

EAST INDIA (PRISON DISCIPLINE)

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons
dated 26 February 1877;—for,

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"COPY of the REPORT to Marquis of *Salisbury* by Miss *Mary Carpenter* on
PRISON DISCIPLINE, and on FEMALE EDUCATION in *India*."

India Office,
24 April 1877. }

GEORGE HAMILTON,
Under Secretary of State.

ON PRISON DISCIPLINE IN INDIA.

To the Right Honourable the Marquis of *Salisbury*, Her Majesty's Secretary
of State for India.

My Lord,

HAVING been requested by your Lordship to lay before you in writing the views on prison discipline in India which have been matured during my fourth and last tour, I beg respectfully to offer to you the following.

When I first went to India in September 1866, my object was solely to show friendly sympathy with the native inhabitants of that country, and to co-operate with them, if desired, in the improvement of female education.

On my arrival in Bombay, however, I received an official letter from the Secretary to the Government, dated 26 September 1866, containing an order from his Excellency the Governor in Council (then the Right honourable Sir Bartle Frere) to the Inspector General of Prisons, and gentlemen in charge of various institutions, to afford me every facility for studying them, with a view to my afterwards conferring with the Government on the subject and communicating the results of European inquiry and discussion.

Your Lordship is aware that I had from the very commencement taken an active part in the reformatory movement, that I had devoted careful study to the principles of prison discipline, and had recently published a work on the subject, entitled "Our Convicts;" I felt, therefore, that I could not refuse so cordial an invitation.

After visiting various prisons and other institutions in the Bombay Presidency, I addressed a memorandum to that Government containing my views on prison discipline, reformatories, lunatic asylums, Government schools, and female education. I learnt, however, from the Governor and from the heads of the educational and prison departments, that none of the principles I deemed important could be carried out except under the sanction of the Governor General of India. I therefore decided on proceeding to Calcutta. Having found my views confirmed by my visits to other presidencies, and by conferring with experienced and influential gentlemen in charge of various institutions, I laid the following statements before the Right honourable Sir John Lawrence, the Governor General of India in Council:—

REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND CERTIFIED INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

Schools of these two kinds have now been established for many years in England, and the success with which they are attended is generally acknowledged.

They are founded on the principle that gaols are not adapted to youthful criminals, who ought rather to receive moral and industrial training.

There appears a very great need of the establishment of similar schools in India; reformatory schools for older and hardened offenders who have been in prison, industrial schools for younger children and juvenile vagrants who are likely to fall into crime.

REPORT ON PRISON DISCIPLINE IN INDIA.

Many of both these classes may be found in the prisons of India, or are wandering over the country. They are certain to perpetuate a criminal class, unless timely steps are taken to reclaim them. Many of these boys have been several times in prison, and are already desperate characters, contaminating all who come within their sphere.

The reformatory and industrial schools in England are established by private benevolence, and are supported by payments made by the Treasury to the managers, towards the maintenance of each offender, payments from county rates by special agreement, and voluntary contributions. A Consolidated Act for each class of schools was passed last Session.

It is probable that India would require a somewhat different system for local reasons, and that here the initiative must be taken by the Government. At the same time it is probable that if encouragement were given by the Government, by the passing of a law authorising and partly providing for such schools, municipalities may be able to take their share of the needful expenditure and management. A general feeling appears to prevail among both European and native gentlemen who are in any way connected with the criminal classes, as to the importance of such establishments in India. They need not, for many reasons, be nearly as costly in India as in England, and it is probable that the labour of the boys may be made nearly to cover the expense of their maintenance.

I would therefore respectfully but strongly urge on the Legislature the importance of taking steps as soon as possible to establish such schools.

Will you permit me to forward herewith my "Suggestions on the Management of Reformatories and Certified Industrial Schools," which contain an account of the system generally adopted in England.

CENTRAL GAOLS OR CONVICT PRISONS.

The erection of these for long-sentenced prisoners will be a very important measure, and will not only remove a great difficulty which now exists in the management of the common gaols, but will also afford an opportunity of carrying out the admirable system of convict treatment which proved so successful in Ireland under the management of Sir Walter Crofton. The principles of this system are now being universally accepted by distinguished persons in every part of the world who have studied the subject, as well as by the Royal Commission on Prison Discipline in 1863. For a full statement of those principles, and of their practical application, I beg to refer to the second volume of my work entitled—"Our Convicts."

India appears in many ways to present peculiar facilities for carrying out this system, and the remarkable results of the industrial system developed in Alipore Gaol, prove that it might be done at comparatively little expense. The success with which the license system is carried out in Poona by the acting superintendent proves that, under careful management, prisoners trained under a good system may be easily absorbed into society as self-supporting and honest members of it. In the erection of the central gaols, therefore (convict prisons; as they are termed in England), it appears particularly important that regard should be had to adapting them to develop this system. It is especially necessary that there should be *separate sleeping cells for all the prisoners*, except for those who have arrived at the third or intermediate stages, which is the final preparation for discharge.

COMMON GAOLS.

In all the gaols I visited great attention appeared to be paid to the industrial work, which in many cases was admirably carried on; the prisoners were thus being prepared to procure an honest livelihood for themselves on their discharge, and considerable proceeds were realised towards their expenses. A salutary influence appeared to be exercised over the prisoners, who in general were working with diligence and goodwill under proper superintendence.

The good effects which might be anticipated from this system were however greatly diminished by the *want of separate cells*. It is evident that when for 12 hours out of 24, men are locked up in cells without light, sometimes three or four together, sometimes even from 40 to 50, nothing but the worst results can be expected. It is quite impossible that even common order or propriety can be preserved. Immoral communication must neutralise any good influence which the prisoners may have received during the day. The greatest contamination must be the result of such an arrangement, and at the same time the deterrent effect of punishment is much lost, as solitude is greatly dreaded by this class of prisoners. Not only are the moral effects of the existing system very injurious, but also the physical. The various prison reports frequently speak of a dreadful mortality decimating the gaols, or even carrying off one-fourth of the whole number of prisoners. This must be chiefly due to the sleeping arrangements, which bring persons of poor or even of bad constitutions into injurious proximity with each other. Overcrowding the gaols appears to be the usual cause of any great mortality, as in other respects sanitary arrangements are carefully attended to in other gaols I visited.

The construction of separate sleeping cells in all the gaols would of course involve considerable expense, but this would be in most cases greatly lessened by employing the labour of the prisoners. In many of the gaols which I visited a sufficient number of cells could be erected without any other cost but that of material. Still, whatever may be the outlay

outlay needed, it is evident that it should not be any impediment in the way of doing what is so important both for the moral and the physical welfare of the prisoners.

The want of any arrangements for securing instruction to the prisoners is also a great evil. It is now an acknowledged principle in the treatment of prisoners that every means practicable should be afforded them of leaving the gaol better members of society than when they entered it; instruction is evidently a most important means of securing this, especially in the case of these prisoners. We cannot give them religious instruction, but we can give them that teaching and that moral influence which may enable them both to know and to do their duty. In no gaols that I visited was there any place provided for instruction, nor was there any schoolmaster on the staff. The gaol regulations did not make any provisions for these, or for any time when instruction could be given to the prisoners. The teaching given in Alipore Gaol cannot be regarded as an exception, because this is not universal, and is chiefly with a view to enable the prisoners to do such work as requires a knowledge of reading and writing.

I would beg respectfully to suggest that regular instruction should be made an essential part of the prison discipline of every gaol. To effect this the hours of labour need not be shortened, as three hours could advantageously be deducted from those spent in sleep; a proper school-room and apparatus would be required to be provided for, and especially a suitable number of teachers.

The removal of the long-sentenced prisoners from the common gaols, which is, I am informed, under contemplation, will doubtless facilitate the adoption of both of these changes, and in many ways be a considerable advantage.

FEMALE PRISONERS.

In all the gaols which I have visited, except in Calcutta, the females prisoners occupied a portion of the ordinary gaol. This was usually the worst portion of the place, and there was no provision for separation either by night or by day. They were under the care of male warders. The work provided for them was of a nature not to improve them, and no instruction was given them. No lady visitors ever go near them; indeed I was informed in one case that the habits of the prisoners are so filthy that it would be impossible for ladies to approach them and sit down among them.

