proportion of free studentships be expressly reserved for Muhammadan students.

10. That, in places where educational endowments for the benefit of Muhammadans exist, and are under the management of Government, the funds arising from such endowments be devoted to the advancement of education among Muhammadans exclusively.

11. That, where Muhammadan endowments exist, and are under the management of private individuals or bodies, inducements by liberal grants-in-aid be offered to them, to establish English-teaching schools or colleges on the grant-in-aid system.

12. That, where necessary, Normal schools or classes for the training of Muhammadan teachers be established.

13. That, wherever instruction is given in Muhammadan schools through the medium of Hindustani, endeavours be made to secure, as far as possible, Muhammadan teachers to give such instruction.

14. That Muhammadan Inspecting Officers be employed more largely than hitherto for the inspection of primary schools for Muhammadans.

15. That Associations for the promotion of Muhammadan education be recognised and encouraged.

16. That in the annual Reports on public instruction a special section be devoted to Muhammadan education.

17. That the attention of the Local Governments be invited to the question of the proportion in which patronage is distributed among educated Muhammadans and others.

18. That the principles embodied in the Recommendations given above be equally applicable to any other races with similar antecedents, whose education is on the same level as that of the Muhammadans.

c.—Aboriginal Tribes.

1. That children of aboriginal tribes be exempted wherever necessary from payment of fees, over and above any general exemptions otherwise provided for.

2. That, if necessary, extra allowances be given under the result system for boys of aboriginal tribes taught in ordinary schools.

3. That when children of aboriginal tribes are found sufficiently instructed to become schoolmasters among their own people,

attempts be made to establish them in schools within the borders of the tribes.

4. That if any bodies be willing to undertake the work of education among aboriginal tribes, they be liberally assisted on the basis of abstention from any interference with any religious teaching.

5. That where the language of the tribe has not been reduced to writing, or is otherwise unsuitable, the medium of instruction be the vernacular of the neighbouring population, with whom the aboriginal people most often come in contact.

6. That, where the education of such tribes is carried on in their own vernacular, the vernacular of the neighbouring District be an additional subject of instruction where this is found advisable.

d.—Low castes.

1. That the principle laid down in the Court of Director's letter of May 5th, 1854, and again in their reply to the letter of the Government of India, dated May 20th, 1857, that "no boy be refused admission to a Government 'college or school merely on the ground of caste'" and repeated by the Secretary of State in 1863, be now re-affirmed as a principle, and be applied with due caution to every institution not reserved for special races, which is wholly maintained at the cost of public funds, whether Provincial Municipal or Local.

2. That the establishment of special schools or classes for children of low caste be liberally encouraged in places where there is a sufficient number of such children to form separate schools or classes, and where the schools maintained from public funds do not sufficiently provide for their education.

(8).—Recommendations on Female Education.

1. That female education be treated as a legitimate charge alike on Local, on Municipal, and on Provincial Funds, and receive special encouragement.

2. That all female schools or orphanages, whether on a religious basis or not, be eligible for aid so far as they produce any secular results, such as a knowledge of reading or of writing.

3. That the conditions of aid to girls' schools be easier than to boys' schools, and the rates higher—more especially in the case of those established for poor or for low-caste girls.

4. That the rules for grants be so framed as to allow for the fact that girls' schools generally contain a large proportion of beginners, and of those who cannot attend school for so many hours a day, or with such regularity as boys.

5. That the standards of instruction for primary girls' schools be simpler than those for boys' schools, and be drawn up with

special reference to the requirements of home life, and to the occupations open to women.

6. That the greatest care be exercised in the selection of suitable text-books for girls' schools, and that the preparation for such books be encouraged.

7. That, while fees be levied where practicable, no girls' school be debarred from a grant on account of its not levying fees.

8. That special provision be made for girls' scholarships, to be awarded after examination, and that, with a view to encouraging girls to remain longer at school, a certain proportion of them be reserved for girls not under twelve years of age.

9. That liberal aid be offered for the establishment, in suitable localities, of girls' schools in which English should be taught in addition to the vernacular.

10. That special aid be given, where necessary, to girls' schools that make provision for boarders.

11. That the Department of Public Instruction be requested to arrange, in concert with managers of girls' schools, for the revision of the Code of Rules for grants-in-aid in accordance with the above Recommendations.

12. That, as mixed schools, other than infant schools, are not generally suited to the conditions of this country, the attendance of girls at boys' schools be not encouraged, except in places where girls' schools cannot be maintained.

13. That the establishment of infant schools or classes, under schoolmistresses, be liberally encouraged.

14. That female schools be not placed under the management of Local Boards or of Municipalities unless they express a wish to take charge of them.

15. That the first appointment of schoolmistresses in girls' schools under the management of Municipal or Local Boards be left to such boards, with the proviso that the mistress be either certificated, or approved by the Department; and at the subsequent promotion or removal be regulated by the boards, subject to the approval of the Department.

16. That rules be framed to promote the gradual supersession of male by female teachers in all girls' schools.

17. That, in schools under female teachers, stipendiary pupil-teacherships be generally encouraged.

18. That the attention of Local Governments be invited to the question of establishing additional Normal schools or classes; and that those under private management receive liberal aid, part of which might take the form of a bonus for every pupil passing the certificate examination.

19. That the departmental certificate examinations for teachers be open to all candidates, wherever prepared.

20. That teachers in schools for general education be encouraged by special rewards to prepare pupils for examinations for teachers' certificates, and that girls be encouraged by the offer of prizes to qualify for such certificates.

21. That liberal inducements be offered to the wives of schoolmasters to qualify as teachers, and that in suitable cases widows be trained as schoolmistresses, care being taken to provide them with sufficient protection in the places where they are to be employed as teachers.

22. That, in Districts where European or Eurasian young women are required as teachers in native schools, special encouragement be given to them to qualify in a vernacular language.

23. That grants for zanana teaching be recognised as a proper charge on public funds and be given under rules which will enable the agencies engaged in that work to obtain substantial aid for such secular teaching as may be tested by an Inspectress or other female agency.

24. That Associations for the promotion of female education by examinations or otherwise be recognised by the Department, and encouraged by grants under suitable conditions.

25. That female inspecting agency be regarded as essential to the full development of female education, and be more largely employed than hitherto.

26. That an alternative subject in examinations suitable for girls be established, corresponding in standard to the Matriculation examination, but having no relation to any existing University course.

27. That endeavours be made to secure the services of native gentlemen interested in female education on Committees for the supervision of girls' schools, and that European and Native ladies be also invited to assist such Committees.

(9). *Recommendations as to Legislation.*

1. That the duties of Municipal and Local Boards in controlling or assisting schools under their supervision be regulated by local enactments suited to the circumstances of each Province.

2. That the area of any Municipal or rural unit of Local self-government that may now or hereafter exist be declared to be a school-district, and school-boards be established for the management and control of schools placed under their jurisdiction in each such district.

3. That the control of each school-board over all schools within the said school-district be subject to the following provisions:—

(a) that it be open to the Local Government to exclude any school, or any class of schools, other than schools

of primary instruction for boys, from the control of such school-board ;

- (b) that any school which is situated in the said school-district, and which receives no assistance either from the board or the Department, continue, if the managers so desire it, to be independent of the control of the school-board ;
- (c) that the managers of any institution which receives aid either from the board or the Department continue to exercise in regard to such institution full powers of management subject to such limitations as the Local Government may from time to time impose as a condition of receiving aid ;
- (d) that the school-board may delegate to any body appointed by itself or subordinate to it any duties in regard to any school or class of institutions under its control which it thinks fit so to delegate.

4. That the Local Government declare from time to time what funds constituting a school-fund shall be vested in any school-board for educational purposes, and what proportion of such school-fund shall be assigned to any class of education.

5. That it be the duty of every school-board :—

- (a) to prepare an annual budget of its income and expenditure ;
- (b) to determine what schools shall be wholly maintained at the cost of the school-fund, what schools are eligible for grants-in-aid, and which of them shall receive aid ;
- (c) to keep a register of all schools, whether maintained at the cost of public funds, or aided or unaided, which are situated in its school-district ;
- (d) to construct and repair school-houses or to grant aid towards their construction or repair ;
- (e) generally to carry out any other of the objects indicated in the various recommendations of the Commission, which in the opinion of the Local Government can best be secured by legislative enactment, or by rules made under the Act.

6. That the appointment, reduction of salary, or dismissal, of teachers in schools maintained by the board be left to the school-board ; provided that the said board shall be guided in its appointments by any rules as to qualifications which may be laid down from time to time by the Department ; and provided that an appeal shall lie to the Department against any order of dismissal or reduction of salary.

7. That an appeal lie to the Department against any order of a board in regard to such matters as the Local Government shall specify.

8. That every school-board be required to submit to the Local Government through the Department an annual report of its administration, together with its accounts of income and expenditure, in such form and on such date as shall be prescribed by the Local Government; and thereon the Local Government declare whether the existing supply of schools of any class, of which the supervision has been entrusted to such board, is sufficient to secure adequate proportionate provision for the education of all classes of the community; and in the event of the said Government declaring that the supply is insufficient, it determine from what sources and in what manner the necessary provision of schools shall be made.

9. That it be incumbent upon every Local Government or Administration to frame a Code of rules for regulating the conduct of education by Municipal and Local Boards in the Provinces subject to such Local Government or Administration.

10. That such Code shall define and regulate—

- (a) the internal mechanism of the Education Department in regard to direction, inspection, and teaching;
- (b) the external relations of the Department to private individuals and public bodies engaged in the work of education;
- (c) the scope, functions, and rules of the system of grants-in-aid;
- (d) the character of any special measures for the education of classes requiring exceptional treatment;
- (e) the scope and divisions of the annual report upon the progress of public instruction, together with the necessary forms of returns.

11. That power be reserved to the Local Government from time to time to add to, cancel, or modify the provisions of the said Code.

12. That the Code be annually published in the official Gazette in such a form as to show separately all articles which have been cancelled or modified and all new articles which have been introduced since the publication of the last edition.

APPENDIX I.

Minute recorded by Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Esq.

I concur in so many of the Recommendations contained in this Report, that I have no hesitation whatever in signing it. But after much anxious consideration, I have arrived at the conclusion that, in signing it, I am bound to put separately on record the opinions I have formed on some of the points with which it deals. I am, however, glad to be able to say at the outset, after a careful consideration of the work done by my colleagues who drew up this Report at Simla, that the very arduous duty which devolved upon them has been discharged by them in a manner, on the whole, extremely fair and satisfactory. There are, indeed, sundry statements in the Report to which I cannot give in my adhesion at all, or can do so only with many qualifications. Thus, the statement that the Local cess in Bombay was in its inception purely voluntary, and the passage which speaks of our Land Revenue system in this Presidency as a "liberal" one (*vide* Chap. IV), both involve judgments on non-educational matters which I am not prepared to accept. And again, when the study of Sanskrit in the old Benares College is pronounced to have been "frivolous and un-critical" (Chap. VI), or the provision for college scholarships in Bombay is described as "large" (Chap. VI), or the practical operation of the "grade" system is spoken of as very successful (Chap. VI), we have judgments pronounced on purely educational topics which I cannot concur in without some qualifications. Lastly, to refer to a point which is only partially educational, "unwise enthusiasm" and "the chill courtesies of English reserve" (Chap. VI), are by no means the only "drawbacks"—the former, indeed, is perhaps the smallest of the drawbacks—to be taken into account in connection with the "intercourse" of the Indian student with "the ruling race;" while, on the other hand, "the pretentious self-assertion" and "the comparative absence of lofty motive" and so forth attributed to the Indian student considered by himself, are, I should say, considerably overstated.* But all such points are now of subordinate importance, and having given this slight indication of them, I propose here to say nothing more

* See the Evidence of Sir W. Wedderburn, p. 2; Mr. Wordsworth, p. 5. and Cf. A. French Eton, pp. 25-7.

about them. I shall pass at once to the "Recommendations" contained in this Report, and take them in the order in which they appear there.

And the first Recommendation I wish to notice is the one which lays it down that the Director of Public Instruction should determine the rate of fees to be charged in all schools receiving aid from Government, and the proportion of students to be exempted from payment therein. I confess that I cannot reconcile myself to this Recommendation. The main grounds of my objection to it were stated by me during the debates in Calcutta, and they are summarised in our minutes of proceeding. I shall therefore not repeat them here, but I wish to make one or two observations upon points which have been urged on the other side. It is said, then, that the recommendation carries out the directions of the Despatch of 1854. I cannot accept this view. I cannot accept as correct a construction of that Despatch which says that "some fee, however small" (see para. 54 of the Despatch), means some fee not smaller than a minimum to be fixed by the Director of Public Instruction, and to be from time to time raised by that officer, even although it is to be raised "gradually, cautiously, and with due regard to necessary exemptions." And I own that I am the less prepared to accept this strained construction of the clause in question, when I find that, while the traditions of my countrymen, be they Hindus, Mussalmans, or Parsis, are decidedly against any such rule as is sought to be laid down, the grounds alleged in favour of it have been shown by the later experience of even European countries to be quite untenable. The evidence as to the facts on this point may be seen collected in Mr. Morley's "Struggle for National Education" pp. 143-5,* while one principal aim of that delightful little work of Mr. Matthew Arnold's, "A French Eton," was to reduce the cost of secondary education in England † (*vide inter alia*, pp. 8, 22, 67, 75). The position, therefore, which I take up is this. On such a point we ought not to consider ourselves bound hand and foot by the provisions of the Despatch of 1854; but if we are so bound, then we ought not to extend its words by construction, and specially ought we not to do so, when we thereby run counter not only to the traditions of the communities for whose benefit the Despatch was intended, but also to the more matured experiences of those countries from whose practice the provisions were originally borrowed. But then it is said that the object of the Despatch was to make education self-supporting, and

* Cf. Report, Education Commission (1861), VI, 156.