It may easily be imagined what is the result of this. Not only is it impossible for any improvement to take place, but the women become deteriorated. In one gaol I was informed that the good dietary and the freedom from strict discipline so completely removed all dread of imprisonment that the women repeatedly returned after discharge.

It is evident that this is an enormous evil.

I would beg respectfully to urge,

First.—That all the female prisoners should be in separate cells, unless working under suitable supervision.

Secondly.—That female warders *only* should have charge of the prisoners. It is probable that the chief of these at least must be a European, to secure proper discipline.

Thirdly.—That the work should be of a kind to fit the women to earn their livelihood on their discharge.

Fourthly.—That regular instruction should be provided for them.

Fifthly.—That European ladies should be invited to visit them, as in England, with a view to impart to them a kind and good influence.

Calcutta, January 1867.

On my return to England the subject of prison discipline in India engaged the attention of the Social Science Association, whose council sent an important deputation on the subject to the Secretary for India, the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, laying before him the points mentioned in the foregoing paper.

My experience had been limited to the South of India, but Major (now Major General) Hutchinson, Inspector General of Police in the Punjab, being then in England, fully confirmed from his own experience the great evils which arose in the Indian gaols from the want of separate sleeping cells, and from other defects of principle.

The subject of the Indian gaols was at various times brought before the public through the Social Science Association, and a deputation from that body which waited on the late lamented Lord Mayo before he started for India, led to the hope that some great improvement would be made. Lord Napier and Ettrick, the Governor of the Madras Presidency, had much lowered the high death rate in this presidency by the attention he had given to improve the gaols. But no progress had been made in introducing the system of separate sleeping cells,

which is the one essential condition of all improvement in gaols. The principle of its importance had not been accepted in India.

The subject of Reformatory schools had been seriously considered by many official gentlemen in India; among them I may mention Lord Napier and Ettrick, Dr. Dallas, Inspector General of Gaols in the Punjab, Dr. Brake, Inspector General of Gaols in the Central Provinces. These gentlemen earnestly desired to establish reformatories for boys on the English system adapted to India, but the want of the necessary legislation prevented efforts from being made, and in the case of Nagpore caused the discontinuance of a very promising reformatory institution which was commenced soon after my visit there in 1870.

On the last subject, progress had been already made by the Government of India before I started on my fourth tour. The draft of a Bill had been already prepared and circulated for consideration by experienced persons. It was admirably adapted to carry out the object, and embodied the general principles of our Reformatory and Certified Industrial Schools Act of 1866. This has since become Act V. of 1876.

My object in this visit to India was particularly to study the kind of cells which bore the tests of experience as adapted to the wants of that country, to ascertain the proximate cost of erection of these, to gather the opinions of official gentlemen on the practicability and value of the system, also to converse with them on the possibility of giving some intellectual and moral instruction to the prisoners. I desired also to see the condition of the female prisoners, which was extremely unsatisfactory on my first visit, when they were under the care of male warders, in complete association day and night, and without any instruction or skilled industry.

Though it would be premature to attempt to promote the establishment of reformatories, yet I was desirous of taking any opportunities that might occur of diffusing a knowledge of the principles which the English experience of 20 years has proved to be sound.

My tour on the present occasion extended from Hyderabad and Kurrachee in Sind, to Dacca in East Bengal. I visited Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat and Baroda, and Tanna, Poona, Madras and Calcutta, and Serampore. I was unable to go on to the Punjab, but visited Allahabad and Benares, and wherever I went I made it a special object to visit the prison in company of the superintendent. Everywhere I received kind attention and the expression of full sympathy with my views.

It would be unnecessary for me to trouble your Lordship with a detailed account of each visit; I will confine myself to the results of my observations, referring only to individual cases as illustrations.

I. *Reformatories.*—I regretted to find that the real nature of these institutions was little understood in India. A portion of a gaol separated from the part occupied by adults and appropriated to boys, who received some schooling was named a reformatory! Such I saw at Poona! In the Presidency Gaol, Calcutta, 50 young boys were thus associated together; of these many were mere children, who had been several times in gaol, and were graduating to become qualified for the juvenile criminal department of the gaol; in this I saw 150 young men, who, in their turn, were aspiring to enter the adult department. All the official gentlemen whom I saw there deeply deplored this state of things, which it was simply impossible for them to alter in gaols constructed as at present. Thus a criminal class is being created and considerably increased in India. In the Madras Gaol great improvements had been made since my first visit, and the juvenile department was as good as it could be under the circumstances, but not of course a fit place to train up young boys to get their living in society. I saw there a boy of 10 years of age, in irons and a *life convict*. This poor lad had unfortunately been among a number of sailors guilty of mutiny and murder.

The certain contamination attending the sending young boys to gaols prevents magistrates in many parts from sentencing them, consequently very few are generally to be found in prisons, though it is well known that there are numbers who would be greatly benefited by training in reformatories on the English system. These might be carried on in India at far less cost than in our country. No large expensive buildings would be required; in fact, they would be very
undesirable,

undesirable, as the boys should be accustomed to live as much as possible like their countrymen. The clothing would be merely a cotton garment in most parts of the country, and the boys would very soon be able to raise from the land as much as would suffice for their own maintenance. Though some time will probably elapse before these institutions are general, yet I hope that a few which may serve as models will ere long be established. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Richard Temple, expressed his intention to establish a true reformatory on a piece of land near Calcutta as soon as arrangements could be made. At Madras, Mr. Subhpathi Iyah had communicated to his Excellency the Governor his willingness to present a piece of land 40 acres in extent for the purpose of a reformatory, and a native chief offered to build a house on it. Native gentlemen in many parts expressed a willingness to cooperate. In Bombay the Sassoon Reformatory for boys has been in existence for more than 20 years, and it is believed to have done much good. I am not aware whether the managing committee propose bringing it under the operations of the Act. With increased powers and the knowledge which can be acquired only by experience, it may be made a valuable institution.

II. *Female Prisoners.*—Very great improvement had taken place in the arrangements for these since my first visit. In 1870 I visited Nagpore Gaol, where the women were receiving daily instruction from a native female teacher, who had been trained in the Madras Girls' Mission School. They were also taught skilled needlework and beautiful crotchet. On my present visit I found everywhere, except in the Serampore Gaol, a regular female warder in charge of the women. These were generally East Indians, in some cases the wife of the gaoler, or a native woman who had happened to have special training. Skilled work was generally given to the prisoners, though rarely instruction. Occasionally there was regular discipline carried out, as in the Allahabad Central Gaol, where the female department was quite separated from the male prison, and under the care of an experienced female official. In the female department of Benares Gaol there were well-arranged *separate sleeping cells* for the female prisoners, in which they could without any hardship remain by day, if their conduct rendered such separation desirable. The matron found this of immense advantage in enabling her to exercise an influence over the prisoners; they had daily an hour of regular instruction. This was, however, the only instance of the kind I saw, and it proved how much might be done to ameliorate the condition even of these unhappy women if there were premises constructed on sound principles and officials suited to their work. I regret, however, to say that in many cases the sleeping wards of the female prisoners were most unsuitable, and the women in charge unequal to their work.

III. *The General Question of Separate Sleeping Cells.*—Separate sleeping cells are absolutely essential to any true prison discipline. I need not attempt to prove this, for your Lordship is aware that not only has the principle of separation at night been long adopted in our own country, but that it is universally accepted as necessary on the Continent and in the United States. It was, however, at one time supposed that the circumstances of the different climate of India, and the nature of the inhabitants, rendered separation at night undesirable, if not impossible. Such objections appear to have entirely died away; for on my present visit I never heard any but the same opinion from all the official gentlemen with whom I conversed, that the present system of association in sleeping barracks, where often 60 prisoners are locked up together for 12 hours every night under the supervision only of convict warders, gives rise to frightful crimes, creates and continually increases a criminal class, is physically very injurious, and greatly diminishes the deterrent influence of imprisonment. Hence crime, and consequently expenditure, is much increased by this system, and great injury is done to offenders who are deprived of liberty by the State, and to the society from which they come, and to which they must return.

Granting, then, that separate sleeping cells ought to be universal in India, and that the expense attendant on commencing the system is the only obstacle to their introduction, it is to be considered what kind of cells are best adapted to India, and the necessary expense of these. The English cells are altogether unsuitable. In India we must provide for ventilation and for protection from

beat. The prisoners also are not in general violent and audacious, and do not therefore require for their control the same strength of cell as in England. I have heard it stated by a highly competent authority that it is easier to govern 1,000 Hindu prisoners than 10 English convicts. I have been told by official gentlemen in different parts of the country, that in ordinary gaols there are not more than five per cent. really bad men. This seems at first a startling assertion, but it must be remembered that many offences which are necessarily punished severely for the safety of society do not involve moral delinquency in the individual, who may be in other respects an inoffensive man. The Hindu is usually amenable to discipline when treated judiciously, and is not generally violent. At the same time he is very susceptible physically and mentally, and could not endure the absolute solitude of our gaols. Many kinds of cells which I saw would be very injurious to them. In one gaol were punishment cells of a very costly structure, large and dark, and supplied with fresh air by an expensive and complicated machine; in another they had been newly constructed with expensive masonry, but high, with so strong a draft from a top window, that it was difficult to protect the prisoners from bronchitis and pulmonary disease. In another gaol there was a dark inner and outer cell with a separate verandah, a costly but very gloomy place, so constructed that the warder could not see the prisoner without actually going to the inner cell. It is necessary then to ascertain what kind of cell combines the various requirements for fitness with a moderate cost. Poona City Gaol is probably the only one in the empire where these conditions have been satisfactorily fulfilled for so long a time, above 12 years, as to test their fitness. The gaol contains 400 male prisoners, each of whom has a separate sleeping cell. The cells are arranged in blocks of from 25 to 30, radiating from a centre, with a small court between each, the front of one block facing the back of the next. The cells are about 7 x 10 by 12. Each has a window near the top of the back wall, while the door consists of strong iron bars, thus admitting air and light. There is a verandah running along the block, so that a warder walking along can see what every prisoner is doing. The prisoners can be kept in their cells working all day without injury. Such cells need not cost more than 10% each if with gaol labour. The superintendent of Hyderabad, Sind, showed me a cell adapted to the peculiar conditions of their country, which he could build at the cost of only 2%. There, as everywhere in India, was abundance of space, so that the gaol could be provided with separate sleeping cells at a very small expense. It is evident that so moderate an expense would soon be covered to the Government by the great diminution of the number of prisoners, which would very soon take place wherever the system is carried out.

Expense would also be saved in other ways. With the prisoners sleeping in association in large barracks, a military night guard round the prison is required for security. In the Ahmedabad Gaol, for instance, with 450 prisoners, there is a staff of 35 paid officials, and also a military guard of 42 persons. For this last the Government is paid 10,000 rupees, or 1,000 £. per annum. Now this gaol is an old Mahomedan college, remarkably massive and secure; though in many respects very ill adapted for a gaol. The military guard and probably many of the paid officials might be dispensed with if a proper system were introduced. A well-built gaol, where each prisoner is securely locked at night in a separate cell, would not require a large expensive military guard at night, which does not prevent prisoners from escaping at times.

I believe that many of the gaols I saw could be altered at a very moderate expense, so as to provide separate sleeping cells for all the prisoners, if the principle were adopted by the Indian Government. I would instance the gaols at Ahmedabad, Surat and Tanna, which I visited and examined carefully. The central gaol of Yerrowda, near Poona, has been built since my first visit on a very large piece of land. The estimate which had been given for it was, I was informed, nine lacs of rupees; it was not finished when I saw it, and 11 lacs had been already spent. The premises covered 60 acres of land, with a circumference of a mile and a quarter. A thick and high wall surrounded the whole, and a second wall was being built round in addition, to prevent escapes. There appeared to be a great amount of unnecessary and expensive masonry in many parts. This gaol was calculated for 1,500 prisoners, with only 80 separate cells,

cells, or between five and six per cent. When therefore a batch of 70 prisoners was brought to the gaol they were obliged, if the cells were occupied, to be at once thrown into sleeping association with the others, carrying with them fresh details of crime. How unnecessary the expense of that second wall would have been if there had been separate sleeping cells is proved by the fact that, while several hundreds of prisoners are daily working outside the walls, only three prisoners escaped during the year, one of whom was returned. This gaol could even now be altered at a moderate expense, some of the sleeping barracks being converted into workshops, and others furnished with walled partitions about eight feet high, so as to produce physical separation. There was abundant space for new blocks of cells.

The Benares Central Gaol is now being built. If prison labour were employed the superintendent has calculated that thoroughly strong and well-made cells might be made at less than 20*l.* per cell, so as for every prisoner to have a separate cell. This has not been allowed.

It appears then that the direct expense of separate sleeping cells is by no means as great as was apprehended, and that the indirect expenditure connected with the gaols would be diminished by the adoption of the system.

The cost of crime would necessarily be diminished by a system which is deterrent, and which might render prison discipline reformatory.

IV. With respect to instruction given to the prisoners, no alterations appeared to have been made since my first visit. No paid teachers are provided by the Government. In some gaols educated convicts give instruction to those who desire it. I found it a general opinion that it would be useless, and indeed impossible, to give instruction in reading and writing to the bulk of the prisoners. At the same time it was much to be regretted that no attempt should be made to impart some moral instruction to these men, which might enable them to leave the gaol somewhat better than they entered it. At Hyderabad, Sind, during the last seven years, some native gentlemen have been accustomed to give addresses to the prisoners every Sunday morning with good effect. I was present when 700 prisoners, Mahomedans and Hindus, ranged sitting in the court-yard, received such an address with apparent interest. A similar plan has been adopted at Rutnagiri with success. I have learnt at Ahmedabad some native gentlemen have obtained leave to address the prisoners in a similar manner. It appears then that there would be no practical difficulty in engaging the services of respectable native schoolmasters who might teach the prisoners daily for two hours, deducted from the 12 hours of sleep, and give oral instruction to those who could not learn to read.

It would be unnecessary for me to trouble your Lordship with remarks on the other points of gaol discipline, these two being in my opinion the most important ones, involving fundamental principles which have long been accepted in our country. I would beg only to say that there appeared to me great anxiety among officials everywhere to carry out well the appointed regulations, and that the system of skilled labour developed in the Indian gaols seemed to me of very remarkable excellence. The skilled labour taught to the prisoners at little more than the ordinary expense of supervision contributed very largely to the support of the establishment, has a civilising effect on the prisoners themselves, and prepares them for future life. This excellent development of industry was not however universal. There was not any uniform system of gratuities to the prisoners for work, or remission of sentence as a reward for good conduct. In some parts of India there was a system of convict warders, which was found to work admirably, while in other parts this was not adopted. Hence there was no general system adopted in the Empire.

Having the honour of an interview with his Excellency, the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, I suggested to him the importance of having, as in Great Britain, certain general principles laid down for the whole Indian Empire, while details are left to local governments. By the desire of his Lordship I had subsequently an interview with the secretary to Government, Mr. Arthur Howell, who entered fully into my views on this subject. At his request I sketched out

what appeared the most important principles. I beg to submit to your Lordship a copy of this document :—

To *Arthur Howell, Esq.*, Secretary to the Indian Government, &c. &c.

Sir,

Allahabad, 29 January 1876.

IN accordance with your request that I should lay before you the principles adopted by the British Government in all prison discipline, which, I think, should also be universal in Indian gaols, I beg to state the following :—

I. That all prisoners should sleep in separation during the whole term of their imprisonment.

II. That education should be given daily by competent native teachers, with moral instruction.

III. That a first stage in all imprisonment should be passed in separation from other prisoners day and night, with unskilled labour, penal dietary and instruction.

IV. That there should be a system of marks for conduct, labour, and education, with gratuities for extra work, enabling the prisoner by his own exertion to rise to greater privileges, and to obtain remission of sentence.