† Cf. Mr. Lethbridge in Journal, National Indian Association (August 1882), p. 440 *et seq.*, and the evidence of Mr. Wordsworth and Mr. Oxenham and the Hon. K. D. Pal and Mr. Tawney.

that that object can only be compassed by the increase of fees. From this reading of the Despatch also I must respectfully express my dissent. The Despatch plainly indicates the wish of its authors that the money of the State should be made to go as far as possible in developing education in this country. And doubtless if an aided school could be made by the State to increase its fee income—not, be it noticed, its fee rate, which is another and quite a different thing—the State would be able to save something out of its grants-in-aid, which could then be applied in developing education in other directions. But this involves a forcing by the State upon private workers in education of its own ideas on a subject which is a peculiarly appropriate field for the exercise of local knowledge and local experience. Such a procedure seems to me to be scarcely in harmony with the principles of the Despatch, or of the recommendations regarding private enterprise which, in pursuance of those principles, the Commission has put forward.

But then it is said that a provision like the one recommended would strengthen the hands of managers of non-Government schools, and prevent one aided school from outbidding another. Put into plain English, this argument seems to me to involve a wish that some favoured institutions—perhaps those first in the field—should be enabled to monopolise the State grant, and new sharers in it should be prevented from rising up in competition. For what will be the operation of such a rule, framed with the objects avowed by its framers? The Director of Public Instruction will consult the managers of schools actually receiving aid from Government, and a minimum rate of fee and a maximum proportion of free studentships will be fixed by their joint wisdom. A school in existence then, but not receiving aid, or a school subsequently started, will both alike be bound by the rule, under penalty of being refused aid by the State, although the manager may never have been consulted about its justice or expediency; or a manager who was consulted and took a different view from the Director would be excluded from the benefit of the State grant for his presumption in differing from that infallible officer. I see nothing that can reconcile me to results like these. It seems to be assumed that reductions of fee below the minimum to be fixed by the Director will often be designed for purposes of mischief and breach of discipline. I maintain that there is no warrant whatever for such an assumption. One great inducement in the past to the opening of schools by my countrymen has been the opportunity thus afforded them for spreading education cheaply. I may cite the case of the new English School in Poona as an illustration with which I am most familiar. I hope and believe that the same inducement will continue to be a potent one in future. But if the

Recommendation under consideration is put into force, the counter-vailing influences are sure to be very powerful; they may, perhaps, be too powerful. No doubt one of the representatives of aided institutions in the Commission assured us that managers of aided schools will not look on the Department's action in this matter as at all an interference to be objected to. Probably not. But I am not now particularly concerned for the institutions which are at present receiving aid. I am concerned for those which are not but ought to be receiving aid, and those which may be started hereafter and may properly ask for aid. I am concerned for those which shall not aim at making secondary and higher education as costly as possible, but which shall be started by men who will, within certain limits, act on the traditions to which I have already alluded. It will, I am aware, be objected to this in fact, it was objected during our debates—that if any one wants to make education a matter of charity and impart it either as an entirely free gift or at a very small cost, he ought not to ask for State aid in doing so. But that objection seems to me to involve a *non-sequitur*. The work done is of a nature which the State has undertaken to help, and therefore has an absolute claim to such help. And a further remark on the objection is that it certainly does not lie in the mouths of those who contend for grants to be given from State funds to that other agency of educational charity—the so-called “proselytising schools.”

But against all this, it is urged that a rule like the one in question has been in successful operation in Madras. I am unable to make out clearly, from the Provincial Report, or from what was said in the course of the debate, (whether an aided school, under the existing rules, is liable to have its grant withdrawn if it contravenes an order of the Director on the subject of fees. Apparently it is (see Madras Provincial Report), but only if it receives a salary grant, not a result grant. If so, the example quoted is plainly of limited application. Besides, in such a matter, the mere fact of no complaints having been made for some time by natives of this country is not, to my mind, any proof that the rule is a good one. I think the principle here is wrong; and as to expediency, I cannot but think it highly inexpedient that the State should afford artificial help to institutions not managed by itself, for exacting from students higher fees than they will be able to obtain without such help.

I have only to add one more observation on this point. It will be admitted on all hands that it is useless to lay down a rule when a coach-and-six can be driven through it with ease. And what more easy than that in the case of the rule recommended? A manager has only got to make the appropriate entries on both sides

of his accounts, and show an expenditure on account of scholarships precisely equal to the difference between the fees he levies and those he is directed to levy. The rule is then satisfied, and the Department is baffled. And probably this further result will also follow. The manager will be able to return his expenditure on his schools at a figure larger than the real one by this enforced addition, and will, under some systems of grant-in-aid, be able to claim from the State a larger sum for having succeeded in defying the rules made by the State. Thus this laudable endeavour, commenced to make secondary and higher education more self-supporting,—that is to say, more costly to the students,—“will overleap itself and fall on the other side;” for it will end by becoming more costly, and quite unnecessarily so, not to the student, but to the State. And over and above this, of course, are the demoralising effects, however small in each case, of preparing returns for the State in the objectionable form I have before referred to.

The next point I wish to deal with is that involved in the Recommendation contained in Chapter VI. I cordially agree in that Recommendation. And I hope that the Local Governments concerned will deal in a spirit of liberality with the cases there referred to, and not allow themselves to be influenced by the cry that too much is being spent on higher education in India. With that cry, in the form in which it has been raised, I have no sympathy whatever. I unreservedly accept the view that without mass education the country will never be able to enjoy to the full the fruits which it has a right to expect from the higher education. For that purpose, you must bestow brains, as Mill has it, on those who have only hands. And in my judgment the time has now come when with that view mass education must be pushed onward, or, as is it expressed in the Resolution appointing the Commission, “the different branches of public instruction should, if possible, move forward together.” On the other hand, I hold an equally strong opinion that, without the higher education, mass education cannot be of much avail, even if it can be secured. And the argument so often urged, that for the money spent on giving high education to one student, you might give primary education to more than one hundred, is to my mind utterly futile, and unworthy even of a moment’s consideration.* “We have nearly all of us,” says Mr. Mathew Arnold, † “reached the notion that popular

* Schools and Universities on the Continent, p. 275; and *Cf.* the statement of Mr. Justice West and the evidence of Mr. Wordsworth, and our minutes of proceedings, pp. 126-7.

† Sir T. Madhavrao, among native gentlemen not examined by the Commission, and the vast majority of the native witnesses examined in all provinces, have taken the view of high education which is here stated. The view of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore is very well known.

education it is the State's duty to deal with. Secondary and superior instruction, many of us still think, should be left to take care of themselves." And after pointing out what has been done in European countries on this matter, he winds up thus: "In all these countries the idea of a sound civil organisation of modern society has been found to involve the idea of an organisation of secondary and superior instruction by public authority or by the State." I will not dwell more on this point, but will merely say that in my opinion the whole religious, social, political, and industrial advance of the country depends on the steady adhesion to that enlightened policy, as regards high education, which has probably been the most generally approved portion of British Indian policy in the past. This opinion is quite consistent with a desire, which I strongly feel, that all private efforts in education, especially the efforts put forward by my own countrymen, should receive a fair field and due encouragement. But in order that such private effort should be forthcoming in any District, high education must, as a general rule, have been in existence in that District for some time. And therefore I trust that, when the Recommendation under notice comes to be carried out, no embarrassments will be felt by the local authorities in consequence of any *a priori* idea of the superiority of private enterprise over State action,—an idea which, however well founded in many respects, is just now, I fear, likely to be set up as a fetish, and likely to be allowed to dominate in regions which, under present circumstances, at all events, lie entirely beyond its sphere.

I have only one word to add with respect to some of the specific cases enumerated in the Recommendation. The case of the Delhi College appears to me to be a particularly hard one. Subscriptions raised by the natives have been rejected as inadequate, and the College has substantially been made over to a missionary body. On both grounds the matter is worth of reconsideration. As to the College of Jabalpur, I cannot imagine that there can be two opinions. In regard to Sind, the petition sent by some of the citizens of Karachi was not before us when our Provincial Report was written, and the offer made in that petition to contribute something towards endowing a college deserves consideration at the hands of the Government of Bombay. Coming lastly to the Gujarat College, I have nothing to add to what is said in the Provincial Report, save that the period of probation should be such as to give the College a really fair chance of success; and that the Government, if it is to err at all, should err on the side of giving it too long, rather than too short, a period of probation.

I next proceed to consider two Recommendations which deal with a point certainly one of the most important in connection

with education. I allude to the Recommendation regarding moral education in Colleges. In stating the opinions which I have formed on this point, I know I run a certain risk of misinterpretation. But I am bound to say that, after the best consideration which I have been able to give to the Recommendations made by the Commission, and the arguments adduced in support of them, I am still strongly of opinion that the proposed measures will be impotent for good and may result in mischief. I will first take up the latter of the two Recommendations referred to. That prescribes that a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen should be delivered in each College in each session. Now, first, what is the object of this new departure—for it is a new departure—in our system of academical instruction? Many of those who recommend this new departure admit that there is nothing in the character of the students of our State Colleges, taken as a class, which can be used in support of this recommendation. Others, however, of the same mode of thinking, have distinctly said that the effects of education in our State Colleges on the morals* of the students has certainly been mischievous, not to say disastrous. One gentleman, who has been particularly active in what I cannot help characterising as the misguided and mischievous agitation which preceded the appointment of the Commission, has held up to the gaze of the British public a picture of the effects of State education in India (see Mr. Johnstone's "Educational Policy in India," pages xv, 8, 10, 26), which, if it is a faithful one, would certainly justify some new departure in the direction indicated. But is it a faithful picture? On that we have a statement submitted to the Commission by five gentlemen of the same party as the author of the pamphlet above alluded to. These gentlemen undertake to say that "the result of Government so-called neutrality has been by *common consent* decidedly injurious from a moral and religious point of view." What these gentlemen mean by "common consent" it is not very easy to understand. The evidence before the Commission, (which is summarised in the Report Chapter VI), is absolutely overwhelming in favour of the reverse of that which these gentlemen describe as admitted by common consent. And I owe it to the system under which I myself and many of my friends have been nurtured, to put it solemnly on record that in my judgment the charges made against that system are wholly and absolutely unsustainable, and are the results of imperfect or prejudiced observation and hasty

* Bishop Meurin's statement (page 3) pronounces an unfavourable Judgment on our system. His language is curiously like that used against the University of Paris in days gone by. Cf. Schools and Universities on the Continent by Mr. M. Arnold, page 23.

generalisation put into words by random and often reckless rhetoric. I do not deny that there may be individuals among men of the class to which I have the honour to belong, who have strayed away more or less widely from the path of honor and virtue. But if that fact affords sufficient ground for a condemnation of our system, what system, I would ask, is there under the sun which will not have to be similarly condemned? A considerable portion of the sensational talk that is going about on this subject is, I feel persuaded, due to a misapplication of that unhappy phrase—educated native. That misapplication is referred to upon another point in the Report (see Chap. VIII), but it is necessary to enter a caveat with regard to it in this connection also. On the one hand, it is confined, and of course quite erroneously, to those who acquired some knowledge of the English language; and on the other, it is extended, equally erroneously, to those who, like Macaulay's Frenchman, "have just learnt enough English to read Addison with a dictionary." The latter error is the one which must be specially guarded against in discussion like the present.

But it may be said that the new departure, if not justified by the injurious effects of the systems hitherto in vogue, may still be justified on the ground that it is calculated to strengthen the beneficial effects of that system. And here I am prepared to join issue with those who maintain that it will have any such operation. I cordially accept the dictum of Mr. Mathew Arnold that conduct is three-fourths of life, and a man who works for conduct works for more than a man who works for intelligence. And therefore I should be quite willing to join, as indeed I have joined in any Recommendation encouraging such "work for conduct" (see the Bombay Provincial Report, page 148). But I cannot perceive that "lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen" at a college constitute such "work" at all. In a primary school, lessons on the duties of man would probably be useful; in a secondary school they would probably be innocuous; but in a collegiate institution they would probably be neither useful nor innocuous. At the earliest stage of a student's life, ignorance, of what is right is probably an important force, and then to correct that ignorance, moral lessons are a perfectly appropriate agency, although even here I should be inclined to rely more upon "lessons" like Miss Edgeworth's,* for instance, than on those like the extracts from "The whole Duty of Man" by D. A. Eisdale which were published in Bombay at the American Mission Press, in 1841. When the student has advanced to a secondary school much of the ignorance above referred to has presumably given

* Notwithstanding Dr. Whately's protest, in a note in his edition of Bacon's essays.

place to knowledge. But still the habit of analysis and criticism is in a very rudimentary condition, and such lessons will, in all probability, do little harm. But if collegiate education is to subserve one of its most important purposes, and is to cultivate the intelligence so as to enable it to weigh arguments and form independent judgments, then these moral lessons present an entirely different aspect. At that stage, it is almost entirely unnecessary to instruct the intelligence, while it is of great use to discipline the will and to cultivate the feelings. The proposed lectures will, I fear, have little or no effect in this latter direction: while in some individual cases their effect in the former direction, being meant to operate not on the intellect but on conduct, may be the reverse of that which is desired—something like that on the Cambridge scholar, about whom I read many years ago, whose first doubts about the divine character of Christianity were said to have been roused by a study of Paley's Evidences. That sense of moral responsibility in man which impressed Kant with the same awe as the starry heavens, can receive no strengthening from lectures on the duties of a man, any more than the awe which the starry heavens inspire can be produced by lectures on the rings of Saturn or the phases of the moon. Such strengthening must come from the emotions and the will being worked upon by the histories of great movements, the lives of great men, and the songs of great poets. It must come from the training of the will and the emotions by the actual details of academic life, by the elevating contact* with good professors and fellow-students, by the constant engagement of the attention on the ennobling pursuits of literature, science, and philosophy; by the necessity, so often felt, "to scorn delights and live laborious days;" and, even in our very modern State Colleges of this country, though on a very humble scale, by "that mass of continuous traditions always powerful and generally noble," of which Mr. Gladstone† spoke so eloquently in his inaugural address to the University of Edinburgh.