In adapting these principles to the conditions of climate and character in India, I would offer the following suggestions :—

I. The climate requires a thorough ventilation and protection from heat, and the cells must evidently be constructed on a perfectly different system from those in English prisons. The prisoners, often of weak constitution, their minds unrelieved by thoughts of anything good, and unable to derive ideas from reading, ought not to be subjected to the unbroken solitude of English prisons, which would be injurious as well as useless. The cells in the Poona City Gaol fulfil these conditions. They are built with doors of iron bars and a window near the top of the opposite wall. The dimensions are about 7 + 10 by 12 feet high, or rather less. They are in blocks of cells, radiating from a central office, of from 25 to 30 not facing each other, and each block with a running verandah. The warder walking through this can see each prisoner well, while communication between prisoners would be easily stopped. These cells can be used by day for work. Some more penal cells may be resorted to in case of infringement of rules. A curtain can be hung up at night before the door in cold weather. These cells have been used for more than 10 years with the greatest advantage, both morally and physically, in this gaol holding 400 prisoners. In the district gaols at Benares the women have similar separate cells, which are found by the matron of the greatest advantage. These cells might be built with two stories, thereby probably saving expense, space, and supervision. I have been told that they might be erected at a cost of material (with prison labour) of about 10 £. each. I have seen many cells in various prisons which appeared to me very injurious to the prisoners physically, and oppressively dark. Some of these were constructed at a great unnecessary expense, as the Poona Gaol cells answered perfectly well. The superintendent of Hyderabad Gaol, Sind, showed me a cell which he deemed suitable, which he could erect at a cost of materials of 2 £. only! Existing sleeping barracks might be altered for the advanced class of prisoners, by having a thin wall erected between the beds about eight feet high, leaving a portion of window for each division, and a passage for the warder down the middle. It may not be deemed right with regard to expense to alter all the gaols already built, but if the principle is adopted by the Supreme Government, all future gaols should be built on the separate system for night cells, and many existing gaols may be altered at a comparatively small expense. From want of a good system of building much useless expense is at present incurred. I need not enlarge on the immense importance of these separate sleeping cells. It is, I think, universally conceded that adoption of this will not only diminish the present contaminating effects of imprisonment, but be a deterrent, and eventually save cost by diminishing the number of prisoners.

II. It is particularly important to infuse some good ideas into the minds of prisoners. This should be done by oral moral instruction daily, as few will be in a position to gain by reading. Two hours at least daily should be devoted to instruction in a hall appropriated to the purpose. This should be deducted from the 12 hours now allotted to sleep.

III. It would not be desirable to keep the prisoners more than three months in separation by day. A month might be sufficient, dependent on good conduct. Short sentenced prisoners in district gaols should remain the whole time in separation.

IV. This system of marks and gratuities has been introduced in some gaols. It should be universal.

It would be desirable to distinctly separate *central* and *district* gaols, the long and the short time prisoners.

A general system of dietary, of salaries, &c., should be prepared by the Supreme Government, as in England, leaving a certain discretion to localities in this as well as in other details.

This is a sketch of what appears to be most essential. Kindly inform me if you wish any fuller details.

I remain, &c.
(signed) *Mary Carpenter.*

I have recently received from Mr. Howell a printed circular to convene an Indian Prison Congress at Calcutta during the next cold weather. This may prove a very valuable opportunity of arranging some general system of prison discipline for India. At the present time this would be very important, as new gaols are in course of erection. At Benares a large central gaol is being built, and the superintendent has not been allowed to carry out his scheme for separate cells. At Ahmedabad a large central gaol has been decided on, but is not built, and doubtless there are many other cases of the same kind. It is of course to be desired that all new gaols, and all old ones requiring extensive alterations, should be put on a sound principle. The time is therefore most opportune to hold a Prison Congress in Calcutta. Your Lordship is fully aware that the principles of prison discipline which I have here stated have at different periods been discussed in Parliament, and were closely scrutinised by the Prison Commission of 1863. These now are the foundations adopted by the British Government in its penal system. The Prison Congress which assembled in London from all parts of the world in 1872 endorsed the same principles. These are being promulgated in the United States in Congresses held annually for the purpose in different cities. The London Congress appointed a Standing Committee of Delegates from the different states of Europe, in all of which the separation of the prisoners at night throughout their sentence, and the entire separation during at least a part of their confinement, is accepted as an essential, while their ultimate reformation as the surest means of minimising crime, is the object aimed at by all. The Congress will meet at Stockholm next summer, that the members may compare the results of five years of earnest work.

India does indeed greatly differ from England in the climate and in the condition of its inhabitants, but probably not more than other countries of the world differ from each other. But the same general principles of prison discipline are found to be true in all. I trust that the coming Congress at Calcutta will establish their acceptance in India.

Having commenced this report with a statement which I made during my first visit in 1866 to his Excellency the Viceroy, then Sir John Lawrence, your Lordship will perceive that the views then formed have been entirely confirmed by the present one, 10 years later. The importance of at once adopting the system of separate sleeping cells for all the prisoners has forced itself still more strongly on my mind through the observations I made during my last visit, and the testimonies of experienced persons which I heard wherever I went.

Hoping that what I have written will receive your Lordship's kind acceptance,

Red Lodge House, Bristol,
7 September 1876.

I beg, &c.
(signed) *Mary Carpenter.*

ON FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.

To the Right Honourable the Marquis of *Salisbury*, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

In compliance with the expressed wish of your Lordship, I beg respectfully to lay before you the following statement respecting the education of the female sex, with the consequent emancipation and elevation of woman in her social position. To promote this was my chief object in visiting India.

In order to explain my objects and observations in my last and fourth journey in 1875-76 it is necessary for me to refer to my first, in 1866-67. This will be most concisely done by laying before you the report and recommendations then presented to the Governor in Council, Sir John Lawrence. It is as follows:—

The present condition of female education in India can be improved solely by the introduction of female teachers, and these can be supplied only by the establishment of Female Normal Training Schools.

The Government of India has long adopted this course to supply male teachers to boys' schools. The boys' schools are provided with good and efficient teachers, and are producing excellent results. If the same course is pursued for the girls' schools, there can be no doubt that similar results will follow after the system has had time to work. Isolated efforts have been made in some parts of Bengal to supply teachers by the establishment of Normal Schools; but these only prove the necessity of a more complete system.

Feeling assured that the Government has hitherto held back from taking this course, not through any apathy respecting female education, but from a desire to be assured that the want is actually felt by enlightened Natives, before taking any initiatory steps in the matter, I have in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, ascertained that enlightened Native gentlemen are most anxious for the establishment of such schools, as they have testified to me in writing; in Ahmedabad and Madras steps have been already taken by them in memorialising their respective Governments. In Calcutta I have ascertained that many respectable persons are desirous of the establishment of such schools, and have memorialised Government on the subject; the want of them is very strongly felt also in many important places in the mofussil.

I am well aware that the difficulties to be encountered in establishing training schools for female teachers are much greater than those attending male normal training schools. The ignorance of Hindu women of a suitable age is one great impediment, and the difficulty of finding any such, except widows, who would be able and willing to be trained for teachers, is another. I have fully considered these and many other obstacles, and having done this, and consulted persons of considerable experience in different parts of the country, I am persuaded that they may be surmounted.

The following are suggestions which I would beg to offer as to the general features of such a school as I desire to see established. It will, of course, be clearly understood that in these proposed institutions the Government principle of non-interference in religious matters is to be strictly adhered to. While the personal religious liberty of every inmate of the institution is to be respected, no one while in it is to attempt any religious proselytism. Different localities will have different requirements and adaptation to special circumstances. It will therefore be better in every case to commence on a small scale, and with as much attention to economy as is consistent with the proper development of the institution.

Suggestions for the Establishment of a Female Normal Training School.

First.—A house should be procured, adapted to furnish a comfortable residence for about a dozen Christian students, with a lady superintendent. Arrangements should be made for the separate boarding of non-Christian Native students when required. Arrangements for necessary furniture, board and attendance to be made by the inspector of schools.

Secondly.—A lady superintendent, who should be responsible to Government for the entire management of the institution, should be obtained from England (at a salary probably of about 200 rupees a month, in addition to board and lodging); and a superior mistress for training (at about 150 rupees a month, in addition to board and lodging). In each case the passage money to be paid under certain conditions.

Thirdly.—Persons who wish to become students in training must reply to the inspector, and must satisfy him that it is their intention to study and faithfully to prepare to be teachers. They will receive board and instruction while in the institution. All English students must learn the vernacular, and all Native students English.

Fourthly.—

Fourthly.—Any girls' schools existing in the neighbourhood may be employed for the training of teachers, and the students may thus be exercising a beneficial influence in the schools now taught by men, before they are prepared to take charge of schools themselves.

I have not here entered into details, wishing not to trouble you with more than the general plan. I have, however, carefully considered everything, and shall be most happy to enter into further particulars should any be desired.

I beg to add to this a more detailed scheme, which I subsequently laid before the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, then Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India:—

To the Right Honourable Sir *Stafford Northcote*, Bart., M.P., Secretary of State for India.

Sir,

Bristol, 8 October 1867.

In the letter which I had the honour of addressing while in India to his Excellency the Governor General on female education, I laid before him the actual position of the question, and gave a general outline of a scheme for the establishment of a female normal school.

I have since closely directed my attention to the subject, in order thoroughly to understand the wishes and wants of the enlightened Natives who desire such an institution, the position it would occupy in the country, the possibility of affording to the English, or other students engaged in it, such domestic comfort and protection as would be essential to them in a foreign country, the habits and manners of which widely differ from our own, and the probability of obtaining an adequate supply of students eventually to supply the general demand for female teachers.

In the consideration of these topics, I availed myself while in India of opportunities of visiting various institutions, of learning the domestic habits of Europeans in that country, and of obtaining what appeared to me reliable information from enlightened Natives in each Presidency, as well as from English gentlemen and ladies well acquainted with the country.

Since my return to England, I have had various opportunities of learning the views of experienced ladies respecting the probability of finding educated persons in this country suited for the purpose, and of discussing with them the position which will be best for them, in view of their going to India to train as teachers.

In all I have availed myself of the experience I have previously gained, both in the management of an institution myself, and in the study of other boarding institutions; I now, therefore, feel prepared to enter into the details of a female normal school, which I respectfully beg to lay before you. The plan is based on the following positions:—

1st.—Female education is now generally accepted by the enlightened part of the Native community as very desirable, and girls' schools are already established in various parts of the country, frequently by Native gentlemen themselves.

2nd.—There are no female teachers for these schools, and they are at present taught by male teachers.

3rd.—Both Native gentlemen and ladies are dissatisfied with this state of things, but cannot remedy it, female teachers not being procurable.

4th.—It would be of course preferred by them to obtain a regular supply of Native female teachers, and this should be the ultimate object to be aimed at.

5th.—But both the educational and the social condition of Hindu ladies present difficulties which at present preclude the possibility of their becoming teachers without long training, and until many existing prejudices are overcome.

6th.—This training can be given only by European or other Christian teachers who have themselves been trained, and the Natives request the help of these, if given on the Government principle of non-interference with religion.

7th.—Such trained teachers are very rarely to be met with in India, and it is necessary to bring them in the commencement from England.

8th.—These teachers will all require special training for their future work, by the acquisition of the vernacular, and the study of the wants and habits of the children in the Native schools.

9th.—The position of a teacher is not at present deemed in general honourable, or one to be desired by Native ladies; it will, therefore, be very important to the success of the work that the teachers and students should be carefully selected, that their position in the normal school should be good, and that a guarantee should be given by Government for suitable salaries to accredited female teachers in Native schools.

10th. Special provision should be made for the instruction of Native students, besides that, training in the art of teaching which they may receive in common with

the English students, so as to supply the want of previous education equal to that received in our country by pupil teachers.

Accepting these positions as the basis of the normal school contemplated, it is obvious that the special object of the institution at its commencement will be the preparation of the future teachers of Native schools; it will be desirable, therefore, to obtain, if possible, a number of educated persons who have already mastered the ordinary branches of education, but who require to learn the art of teaching, and to acquire the vernacular. Young Native ladies who may eventually become teachers, must first obtain the preparatory education either in the schools now existing, or by special classes formed for them. They should also be learning English, while the English students are studying the vernacular.

The institution should be arranged as follows:

The house provided must contain not only suitable class rooms, but comfortable accommodation for the lady superintendent, training mistress, and students (any non-Christian native students who may require to board in the institution must have separate arrangements made for them), servants, conveyance, and whatever else is needed for a respectable household, to be provided also.

The lady superintendent will have the general management of the institution, provide the board, and in every way be the head of the household. She will make all arrangements necessary for developing the objects of the institution; confer with the managers of schools desirous of obtaining the assistance of the mistress and students; conduct all correspondence, and in all respects be responsible for the due carrying out of the intentions of the Government, to which only she will be responsible.

The training mistress, who is to be an English certificated teacher, will have the entire responsibility of training the students; she will spend a portion of each day with them in the schools; give them such separate instruction as may be needed; and with them receive daily lessons of a master in the vernacular, to the acquisition of which she shall give careful attention. While teaching in any school she shall in no respect interfere with the regulations or wishes of the managers.

Persons desirous of entering the normal school as students must satisfy the lady superintendent that their character and general qualifications are such as to render them suitable for teachers, and also undergo an examination fixed by the Government. They must conform in all respects to the regulations while in the institution, and must receive a certificate of qualification from the lady superintendent, signed by the inspector, before leaving the school to take an engagement as a teacher.

Though the preparation of Hindu women as teachers should be always kept in view, and should be our ultimate object, yet to solve the problem of providing female teachers for girls' schools, it appeared necessary to avail ourselves of the help of Europeans and Eurasians; and this for the following among other reasons:

I. The difficulty of finding any number of Hindu women who would be willing to be trained as teachers. None, in fact, appeared to be available, except widows, as all Hindu girls are married very young. With respect to the widows, great difficulties existed, so that we could not hope for some time to find many.

II. The introduction of them into girls' schools to learn the art of teaching, and to acquire it by practising, would, in the existing state of schools, involve their coming into contact with the other sex, which would be against their social custom.

III. The mental condition of adult widows who might be willing to be trained would be generally such as to render it impossible that a few years' tuition should fit them to be teachers.

It appeared, therefore, that it would be preferable at first to train as teachers educated European and Eurasian young ladies to be teachers, by giving such as might present themselves a good training from English certificated teachers. No such training or normal school had been established by the Government, nor did I hear of any but one school where the attempt was even made to afford it. Many large schools for English girls exist in the country, and there are known to be already existing in the country many respectable young women in narrow circumstances who might be thankful to be prepared to get a maintenance as teacher. Many Eurasians might thus be made useful members of society. Native Christian young women who had been trained in mission schools might have been very valuable, but I learnt everywhere that to introduce

duce that element would ruin the whole scheme, so great is the prejudice in general against them, and the dread of a covert attempt to proselytise.

I soon found, however, that though I had not at all exaggerated the anxiety of Native gentlemen and ladies to obtain female teachers, yet that the existence of numerous and strong prejudices of various kinds rendered it necessary to confine our efforts at present to the giving such training as was possible to Native Hindu women only, and in such manner as appeared most feasible in each locality.

In the spring of 1868 the Indian Government made a grant to each Presidency capital for the establishment of a female normal school. I visited Bombay in the autumn, and commenced work there on the system which I had recommended. A trained English mistress attended on alternate days in two Native schools, and through the medium of an Anglo-vernacular master trained Native teachers in the English system.

My dangerous illness at the commencement of 1869 compelled my return home, and my plans for a female normal school were dropped. The Government subsequently opened a school for the education of Native ladies with a view to their becoming teachers. My plans were not carried out there.

In the autumn of 1869 I again visited Bombay. I learnt that a female normal school had been opened at Nagpore, and at the beginning of 1870 I went to that city to observe its condition. I found that a number of Native women were receiving instruction, with the object of their becoming teachers; an English mistress attended at certain hours. There was no practising school connected with this adult school, and it did not appear to me possible that these women would ever have the power of controlling a class or of really teaching. That Native women have the capability of becoming good teachers if properly trained, was proved by the excellent condition of a mission girls' school in the same city, where I saw two young Native women conducting the classes admirably, with only general superintendence from the wife of the missionary; these had been brought up from childhood in a mission school.