That is the only course of moral education in which I have any faith. That is the course which alone, in my opinion, can be efficacious. Lectures on the duties of a man can at the best only lead to the "cold decrees of the brain." They have little or no efficacy in cooling down the "hot temper which leaps over" those decrees. These views might be easily supported by a mass of authority, but I will only refer here to that of one who is at once a writer on Moral Philosophy, a University Professor of the same subject, and a Chairman of a School Board in Scotland. I allude to Professor Calderwood, who has said in his recent work on Teaching

* Cf. Mathew Arnold in *Nineteenth Century* (November 1882), p. 714.

† See *Gleanings of past years*, Vol. VII p. 18.

its ends and means that "moral training is gained not so much by formal inculcation of duty, as by practice in well-doing throughout the common engagements of life" (p. 73; and see also pp. 25, 83, 123, &c.).

So far I have dealt only with the first part of the Recommendation. The second part, dealing with the duties of a citizen, appears to me to stand on a somewhat different footing. It seems to be intended to point rather to what may be called political, as distinguished from social, morality. Lectures on this subject may be of use, as the subject is one on which there is some real ignorance which may be dispelled by lectures addressed to the intellect. But I must own that I am afraid of the practical operation of this part of the Recommendation. In ordinary times it may not be very material one way or the other, though even in ordinary times one can conceive the inconvenient results which may flow from it. But in times of excitement, such as those through which we have scarcely yet emerged, I much fear that the result will be to drag the serene dignity of the academy into the heat and dust of platform warfare. If the Professor's lectures tend to teach the pupils the duty of submission to the views of Government without a murmur of dissatisfaction, there is sure to come up a set of Liberal irreconcilables who will complain that Government is endeavouring to enslave the intellect of the nation. If the Professor's lectures are supposed to lead in the opposite direction, there will be some Tory irreconcilables ready to spring up and say, even more loudly and quite as erroneously as they are saying it now, that the collegers supported from State revenues are hotbeds of sedition.* This is almost certain to occur in times of excitement. It may not unlikely occur in quiet times also. And with this risk, I confess, it seems to me that the advantages of such lectures will have been dearly purchased. If it is argued that the professors in our colleges are not now prevented from doing that which may afford a target for similar denunciation, my reply is that the professors may well do what they deem proper in their private capacity as citizens. But it becomes a very different thing when they deliver lectures at college in their capacity as Professors appointed by the State for the express purpose. The position on that point is exactly analogous to the position on

* Cf. Gladstone's Gleanings, VII, 13; and the evidence of Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Wordsworth, and the Honourable Amir Ali. Mr. Johnson, in the pamphlet above referred to, attacks us on this ground also, but his frame of mind may be judged of by his unhappy reference to the necessity of the Vernacular Press Act—a point on which one need not now waste a single syllable.

the point of religious instruction under the Despatch of 1859, Sections 59-61.

I now come to the other Recommendation. The whole theory of moral education here adopted is one which I consider erroneous in principle, and likely to be bad in practical operation as tending to withdraw attention from the necessity of making not one or two hours of academic life, but the whole of it, a period of moral education. Holding that view, it follows, of course, that I cannot accept the suggestion about the moral text-book. But further objections to that suggestion are stated in the Bombay Provincial Report, to which I still adhere. I will only add that the view there enunciated receives support from the history of a similar experiment tried many years ago in Ireland. No less a person than Archbishop Whately endeavoured to do for the elements of Christianity what Bishop Meurin proposes, and the Commission recommends, should be done for the elements of morality based on Natural Religion. With what result? The text-book was written, approved, sanctioned for use and used in the Irish schools, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Then the tide turned, and the book had to be abandoned, and Archbishop Whately himself, the Lord Justice Christian, and Mr. Baron Greene resigned their seats on the School Board, upon the ground that what was done was a breach of faith with the people.* It is not necessary to enquire which, if either, of the parties to the contest was in the wrong. The lesson to be derived from the occurrence is equally clear and equally entitled to "give us pause" in the course on which we are recommended to enter, whether the fault in that particular matter lay with the Protestants or the Roman Catholics, with Archbishop Whately or with Archbishop Murray or his successor.

I will only add one word here with respect to the question of religious instruction which was raised before the Commission. I deeply sympathise with the demand of some witnesses whose evidence has come before us, that provision should be made in our educational system for that religious instruction without which, as Lord Ripon declared before the University of Calcutta, all education is imperfect. I sympathise with this demand, but do not see my way to suggest any feasible means of satisfying it. There are only two possible modes, which can be adopted in justice and fairness, of practically imparting religious instruction. Either you must teach the principles common to all religions under the name of Natural Religion, or you must teach the principles of each religious creed to the students whose parents adopt that

* Life of Dr. Whately, by Miss Whately, II, 264.

creed. The difficulties of these alternatives have been indicated by no less an authority than Mr. Cobden (see his *Speeches*, page 588, *et seq.*) Those difficulties are certainly not less great in this country than in England. They appear to me to be so great that we must be content to "take refuge," as it has been expressed, "in the remote haven of refuge for the educationists—the secular system." But I would also point out to all those who ask for this religious education, that the cultivation of those feelings of human nature to which religion appeals is not even now entirely neglected, and that the further direction to be given to those feelings, according to the principles of each religious creed, ought to be undertaken, as it is best carried out, not by a Government like the British Indian Government,* but by the professors of the several creeds. "Under the legislation of 1806," says Mr. Mathew Arnold,† "it was not permitted to public schools to be denominational. The law required that the instruction in them should be such as to train its recipients for the exercise of all social and Christian virtues, but no dogmatic religious instruction was to be given by the teacher, or was to be given in the school. Measures were to be taken, however, said the law, that the scholar should not go without the dogmatic teaching of the communion to which he belonged. Accordingly the Minister of the Home Department exhorted by circular the ministers of the different communions to co-operate with the Government in carrying the new law into execution, by taking upon themselves the religious instruction of the school children belonging to their persuasion. The religious authorities replied favourably to this appeal, and nowhere, perhaps, has the instruction of the people been more eminently religious than in Holland, while the public schools have, by law, remained unsectarian."‡ That seems to me to indicate, though only in a general way, the true procedure to be followed in this matter by those who are dissatisfied with the religious results of our educational system. Some agencies of this sort, more or less organised, more or less powerful, are at present working. Whether a more complete organisation will bring out results more satisfactory to those who are now asking for a change, is a matter upon which I own I am somewhat sceptical. And some of the grounds of my scepticism have been already indicated in what I have said above, on the kindred question of moral education. But at all events, on this I am quite clear, that our institutions for secular instruction should not be embarrassed

* Cf. Gladstone's *Gleanings*, VII, 109.

† Report of the Education Commission (1861), Vol. IV, page 139; and see page 151. Still the schools were called "godless" (see page 144) in Holland.

‡ Cf. the quotation from Sir R. Peel in the evidence of Mr. Wordsworth.

by any meddling with religious instruction, for such meddling, among other mischiefs, will yield results which on the religious side will satisfy nobody, and on the secular side will be distinctly retrograde.*

Proceeding to the next group of Recommendations under Collegiate Education, I need add little to what I have already said about fees and free studentships. I will only remark, however, that in my judgment the provision for free studentships in our colleges and high schools in Bombay (and partly also in Madras) is ridiculously small, being merely 5 per cent. of the total number at school or college. I have no belief in these arbitrary percentages, whether in the matter of fees or scholarships or any other matters, and I think it ought at least to be open to the head of an institution to admit more than 5 per cent., when the admissions can be made without making any individual class in the institution unmanageably large. The poor boys are the very salt of our colleges and schools, and I would earnestly plead for a fairly ample provision for them. Even in England, as appears from Mr. Pattison's suggestions on academical organisation (p. 67, *et seq.*), the principle of such provision for the poor has been accepted by high authority. I am quite aware that a system of free studentships is objected to, on the ground that it is calculated to attract the best students to the State institutions, and thus act unfairly on the success of non-Government ones. But as the scholarships and free studentships are now proposed to be dissociated from one another, part of this objection seems to me to be removed. And for the rest, I am unable to see why, when the State has on other grounds determined to maintain an institution, it should not admit poor students free, subject to the limitation above indicated. On the contrary, I consider that the State is bound to admit them, because it is thus enabled to disseminate the benefits of its institutions wider, without increasing by one pie its own expenditure upon those institutions.

Proceeding now to the Recommendations in Chapter VI, I would specially emphasise the one about the appointment of native gentlemen to inspectorships of schools. I am no fanatical advocate of the claims of my countrymen to appointments in the public service, but I must say that we have not received quite fair measure in this matter.† To borrow a figure from John Bright, we have had a feast with a very small quantity of meat and a very large quantity of table-cloth. In spite of this fact, I did not agree to the proposal placed before the Commission for a hard-and-fast

* See Morley's *Struggle for National Education*, *passim*.

† Cf. Appendix B. to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's "Note" presented to the Commission.

rule requiring one-half of the Inspectorships in each province to be reserved for natives, because I should like, before supporting so radical a proposal, to try the operation of the recommendation, which was accepted almost with one voice by the Commission. Long years hence, I hope, we may be able to dispense with the services of all highly-paid Inspectors, Native or European. When school management and inspection on the most approved principles are better and more widely understood, and when, by the development of local self-government, the people themselves begin to take a practical and energetic interest in education, there will be need for little more than examination and general supervision by the State, and that may be done by officers of a class corresponding to the Deputy or Assistant Inspectors of the present day. But such a consummation is yet in the distance, and its approach can only be accelerated, if in the meanwhile sympathetic and energetic officers are appointed to these important posts. "Take care," said the founder of public instruction in Holland,— "take care how you choose your Inspectors; they are men whom you ought to look for with a lantern in your hand." I may add one word here about inspection by revenue officers. According to my information, derived from official and (what in my view is of greater importance) from non-official sources, this inspection is very useful in Bombay. In Bengal, however, we have the testimony of one of the revenue officials, that a measure similar to that now in force here "set all the Education Department against us Magistrates, by giving us power to interfere with their proceedings."* Our Recommendation is so worded as to avoid this risk, and it may be hoped that with the additional experience now acquired it may be entirely avoided.

There is one other point under this Chapter on which I wish to add a few words to what already appears in our minutes. After reconsidering all that was said in the debate against the Consultative Board of Education proposed by me, I am still of opinion that the view which prevailed was a bureaucratic and erroneous view. Looking especially to the scheme of local self-government in the Presidency of Bombay which has now been published, I do not see why the proposed board should not be able to give to the local boards quite as good advice as these officers whom the local boards will by law be bound to consult. And I will venture to add that even the trained officers of Government in the Education, as in any other department, will not find it disastrous to the efficient discharge of their duties, if they now and then take extra-departmental counsel, in the way which, according to Mr. Arnold, even

* See *Life in the Mofussal* by a Bengal Civilian, Vol. II, p. 254.

the despotisms of the Continent of Europe do not disdain.* I observe that it is suggested in the Report that if the Department fails in its great duty of keeping touch with public opinion, "the Government is at hand to correct its deficiencies." I wish I could feel confident on this point. But it is impossible that I can do so, when I remember the almost stereotyped answer of "Government" to all appeals against its departments, *viz.*, "We see no cause to interfere."

I come next to the important subject of grants-in-aid. And while I entirely concur in the Recommendation made to correct the practical inconveniences in the administration of the grant with respect to colleges kept by the Jesuit Fathers,—a body who have done and are doing most admirable work in Bombay and elsewhere,—I must say that I am not satisfied with the restriction to that body of the relief intended to be afforded by the Recommendation. Here, again, I am referring mostly to institutions that may hereafter come into existence. And I cannot see upon what principle the benefit of the altered rule can be refused to an institution where the source of the grievance is not the constitution of the religious body to which the teachers belong, but some other circumstance. I ventured in the course of our debates to refer, as an instance, to the case of the new English School of Poona, as one which might be in a position to claim the benefit of the new principle. And I was told that I assumed, without good reason, that the Bombay system was about to undergo some radical change. As I did not and do not consider the Bombay system of payment by results pure and simple to be a perfect system, and as the Commission had unanimously recommended a revision of the grant-in-aid rules in consultation with school managers and with special reference to the complaints dwelt on in the Report, I thought it quite on the cards that a salary-grant system, or something similar, might, even in Bombay, be joined on to the existing system of payments by results. And in that view I referred to the new English School, and even then only as an illustration, not by any means as exhausting the possible cases calling for the application of the principle under discussion. The other objection taken—namely, that my proposal raised by a side wind the whole question of private adventure schools—seems to me to be sufficiently answered by the Recommendation No. 18 in this chapter which has been adopted by the Commission, and to which I offer no objection.

Upon the question of the conscience clause, my opinions are already on record in our minutes. I wish to add only a few words. It is said that in England the conscience clause is a dead letter.

* Schools and Universities on the Continent, Preface, xxi, and p. 28.

My information on that subject is, of course, limited; but if it is a dead letter, I cannot explain the recent speech of Mr. Mundella,* who spoke of the "fact that the Education Act, 1870, in relation to religious teaching, is doing a work which the country never expected of it, and which religious bodies themselves throughout the country appear scarcely to understand." Besides, it certainly has not been formally repealed, and the question for us, therefore, is whether the provision is in itself a just and expedient one. I do not feel much pressed by the objection that a conscience clause is inconsistent with the provision of the Despatch which prohibits State interference with the religious teaching imparted in aided schools. For I consider that the effect of that prohibition is incorrectly described in the Report, when it is stated to be a "strict abstinence from all enquiry as to any religion being taught or not taught," in such schools. I understand the prohibition to mean that the officers of the State are not to order or forbid the teaching of particular doctrines, or the use of particular text-books. But I do not understand it to prohibit the State from insisting that such religious teaching as is imparted should be imparted subject to the condition that any pupil may refuse to receive it if he pleases. The effect of the prohibition is no greater than that of the conscience clause of the Education Act of 1870, which, according to Mr. Morley,† lays down absolute neutrality and indifference as regards religious instruction, and embodies the true principle thus expressed by Mr. Gladstone:‡ "The duty of the State is to hold itself entirely and absolutely detached from all responsibility with regard to their" (i. e., of the voluntary schools) "religious teaching." The argument, again, that the conscience clause owes its origin historically to England having a State Church, is also answered by remembering that in Ireland, after the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church there, it is still enforced,§ and that even here in India itself the Government have prescribed a conscience clause for European and Eurasian schools, not to mention that we have a State Church even in India which in 1880 cost £56,012 to the revenues of the country.|| And again, I own I cannot see how it is consistent with the absolute neutrality on which so much stress was laid in the Commission, for the State to help some or even all of the warring religions and religious sects of the country with the funds at its command, where those funds

* See the *Times* for July 16.