I also visited Ahmedabad, and found that a lady superintendent who had had some training as a teacher, and felt an interest in the work, was superintending the largest girls' school there, the masters working with her; about 10 Native women were being trained as teachers in the school itself, and receiving separate instruction, like pupil teachers. This system answered well, and gave satisfaction to the mothers, who allowed their daughters to remain longer at school on account of the presence of female teachers and a lady superintendent.

During the next five years after my return to England I kept up correspondence with English and Native gentlemen wherever this appeared to me likely to be useful; I also gave such aid as appeared to me desirable, from a small fund at my disposal, always keeping especially in view the training of teachers. During this period the following progress had been made:

At Ahmedabad the Government had established a female normal school, and a Native gentleman had erected premises for it, including a residence for the lady superintendent and a boarding-house for students.

The Bombay normal school had been discontinued after the death of the mistress, and one established at Poona under an experienced mistress, but of the progress of this I had heard nothing.

At Calcutta the girls' normal school had been given up, but a small girls' boarding-school had been established by private effort.

At Madras Government had established a normal school, which had proved successful, but the Native students having become very few, the late Governor, Lord Hobart, had permitted the introduction of Eurasian and Native Christian students, and this had worked well, though at first much opposed by Native gentlemen.

The Nagpore normal school had been discontinued on account of serious evils, and a normal school had been commenced at Jubblepore.

At Hyderabad (Sind), a lady had been appointed superintendent of several small day schools. The success of this had led the Government to establish a normal school, of which she should be superintendent. This had answered well.

In all these Government schools, students received monthly stipends of from 5 to 10 rupees, to compensate for the occupation of their time. Without such payments few students would probably be obtained.

My object in this my fourth visit to India was to study the various attempts to introduce the training of female teachers, and to gather from my observations the causes both of success and failure. Also to form some idea of the actual progress of the movement for female education, and its influence on the elevation of women. In all my work I have adhered strictly to the Government principle of non-interference with religion.

Desiring to lay my views before your Lordship in as brief a form as possible, and yet finding it necessary to enter into some detail in order to show their bearing, it appears to me best to give some account of the position of the work in each place I visited. I shall then conclude with general results, and a statement of what I deem requisite for the progress of the work.

I may first say that on my present visit, the idea of the necessity of female education appeared to me to have permeated Native society far more than it did nine years before, on occasion of my first visit. Whether or not the schools themselves were as much improved as might have been hoped, the effects of the impetus which had been given were discernible in the progress of female emancipation, and in the opening to women of fields of skilled labour; also my journey left on my mind a far higher idea of the possibility of improving the Native woman, and of her general capabilities, than I had previously formed.

At Hyderabad (Sind), female education is of very recent date, and is indeed entirely chiefly due to the zealous efforts of the late Sub-inspector, Mr. Narayen Juggunath. It was commenced by collecting a few girls round a Native woman, who had some slight education. The numbers have gradually but steadily increased, and the want is now very evident of better premises and superior teachers. The normal school has been in existence for three years, and the progress made by the students, under the circumstances, is highly encouraging. No arrangement had been made for a good practising school to be taught by the students in training, without which it is impossible for these women to become teachers. It was proposed to add this.

At Kurrachi there was a good girls' school, under male teachers. A pupil read an address to me in English. I visited the Hindu school, which was in the heart of the Native city, in a small room, into which were crowded for the occasion about 70 girls, with a Native woman as teacher. Very little instruction appeared to be given. The fact of their coming out at all was itself encouraging, as the Sindis are very backward in female emancipation, having until lately been under the influence of the Mahommedans. I had placed in the hands of the inspector 50 £. towards erecting a school building, and a subscription for the purpose was promised by the leading inhabitants. I have not heard of the accomplishment of this. I saw no Sindi ladies except the wives of two Brahmo brothers at Hyderabad. I was invited to meet about 30 Mahrathi ladies resident at Kurrachi. A missionary lady was the interpreter, who had been in the habit of visiting their families. The result of friendly intercourse with an English lady was very favourably evident in their deportment. A Native lady read in vernacular an admirable address to me, stating the ancient superior condition of Hindu women, their own inability to rise without help, and their desire that the English should raise them. They expressed their surprise that a lady (H.R.H. the Princess Louise of Hesse) should be President of an Association, and another lady (myself) secretary. I promised them that should I meet a Native lady of rank who took an interest in our object, I would ask her to be Vice President. The Begum of Bhopal has since accepted that office. This was a remarkable and very interesting meeting.

In Poona my great object was to study the normal school, which had been carried on for some years by Mrs. Mitchell, a lady of long experience among the Natives, and who had previously conducted the Alexandra Girls' School at Bombay for many years. This school has developed the objects intended very successfully, as far as circumstances have permitted. The building is very conveniently situated in the middle of the Native town, and not overlooking the street, so that privacy can be secured. It is not, however, sufficiently large or airy, but Mrs. M. deems it best to sacrifice this for the sake of being of easy access to the students, and to the children of the practising school. On entering, I was surprised at being warmly greeted in English by one of the young women. I asked her if she knew me. "Do I not know my benefactor?" she exclaimed.

exclaimed. "Nine years ago you came with Sir A. Grant to visit a little school which I was teaching. You encouraged me. I was so vexed at not being able to understand you that I determined that I would learn English." I learnt that she had attended the normal school at Bombay, and then came here; that she had married, but the conduct of her husband had obliged her to live separate; that she was now receiving a salary as teacher in the normal school; that her two sisters had followed her example but had declined marriage; that one was a teacher in the employ of a Native chief, and that the other was a teacher here. During my visit an English lady, governess of the Ranee of Kolapur, came to the school to obtain a Native female teacher for the girls' school at Kolapur. Beechebai, my young friend, was selected, and an arrangement was made that she shall not thus lose her position as a Government servant by teaching in a Native State. She is most anxious to go to England, and is saving every rupee she can to enable her to do so, when she is entitled to a sufficiently long furlough. I have troubled your Lordship with these details because they illustrate the gradual progress which is being steadily made. Mrs. Mitchell had assembled as many as were acceptable of the students who had already become teachers, with the children under their care—some 200. This was a gratifying spectacle, and a striking contrast to the state of female education nine years ago, when Beechebai's little school in a small room, painted over with idols, was the grain of mustard seed from which this promising work had sprung. There were about 20 students, all Native women. I heard lessons given to them, and to the practising school by their Native teachers in a superior style. An English lady was employed as an assistant, but there were no teachers in the school acquainted with the English system. At Poona I not only became acquainted with the ladies of some Native families, and received a visit from a widow lady, who has long taken active interest in female education, but, on the eve of my departure from the city, I met a large party of Native ladies, who desired thus to indicate to me their sympathy with my object. About 60 were assembled in one of the ancient palaces of that remarkable city, under the presidency of a Sirdar lady of much influence, and who expressed warm interest in my work. Mrs. Mitchell, from the normal school, attended as interpreter, accompanied by the two sisters who were working with her. These young Native ladies were not only able to translate my remarks to the ladies present, but spoke fluently in English. The meeting was a very interesting and encouraging one, and indicated great progress.

In Madras, the position of female education differs from that of other towns which I have visited, as it is chiefly conducted by missionary bodies, especially Native Christians. Many female teachers have been gradually introduced into the schools. The female normal school was originally confined to Native women, but Eurasians and Native Christians are now admitted in certain proportions, as recipients of scholarships. Miss Bain, a lady of high culture and devoted zeal, has successfully carried out the work with the help of a Native male teacher for the vernacular, and Miss Rajagopal, a very superior Native Christian lady. At the recent Government examinations, out of 18 students who presented themselves, 15 passed. The institution is in a very satisfactory state; the only great defect is that being situated in the suburbs only a small class of girls can be induced to attend. The school has been removed since my visit to a more accessible situation. There is no teacher in Madras who understands the English system. Some of the most advanced students are anxious to come to England to study it for a year.