† *Struggle for National Education*, page 87.

‡ Quoted by Mr. Morley, page 79.

§ And enforced in an even stronger form than is proposed by me,—*vide* 41 and 42 Vict., c. 66, § 7.

|| See *Financial Reform Almanac* (1882), page 190.

are avowedly applied for propagandist purposes. That seems to me not neutrality, but participation in the strife, and even more,—in fact, a rushing into the *mélée*, so to say. And when it is said that the State has nothing to do except with secular results, I entirely demur to that contention, except in the case where the secular and the religious results are plainly severable one from the other. They are severable, when the pupils are allowed to withdraw from the religious lessons, if they please, in the manner provided by Section 7 of the Education Act of 1870. They are not severable, if the pupils are not allowed to do so.

We are thus brought back to the question, is the conscience clause just and expedient? I can see no reasonable argument against the justice of it; indeed, it seems to me to be practically admitted, when a representative of missionary schools protests that attendance at religious lessons is already voluntary. That shows that if my proposal is accepted, the result will be only to enforce the good example of some missionaries upon the whole body—a result to which I cannot see any objection even in the argument that “compelling” the missionaries to do this might be wrong, thought the doing of it might be itself right. Is it then expedient? If I thought that the effect of the proposed rule would be to reduce very greatly the number of missionary schools in the country, it would, in my opinion, perhaps be inexpedient. But I am satisfied that, that will not be the result at all. The very eminent representative of missionary institutions in the Commission told us plainly that, that would not be the result. And I agree with him.

But it is said that this objection is only made by a section of society which is indifferent to religious instruction. My answer to this is a very short one: it is at once unfounded and irrelevant. Lastly, I wish to notice one misapprehension on this subject. It is not correct to say that the proposal of a conscience clause is exclusively aimed at Christian missionaries, though it most certainly is aimed mainly at them. We have already seen the beginnings of educational activity on the part of the Brahma Samajees and the Prarthana Samajees throughout the country. To them, as well as to the various religious persuasions—Hindus, Muhammadans, &c.—which referred to in the Despatch, and to which Lord Ripon appealed in his address before the University of Calcutta, a similar rule ought to be made applicable, although, all these, unlike missionary societies, are local bodies, and although therefore, any encouragement given to them will have a perceptible effect in fostering that “spirit of local exertion and combination for local purposes” which is referred to in the Despatch, but which cannot be fostered by encouraging a foreign agency,

although private, and whether missionary or non-missionary. For I confess I cannot follow those witnesses who say that missionary effort in this country has served to evoke private native effort; while on the other hand some of the representatives of native private effort have said that the encouragement given to the former has acted prejudicially upon their energies.*

A somewhat kindred question is the one of the educational of the low-castes. I have no wish to quarrel with the Recommendation on that subject as it now stands. The feelings or prejudices on the subject are undergoing change, and a few years of cautious forbearance may put an extinguisher upon the question altogether. Meanwhile those who have to deal with each case as it arises must remember that, in carrying out a correct principle even in educational matters, much allowance is not unfrequently always claimed, and has to be made for the feelings and prejudices of even very advanced and enlightened communities.

The superstitions we have learned.

From education, do not lose their power,

When we have found them out; nor are all free

Whose judgment mocks the galling chains they wear.

A fortiori, therefore, should such allowance as has been here alluded to be made for those who, without the light of modern education and enlightenment, still cling to the prejudices which they have inherited from antiquity.

There is only one other point now to which I wish to refer in this memorandum. It does not fall properly within the scope of the Commission's labours as being a matter relating to the University of Bombay. But as the matter has been publicly canvassed, I wish to say one or two words upon it. And first I refer to the statement of Father Rivè that the University appoints as examiners Professors in the Government colleges, and not those in the private ones. That this is a mistake is shown by the evidence of Mr. Wordsworth, who has been for a long time a member of the Syndicate of the University of Bombay; and indirectly also by the statement of Father Willy, who formerly belonged to the same institution as Father Rivè himself (Father Willy's statement is an appendix to the evidence of the Rev. S. Gallo, S. J., of Cauanore,—see p. 10). A more aggressive and much less defensible statement is made by the Sub-Committee of the Bombay Missionary Conference. They say, "We would also state that this feeling of antagonism is carried into the higher examinations,—namely, those of the University. The year 1881 affords a notable example of this. Candidates in the examination were asked by

* See Mr. Àpte's evidence, pp. 7, 26; Mr. Bhâve's evidence, pp. 3, 4; Mr. M., B Copper's evidence, pp. 3, 4, 6, 9.

Government Professors, acting as Examiners, to what school or college they belonged. We regret to state that in some cases remarks were made tending to the disparagement of aided institutions in the eyes of the students. This is no private matter; it is one which has been to some extent already ventilated in the public prints." Now, the first remark which arises upon this statement is the great unfairness of the procedure adopted by this Subcommittee. The members of it are all of them, I believe, members of the University which they attack, and they have never called upon the University Senate, or its Executive Committee, the Syndicate, to investigate the serious charge which they make both against the University and the individual Examiners concerned. The second observation which arises is that these gentlemen, not claiming to know personally anything about the graveness of the charges preferred by them, nevertheless adduce no authority in support of them except the anonymous writings in the "public prints," which, though affording very good grounds for investigation, cannot be accepted as in themselves proof by any fair mind. Thirdly, it is to be noted that the statement above excerpted goes a great deal beyond the only evidence that is adduced for it. The "public prints" did not say, as far as I know, that what occurred in 1881 was an *example* of anything whatever. What occurred, or rather was supposed to have occurred, was commented on only with reference to future improvement, and not as a repetition of former misdeeds. Further, the charge then made was not made against "Government Professors," but against one individual Professor, who had two colleagues, one of whom was a member of an independent profession, and the other a Professor in an institution in one of the Native States not having any thing to do with the Department of Education in British territory. Lastly, upon the point as to what actually did occur, I had an explanation from the gentleman in question at the time the matter was "ventilated in the public prints." That explanation has been corroborated by the Examiner, who is unconnected with our State Department of Education, who writes as follows to his colleague:—"I can heartily endorse your statement that your sole motive in asking any question of the kind was to ascertain whether the pupil had read all his course; whether his ignorance was all-pervading or only limited to certain parts in which his Professor had not lectured him, as we had been informed that the students of certain colleges had not been taken over the whole course by their teachers, and we thought it hard lines that good men should be ploughed simply because of the slowness of their teachers. The arrangement of the previous examination made by the Syndicate, by which each Examiner took one-third of each paper, gave us no

means of explaining wide discrepancies between various sections of a student's work, and accordingly it occasionally became necessary to ask whether there was any special reason for such inequality existing. The result of our enquiries in most cases fully justified the question asked, and enabled us to do fuller justice to the particular students." Such is version of the occurrence alluded to given by one who is not a "Government Professor." It has come to me, I may mention, from the gentleman against whom the criticism of the Sub-Committee of the Bombay Missionary Conference is levelled, enclosed in a reply to my request to him to let me have in writing the explanation which he had given me verbally at the end of 1881. That request was made by me when I saw the statement of the Bombay Missionary Conference submitted to the Commission.

The explanation now given calls for but one remark. So far from the proceedings of the "Government Professor" in question indicating "any feeling of antagonism" to aided institutions of which the latter may fairly and reasonably complain, they indicate, to my mind, a laxity of examination in favour of the pupils of one aided institution, of which the University has just reason to complain. And as the Bombay Missionary Conference rely on this as an "example" of how "the feeling of antagonism" alleged by them is carried into the examination of the University, I am bound to say that, in my humble judgment, it is not of any antagonism of "Government Professors" to aided institutions that the incident in question furnishes an "example." I may add that it is only since this incident that I have been elected a member of the Syndicate of University, and that what I have said is not, therefore, in self-defence, but in defence of an institution in which I take deep interest, and which appears to me to have been unfairly attacked.

A good deal more might easily and very fairly have been said on the subjects dealt with in these observations. But they have already exceeded the limits which I anticipated. I trust that the importance of the topics dealt with and the weight due to the opinions of those from whom I dissent in regard to them will be accepted as a sufficient apology for that circumstance. I will, in conclusion, only add that I hope that the Government of Lord Ripon, which has already done so much for the country, will add the educational to its many laurels, and achieve, directly or indirectly, the credit which Mr. M. Arnold gives to the Government of France on the Restoration after the battle of Waterloo. "To the Restoration," he says, "is due the credit of having first perceived that in order to carry on the war with ignorance, the sinews of the war were necessary. Other Governments had

decreed systems of education for the people—the Government of the Restoration decreed funds.” The question of popular education is now mainly a question of funds. What is wanted and what we must trust to is not the short-sighted economies in the expenditure on higher education which have been suggested by some irresponsible reformers of our system, almost without exception *not* natives of the country, but what is wanted is an effort on the part of the British Indian Governments to follow, at however great a distance, the Imperial Government, which has in ten years increased its grant to education from £1,910,000 to £4,290,000 sterling,* and a like effort on the part of leaders of the the people to help the Government in spreading the benefits of education far and wide in this great country.

* See Financial Reform Almanac (1882), p. 145.

APPENDIX K.

Education in India, in the modern sense of the word, may be

History up to 1854. said to date from the year 1854, when the

Court of Directors in a memorable despatch definitely accepted the systematic promotion of general education as one of the duties of the State, and emphatically declared that the type of education which they desired to see extended in India was that which had for its object the diffusion of the arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe; in short, of European knowledge.

2. The acceptance of this duty was an important departure in policy. The advent of British rule found in India systems of education of great antiquity existing among both Hindus and Muhammadans, in each case closely bound up with their religious institutions. To give and to receive instruction was enjoined by the sacred books of the Brahmans, and one of the commentaries on the Rig Veda lays down in minute detail the routine to be followed in committing a text-book to memory. Schools of learning were formed in centres containing considerable high caste populations, where Pandits gave instruction in Sanskrit grammar, logic, philosophy, and law. For the lower-classes, village schools were scattered over the country, in which a rudimentary education was given to the children of traders, petty land-holders, and well-to-do cultivators. The higher education of Muhammadans was in the hands of men of learning, who devoted themselves to the instruction of youth. Schools were attached to mosques and shrines and supported by State grants in cash or land, or by private liberality. The course of study in a Muhammadan place of learning included grammar, rhetoric, logic, literature, jurisprudence, and science. Both systems, the Muhammadan no less than the Hindu, assigned a disproportionate importance to the training of the memory, and sought to develop the critical faculties of the mind, mainly by exercising their pupils in metaphysical refinements and in fine-spun commentaries on the meaning of the texts which they had learnt by heart.

3. The first instinct of British rulers was to leave the traditional modes of instruction undisturbed and to continue the support which they had been accustomed to receive from Indian rulers. The Calcutta Madrasa for Muhammadans was founded by Warren Hastings in 1782, and the Benares College for Hindus was established in 1791. Provision was made for giving regular assistance to

education from public funds by a clause in the Charter Act of 1813, which empowered the Governor-General in Council to direct that one lakh of rupees in each year should be "set apart and applied to the revival and improvement 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 in India."

4. This grant was at first applied to the encouragement of Oriental methods of instruction by paying stipends to students. But the presence of the British in India brought about profound changes in the social and administrative conditions of the country; and these in their turn reacted on the educational policy of Government. The impulse towards reform came from two sources, the need for public servants with a knowledge of the English language, and the influence in favour both of English and of Vernacular education which was exercised by the missionaries in the early years of the nineteenth century. The well-known Minute written by Lord Macaulay (at that time Legal Member of Council and Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction) in 1835 marks the point at which official recognition was given to the necessity of public support for Western education. Then followed a period of attempts, differing in different provinces, to extend English education by the establishment of Government schools and colleges, and by strengthening the indigenous schools; while missionary effort continued to play an important part in promoting educational progress.

5. In their despatch of 1854, the Court of Directors announced their decision that the Government should actively assist in the more extended and systematic promotion of general education in India. They regarded it as a sacred duty to confer upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge. They hoped by means of education to extend the influence which the Government was exerting for the suppression of demoralizing practices, by enlisting in its favour the general sympathy of the native mind. They also sought to create a supply of public servants to whose probity offices of trust might with increased confidence be committed, and to promote the material interests of the country by stimulating its inhabitants to develop its vast resources. The measures which were prescribed for carrying out his policy were:—(1) the constitution of a Department of Public Instruction; (2) the foundation of Universities at the Presidency towns; (3) the establishment of training schools for teachers; (4) the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and schools of a high order, and the increase of their number when

Despatch of 1854.

necessary; (5) increased attention to all forms of vernacular schools; and finally (6) the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid which should foster a spirit of reliance upon local exertions, and should in course of time render it possible to close or transfer to the management of local bodies many of the existing institutions.

6. The policy laid down in 1854 was re-affirmed in 1859 when the administration had been transferred to the Crown. The Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were incorporated in 1857 and those of the Punjab and Allahabad in 1882 and 1887, respectively. The growth of schools and colleges proceeded most rapidly between 1871 and 1882, and was further augmented by the development of the municipal system, and by the Acts which were passed from 1865 onwards providing for the imposition of local cesses which might be applied to the establishment of schools. By the year 1882 there were more than two million and a quarter of pupils under instruction in public institutions. The Commission of 1882-83 furnished a most copious and valuable report upon the state of education as then existing, made a careful inquiry into the measures which had been taken in pursuance of the Despatch of 1854, and submitted further detailed proposals for carrying out the principles of that Despatch. They advised increased reliance upon and systematic encouragement of private effort, and their recommendations were approved by the Government of India. Shortly afterwards a considerable devolution of the management of Government schools upon Municipalities and District Boards was effected, in accordance with the principles of local self-government then brought into operation.

7. As a result of these continuous efforts we find in existence to-day a system of public instruction, the influence of which extends in varying degrees to every part of India, and is upon the whole powerful for good. The system includes five Universities, those of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, and Allahabad, which prescribe courses of study and examine the students of affiliated colleges. These colleges are widely scattered throughout the country and number in all 191 (exclusive of some colleges outside British India, which are not incorporated in the Provincial statistics), with 23,009 students on the rolls. In them provision is made for studies in Arts and Oriental learning, and for professional courses of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Teaching, and Agriculture. Below the colleges are secondary schools, to the number of 5,493, with an attendance of 558,378 scholars, and primary schools numbering 98,538, with 3,268,726 pupils. Including special schools, technical and industrial schools of art, and Normal schools for

History since 1854.

Extent of the present system.

teachers, the total number of colleges and schools for public instruction amounts to 105,306, with 3,887,493 pupils; and if to these are added the "private institutions" which do not conform with departmental standards, the total number of scholars known by the Education Department to be under instruction reaches about $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The gross annual cost of maintaining these institutions exceeds 400 lakhs, of which 127 lakhs are derived from fees, and 83 lakhs from endowments, subscriptions, and other private sources; while the expenditure from public funds aggregates 191 lakhs, of which 104 lakhs are derived from Provincial and Imperial revenues, 74 lakhs from local and Municipal sources, and 15 lakhs from the revenues of Native States. It is a striking feature of the system, and one which must constantly be borne in mind when dwelling upon its imperfections, that its total cost to the public funds, provincial and local together, falls short of £1,300,000 annually. The wider extension of education in India is chiefly a matter of increased expenditure; and any material improvement of its quality is largely dependent upon the same condition.

8. It is almost universally admitted that substantial benefits have been conferred upon the people themselves by the advance which has been made in Indian education within the last fifty years; that knowledge has been spread abroad to an extent formerly undreamed of; that new avenues of employment have been opened in many directions; and that there has been a marked improvement in the character of the public servants now chosen from the ranks of educated natives, as compared with those of the days before schools and Universities had commenced to exercise their elevating influence. But it is also impossible to ignore the fact that criticisms from many quarters are directed at some of the features and results of the system as it exists at present, and that these criticisms proceed especially from friends and well-wishers of the cause of education. Its shortcomings in point of quantity need no demonstration. Four villages out of five are without a school; three boys out of four grow up without education, and only one girl in forty attends any kind of school. In point of quality the main charges brought against the system are to the general effect (1) that the higher education is pursued with too exclusive a view to entering Government service, that its scope is thus unduly narrowed, and that those who fail to obtain employment under Government are ill-fitted for other pursuits; (2) that excessive prominence is given to examinations; (3) that the courses of study are too purely literary in character; (4) that the schools and colleges train the intelligence of the students too little, and their memory too much, so that mechanical repetition

takes the place of sound learning; (5) that in the pursuit of English education the cultivation of the vernaculars is neglected, with the result that the hope expressed in the Despatch of 1854 that they would become the vehicle for diffusing Western knowledge among the masses is as far as ever from realization.

The Governor-General in Council having closely considered the subject, and having come to the conclusion that the existing methods of instruction stand in need of substantial reform, has consulted the Local Governments and Administrations upon the measures necessary to this end, and believes that he has their hearty concurrence in the general lines of the policy which he desires to prescribe. He therefore invites all who are interested in raising the general level of education in India, and in spreading its benefits more widely, to co-operate in giving effect to the principles laid down in this Resolution. With this object in view, an attempt is made in the following paragraphs to review the whole subject in its various aspects, to point out the defects that require correction in each of its branches, and to indicate the remedies which in the opinion of the Government of India ought now to be applied.

9. A variety of causes, some historical and some social, have combined to bring about the result that in India, far more than in England, the majority of students who frequent the higher schools and the Universities are there for the purpose of qualifying themselves to earn an independent livelihood; that Government service is regarded by the educated classes as the most assured, the most dignified, and the most attractive of all careers; and that the desire on the part of most students to realize these manifold advantages as soon and as cheaply as possible tends to prevent both schools and colleges from filling their proper position as places of liberal education. On these grounds it has often been urged that the higher interests of education in India are injuriously affected by the prevailing system of basing selection for Government service on the school and University attainments of those who come forward as candidates for employment. Some indeed have gone so far as to suggest that educational standards would be indefinitely raised if it were possible to break off these material relations with the State, and to institute separate examinations for the public service under the control of a special board organized on the model of the English Civil Service Commission.

10. The Government of India cannot accept this opinion. It appears to them that such examinations, if established admittedly as a substitute for, and not merely as supplementary to, the University course, would necessarily be held in subjects differing from

Education and Government service.

those prescribed by the University; and that two distinct courses of study would thus exist side by side, only one of them leading to Government service. If students attempted to compete in both lines, the strain of excessive examination, already the subject of complaint, would be greatly intensified; while, on the other hand, if the bulk of them were attracted by the prospect of obtaining Government appointments, the result would be the sacrifice of such intellectual improvement as is achieved under the existing system. Success in the Government examination would become the sole standard of culture, the influence of the Universities would decline, the value of their degrees would be depreciated, and the main stream of educational effort would be diverted into a narrow and sordid channel. Such a degradation of the educational ideals of the country could hardly fail to react upon the character of the public service itself. The improved tone of the native officials of the present day date from, and is reasonably attributed to, the more extended employment of men who have received a liberal education in the Universities, and have imbibed through the influence of their teachers some of the traditions of English public life. Nor is there any reason to believe that by introducing its own examinations the Government would raise the standard of fitness, or secure better men for the public service than it obtains under the present system. There is a general consensus of opinion among all the authorities consulted that no examining board would do better than the Universities. If a separate examination did no more than confirm the finding of the Universities, it would be obviously superfluous; if it conflicted with that finding, it would be mischievous.

11. The Government is in the last resort the sole judge as to the best method of securing the type of officers which it requires for its service. It alone possesses the requisite knowledge and experience: and by these tests must its decision be guided. The principle of competition for Government appointments was unknown in India until a few years ago; it does not spring from the traditions of the people, and it is without the safeguards by which its operation is controlled in England. It sets aside, moreover, considerations which cannot be disregarded by a Government whose duty it is to reconcile the conflicting claims of diverse races, rival religions, and varying degrees of intellectual and administrative aptitude and adaptability. For the higher grades of Government service there is no need to have recourse to the system since it is possible in most cases for the Government to accept the various University degrees and distinctions as indicating that their holders possess the amount of knowledge requisite to enable them to fill particular appointments; while in the case of

the more technical departments, a scrutiny of the subjects taken up by the candidate, and of the degree of success attained in each, will sufficiently indicate how far he possesses the particular knowledge and bent of mind that his duties will demand. The Government of India are of opinion, therefore, that special competitions should, as a general rule, be dispensed with; and that the requisite acquaintance with the laws, rules, and regulations of departments may best be attained during probationary service, and tested after a period of such service. In short, the Government of India hold that the multiplication of competitive tests for Government service neither results in advantage to Government nor is consistent with the highest interests of a liberal education. In fixing the educational standards which qualify for appointments, the natural divisions of primary, secondary, and University education should be followed; school and college certificates of proficiency should, so far as possible, be accepted as full evidence of educational qualifications, regard being paid, within the limits of each standard, to their comparative value; and due weight should be attached to the recorded opinions of collegiate and school authorities regarding the proficiency and conduct of candidates during their period of tuition.

12. Examinations, as now understood, are believed to have been unknown as an instrument of general

The abuse of examinations.

education in ancient India, nor do they figure prominently in the Despatch of 1854. In recent years they have grown to extravagant dimensions, and their influence has been allowed to dominate the whole system of education in India, with the result that instruction is confined within the rigid framework of prescribed courses, that all forms of training which do not admit of being tested by written examinations are liable to be neglected, and that both teachers and pupils are tempted to concentrate their energies not so much upon genuine study as upon the questions likely to be set by the examiners. These demoralizing tendencies have been encouraged by the practice of assessing grants to aided schools upon the results shown by examination. This system, adopted in the first instance on the strength of English precedents, has now been finally condemned in England, while experience in India has proved that, to whatever grade of schools it is applied, it is disastrous in its influence on education and uncertain in its financial effects. It will now be replaced by more equitable tests of efficiency, depending on the number of scholars in attendance, the buildings provided for their accommodation, the circumstances of the locality, the qualifications of the teachers; the nature of the instruction given, and the outlay from other sources, such as fees and private endowments

or subscriptions. The Educational Codes of the various Provinces are being revised so as to embody these important reforms, and to relieve the schools and scholars from the heavy burden of recurring mechanical tests. In future there will be only two examinations preceding the University course. The first of these, the primary examination, will mark the completion of the lowest stage of instruction, and will test the degree of proficiency attained in the highest classes of primary schools. But it will no longer be a public examination held at centres to which a number of schools are summoned; it will be conducted by the inspecting officer in the school itself. The second examination will take place at the close of the secondary, usually an Anglo-Vernacular course, and will record the educational attainments of all boys who have completed this course. In both stages of instruction special provision will be made for the award of scholarships.

In giving effect to this change of system, it will be necessary to guard against the danger that the subordinate inspecting agency may misuse the increased discretion entrusted to them. The principles upon which the grant to an aided school is to be assessed must therefore be laid down by each Local Government in terms sufficiently clear to guide the inspecting officer in his recommendations; precautions must be taken against the abuse of authority, or the perfunctory performance of the duties of inspection; and in those provinces where the application of standards of efficiency other than those afforded by written examinations is a novelty, it will be incumbent upon the Education Department, by conferences of inspecting officers and by other means, to secure a reasonable degree of uniformity in the standards imposed. The Governor-General in Council does not doubt that the discipline and ability of the educational services will prove equal to maintaining, under the altered conditions, a system of independent and efficient inspection.

13. From the earliest days of British rule in India private enterprise has played a great part in the promotion of both English and Vernacular education, and every agency that could be induced to help in the work of imparting sound instruction has always been welcomed by the State. The system of grants-in-aid was intended to elicit support from local resources, and to foster a spirit of initiative and combination for local ends. It is supplemented by the direct action of Government which, speaking generally, sets the standard, and undertakes work to which private effort is not equal, or for which it is not forthcoming. Thus the educational machinery now at work in India comprises, not only institutions managed by Government, by District and Municipal Boards, and

Government control and private enterprise.

by Native States, but also institutions under private management, whether aided by Government or by local authorities, or unaided. All of these which comply with certain conditions are classed as public institutions. They number, as already stated, 105,306 in all; and over 82,500 are under private management.

The progressive devolution of primary, secondary, and collegiate education upon private enterprise, and the continuous withdrawal of Government from competition therewith was recommended by the Education Commission in 1883, and the advice has been generally acted upon. But while accepting this policy, the Government of India at the same time recognize the extreme importance of the principle that in each branch of education Government should maintain a limited number of institutions, both as models for private enterprise to follow and in order to uphold a high standard of education. In withdrawing from direct management, it is further essential that Government should retain a general control, by means of efficient inspection, over all public educational institutions.

14. Primary education is the instruction of the masses, through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best stimulate their intelligence and fit them for their position in life. It was found in 1854 that the consideration of measures to this end had been too much neglected and a considerable increase of expenditure on primary education was then contemplated. The Education Commission recommended in 1883 that "the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement should be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed in a still larger measure than before." The Government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the State. They undertake this responsibility, not merely on general grounds, but because, as Lord Lawrence observed in 1868, "among all the sources of difficulty in our administration and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people." To the people themselves, moreover, the lack of education is now a more serious disadvantage than it was in more primitive days. By the extension of railways the economic side of agriculture in India has been greatly developed, and the cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world, and has been involved in transactions in which an illiterate man is at a great disadvantage. The material benefits attaching to education have at the same time increased with the development of schemes for introducing improved agricultural methods, for opening agricultural banks, for strengthening the legal position

of the cultivator, and for generally improving the conditions of rural life. Such schemes depend largely for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses and rendering them accessible to ideas other than those sanctioned by tradition.

15. How, then, do matters stand in respect of the extension
 among the masses of primary education? The
 Its extent. population of British India is over two hundred and forty millions. It is commonly reckoned that fifteen per cent., of the population are of school-going age. According to this standard there are more than eighteen millions of boys who ought now to be at school, but of these only a little more than one-sixth are actually receiving primary education. If the statistics are arranged by Provinces, it appears that out of a hundred boys of an age to go to school, the number attending primary schools of some kind ranges from between eight and nine in the Punjab and the United Provinces, to twenty-two and twenty-three in Bombay and Bengal. In the census of 1901 it was found that only one in ten of the male population, and only seven in a thousand of the female population were literate. These figures exhibit the vast dimensions of the problem, and show how much remains to be done before the proportion of the population receiving elementary instruction can approach the standard recognized as indispensable in more advanced countries.