In Madras, I found several Native ladies of position in society who are obtaining for themselves, at the desire of their husbands, an advanced, and even an English, education under an English governess. They are also allowed more liberty.

Dacca, the capital of East Bengal, though somewhat remote, is considerably in advance of other places in female education, through the efforts of many enlightened Native gentlemen. Here I found a small adult school, unique in its character, which is chiefly attended by married ladies, whose husbands desire for them intellectual improvement. Some of them learn English. Two small girls' schools are in the same building, but they suffer from the want of efficient teaching. Some of the ladies of the adult school might be induced to train as teachers if only they could have an efficient mistress. They cannot

unaided obtain one. A good training school here might soon supply the neighbourhood, as there are many Native ladies in Dacca who have made considerable advance.

Calcutta has made little, if any, apparent progress since my first visit in 1866. The schools were, I learnt, in much the same condition as before. They are chiefly missionary schools. The capacious premises of the Bethune School, which was intended to promote the education of the higher classes, and which might well contain 200 scholars, with separate class-rooms for higher education, has only about a third of that number, in a more fitted for an infant school. Every inducement is held out to them to attend; carriages are provided to convey them to and from school, and there is a superior trained mistress. A fee of 2 rupees a month (6 *d.* a week) is esteemed very high by rich gentlemen. It was attempted to carry out the normal school here, but the attempt failed. In the meantime a rapidly increasing number of the Europeanised Natives and of the Brahmos are earnestly desiring superior education for the female members of their families. I received hospitality from three of such families, who received me in English style. Miss Ackroyd's boarding-school, to which I have alluded, has been of great use. In several cases ladies entered the school whose husbands had gone to England. These, on their return, were thankful to find their wives somewhat educated and accustomed to English habits. Miss A.'s marriage and Mrs. Phear's approaching departure from India led to the discontinuance of the school, but it had done a good work, and a permanent institution of the kind has just been started by the Government.

Benares exhibited some very interesting and instructive features. This being considered a sacred city, it would consequently be a very conservative one in the matter of female education. Fortunately however, the Maharaja of Vizianagram commenced the movement soon after my first visit to India. This nobleman is deservedly celebrated for his enlightened benevolence, and spends a large proportion of his income in works of charity. At first the children were paid for attending school, and a large number came; they discontinued attendance when the payments were no longer made. His Highness then engaged an English lady of experience and energy to carry on the schools at his sole expense, which she has done now for some years. On occasion of my visit I found that she had four schools in houses of easy access to the scholars, and in secluded localities, and she had succeeded in gradually obtaining female teachers only for the scholars. These were Eurasians, Native Christians, and Hindu women. These latter were not very efficient, and there was considerable want of trained teaching in the schools, Mrs. Etherington not being able to give more than general superintendence. The simple fact, however, of no males being on the premises was of very great importance. Not only were there about 500 Brahmin children in attendance, but many widows and marriageable girls were obtaining so advanced an education, as to prepare them to gain their living by skilled industry. A remarkable proof of this came before me. The Native doctor of the hospital had a class of about 10 women from the school, chiefly widows, who were undergoing regular training and instruction for the medical profession. I was present at one of his lessons, and was much struck with the readiness and accuracy of their answers. The doctor found them quite equal to the male students in aptitude and intelligence in the preparation of their lessons. They were still in regular attendance at the school. In the same building with one of the schools is what is called a Government female normal school. This consists of a number of Native women who board on the premises, and who are taught by two Native women only. It is evident that in its present condition this can be regarded only as a second-rate adult school, not likely to produce teachers worth the expense of training. Yet, if a trained English teacher were placed in charge of the school, this might be made a peculiarly efficient central institution for the North Western Provinces. Mrs. Etherington has been appointed Government inspectress of girls' schools. Her position would thus enable her to make the normal school work with the others which are directly under her management. A certificated teacher would be thus able to introduce a good system into the Vizianagram schools, while at the same time she was training her own students in the art of teaching. All the teachers now employed in the four Vizianagram schools might thus receive themselves skilled training, and the schools would become model ones for the province, perhaps for all India. I pointed this out to the inspectress, who fully entered into my views. She would

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would gladly co-operate with any plan of the kind, and was ready to give the most important help by offering her services to obtain a suitable mistress, and to arrange for her comfortable residence. I laid the subject before the Maharaja, who expressed perfect willingness to sanction such an arrangement, should the Government desire it.

At Allahabad I found that no girls' school existed which was deemed worthy of a visit, even among the missionaries. A few girls were being collected in some localities through the inducement held out of the payment of small coins.

I much regretted that various unavoidable circumstances prevented my staying at Jubblepore, where my presence had been much desired.

Passing through Bombay I proceeded to Ahmedabad. I regretted to find the girls' schools in this city—which had been exceptionally good on my first visit, and the largest of which was carrying out the work of a normal school under a lady superintendent at my third visit—were now in a very inferior condition. A new separate building had been erected for the normal school at some distance from these schools, with which it was quite unconnected. As great a desire for good teaching for girls appeared to exist in the minds of Native gentlemen, but they were quite unable to obtain it. One Native gentleman had so highly educated his little daughter, now nine years old, that she could read English fluently, and was advanced in arithmetic. She had no means, however, of proceeding farther, and he actually sent her to Bombay to board with a friend that she might attend the Roman Catholic Nunnery School for higher education. I cannot give any opinion about the prospects of the normal school, as the lady superintendent had only recently been established there, and though possessed of various qualifications and anxious to do her duty, she was not acquainted with the vernacular, or with the English system of school teaching.

At Surat two large girls' schools were under male teachers exclusively, as they were nine years before. The bulk of the children had made very little progress, evidently from the ignorance of a good system of teaching. At least half of the children were of an age to be in an infant school. These poor children have nothing to call out their minds, and I was informed by a master that they occupy a year in learning the alphabet!

At Baroda and at Tanna female education had been only recently commenced, but in each case considerable effort had been made, and an earnest desire existed for improvement.

The city of Bombay has made very great progress in female emancipation during the last 10 years. This is not a matter of surprise when we know that 15 years before that period Native gentlemen themselves, chiefly members of the Students' Society, had inaugurated female education under immense difficulties, and had steadily persevered in their efforts, notwithstanding very great discouragements. The Parsi portion of the community are not shackled by the same social customs as the Hindus, and though the older members of their society are perhaps equally conservative, yet so many of them have visited England and travelled elsewhere, in some cases taking their families with them, that the seclusion of the ladies, which was painfully observable on my first visit, has now greatly disappeared. This was very evident at the enthusiastic public reception given to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his recent visit. Judge Manockjee Cursetjee has contributed not a little to this change by his devoted efforts during more than 30 years, to improve female education in his own family first, and then by the establishment of the Alexandra school, in which the English language is the basis of the instruction given, with English teachers. This system has not, however, yet taken root among his countrymen. The large Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy schools are still taught the vernacular only, and by male teachers, in large classes of 30 or 40 or more girls. A Parsi gentleman informed me, however, that in four Parsi schools Native Female teachers are employed, several of them being young Parsi ladies brought up in the schools. Many of these might become good teachers if skilled training were obtained for them, which is not the case. The Hindus also have made considerable progress. While formerly the family of Dr. Atmaram Pandurang stood almost alone, now there are many families which are allowed considerable liberty. As an instance of this, may be mentioned the fact that frequent gatherings of such ladies meet at the house of Dr. Atmaram, and the gentlemen of the families are not excluded.

I met one such party when from 30 to 40 were present. The spread of education among women of a lower class is proved by the fact that Dr. Hunter has opened two classes for the training of Native midwives. None are admitted who cannot read and write the vernacular; they undergo a scientific training, and then are practised in the hospital. Many of these women have been very successful, and obtain a good living. But while there is evidence in many ways of the spread of education, and of an increased public opinion in favour of it, the Hindu schools themselves are in no way improved; on the contrary, they seemed to me in a condition inferior to that in which they were at my first visit, when the late learned Dr. Bhaudaji and other Native gentlemen took a warm interest in the management of them. A few Native women assist in the teaching in them, but the teachers are generally very inferior, and the premises quite unsuitable. Native gentlemen feel themselves powerless to raise the schools, nor indeed can this be done unless some really good trained lady teacher is provided by the Government. I conversed with many Native gentlemen on the subject, and am satisfied that they will gladly co-operate if any help is given for the improvement of female education.