16. While the need for education grows with the growth of
 Its progress. population, the progress towards supplying it is not now so rapid as it was in former years. In 1870-71 there were 16,473 schools with 607,320 scholars; in 1881-82 there were 82,916 with 2,061,541 scholars. But by 1891-92 these had only increased to 97,109 schools with 2,837,607 scholars, and the figures of 1901-02 (98,538 schools with 3,268,726 scholars) suggest that the initial force of expansion is somewhat on the decline; indeed the last year of the century showed a slight decrease as compared with the previous year. For purposes of exact comparison some allowances have to be made for differences in the basis of the statistics, but their broad effect is not altered by these modifications. Nor has the rate of growth of primary schools kept pace with that of secondary schools, in which the number of scholars has considerably more than doubled during the last twenty years. It may be said indeed that the expansion of primary schools has received a check in recent years from the calamities of famine and plague; and it is further impeded by the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to the spread of primary education. These however are minor obstacles, which would soon be swept away if the main difficulty of finding the requisite funds for extending primary education could be overcome.

17. The expenditure upon primary education does not admit of exact statement, since the cost of the instruction given in the lower classes of secondary schools is not separately shown, nor is the expenditure on the administration and inspection of primary schools capable of separate calculation. But the direct outlay from public funds upon primary schools stands as follows:—

	1886-87.	1891-92.	1901-02.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
From Provincial funds ...	16,00,239	13,43,343	16,92,514
From Local and Municipal funds.	26,07,624	35,86,208	46,10,387
TOTAL ...	42,07,863	49,29,551	63,02,901

18. On a general view of the question of the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon Provincial revenues; and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation. The Government of India believe that Local Governments are cordially in agreement with them in desiring this extension, and will carry it out to the limits allowed by the financial conditions of each province.

19. In so far as District or Municipal Boards are required to devote their funds to education, primary education should have a predominant claim upon their expenditure. The administration of primary schools by local bodies is already everywhere subject to the general supervision of the Education Department as regards tuitional matters; but the degree of control differs in different provinces, and where it is most complete, primary education is most advanced. It is impossible to extend that control to financial matters, as there are other objects besides education which have legitimate claims upon local funds. But it is essential, in order to ensure that the claims of primary education receive due attention, that the educational authorities should be heard when resources are being allotted, and that they should have the opportunity of carrying their representations to higher authority in the event

of their being disregarded. In future, therefore, so much of the budget estimates of District or Municipal Boards as relates to educational charges will be submitted through the Inspector to the Director of Public Instruction before sanction.

20. The course of instruction in primary schools naturally consists mainly of reading and writing (in the vernacular) and arithmetic. Progress has been made in several parts of India during recent years in the introduction of Kindergarten methods and object lessons. Where these methods have been applied with discretion by competent teachers, who have discarded elaborate forms and foreign appliances, and have used for the purpose of instruction objects familiar to the children in their every-day life, they have been productive of much benefit by imparting greater life and reality to the teaching, and by training the children's faculties and powers of observation. The experience which has been gained of Kindergarten teaching in Madras and Bombay has enabled those provinces to effect steady advances in the system; a complete scheme has been drawn up for Bengal, for the introduction of which teachers are being trained; and a manual of the subject is being prepared in the Punjab, where well-designed courses of object lessons are already given. The Government of India look with favour upon the extension of such teaching, where competent teachers are available, as calculated to correct some of the inherent defects of the Indian intellect, to discourage exclusive reliance on the memory, and to develop a capacity for reasoning from observed facts. Physical exercises also find a place in the primary schools, and should as far as possible be made universal. A series of native exercises, systematized for the use of schools, has been adopted in the Central Provinces, and has been commended to the attention of the other Local Governments.

21. The instruction of the masses in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life involves some differentiation in the courses for rural schools, especially in connection with the attempts which are being made to connect primary teaching with familiar objects. In Bombay a separate course of instruction, with standards of its own, is prescribed. In the Central Provinces a system of half-time schools has been successfully established, providing simple courses of instruction in the mornings for the children of agriculturists, who work in the fields during the rest of the day. This system seems worthy of imitation elsewhere; at present a similar experiment made in the Punjab has met with less success. The aim of the rural schools should be, not to impart definite agricultural teaching, but to give to the children a preliminary training

Courses in primary schools.

Rural primary schools.

which will make them intelligent cultivators, will train them to be observers, thinkers, and experimenters in however humble a manner, and will protect them in their business transactions with the landlords to whom they pay rent and the grain-dealers to whom they dispose of their crops. The reading books prescribed should be written in simple language, not in unfamiliar literary style, and should deal with topics associated with rural life. The grammar taught should be elementary, and only native systems of arithmetic should be used. The village map should be thoroughly understood; and a most useful course of instruction may be given in the accountant's papers enabling every boy before leaving school to master the intricacies of the village accounts and to understand the demands that may be made upon the cultivator. The Government of India regard it as a matter of the greatest importance to provide a simple, suitable, and useful type of school for the agriculturist, and to foster the demand for it among the population. This and other reforms in primary schools will involve some revision of the pay of primary teachers which varies greatly, and in some provinces is too small to attract or to retain a satisfactory class of men. Thus in Bengal the rates fall as low as Rs. 5 per month, while the average pay in the Bombay Presidency rises to Rs. 17 and Rs. 18. The matter has been under consideration, and improvements will be made where they are most needed.

22. The growth of secondary instruction is one of the most striking features in the history of education in India. The number of secondary schools has risen in the last twenty years from 3,916 to 5,493 and that of their pupils from 214,077 to 558,378. In all provinces there is considerable eagerness among parents to afford their sons an English education, and the provision and maintenance of a high school are common objects of liberality among all sections of the community. Whether these schools are managed by public authority or by private persons, and whether they receive aid from public funds or not, the Government is bound in the interest of the community to see that the education provided in them is sound. It must, for example, satisfy itself in each case that a secondary school is actually wanted; that its financial stability is assured; that its managing body, where there is one, is properly constituted; that it teaches the proper subjects up to a proper standard; that due provision has been made for the instruction, health, recreation, and discipline of the pupils; that the teachers are suitable as regards character, number, and qualifications; and that the fees to be paid will not involve such competition with any existing school as will be unfair and injurious to the interests of education. Such are the conditions upon which alone schools

should be eligible to receive grants-in-aid or to send up pupils to compete for or receive pupils in enjoyment of Government scholarships; and schools complying with them will be ranked as "recognized" schools. But this is not sufficient. It is further essential that no institution which fails to conform to the elementary principles of sound education should be permitted to present pupils for the university examinations; and in future admission to the Universities should be restricted to *bonâ fide* private candidates and to candidates from recognized schools. In this way the schools which enjoy the valuable privilege of recognition will in return give guarantees of efficiency in its wider sense: and the public will be assisted in their choice of schools for their children by knowing that a school which is "recognized" is one which complies with certain definite conditions.

23. It is frequently urged that the courses of study in secondary schools are too literary in their character. The same complaint is otherwise expressed by saying that the high school courses are almost exclusively preparatory to the University Entrance examination, and take insufficient account of the fact that most of the scholars do not proceed to the University, and require some different course of instruction. Attempts have therefore been made, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Education Commission, to introduce alternative courses, analogous to what is known in England as a "modern side," in order to meet the needs of those boys who are destined for industrial or commercial pursuits. These attempts have not hitherto met with success. The purely literary course qualifying as it does both for the University and for Government employ, continues to attract the great majority of pupils, and more practical studies are at present but little in request. The Government of India, however, will not abandon their aim. In the present stage of social and industrial development it appears to them essential to promote diversified types of secondary education, corresponding with the varying needs of practical life. Their efforts in this direction will be seconded by that large body of influential opinion which has supported the recommendation of the Universities Commission that the entrance Examination should no longer be accepted as a qualifying test for Government service.

24. But the question what subjects should be taught and by what means proficiency in them should be tested forms only a part of the larger problem of the true object of secondary education. Whatever courses a school may adopt it should aim at teaching them well and intelligently, and at producing pupils who have fully assimilated the knowledge which they have acquired, and are capable of more

School final examination.

sustained effort than is involved in merely passing an examination. Some test of course there must be; and the Government of India are disposed to think that the best solution of the difficulty will probably be found in adapting to Indian conditions the system of leaving examinations, held at the conclusion of the secondary course, which has been tried with success in other countries. Such examination would not dominate the courses of study, but would be adapted to them, and would form the natural culminating point of secondary education: a point not to be reached by sudden and spasmodic effort, but by the orderly development of all the faculties of the mind under good and trained teaching. They would be of a more searching character than the present Entrance test, and the certificate given at their close would be evidence that the holder had received a sound education in a recognized school, that he had borne a good character, and that he had really learnt what the school professed to have taught him. It would thus possess a definite value, and would deserve recognition not only by Government and the Universities but also by the large body of private employers who are in want of well-trained assistants in their various lines of activity.

25. The remark has often been made that the extension in India of an education modelled upon European principles, and, so far as Government institutions are concerned, purely secular in its character, has stimulated tendencies unfavourable to discipline, and has encouraged the growth of a spirit of irreverence in the rising generation. If any schools or colleges produce this result, they fail to realize the object with which they are established—of promoting the moral no less than the intellectual and physical well-being of their students. It is the settled policy of Government to abstain from interfering with the religious instruction given in aided schools. Many of these maintained by native managers or by missionary bodies in various parts of the Empire, supply religious and ethical instruction to complete the educational training of their scholars. In Government institutions the instruction is, and must continue to be, exclusively secular. In such cases the remedy for the evil tendencies noticed above is to be sought, not so much in any formal methods of teaching conduct by means of moral text-books or primers of personal ethics, as in the influence of carefully selected and trained teachers, the maintenance of a high standard of discipline, the institution of well-managed hostels, the proper selection of text-books, such as biographies which teach by example, and above all in the association of teachers and pupils in the common interests of their daily life. Experience has further shown that discipline and conduct are sure to decline

when the competition between schools is carried so far as to allow scholars to migrate from one school to another without inquiry being made as to their conduct at their previous school and their reasons for leaving it. Rules have accordingly been framed regulating the admission of scholars to Government and aided schools and their promotion on transfer from one school to another so as to secure that a record of their conduct shall be maintained and that irregularities and breaches of discipline shall not pass unnoticed. These rules will now be extended to all unaided schools which desire to enjoy the benefits of recognition.

26. Except in certain of the larger towns of Madras, where,

like Urdu in Northern India, it serves to some extent the purpose of a *lingua franca*, English has no place, and should have no place, in the scheme of primary education. It has never been part of the policy of Government to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. It is true that the commercial value which a knowledge of English commands, and the fact that the final examinations of the high schools are conducted in English, cause the secondary schools to be subjected to a certain pressure to introduce prematurely both the teaching of English as a language and its use as the medium of instruction; while for the same reasons the study of the vernacular in these schools is liable to be thrust into the back-ground. This tendency however requires to be corrected in the interest of sound education. As a general rule a child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until he has made some progress in the primary stages of instruction and has received a thorough grounding in his mother tongue. It is equally important that when the teaching of English has begun, it should not be prematurely employed as the medium of instruction in other subjects. Much of the practice, too prevalent in Indian schools, of committing to memory ill-understood phrases and extracts from text-books or notes, may be traced to the scholars having received instruction through the medium of English before their knowledge of the language was sufficient to enable them to understand what they were taught. The line of division between the use of the vernacular and of English as a medium of instruction should, broadly speaking, be drawn at a minimum age of 13. No scholar in a secondary school should, even then, be allowed to abandon the study of his vernacular, which should be kept up until the end of the school course. If the educated classes neglect the cultivation of their own languages, these will assuredly sink to the level of mere colloquial dialects possessing no literature worthy of the name, and no progress will be possible in giving effect to the principle, affirmed in the Despatch of 1851, that European

knowledge should gradually be brought, by means of the Indian vernaculars, within the reach of all classes of the people.

27. In their efforts to promote female education the Government have always encountered peculiar difficulties arising from the social customs of the people; but they have acted on the view that through female education a "far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men," and have accordingly treated this branch of education liberally in respect of scholarships and fees. Nevertheless though some advance has been made, female education as a whole is still in a very backward condition. The number of female scholars in public schools in the year 1901-02 was 414,470, or less than a ninth of the number of male scholars. The percentage of girls in public schools to the total female population of school-going age has risen from 1.58 in the year 1886-87 to 2.49 in 1901-02. This rate of progress is slow. The Education Commission made recommendations for the extension of female education, and the Government of India hope that with the increase of the funds assigned in aid of education their proposals may be more fully carried out. The measures which are now being taken for further advance include the establishment in important centres of model primary girls' schools, an increase in the number of training schools, with more liberal assistance to those already in existence, and a strengthening of the staff of inspectresses. The direct action of Government will be exerted in cases where that of the municipalities and local boards does not suffice. Nearly one-half of the girls in public schools are in mixed boys'-girls' schools. Their attendance along with boys is often beneficial to them, especially in village schools, and nothing in the report of the Commission of 1882 need be taken as indicating that such attendance ought to be discouraged. Great assistance is rendered to the cause of female education generally by missionary effort, and in the higher grades especially by zenana teaching. The Government of India desire that such teaching shall be encouraged by grants-in-aid.