The general impression I have formed from my present visit to India on the subject of female education, is a very hopeful one. The idea of education seems increasingly to permeate the masses, from high to low. Native chiefs are thinking of the education of their ladies, and a single instance in which they carry this into effect is more valuable than any mere professions of interest. Native gentlemen of position are, in many cases, anxious to obtain for their ladies instruction from English ladies. The class of women requiring to obtain a maintenance find that they can do so better by being educated. I have formed a much higher idea than before of the capabilities of Native ladies, both in acquiring knowledge and in becoming teachers. There is not the great dread of female education which formerly existed, and altogether the way appears open to rapid progress, if only the conditions necessary to this are provided. These conditions are in the first place a good teaching power, with suitable premises and appliances; these cannot be supplied by the Natives, and without them the schools for girls will continue as they have done, without any sensible improvement.

When the Government decided on establishing male education in India on the British system, educated English gentlemen and well-trained schoolmasters were obtained, who inaugurated the various schools and colleges. Native masters were trained both in these and in numerous normal schools, these again trained others. At Ahmedabad, the principal of the male normal school, Mr. Mahiputram Ruffram, was sent to England many years ago, and spent some months in a good training college, where he thoroughly mastered the English system. On my first visit to India, I was surprised to find how admirably he was carrying out this among the young men who practised the art of teaching in a school connected with the institution. At present, in new premises, with which is connected a boarding-house for the students, he is admirably preparing a number of young men to go out as valuable teachers into the Mofussil schools. Many middle-aged Native gentlemen have told me how valuable was the mental and moral influence they had received from the English gentlemen at the head of the colleges and high schools where they were brought up; they in their turns have imparted this to others, if not as heads of schools, in whatever sphere of life they may be placed.

The Government has not yet adopted this course to promote the education of the female sex, a course which has been so successful with the male portion of the community. I am quite aware that until lately the Government would not have felt it right to do anything of the kind, lest they should be regarded as interfering with the social customs of the country. But that time is past. The girls are freely sent to school in many parts of the country, and my brief narrative must have proved to your Lordship that a desire is widely spread for education, and in many parts for a higher education than can possibly be obtained without help. It is so contrary to the social customs of the Hindus to have girls taught by men after a very early age, and so evidently improper in itself considered, that mothers decidedly prefer female teachers, even if these are of an inferior quality, or of another religion; and owing to the removal of the young girls at so early an age from schools taught by men, very little progress

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gress can be made from generation to generation until suitable schools, taught by female teachers, are provided.

This is so very apparent that it is a matter of surprise that so little has been hitherto done in India to supply a proper teaching power to the existing girls' schools, and that no good model schools have been established by the Government. The only objections that have been made to me when urging the supply of suitable teachers have been "want of funds," and the difficulty of obtaining suitable female teachers.

Respecting the first of these objections, "want of funds," I am well aware that there is a great need of economy in India. But this felt necessity does not prevent the erection in the chief cities of magnificent and costly buildings, when plain and inexpensive ones might well have answered the purpose. These I saw everywhere with wonder and admiration, newly erected since my former visit. Indeed I was strongly impressed with the opinion that money can always be forthcoming in India for objects which are really desired. There is, however, an evident apathy on this subject, as an unnecessary and extraneous one. It is forgotten how many years are wasted to the population from the want of home training and proper development of the child, consequent on the ignorance of the mothers; and that the degraded condition of one-half of the inhabitants must have a baleful influence on the other half. With respect to the other objection, the want of female teachers and the difficulty of obtaining them, this may be met by the employment of proper means, which have not yet been adopted.

There does not appear to be in India a sufficient appreciation of what is required to constitute a good female teacher. It seems to be thought sufficient for those who are to become female teachers to have acquired certain knowledge, and to be able to pass the appointed examinations. But education is a science, and an art, and ought to be studied in each of those aspects. This is understood in England; and no labour or expense is spared in the training of teachers. It is here understood that a teacher who understands the art of teaching will communicate knowledge and train the faculties of the young girl with much more facility, and in a much more agreeable way, than those who have not been thus trained. Our infant school system would be peculiarly adapted to Hindu children. This is not understood in India, nor did I hear of any school of the kind existing. The lady superintendents of the female normal schools have not been trained in the English system, and consequently cannot teach it.

The first step, then, should be to have some well-trained English mistresses sent over to India. Great care would, of course, be required in the selection. If the Local Government were to establish one good school with such a mistress wherever the need existed, such a mistress would soon be able to train others as assistants in the schools. Without commencing a new school, such a mistress might superintend some existing schools, and with the help of an Anglo-vernacular master, introduce a good system into the schools, training pupil teachers at the same time. Such a teacher appointed for the four Vizianagram girls' schools at Benares, of which Mrs. Etherington is superintendent, would render a separate normal school unnecessary, as the women in training could all be trained in the school much better than separately. Such a teacher at Ahmedabad and at Surat for the girls' schools would soon bring them into a state of efficiency, as that at Ahmedabad was when under an English lady superintendent. In Bombay one trained mistress for the Hindu girls' schools, and another for the Parsi schools, co-operating with the existing Native managers, would soon establish an improved condition of female education. With a few such training institutions in the Presidency of Bombay, a system of higher education might be organised, and female teachers could be prepared, without increasing the number of female normal schools. The introduction of some trained and efficient teachers is, then, of immediate necessity; but this will not alone be sufficient.

While I quite believe in the possibility of preparing Native women efficient teachers, yet at present those who are fit to be so trained are isolated cases, and will not meet the rapidly increasing demand. I then recommend that one good normal training school be established by the Government, in which young women of

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ozurAsian, or Native Christians, should receive a good training as teachers. There are in India a large number of young women, daughters of officials, orphans, and others, who have received a fair education in English schools. At present they have rarely any opportunity of getting a livelihood, but from having been brought up in the country, and acquainted with a vernacular, they would be much better prepared than strangers to enter on the duty of teaching. At Madras we saw that Eurasians and Native Christians were admitted to the normal school with Hindus. But this was an exceptional case, and would not be desirable in general. They might all be admitted to the Government normal school, on producing satisfactory testimonials, and undergoing the appointed examinations, as is done in our own country. Such young women, being previously well trained, would save great expense by supplying all the English schools with teachers, who are now brought at great expense from England, and many would, if accomplished and ladylike, be sought for as governesses to Ranees or Native ladies of superior condition. I will not trouble your Lordship with the details of such an institution, but an experience now of 10 years increases my conviction that we ought to prepare female teachers from the material now in the country. I trust that your Lordship and the Indian Government may see fit to carry out such a plan.

One plan more I would suggest. I have mentioned the great benefit derived by Mahiputram Ruffram from visiting the English training schools. He has repeatedly assured me that no descriptions could have enabled him to understand the system without personally inspecting it and working in the schools. There are now to be found some Native women who have gained such experience and culture, with a knowledge of English, as would make a year's visit to England of great value to them. I saw such at Poona and at Madras. There may be some in Bombay and Calcutta. If the Government would arrange the expense of sending over some on fixed conditions, they might derive great benefit, which they would communicate to others.

I have already informed the Directors of Public Instruction in Bombay and in Madras that I would undertake, with my friends, to superintend the arrangements for such students in England.

I need not add that provision should be made to supplement the salaries raised from municipal rates, by Government grants for efficient teachers, so as to secure for them adequate remuneration for good teaching.

Trusting that your Lordship will give this important subject full consideration, and commend it to the notice of the Indian Government,

I beg, &c.
(signed) *Mary Carpenter.*

Red Lodge House, Bristol,
30 August 1876.

EAST INDIA (PRISON DISCIPLINE).

**COPY of the REPORT to Marquis of Salisbury by
Miss Mary Carpenter on PRISON DISCIPLINE,
and on FEMALE EDUCATION in India.**

(Mr. Wait.)

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