28. In founding the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, the Government of India of that day took as their model the type of institution then believed to be best suited to the educational conditions of India, that is to say, the examining University of London. Since then the best educational thought of Europe has shown an increasing tendency to realize the inevitable shortcomings of a purely examining University, and the London University itself has taken steps to enlarge the scope of its operations by assuming tutorial functions. The model, in fact, has parted with its most characteristic

features, and has set an example of expansion which cannot fail to react upon the corresponding institutions in India. Meanwhile the Indian experience of the last fifty years has proved that a system which provides merely for examining students in those subjects to which their aptitudes direct them, and does not at the same time compel them to study those subjects systematically under first-rate instruction, tends inevitably to accentuate certain characteristic defects of the Indian intellect:— the development of the memory out of all proportion to the other faculties of the mind, the incapacity to observe and appreciate facts, and the taste for metaphysical and technical distinctions. Holding it to be the duty of a Government which has made itself responsible for education in India to do everything in its power to correct these shortcomings, the Governor-General in Council two years ago appointed a Commission, with the Hon'ble Mr. T. Raleigh as President, to report upon the constitution and working of the Universities, and to recommend measures for elevating the standard of University teaching and promoting the advancement of learning. After full consideration of the report of this Commission, and of the criticisms which it called forth, the Government of India have come to the conclusion that certain reforms in the constitution and management of the Universities are necessary. They propose that the Senates, which from various causes have grown to an unwieldy size, should be reconstituted on a working basis and that the position and powers of the syndicates should be defined and regulated. Opportunity will be taken to give a statutory recognition to the privilege of electing members of the Senate which, since 1891, has been conceded by way of experiment to the graduates of the three older Universities. A limit will be placed upon the number of *ex-officio* fellows; and a reduction will be made in the maximum numbers of the Senates so as to restrict nominations to those bodies to the persons well-qualified to discharge their responsible duties. Powers will be conferred upon all the Universities to make suitable provision for University teaching. The teaching given in colleges will, instead of being tested mainly or wholly by external examinations, be liable to systematic inspection under the authority of the Syndicate; and the duty of the University not only to demand a high educational standard from any new college that desires to be recommended to Government for affiliation, but also gradually to enforce a similar standard in colleges already affiliated, will be carefully defined. A college applying for affiliation will be required to satisfy the University and the Government that it is under the management of a regularly constituted governing body; that its teaching staff is adequate for the courses of instruction undertaken; that the buildings and equipment are

suitable, and that due provision is made for the residence and supervision of the students; that, so far as circumstances permit, due provision is made for the residence of some of the teaching staff; that the financial resources of the college are sufficient; that its affiliation, having regard to the provision for students made by neighbouring colleges, will not be injurious to the interests of education or discipline; and that the fees to be paid by the students will not involve competition injurious to the interests of education with any existing college in the same neighbourhood. Colleges already affiliated will be inspected regularly and will be required to show that they continue to comply with the conditions on which the privilege of affiliation is granted. The necessary improvements in the Universities and their affiliated colleges cannot be carried out without financial aid. This the Government of India are prepared to give; and they trust that it will be possible to afford liberal recognition and assistance to genuine effort on the part of the colleges to adapt themselves to the new conditions. They also hope that this increase of expenditure from the public funds may be accompanied by an increase in the aid given to colleges and Universities by private liberality, so that the policy of progressive development which was adopted in 1854 may be consistently followed, and that the influence of the improved Universities may be felt throughout the educational system of the country.

29. The problem of the education of European and Eurasian children in India has been anxiously considered by the Government of India on many occasions. As long ago as 1860 Lord Canning wrote that if measures for educating this class were not promptly and vigorously taken in hand, it would grow into a profitless and unmanageable community, a source of danger rather than of strength to the State. Since then repeated efforts have been made both by the Government and by private agency to place the question on a satisfactory basis by establishing schools of various grades, both in the plains and in the hills, by giving liberal grants-in-aid, and by framing a code of regulations applicable to all forms of instruction that the circumstances require. As a result of this action there are now more than 400 schools and colleges for Europeans in India, with nearly 30,000 scholars, costing annually 42½ lakhs, of which 8½ lakhs are contributed by public funds. Notwithstanding the expenditure incurred, recent enquiries have shown that a large proportion of these schools are both financially and educationally in an unsatisfactory condition. Munificent endowments still support flourishing schools in certain places; but in some cases these endowments have been reduced by mismanagement;

Education of Europeans
and Eurasians in India.

and too many of the schools are unable to support themselves in efficiency upon the fees of the scholars and the grants made by Government on the scale hitherto in force. Their most conspicuous want is well-qualified teachers, especially in schools for boys; and this cannot be met so long as their financial position precludes them from offering to the members of their staff fair salaries, security of tenure, and reasonable prospects of advancement. The Government in its turn is interested in maintaining a sufficient supply of well-educated Europeans to fill some of the posts for which officers are recruited in India; while without efficient schools the domiciled community must degenerate rapidly in this country. The Government of India are taking steps to ascertain and to supply the chief defects in the system. A single Inspector in each of the provinces is being charged especially with the duty of inspecting European schools; a Training College for teachers in these schools is to be established at Allahabad, and stipends are to be provided for the students; a register of teachers will be formed, and, in future no one will be employed without proper tuitional qualifications. The systems, both of grants-in-aid and of scholarships, are being revised on a more liberal basis; and more intelligent methods of testing efficiency are to be substituted for the rigid system of departmental examinations which has hitherto prevailed. Measures will also be taken to secure the proper administration of endowments and to enforce sound methods of financial control in those schools which depend upon Government for assistance.

30. During the last thirty years the idea that the changed conditions of Indian life demand a change in the traditional modes of education, has found acceptance amongst the ruling Chiefs of Native States. Chiefs' Colleges have been established, of which the most important are those at Ajmer, Rajkot, and Lahore, where some of the features of the English public school system have been reproduced, with the object of fitting young Chiefs and Nobles physically, morally, and intellectually for the responsibilities that lie before them. Convinced of the great importance of promoting this object, His Excellency the Viceroy has closely examined the organization and conduct of these colleges, which appeared to admit of improvement, and has placed before the ruling Chiefs proposals of a comprehensive character for their reform. An increase will be made in the number of teachers of high qualifications to be engaged upon the staff; and in regulating the studies and discipline of the colleges, the aim kept in view throughout will be the preparation of the sons of ruling Chiefs for the duties which await them, on lines which will combine the advantages of Western knowledge with loyalty to the traditions and

usages of their families or States. The proposals have been received by the Chiefs with satisfaction; the interest of the aristocratic classes has been universally aroused in the scheme; and the institution of the Imperial Cadet Corps, which will in the main be recruited from these colleges, will assist to keep this interest alive. The Governor-General in Council confidently hopes that the reforms now in course of execution will result in giving a great impetus to the cause of education among the Indian nobility.

31. Technical education in India has hitherto been mainly directed to the higher forms of instruction required to train men for Government service as engineers, mechanics, electricians, overseers, surveyors, revenue officers or teachers in schools, and for employment in railway workshops, cotton-mills, and mines. The institutions which have been established for these purposes, such as the Engineering Colleges at Rurki, Shilpur, and Madras, the Colleges of Science at Poona, the Technical Institute at Bombay, and the Engineering School at Jubbulpur, have done and are doing valuable work, and their maintenance and further development are matters of great importance. The first call for fresh effort is now towards the development of Indian industries, and especially of those in which native capital may be invested. Technical instruction directed to this object must rest upon the basis of a preliminary general education of a simple and practical kind, which should be clearly distinguished from the special teaching that is to be based upon it, and should as a rule be imparted in schools of the ordinary type. In fixing the aim of the technical schools, the supply or expansion of the existing Indian markets is of superior importance to the creation of new export trades, and a clear line should be drawn between educational effort and commercial enterprise. As a step towards providing men qualified to take a leading part in the improvement of Indian industries, the Government of India have determined to give assistance in the form of scholarships to selected students to enable them to pursue a course of technical education under supervision in Europe or America. They hope that the technical schools of India may in time produce a regular supply of young men qualified to take advantage of such facilities, and that the goodwill and interest of the commercial community may be enlisted in the selection of industries to be studied, in finding the most suitable students for foreign training, and in turning their attainments to practical account upon their return to this country. The experience which has been gained in Japan and Siam of the results of sending young men abroad for study justifies the belief that the system will also be beneficial to Indian trade.

32. There are four Schools of Art in British India,—at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and Lahore. The aims to be pursued in them, and the methods proper to those aims, have been the subject of much discussion during recent years. The Government of India are of opinion that the true function of Indian Schools of Art is the encouragement of Indian Art and Art industries; and that in so far as they fail to promote these arts or industries, or provide a training that is dissociated from their future practice, or are utilized as commercial ventures, they are conducted upon erroneous principles. Their first object should be to teach such arts or art industries as the pupil intends to pursue when he has left the school. Examples of the arts which may thus be taught to those who will practice them professionally in future, or to drawing masters, are:—designing (with special reference to Indian arts and industries), drawing, painting, illumination, modelling, photography, and engraving. The Art industries taught in Schools of Art should be such as are capable of being carried on in the locality, and in which improvement can be effected by instructing pupils or workmen by means of superior appliances, methods, or designs. Instruction in these arts or art industries should be directed to their expansion through the improvement of the skill and capacity of the pupil or workman, but it should not be pushed to the point of competing with local industries, or doing within the school what can equally well be done outside or of usurping the sphere of private enterprise. The schools should not be converted into shops nor should the officers of the Education Department be responsible for extensive commercial transactions; but samples of the wares produced may legitimately be kept for sale or for orders, and may be exhibited in public museums. A register of the workmen or pupils trained in school should be kept, with the object of enabling orders which may be received to be placed with advantage. The teaching should be in the hands of experts, trained as a rule in Indian Colleges or in Art Schools. The specialization of a limited number of arts and art industries in the several schools should be preferred to the simultaneous teaching of a large number. Free admission and scholarships should, as a general rule, be discouraged, and should gradually be replaced by payment of fees; but this is compatible with giving necessary assistance to promising pupils, and with the payment of wages to students as soon as their work becomes of value.

33. Industrial schools are intended to train intelligent artizans or foremen, and to further or develop those local industries which are capable of expansion by the application of improved methods or implements. Schools of this type are not numerous, nor have they at present succeeded in

doing much to promote the growth of industries. A recent enumeration gives their total number as 123, with 8,405 pupils in attendance, and the number of different trades taught as 48. Some are conducted by Government, either as separate institutions or attached to Schools of Art, while others are managed by local authorities, or by private persons under a system of grants-in-aid. Their shortcomings are obvious and admitted. A large proportion of the pupils who attend them have no intention of practising the trade they learn, but pass into clerical and other employments, using the industrial schools merely in order to obtain that general education which they could acquire in ordinary schools at less cost to the State, but at greater cost to themselves. Even for those who do intend to follow the trades taught in the industrial schools, it is feared that in some cases the teaching given does not provide a training of a sufficiently high standard to enable them to hold their own with artizans who have learnt their craft in the bazaar. The industries selected are frequently not those which are locally of most importance, and there is an undue predominance of carpentry and blacksmiths' work amongst them.

34. An attempt will now be made to remedy these defects. The Government of India do not expect a large immediate increase in the number of industrial schools and they desire rather to encourage experiment than to prescribe fixed types for this form of education. Admission will be confined to those boys who are known by their caste or occupation to be likely to practise in after-life the handicrafts taught in the schools, and the courses of study will be so ordered as not to lend themselves to the manufacture of clerks, but to bear exclusively upon carefully selected industries. A distinction will be drawn between those types of school which will be suitable for the large centres of industry, where capital is invested on a great scale and the need of trained artizans is already recognized by the employers, and those adapted to places where hand industries prevail and where the belief in the value of technical training has yet to make its way. In the former the prospects are favourable for the establishment of completely equipped trade schools, such as are found in other countries; in the latter, search has still to be made for the kind of institution which will take root in Indian soil. Suggestions for experiment based upon observation of the habits and tendencies of Indian artizans have been placed before the Local Governments. They will be pursued further under the advice of skilled experts in particular industries.

35. A system of education intended to impart "useful and practical knowledge, suitable to every station in life," cannot be considered complete without

Commercial education.

ampler provision than exists at present in India for school training definitely adapted to commercial life. There is at present no University course of training of a specialized description for business men; in the field of secondary education the establishment of examinations and the inclusion of commercial subjects in the optional lists of subjects for examination have outstripped the progress made in the organization of courses of instruction. The beginnings which have been made at Bombay, Lucknow, Calicut, Amritsar, and elsewhere, show that the attempt to provide suitable courses meets with encouraging response; and increased attention will now be given to the extension of such teaching in large centres of commerce and population. The proper development of the teaching demands that it should be adapted to Indian needs, and should not be based merely upon English text-books. The London Chamber of Commerce examinations supply a convenient test for those pupils (especially Europeans) who are likely to proceed to England. Commercial courses, leading up to this or other examinations, are now being placed upon an equality with purely literary courses as a qualification for Government service. But their chief aim will be to supply practical training for those who are to enter business houses either in a superior or subordinate capacity. Registers will be kept of the pupils who have been so trained, and endeavours will be made to find employment for them by communication with Chambers of Commerce and mercantile firms. The Government of India trust that they may look for the co-operation of the mercantile community in framing suitable courses of instruction, and in giving preference in selecting employes to those who have qualified themselves by directing their studies towards those subjects which will be useful in commercial life.

36. For a country where two-thirds of the population are dependant for their livelihood on the produce of the soil it must be admitted that the provision for agricultural education in India is at present meagre and stands in serious need of expansion and reorganization. At Poona, in Bombay and Saidapet in Madras there are colleges teaching a three years' course, which is fairly satisfactory at Poona, though the staff is hardly strong enough, while at Saidapet the training is somewhat defective on the practical side. In the United Provinces the school at Cawnpore has a two years' course, especially intended for the training of subordinate revenue officials in which direction it has done and is doing very good work, but the teaching staff is weak and the equipment inadequate. At Nagpur a school with a two year's course gives good practical education, and especial arrangements are made for a vernacular class for sons of landowners and

others. Bengal has added to the Engineering College at Shilputur, near Calcutta, classes which give a two years' agricultural training to students who have taken their B. A. degree at the University or have passed the F. E. standard in the college; but the conditions are not such as to admit of a thoroughly satisfactory course. In the Punjab and Burma no attempt has as yet been made to teach agriculture. In all these institutions instruction is given almost entirely in English, and until advanced text-books have been compiled in the vernacular this must continue to be the case in all but the most elementary classes.

37. At present, therefore, while the necessity for developing the agricultural resources of the country is generally recognized, India possesses no institution capable of imparting a complete agricultural education. The existing schools and colleges have not wholly succeeded, either in theory or in practice. They have neither produced scientific experts, nor succeeded in attracting members of the land-holding classes to qualify themselves as practical agriculturists. Both of these defects must be supplied before any real progress can be looked for. In the first place an organization must be created by which men qualified to carry on the work of research, and to raise the standard of teaching, can be trained in India itself. Before agriculture can be adequately taught in the vernacular, suitable text-books must be produced, and this can only be done by men who have learnt the subject in English. The Government of India have therefore under their consideration a scheme for the establishment of an Imperial Agricultural College in connection with an Experimental Farm and Research Laboratory, to be carried on under the general direction of the Inspector General of Agriculture, at which it is intended to provide a thorough training in all branches of agricultural science combined with constant practice in farming work and estate management. In addition to shorter courses for those students who are intended for lower posts, there will be courses of instruction extending to five years, which will qualify men to fill posts in the Department of Agriculture itself, such as those of Assistant Directors, Research Experts, Superintendents of Farms, Professors, Teachers, and Managers of Court of Wards and Encumbered Estates. It is hoped that a demand may arise among the landowning classes for men with agricultural attainments and that the proposed institution may succeed in meeting that demand. Arrangements will also be made to admit to the higher courses those who have undergone preliminary training at the Provincial colleges and thereby to exercise upon those colleges an influence tending gradually to raise their standard of efficiency.

38. If the teaching in secondary schools is to be raised to a higher level,—if the pupils are to be cured of their tendency to rely upon learning notes and text-books by heart, if, in a word, European knowledge is to be diffused by the methods proper to it,—then it is most necessary that the teachers should themselves be trained in the art of teaching. Even in England divided counsels have till recent times prevented due progress from being made with this most essential condition of the reform of secondary education. The Indian Educational Commission referred to the conflict of opinion upon this fundamental principle, and to the diversity of practice which prevailed; and while hesitating to lay down a general rule requiring secondary teachers to be trained, recommended “as an inadequate, but the only practicable alternative,” that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching should be instituted, success in which should hereafter be made a condition of permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school. Other and larger views of the subject are now in the ascendant, and the Government of India are glad to know that the principle of providing training institutions for secondary teachers meets with universal acceptance among the Local Governments and Administrations. There already exist at Madras, Kurseong, Allahabad, Lahore and Jubbulpore, institutions in which students are trained for service as teachers in the highest classes of secondary schools. Such students have either passed the Entrance or the Intermediate Examination of the University or are graduates. These institutions have done good work, and the time has come to extend the system to the provinces where it does not exist, notably Bombay, and to endeavour to create a supply of trained teachers which shall be adequate to the needs of the secondary schools throughout the country. Not only must the supply be increased, but the quality of the training given must be improved.

39. The details of the measures taken with that object are already engaging the attention of the various Local Governments. But the general principles upon which the Government of India desire to see the training institutions developed are these. An adequate staff of well-trained members of the Indian Educational Service is required, and for this purpose it will be necessary to enlist more men of ability and experience in the work of higher training. The equipment of a Training College for secondary teachers is at least as important as that of an Arts College, and the work calls for the exercise of abilities as great as those required in any branch of the Educational Service. The period of training for students must be at least two years, except in the

case of graduates, for whom one year's training may suffice. For the graduates the course of instruction will be chiefly directed towards imparting to them a knowledge of the principles which underlie the art of teaching, and some degree of technical skill in the practice of the art. It should be a University course, culminating in a University degree or diploma. For the others, the course should embrace the extension, consolidation, and revision of their general studies; but the main object should be to render them capable teachers, and no attempt should be made to prepare them for any higher external examination. The scheme of instruction should be determined by the authorities of the Training College and by the Education Department; and the examination at the close of it should be controlled by the same authorities. The training in the theory of teaching should be closely associated with its practice, and for this purpose good practising schools should be attached to each college, and should be under the control of the same authority. The practising school should be fully equipped with well-trained teachers, and the students should see examples of the best teaching, and should teach under capable supervision. It is desirable that the Training College should be furnished with a good library, and with a museum in which should be exhibited samples, models, illustrations, or records of the school work of the province. Every possible care should be taken to maintain a connection between the Training College and the School, so that the student on leaving the college and entering upon his career as a teacher may not neglect to practise the methods which he has been taught, and may not (as sometimes happens) be prevented from doing so and forced to fall into line with the more mechanical methods of his untrained colleagues. The trained students whom the college has sent out should be occasionally brought together again, and the inspecting staff should co-operate with the Training College authorities in seeing that the influence of the college makes itself felt in the schools.

40. The institution of Normal Schools for primary teachers, which was enjoined by the Despatch of 1854, has been very generally carried out. Recent enquiries into the sufficiency of their number have shown that an increase is called for in some provinces, notably in Bengal; and provision is being made for this increase, its possibility depending partly upon the salaries paid to primary teachers being sufficient to induce men to undergo a course of training. The usual type of normal school is a boarding school, where students who have received a vernacular education are maintained by stipends and receive further general education, combined with instruction in the methods of teaching, and practice in teaching, under supervision.

The course differs in length in the different provinces. In future it will, as a general rule, be for not less than two years.

41. Steps are also being taken to supply courses of training specially suited for teachers of rural schools. These do not attempt the impossible task of reforming the agricultural practice of the peasantry by the agency of village school masters imbued with a smattering of scientific theory. They serve the more limited and practical purpose of supplying the village schools with teachers whose stock-in-trade is not mere book learning, and whose interests have been aroused in the study of rural things, so that they may be able to connect their teaching with the objects which are familiar to the children in the country schools. Various plans are being tried, such as drafting the teachers from the Normal school to a Government farm and training them there for six months, or giving a continuous course at the Normal school itself by means of lectures combined with practice in cultivating plots of ground or school gardens. Experience will show which methods work best in different provinces, and it is not necessary to pronounce in favour of one plan to the exclusion of others.

42. Great importance is attached by the Government of India to the provision of hostels or boarding-houses, under proper supervision, in connection with colleges and secondary schools. These institutions protect the students who live in them from the moral dangers of life in large towns; they provide common interests and create a spirit of healthy companionship; and they are in accord not only with the usage of English public schools and colleges but also with the ancient Indian tradition that the pupil should live in the charge of his teacher. Missionary bodies have joined with alacrity in the extension of this movement. The credit for the first hostel established in India is claimed by the Madras Christian College, which still continues to add others; and a striking example of the success of the residential system is to be found in the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. The Local Governments have been active both in founding hostels for Government colleges and schools and in aiding their provision. In Madras at the present time a large hostel, the result of private munificence aided by Government, is meaning completion; in Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad, and Lahore signs are to be seen of the growth of similar institutions. The returns for the year 1901-02 showed that there were then 1,415 hostels, with 47,302 boarders; while the extent to which they drive their funds from sources independent of Government is made clear by the fact that more than two-fifths of the boarders were in unaided hostels, and that of the total expenditure upon all hostels, ten lakhs were derived from subscriptions and endowments, as

compared with two lakhs sixty-three thousand rupees from public funds. The Government of India believe that the system of hostels, if extended with due regard for its essential principles, which include direct supervision by resident teachers, is destined to exercise a profound influence on student life in India and to correct many of the shortcomings which now attend our educational methods.

43. The reduction in the number of examinations which is being carried out, and the general raising of educational standards which is contemplated, demand an increased stringency in inspection and a substantial strengthening of the inspecting staff. In the Despatch of 1854, it was enjoined that inspectors should "conduct, or assist at, the examination of the scholars and generally, by their advice, aid the managers and schoolmasters in conducting colleges and schools of every description throughout the country." The latter function is no less important than the former, and calls for wider educational knowledge, greater initiative, and the exercise of a wise discretion in adapting means to ends. It is a task which will provide worthy occupation for men who are imbued with the best traditions in the matter of school management, and it is through the influence of such men alone that there is any real prospect of its accomplishment. Their assistance can only be enlisted by increasing the cadre of the Indian Educational Service. Some additions in the lower branches of the inspectorate are also needed in order to provide for a complete system of inspection *in situ* instead of collective examinations. The Government of India do not require that Inspectors should be precluded from having recourse to examination as a means of inspection; but they desire that Inspectors should be much more than mere examiners. They should not only judge the results of teaching, but should guide and advise as to its methods; and it is essential that they should be familiar with the schools in their ordinary working conditions. The work of schools should be defined with reference rather to the courses of instruction followed than to the examinations that have to be passed, and rigid uniformity either in the arrangement of subjects or in the classification of the scholars should be avoided, free play being given to the proper adaptation of the working of the schools to their local circumstances.

44. The more active and progressive policy that is now being adopted in educational matters will throw a constantly increasing burden of work and responsibility upon the Directors of Public Instruction. The wider the influence that these officers exercise, the more essential is it that they should not be prevented by the growth of their routine

duties from making frequent tours of inspection and thus acquiring a direct and intimate knowledge of the educational conditions of their provinces and the circumstances of the numerous schools under their control. Four officers are therefore to be added to the Indian Educational Service, in order to provide the Directors of Public Instruction in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the United Provinces with assistants upon whom part of their duties may be devolved. Arrangements will also be made for periodical meetings of the Directors in conference, in order that they may compare their experience of the results of different methods of work, and may discuss matters of common interest.

45. The Education Department is divided into the superior and the subordinate services. The superior service consists of two branches, called respectively the Indian and the Provincial Educational Services, of which the former is recruited in England and the latter in India. The opportunities and responsibilities which work in the Department brings to an officer of this service give scope for a wide range of intellectual activity. Such an officer takes an active part in the profoundly interesting experiment of introducing an Eastern people to Western knowledge and modern methods of research; he comes into contact with the remains of an earlier civilization and the traditions of ancient learning; he can choose between the career of a professor and that of an educational administrator; and in either capacity he has great opportunity of exercising personal influence and promoting the best interests of genuine education. In order that members of the Indian Educational Service may keep themselves abreast of the advances which are now being made in other countries in the science of education, facilities are given to them while on furlough to study the theory and practice of all branches of education both in England and in other parts of the world. The part, already considerable, that is taken by natives of India in the advancement of their countrymen in modern methods of intellectual training will, it is hoped, assume an even greater importance in the future. If the reforms now contemplated in the whole system of instruction are successfully carried out, it may be expected that the Educational Service will offer steadily increasing attractions to the best educational talent. Where the problems to be solved are so complex, and the interests at stake so momentous, India is entitled to ask for the highest intellect and culture that either English or Indian seats of learning can furnish for her needs.

46. The Governor-General in Council has now passed in review the history and progress of Western education under British rule in India, the objects which

it seeks to accomplish, and the means which it employs. It has been shown how indigenous methods of instruction were tried and found wanting; how in 1854 the broad outlines of a comprehensive scheme of national education were for the first time determined; how the principles then accepted have been consistently followed ever since; how they were affirmed by the Education Commission of 1882, and how they are now being further extended and developed, in response to the growing needs of the country by the combined efforts of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. The system of education thus extended makes provision in varying degrees for all forms of intellectual activity that appeal to a civilized community. It seeks to satisfy the aspirations of students in the domains of learning and research; it supplies the Government with a succession of upright and intelligent public servants; it trains workers in every branch of commercial enterprise that has made good its footing in India; it attempts to develop the resources of the country and to stimulate and improve indigenous arts and industries; it offers to all classes of society a training suited to their position in life; and for these ends it is organized on lines which admit of indefinite expansion as the demand for education grows and public funds or private liberality afford a larger measure of support. It rests with the people themselves to make a wise use of the opportunities that are offered to them and to realise that education in the true sense means something more than the acquisition of so much positive knowledge, something higher than the mere passing of examinations, that it aims at the progressive and orderly development of all the faculties of the mind, that it should form character and teach right conduct--that it is, in fact, a preparation for the business of life. If this essential truth is overlooked or imperfectly appreciated, the labours of the Government of India to elevate the standard of education in this country and to inspire it with higher ideals will assuredly fail to produce substantial and enduring results. Those labours have been undertaken in the hope that they will command the hearty support of the leaders of native thought and of the great body of workers in the field of Indian Education. On them the Governor-General in Council relies to carry on and complete a task which the Government can do no more than begin.

APPENDIX L.

(I).—*Organisation of the Educational System.*

CONTROL.

In each province the Department of Education is administered by the Local Government, and the general control of policy lies with the Government of India in the Home Department. The Government of India is assisted by an advising officer styled the Director General of Education.* The Education Department of each province is controlled by a Director of Public Instruction who is directly subordinate to the Local Government and except in the Punjab, where he is the Under Secretary to Local Government, the Local Government transacts business with him through one of its secretaries.

(II).—*The Educational Service.*

The Educational service may be broadly divided into three branches (a) the Indian Educational service, (b) the Provincial Educational service, and (c) the Subordinate service. The officers of the Indian service are, as a rule, appointed by the Secretary of State and are mainly employed as Inspectors, Principals, Professors and Head Masters. Officers of the Provincial Service are appointed by the Local Government on the recommendation of the Director and are employed as Inspectors, Assistant Inspectors, Professors, Head Masters, etc. Below the Provincial Service there exist in every province a considerable number of appointments of the Subordinate Service which are made by the Director.

(III).—*Organisation of the Inspecting Branch.*

The functions of the Department of Public Instruction are two-fold, teaching and inspection. The unit of the inspecting system is the district, and the district inspecting officer is generally styled the Deputy Inspector and is assisted by one or more Sub-Deputy Inspectors. The work of Deputy Inspectors is supervised by Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors, and the circle of the Inspector very often coincides with the revenue division.

* This was written before the institution of the office of Educational Member.

(IV).—*Educational Agencies.*

Educational agencies are of two kinds, public and private. Public educational agencies include the Government, and the Municipal and District Boards; while private agencies include indigenous schools, Mission Societies, and Indian agencies working on Western lines. Many of the institutions worked by private agencies receive pecuniary assistance from the State and are classified as aided. A certain number of institutions conform to the Government or University regulations without receiving State aid and are styled unaided but Recognised colleges and schools. Finally there is always a fringe of schools which lie outside the State system and are classified as unrecognised. The following table will help to explain this classification :—

(A) Public	{	(a) Government.
	{	(b) Board.
(B) Private	{	(a) Aided.
	{	(b) Unaided but recognised.
	{	(c) Unrecognised.

